



INSTITUTO  
UNIVERSITÁRIO  
DE LISBOA

---

## In the Eye of Luso-tropicalism: How Colonial Ideology Justifies Racial Inequality in Policing and Undermines Anti-Racist Collective Action

Ema Piskar

Master in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

Supervisor:

Dr. Ana Filipa Albuquerque Madeira, Assistant Professor, ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Co-Supervisor:

Dr. Ricardo Filipe Pinto Borges Rodrigues, Assistant Professor, ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

September, 2025





CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS  
E HUMANAS

---

Department of Psychology

In the Eye of Luso-tropicalism: How Colonial Ideology Justifies  
Racial Inequality in Policing and Undermines Anti-Racist Collective  
Action

Ema Piskar

Master in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

Supervisor:

Dr. Ana Filipa Albuquerque Madeira, Assistant Professor, ISCTE -  
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Co-Supervisor:

Dr. Ricardo Filipe Pinto Borges Rodrigues, Assistant Professor,  
ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

September, 2025



*To my greatest supporters and my lifelong inspiration.*

*Hvala babici in dediju.*



## Acknowledgments

I appreciate the time and encouragement of my supervisor, Dr. Ana Filipa Madeira, who supported me and provided opportunities to learn in an inspiring setting. Thank you for your contributions and for your critical reflections that helped shape this work.

I also value the assistance of my co-supervisor, Dr. Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, for always being available, responsive, and offering valuable insights. I am deeply thankful for the meaningful discussions and contributions of my colleagues, Ana and Cícero, who always welcomed me with open arms and kind hearts.

I want to thank my close friends for their constant encouragement, for listening to me during stressful times, and for always being there and accepting me for who I am. Thank you, Tara and Kisa. I also treasure the support of my family, who always encouraged me to grow, and reminded me to stay true to myself. Hvala mami in oči. Thank you, Žan, for being the best brother a little sister could ask for.

Finally, I am grateful for all the time that the participants dedicated to this study. Thank you to all who recognized the importance of this work and shared valuable reflection and encouragement that enriched this research.



## Resumo

As ideologias coloniais constituem um sistema de crenças que legitimam o estabelecimento das hierarquias sociais e podem enfraquecer a mobilização coletiva em defesa de grupos minoritários. Estas ideologias são contextuais, ancorando-se na memória histórica e nas dinâmicas contemporâneas, e oferecem justificações específicas para desigualdades sociais. No caso português, o Luso-tropicalismo enquanto ideologia colonial fornece uma narrativa para compreender as relações intergrupais, ao representar uma imagem benevolente do colonialismo português enquanto obscurece práticas de violência e exclusão, dinâmicas que se tornam especialmente visíveis em debates atuais sobre a violência policial. O presente estudo teve como objetivo testar a hipótese de legitimação na relação entre a orientação para a dominância social (ODS) e o apoio à ação coletiva antirracista. Especificamente, analisou-se o papel mediador da ideologia colonial e das justificações da desigualdade racial na ação policial, de forma a compreender em que medida estas crenças contribuem para reduzir ou reforçar a mobilização coletiva antirracista. Realizou-se um estudo correlacional com 215 participantes portugueses. Analisado através de um modelo de mediação serial, os resultados indicaram que níveis mais elevados de ODS estão associados a menor apoio à ação coletiva, efeito este mediado pela adesão ao Luso-tropicalismo, que por sua vez está positivamente relacionado com a negação do racismo e a justificação da violência policial. De forma inesperada, verificou-se que, entre indivíduos com baixos níveis de ODS, o Luso-tropicalismo se associou positivamente ao apoio à ação coletiva. Estes resultados sugerem que o Luso-tropicalismo desempenha um duplo papel: pode reforçar justificações da desigualdade racial e comprometer a ação coletiva em indivíduos com forte orientação para a dominância. Em indivíduos com baixa orientação para a dominância pode associar-se paradoxalmente a uma maior mobilização antirracista. São discutidas as implicações teóricas deste papel, bem como direções futuras na compreensão do papel das ideologias coloniais para as dinâmicas intergrupais contemporâneas.

*Palavras-Chave:* Ideologia colonial, Luso-tropicalismo, violência policial, negação do racismo, ação coletiva



## Abstract

Colonial ideologies constitute a belief system that legitimizes the establishment of social hierarchies and can weaken collective mobilization on behalf of minority groups. These ideologies are contextual, anchored in historical memory and contemporary dynamics, and they provide specific justifications for social inequalities. In the Portuguese case, Luso-tropicalism as a colonial ideology offers a narrative for understanding intergroup relations, portraying a benevolent image of Portuguese colonialism while obscuring practices of violence and exclusion, dynamics that become especially visible in current debates about police violence. The present study aimed to test the hypothesis of legitimation in the relationship between social dominance orientation (SDO) and support for anti-racist collective action. Specifically, it examined the mediating role of colonial ideology and justifications of racial inequality in policing, in order to understand the extent to which these beliefs contribute to reducing or reinforcing anti-racist mobilization. A correlational study was conducted with 215 Portuguese participants. Analyzed through a serial mediation model, the results indicated that higher levels of SDO were associated with lower support for collective action, an effect mediated by adherence to Luso-tropicalism, which in turn is positively related to racism denial and justification of police violence. Unexpectedly, it was found that among individuals with low levels of SDO, Luso-tropicalism was positively associated with support for collective action. These results suggest that Luso-tropicalism plays a dual role: it can reinforce justifications of racial inequality and undermine collective action among individuals with a strong orientation toward dominance, but among those with low levels of dominance orientation, it can paradoxically be associated with greater anti-racist mobilization. The theoretical implications of this role are discussed, as well as future directions for understanding the role of colonial ideologies in contemporary intergroup dynamics.

*Keywords:* Colonial ideology, Luso-tropicalism, police violence, racism denial, collective action



# Index

Acknowledgments	iii
Resumo	v
Abstract	vii
Index of Figures and Tables	xi
Glossary of Acronyms	xiii
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Theoretical Background</b>	<b>3</b>
1.1. Portuguese Background: Colonial Continuities and Resistance to Anti-Racist Movements	3
2.2. Literature Review	7
1.2.1. Motivating Inequality: SDO and Resistance to Anti-Racist Collective Action	7
1.2.2. The Dynamics of Colonial Ideologies in Maintaining Intergroup Contemporary Hierarchies	10
1.2.3. Justifications of Racial Inequality in Policing	16
1.2.3.1. Racism Denial	16
1.2.3.2. Police Violence Justification	19
<b>Chapter 2. Empirical Investigation</b>	<b>22</b>
2.1. Overview of the Study	22
2.2. Pre-test	23
2.2.1. Methodology	24
2.2.1.1. Sample	24
2.2.1.2. Procedure	24
2.2.2. Results	25
2.2.3. Discussion	25
2.3. Main Analysis	26
2.3.1. Methodology	26
2.3.1.1. Design	26

2.3.1.2. Sample	26
2.3.1.3. Procedure	28
2.3.1.4. Measures	28
2.3.1.4.1. Social Dominance Orientation	28
2.3.1.4.2. Colonial Ideology	29
2.3.1.4.3. Racism Denial	29
2.3.1.4.4. Police Violence Justification	29
2.3.1.4.5. Anti-racist Collective Action	29
2.3.1.4.5. Sociodemographic Information	30
2.3.2. Results	30
2.3.2.1. Preliminary Analysis	30
2.3.2.2. Main Model	35
2.3.2.2.1. Latent Variables Relationships	35
2.3.2.2.2. Total, Direct, and Indirect Effects	37
2.3.2.3. Complementary Analysis	38
2.3.3. Discussion	39
<b>Chapter 3. Discussion and Conclusion</b>	<b>41</b>
3.1. Limitations and Future Research	46
3.2. Conclusion	49
References	51
<b>Appendix</b>	
Appendix A: Scenarios Pre-test	64
Appendix B: Scenario Main Study	66
Appendix C: Informed Consent	67
Appendix D: Questionnaire	69
Appendix E: Debriefing	79

## Index of Figures and Tables

### Figures

Figure 1	Conceptual Model	23
Figure 2	Heatmap of Pearson's Correlations Between Key and Demographic Variables	31
Figure 3	Diagram of Parameter Estimates of the Studied Concepts	36

### Tables

Table 1	Sociodemographic Information of the Sample	27
Table 2	Summary of Confirmatory Factor Analysis	33
Table 3	Higher-Order Model Factor Loadings	33
Table 4	Effects of Mediation Analysis	38



## **Glossary of Acronyms**

SDO	Social Dominance Orientation
RD	Racism Denial
PVJ	Police Violence Justification
CA	Anti-racist Collective Action
HA	Hierarchy-Attenuating
HE	Hierarchy-Enhancing
HAM	Hierarchy-Attenuating Legitimizing Myth
HEM	Hierarchy-Enhancing Legitimizing Myth



## Introduction

Portugal's national narrative has long been shaped by a myth of exceptionalism rooted in Lusotropicalism, a colonial ideology that portrays Portuguese colonialism as racially harmonious and uniquely benevolent (Freyre, 1961; Bastos, 2019). While contemporary anti-racist movements increasingly challenge this narrative, institutional and public discourse in Portugal continues to resist fully acknowledging the existence of systemic racism, including within the criminal justice system (CPT, 2023; ECRI, 2025; UN, 2023).

This resistance is particularly evident in state and societal responses to police violence against racialized communities, as seen in widely publicized cases such as that of Odair Moniz (Lusa & Henriques, 2025). Despite growing public mobilization, anti-racist activism is frequently delegitimized, while narratives that defend law enforcement and deny the existence of racism continue to dominate mainstream politics (Maeso, 2019; Varela, 2023). These dynamics reflect a broader cultural paradox: the coexistence of persistent racial inequality with national narratives of racial tolerance and denial (Marcos, 2023).

From a social psychological perspective, these contradictions may reflect ideological worldviews that serve to legitimize existing social inequalities rooted in group-based hierarchies. According to Social Dominance Theory (SDT), societies are organized in group-based hierarchies where social value is unequally distributed; hence, dominant groups possess a disproportionately large share of positive social value, whereas subordinate groups possess negative social value (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The degree to which one prefers and supports hierarchical relations between social groups is conceptualized through Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). SDO captures the extent to which individuals prefer and support hierarchical relations between social groups. Research shows that SDO is linked to anti-minority attitudes and dislike of outgroups that either occupy subordinate positions (e.g., immigrants) or challenge existing hierarchies (e.g., protestors) (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007).

To sustain inequality and regulate group conflict, societies rely on legitimizing myths, i.e., culturally shared beliefs that justify social arrangements. These myths can contain elements or selective truth, but they are considered myths since they shape perceptions of reality to justify dominance. They help maintain a stable society by balancing hierarchy-enhancing ideologies (e.g., meritocracy, racism) with hierarchy-attenuating ones (e.g., egalitarianism, feminism). As cultural patterns, they function like “genes of culture,” reproducing and reinforcing social structures across generations (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

In the Portuguese context, beliefs about the colonial past can be understood as a context-specific legitimizing myth. An example is Luso-tropicalism, which portrays Portuguese colonialism as uniquely tolerant and harmonious. We hypothesize that this ideology serves to protect the interests of the dominant group and preserve the societal status quo. While broad ideological orientations like SDO have been widely studied, research on context-specific ideological orientations like colonial ideologies, such as Luso-tropicalism, remains relatively scarce. Previous work links Luso-tropicalism to discriminatory attitudes (Valentim & Heleno, 2018; Meuer, 2023), yet its role in legitimizing social inequalities and resisting social change remains underexplored. This gap is important, as colonial belief systems can exert a distinct influence on opposition to systemic reform, sometimes beyond the effects of general ideological orientations (Osborne et al., 2017). To date, however, no research has examined the psychological mechanisms that connect such beliefs to behavioral intentions, particularly the ways Luso-tropicalism may be associated with support for anti-racist collective action.

Hence, this thesis examines the mediating role of Luso-tropicalism in the relationship between SDO and collective action and identifies the psychological processes underlying this link. Specifically, it investigates how racism denial and the justification of police violence might operate as mechanisms through which Luso-tropicalism weakens support for anti-racist mobilization. By situating contemporary resistance to racial justice within its historical and ideological roots, this research aims to provide a broader understanding of the sociopsychological barriers to systemic change towards greater racial equality in postcolonial societies.

## **Theoretical Background**

### **1.1. Portuguese Background: Colonial Continuities and Resistance to Anti-Racist Movements**

Although anti-racist activism has gained momentum in Portugal (e.g., through media coverage, increasing protests, the rise of organizations, and artistic expression) and has helped expose high levels of police violence against Afro-descendants and immigrants (CPT, 2023), these movements still face significant institutional and societal resistance (Varela et al., 2023). This resistance can be partly explained by psychological factors that shape collective action. The Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) identifies group identification, anger, and efficacy as key motivations. Later extended to include morality, reflecting how individual values, moral principles, or ideological convictions indirectly enhance collective action by increasing identification with disadvantaged groups, group anger (via identification), and group efficacy (van Zomeren et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2011).

While these motivations are broadly relevant, cultural context determines when and how they become psychologically salient and when collective action is more likely (van Zomeren, 2019). For instance, in Indonesia, strong ethnic identification did not predict collective action against discrimination, as relational norms prioritized harmony over confrontation (Van Zomeren et al., 2016a; Van Zomeren et al., 2016b). Research from New Zealand offers a framework for understanding shared beliefs that shape motivations for collective action. The Dark Duo Model of Post-Colonial Ideology (DDM; Sibley & Osborne, 2016) proposes that two complementary post-colonial ideologies operate together: Historical Negation, which denies the relevance of colonial history to present-day inequalities, and Symbolic Exclusion, which marginalizes the cultures of formerly colonized groups from the superordinate national identity. Research has shown that context-specific ideologies can reduce support for collective action on behalf of disadvantaged groups by offering sociohistorically tailored narratives that legitimize social inequality (Osborne et al., 2017).

In Portugal, long-standing and well-documented resistance to anti-racist movements aligns with a colonial ideological framework that has systematically denied racism and justified violence against racialized communities (Maeso, 2019; Raposo et al., 2019). As Varela (2023) outlined, anti-racist movements in Portugal have unfolded across three key periods: the early Pan-Africanist organizing of 1911–1933, the cultural and political resistance during the colonial era (1942–1963), and the youth-led mobilizations from 1990 to 2020, particularly through rap music. Across these periods, anti-racist activism has consistently faced criminalization, suggesting a persistent pattern of repression. For instance, during the Estado Novo, Black movement leaders and African nationalist poets were targeted, persecuted, and subjected to beatings, torture, and imprisonment (Varela, 2023).

Dynamics of anti-racist repression have roots in the Portuguese colonial regime, which institutionalized racial hierarchy through law and state violence (Varela, 2023; Meneses, 2010). A key example is the *Estatuto do Indigenato*<sup>1</sup> (1926), a legal framework that codified a racially stratified system in the colonies, defining Indigenous populations as legally inferior and having a non-citizen status (Meneses, 2010). It institutionalized forced labor to supply the colonial workforce while offering a narrow path to assimilation for those who adopted European norms. In practice, it primarily served colonial exploitation, with resistance (political, cultural, or armed) criminalized and suppressed by state power (Meneses, 2010; Nascimento, 2016). These measures exemplified how the colonial regime used law and state violence to enforce racialized social hierarchies and control colonized populations.

To legitimize its colonial project, the Estado Novo regime disseminated a set of beliefs aimed to justify the Portuguese colonial empire while avoiding national and international decolonial pressures (post-World War II period). To maintain the regime's dominance over colonized territories and population, without openly expressing racism, it became necessary to adopt a non-racial narrative that could address the Portuguese dilemma: how to continue the colonial project under decolonial pressures. Luso-tropicalism emerged as the ideological solution to this dilemma (Myrdal et al., 1944). By portraying the Portuguese as uniquely suited for miscegenation and cultural adaptation (Valentim, 2011), Luso-tropicalism reconciled racial exploitation with a narrative of natural mixing in the colonial process.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Estatuto Político, Civil e Criminal dos Indígenas de Angola e Moçambique*, approved by Decree No. 12.533 of October 23, 1926 (Official Bulletin No. 48). The *Estatuto do Indigenato* built on earlier regulations (Regulamento do Trabalho Indígena, 1899 and 1914) and remained in force until 1961, setting coercive labor and systemic subordination in Angola and Mozambique (Meneses, 2010).

The roots of Luso-tropicalism can be traced back to Gilberto Freyre's *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (1933), where he argued that the Portuguese were uniquely predisposed to harmonious relations with colonized peoples through a long history of racial mixing and cultural adaptability. This idea later evolved into a “providential concept” that framed Portuguese colonialism as exceptional for its supposed cultural and biological integration into a multicontinental and multiracial nation (Bastos & Castelo, 2024). By portraying the Portuguese as “civilizers of the tropics” and envisioning a shared Lusophone community, Freyre laid the foundations for Luso-tropicalism's enduring narrative (Freyre, 1961). Earlier, similar colonial justifications appeared in the *Regulamento do Trabalho Indígena*<sup>2</sup>, whose preamble framed that: “Os portugueses são, de todos os colonizadores, os que melhor e mais facilmente trazem ao seu domínio os povos africanos, pois que não temos o preconceito exagerado da separação de raças e somos levados, pelo nosso modo de ser, a tratar o indígena com tolerância e bondade, respeitando-lhes os usos e instituições, tanto quanto possível” (as cited in Meneses, 2010, pp. 76–78). In practice, however, colonial policy was rooted in imposed assimilation, which rejected and demolished colonized cultures and imposed Portuguese language and values, entrenching structural inequalities such as widespread illiteracy (de Andrade, 2024; Bastos & Castelo, 2024). Hence, such reasoning obscured the realities of racial violence, forced labor, and cultural domination, while downplaying Portugal's central role in the transatlantic slave trade, which involved the forced deportation of nearly 5.8 million Africans from 1501 to 1866 (de Andrade, 2024; Slave Voyages, 2019).

Despite the formal end of colonial rule in 1974, Luso-tropicalist beliefs continue to shape the Portuguese national narrative as a “non-racist country” (Valentim & Heleno, 2018). This narrative frames racist events as an individual phenomenon rather than systemic, preventing a serious public debate on the implementation of anti-racist policies (Varela, 2023; 25). Contrary to the Luso-tropical arguments, multiple international bodies have documented the persistence of systemic racism in Portugal. Reports by the United Nations (UN, 2023), European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2025), and the Council of Europe's Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT, 2023) all point to widespread systemic racism, particularly in the criminal justice system. The 2023 CPT report highlights how people of African descent and foreign nationals are disproportionately subjected to police abuse, with investigations often delayed or ineffective.

---

<sup>2</sup> Decree No. 951, issued in No. 187 in *Diário do Governo* of October 14, pp. 948-977, the regulation was later revised and ultimately incorporated into the *Estatuto do Indigenato* (1926).

For example, racialized communities in Lisbon's urban peripheries (e.g., Cova da Moura) or Setúbal (e.g., Bairro da Jamaica) are subjected to racialized police violence, including ongoing surveillance, police raids, verbal threats, physical abuse (e.g., beatings), and homicides (Raposo et al., 2019; Varela, 2025; Oliveira Rocha, 2021). This pattern is reflected, for example, in rap music as a way to condemn police violence. During the 1990s, General D became a key figure in explicitly criticizing racism and the continuity of colonialism; in his song "PortuKKK é um erro", he stated that police "treat my brother like an animal" (as cited in Varela, 2023).

Recent high-profile cases illustrate this ongoing problem. In 2020, Cláudia Simões, a Black woman from Angola, was physically (beatings and stranglehold) and verbally (racial slurs) assaulted by the Public Security Police (PSP) in Amadora. Despite initial court consideration in 2024 of Cláudia's statements as "exaggerated," a year later, a jury recognized the case as violence perpetrated by state agents (Henriques, 2024; Lusa, 2025b). Another recent case involved the death of Odair Monteiro Moniz, a Black man from Cape Verde, who died after being shot by PSP during a police chase in Cova da Moura. In January 2025, the Ministry of Public Prosecution accused the officer of homicide, and the officer was suspended from duty (Lusa & Henriques, 2025). The criminal trial is set for October 15th in Sintra (Lusa, 2025a).

Despite recent convictions and accusations of police officers, Portuguese institutions continue to ignore systemic racism, often by employing the Luso-tropicalist myth of racial tolerance, which "protects" them from allegations of racism while legitimizing disproportionate force against racialized communities (Varela, 2025). It becomes clear how colonial practices are mirrored at both ideological and institutional levels. The PSP's Corpo de Intervenção (Intervention Corps) exhibits colonial influences: when it was created in 1977, it integrated personnel, resources, and experience from the former colonial urban police forces in Angola and Mozambique (Varela, 2025). Nearly 30 years later, an ethnographic study of PSP patrols, particularly among rapid intervention units, reported the use of the term "caça aos pretos" ("hunting Blacks"), emphasizing racial differentiation in their practices (Durão, 2006).

In sum, the current research proposes Luso-tropicalism as a legitimizing myth that justifies contemporary racial inequalities by promoting Portugal as a "non-racist" and multicultural nation. This narrative denies or minimizes racism in policing, making it appear either justified or exceptional, rather than part of a structural pattern rooted in colonial history. Thus, the endurance of Luso-tropicalism as a colonial ideology may help explain why movements for racial justice continue to be resisted and suppressed.

## **1.2. Literature Review**

### **1.2.1. Motivating Inequality: SDO and Resistance to Anti-Racist Collective Action**

Understanding the complex processes that contribute to the imposition, maintenance, and reproduction of group-based social hierarchies is the focal point of Social Dominance Theory (SDT) (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). It argues that intergroup oppression, discrimination, and prejudice are the mechanisms through which social groups organize themselves hierarchically, with dominant groups enjoying greater access to resources and privileges (e.g., influential roles, legal protection). In contrast, subordinate groups face systematic disadvantages (e.g., limited healthcare access, unfair treatment in the legal system). This unequal distribution of social value is not natural or inevitable but socially constructed and reproduced over time through collective beliefs, institutional practices, and power dynamics (Pratto et al., 2013).

Within SDT, trimorphic hierarchies are seen as socially constructed rather than universal, shaping people's opportunities and constraints (Pratto et al., 2013). Age and gender systems privilege adults over children and men over women, while arbitrary-set systems, based on distinctions such as race, ethnicity, religion, or nationality, refer to group divisions that are not biologically determined but are created and maintained through human beliefs and institutions. Although these divisions could be organized differently, they are treated as meaningful. Historical examples include racial divisions under colonialism or apartheid, which positioned colonizers and dominant groups as superior while justifying the subordination of others through claims of cultural or racial superiority (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto et al., 2013).

SDT describes societies as self-organizing and self-perpetuating dynamical systems that maintain hierarchies through mechanisms across multiple levels: the micro (individual attitudes and beliefs), meso (institutions and roles), and macro (cultural narratives and societal structures). The latter extension highlights how meta-level processes, such as trade, migration, transnational activism, and global governance, shape group boundaries and power struggles within and across nations. (Pratto et al., 2013).

While social hierarchies are stable, they remain dynamic systems capable of adaptation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto et al., 2013). Hierarchies are constantly maintained but can shift under pressure from activism, changing attitudes, or external forces. Social change, therefore, is conceptualized as efforts to alter intergroup power through collective action, policy, or education. Even when hierarchies appear persistent, subtle and ongoing struggles between reinforcing and resisting inequality ensure that transformation remains possible (Pratto et al., 2013; Stewart, 2015).

A key concept is Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), defined as a general personal preference for group-based hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Individuals high in SDO tend to view the social world as competitive and hierarchical, seeing dominance of superior groups over subordinate groups as natural or desirable. SDO emerges from a combination of personality traits (e.g., low agreeableness; Sibley & Duckitt, 2010) and social environments marked by intergroup competition (Ho et al., 2025). Other factors shaping SDO include an individual's social position (e.g., belonging to a high-status group; Liu et al., 2008), perceived status threats combined with strong group identification (Morrison & Ybarra, 2009), experiences in hierarchy-enhancing professions (e.g., law enforcement; Zubielevitch et al., 2021), and age-related normative changes (Zubielevitch et al., 2023).

SDO comprises two theoretically distinct subdimensions: preference for intergroup dominance (SDO-D) and intergroup anti-egalitarianism (SDO-E). SDO-D reflects a preference for social systems in which high-status groups overtly oppress low-status groups through overt oppressions and aggressive intergroup behaviors, such as endorsing old-fashioned racism. In contrast, SDO-E reflects a preference for inequality maintained through subtle legitimizing ideologies and social policies (e.g., political conservatism, opposition to affirmative action) (Ho et al., 2015). A recent examination of the SDO scale (SDO7) showed that it is a useful, reliable and valid measure (Berry, 2023). However, critical cumulative empirical evidence strongly suggests that the SDO7 scale is not adequate to measure differences between SDO-D and SDO-E as initially proposed. Meta-analysis of studies showed that two dimensions are not sufficiently distinct, indicated by high intercorrelation and highly similar patterns of correlations with variables (Berry, 2023).

SDO is a crucial variable in predicting intergroup dynamics, and it shapes how individuals perceive and evaluate actions that either support or attenuate social hierarchy (Ho et al., 2025). Individuals high in SDO are motivated to maintain inequality and protect their group's social status, which makes them more likely to exhibit prejudice and discrimination toward subordinate groups or groups perceived to challenge hierarchy (e.g., racial and ethnic outgroups) (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; 2010; Kteily et al., 2011).

To secure their dominant position, individuals high in SDO are more likely to support hierarchy-enhancing behaviors. For example, they are more likely to tolerate racist behaviors by finding racist job candidates relatively more likable, demonstrating stronger alignment in values with them, and viewing them as more suitable for hiring (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2022). They react positively to a racist not just because of the impact this person has on the hierarchy, but also because this discriminatory behavior represents attitudinal similarity, i.e., people are subtly attracted to the ingroup members when it matches their own responses to intergroup contact (Jacoby-Senghor et al., 2015). Hence, racist behavior is not always condemned; it partially depends on an individual's SDO level, who don't necessarily perceive it as something wrong. Rather, they would interpret racist attitudes as a sign that this person is on "their side", which makes them more acceptable (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2022).

Moreover, SDO is a strong predictor of attitudes towards social change, as it supports social policies and movements that aim to preserve the status quo, and on the contrary, oppose those that challenge it. As shown by Choma et al. (2024), high SDO individuals exhibit greater support for conservative actions like anti-abortion protests and opposition to illegal immigration. High SDO individuals can also support more non-normative collective action, such as aggressive or violent acts targeting outgroups, among high-status groups in highly competitive contexts (e.g., football championships) (Carvalho et al., 2021). This occurs because SDO tends to rise in situations of competition for resources, power, or status (Duckitt & Sibley, 2009). In contrast, normative actions, like joining supporters to celebrate a team's win, were not affected (Carvalho et al., 2021).

On the contrary, low-SDO individuals endorse egalitarian worldviews and support actions aimed at reducing inequality, such as fair resource distribution and equitable access to opportunities (Ho et al., 2025). They are more likely to support hierarchy-attenuating collective action, such as the Black Lives Matter movement (Holt & Sweitzer, 2020). These mobilizations challenge entrenched hierarchies and, as seen in international movements supported by both high- and low-status groups, demonstrate that egalitarian ideology can motivate collective action even against one's own dominant group interests. For instance, Thomas et al. (2018) showed that low SDO predicted greater support for admitting refugees, underscoring that ideology, more than group identification, shapes willingness to aid disadvantaged groups.

However, for subordinate group members, high SDO can serve as a compensatory strategy to elevate their group's status. Carvalho et al. (2021) found that, when status positions are perceived as unstable, low-status individuals endorsing group-based inequality may be more motivated to engage in ingroup-favoring collective action through competition. Members of low-status groups may endorse hierarchical social systems when they perceive potential future advantages for their own group, especially if the existing hierarchy seems unstable and open to change. In such cases, SDO can serve as a framework that legitimizes the possibility of improving ingroup status over time (Carvalho et al., 2021).

In sum, SDO predicts both hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating outcomes, with the direction depending on group status and context. While high SDO is generally associated with opposition to collective action, it can promote activism but only when such actions serve to protect existing hierarchies or when adopted by low-status groups seeking competitive advantage. Furthermore, the presence of high-SDO individuals in subordinate groups challenges the assumption that high SDO always opposes their interests. When hierarchies are unstable, these individuals may take action to improve their group's position, although still within a framework that legitimizes hierarchy. Given the previous research, we expect that high-SDO individuals in high-status groups will express lower support for anti-racist collective action (H1).

### **1.2.2. The Dynamics of Colonial Ideologies in Maintaining Intergroup Contemporary Hierarchies**

Colonial ideologies remain prevalent and help sustain contemporary group-based hierarchies (Osborne et al., 2017; Satherley & Sibley, 2018). By legitimizing inequality, they enable dominant groups to preserve a positive self-image and resist systemic change (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sibley & Osborne, 2016). To defend existing racial hierarchies, individuals adopt

belief systems that justify social stratification and reject those promoting intergroup equality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). While colonialism refers to the historical exploitation of militarily weaker regions by dominant powers, postcolonialism offers a critical framework that challenges Eurocentric narratives and highlights how colonial legacies continue to shape contemporary identities, discourse, and global hierarchies (Tomicic & Berardi, 2018).

Colonial ideologies are belief systems that provided moral and political justification for colonial domination and continue to legitimize group-based inequalities long after formal colonial rule ended (Sibley & Osborne, 2016). They serve to maintain the status quo by shaping social knowledge and reinforcing power hierarchies. Within SDT, such ideologies are viewed as legitimizing myths, i.e., belief systems that either sustain or challenge social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Hierarchy-enhancing myths (HEMs) justify inequality by portraying the subordination of minority groups as natural, fair, or deserved, while hierarchy-attenuating myths (HAMs) oppose such structures and promote equality.

Ideologies that strengthen the link between SDO and support for hierarchy-enhancing practices (or rejection of hierarchy-attenuating ones) are considered HEMs (Pratto et al., 2013). High-SDO individuals tend to endorse such beliefs, including meritocracy or racist ideologies, and oppose redistributive measures like affirmative action, aligning with their preference for maintaining inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2013). In contrast, low-SDO individuals are more likely to reject HEMs and support collective action for racial equality (Stewart & Tran, 2018). In this way, legitimizing myths reflect individuals' SDO and act as "intellectual protection" for discriminatory attitudes (Pratto et al., 2013).

Emerging within specific sociohistorical contexts, colonial ideologies function to interpret and make sense of intergroup relations (Sibley & Osborne, 2016). While their ultimate function is universal (maintenance of hierarchy), their content is context-dependent. Thus, across different sociocultural settings, these ideologies vary in how colonial representations are constructed and linked to each nation's realities.

Several constructs illustrate the persistence of colonial ideologies across different contexts. In New Zealand, the geocultural setting is shaped by a multicultural population and a bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā. The country's colonial ideology is rooted in two socio-contextual realities: a history of injustice and Māori's undeniable national membership. To manage the tension these create, Sibley and Osborne's (2016) Dark Duo Model identifies two complementary ideologies. Historical Negation (HN) is the belief that colonial injustices (e.g., land alienation, broken treaties) no longer matter today, and Symbolic Exclusion (SE) positions Māori culture as irrelevant to national identity, centering Pākehā culture as the norm. These ideologies work together to resolve collective dissonance by preserving a positive ingroup image while legitimizing systemic inequality (Sibley & Osborne, 2016; Osborne et al., 2017). In contemporary societies where structural inequalities persist, individuals tend to navigate this tension either by acknowledging the ongoing relevance of historical injustice or by dismissing the colonial past as irrelevant (Sibley & Osborne, 2016).

In contrast, countries with a history of institutionalized slavery can rely on a different framework of justification. In Europe, scholars have used the social representations framework to study how people from colonizing and colonized nations narrate, share, and interpret historical events. This framework examines how groups perceive their colonial past and construct their identity. For example, in Belgium, colonial justifications emerged from a Western sociocultural context that initially portrayed colonialism as a "humanitarian project" aimed at promoting "development" (Licata et al., 2018). Social Representations of Colonialism (SRC) are structured around two main dimensions: Development and Exploitation. The first highlights the perceived positive aspects of colonialism, such as building infrastructure or establishing health and education systems. In contrast, the second emphasizes harmful elements, such as resource extraction and the destruction of local cultures (Licata et al., 2018).

When comparing African (Angola, Burundi, Cape Verde, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique) and European (Belgium, France, Portugal) perceptions of colonialism, Licata et al. (2018) found that Europeans tended to express a more negative view of the colonial past. This may reflect the normative pressure to condemn colonialism in contemporary European societies. However, Europeans were generally less likely than Africans to feel accountable for past atrocities or to support reparations. In contrast, while Europeans' views of colonialism as exploitative shaped their stance on reparations, Africans expected reparations regardless of historical interpretations, believing more strongly that Europeans today should feel collective guilt and shame.

Compared to other European countries, the Portuguese endorsed the Exploitation dimension less strongly (Licata et al., 2018). This pattern may reflect the enduring influence of Luso-tropicalism (Valentim & Heleno, 2018). Luso-tropicalism was used to justify Portuguese colonialism by downplaying racial hierarchies in comparison to other colonial systems, such as those of Belgium or the racially segregated United States (Freyre, 1961). Freyre argued that, unlike these powers, driven by racial superiority and the reduction of colonized populations to plantation laborers, the Portuguese were guided by a Christocentric spirit, which means that rather than eradicating Indigenous cultures, they allegedly preserved certain cultural elements (e.g., in architecture, clothing, and agriculture) and integrated them into colonial life. Freyre characterized this as a form of “symbiosis” between the Portuguese and the tropics: a process of social and ecological adaptation that, in his view, made Portuguese colonization both distinct and applicable to the Portuguese lineage.

Despite its scientific discrediting and the fall of the Portuguese empire, Luso-tropicalism has endured as part of Portugal’s collective memory (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). Valentim & Heleno (2018) described it as a social representation, offering a common-sense framework through which Portuguese society interprets its colonial past and contemporary intergroup relations. These representations are not about objective truth but about their utility, enabling groups to reconstruct their historical past in ways that serve present needs. In this sense, collective memories help shape group identity, influence relations between ex-colonizers and ex-colonized, and provide strategies for addressing current challenges (Cabecinhas & Nhaga, 2008; Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010).

Social representations theory highlights that shared ideas within a group are not uniform, with individuals emphasizing different aspects of the same concept. Valentim and Heleno (2018) identified four key organizing principles of Luso-tropicalism, where people may vary in emphasis or interpretation. Harmonious Relations emphasize the Portuguese “special skill” in establishing tolerant relations with other peoples, minimizing racism, and highlighting cultural openness as part of the national tradition. Colonial Past portrays colonialism through a romanticized lens, framing it as more benevolent and pacific compared to the oppressive systems of other colonial powers. Ability to Adapt refers to the idea that the Portuguese possessed a unique talent for adjusting naturally and effortlessly to tropical environments. Cultural Integration centers on miscegenation, the supposed ability of the Portuguese to mix with colonized peoples and integrate their cultural practices. Together, these dimensions are anchored in Portuguese nationalism and contribute to a national identity that highlights “mild manners” and openness to the Other (Valentim & Heleno, 2018).

(Re)creation of colonial narratives preserves dominant interpretations of history and transmits them across generations (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). For example, Mozambican memories of the colonial period focus on its most oppressive aspects (e.g., the slave trade, brutal repression). Conversely, Portuguese memories emphasize the so-called “voyages of discovery,” often associated with positive emotions such as admiration and pride. Glorification of the colonial past is particularly strong among Portuguese participants with higher levels of national identification. In contrast, for Mozambicans, stronger national identification was linked to a greater valorization of the War of Liberation (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010).

While social representations focus on description of colonial legacy in everyday life (views of past and present) to explain and interpret a colonial narrative, colonial ideologies operate as prescriptive belief system, directing how people ought to behave by consisting a set of rules of how to live and structure society. The descriptive and prescriptive components are connected, as ideology interpret and describe the world while also prescribes how people should think, act, and relate to one another. (Zmigrod, 2022).

The continued colonial narratives shape contemporary attitudes and support for discriminatory behaviors. For instance, framing the colonial past in terms of Development is associated with lower support for material and symbolic reparations and higher modern racism. In contrast, framing it in terms of Exploitation is linked to greater support for material and symbolic compensation, more positive attitudes toward Congolese people living in Belgium, and lower modern racism (Lastrego et al., 2023).

Colonial ideology also act as barriers to social change by downplaying the relevance of colonial history and the importance of Indigenous identity. Beliefs that minimize historical injustice are associated with less support for Indigenous collective action and political tolerance (Herkimer et al., 2025). Similarly, Osborne et al. (2017) found that endorsing both HN and SE among Māori and New Zealand Europeans reduced support for collective action supporting Māori rights. This effect was unidirectional: support for collective action did not change endorsement of colonial ideologies. These effects persisted even after controlling for other ideologies such as SDO, system justification, conservatism, and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), suggesting that colonial ideologies are more proximal determinants of support for the status quo than general ideologies.

Colonial ideologies can involve inconsistencies, as seen in Luso-tropicalism. While it promotes the idea of multiculturalism and racial tolerance, ironically, empirical research showed its association with prejudice against immigrants (Valentim & Heleno, 2018) and racism (Meuer, 2023). Valentim (2011) highlighted this contradiction between the idealized Portuguese narrative and lived reality. His study examined perceptions between Portuguese and African participants and pointed out an asymmetry: Portuguese rarely described themselves negatively, whereas Africans frequently attributed negative traits, such as “racist,” to the Portuguese.

A discrepancy was also found in Vala et al. (2008) study. While comparing Europeans in expressions of overt prejudice, they found that Portugal was an exception, as they expressed lower prejudice compared to other countries. The authors suggested that this may reflect the influence of Luso-tropicalism paired with social norms discouraging overt prejudice. Later studies showed that Luso-tropicalism in fact perpetuates power asymmetries by fostering ethnic discrimination and amplifying opposition to policies promoting social inclusion, such as affirmative action (Madeira et al., 2023).

While previous European research examined colonial beliefs through social representations, examining how people describe colonial history and its relation to contemporary attitudes toward colonized groups (Licata et al., 2018; Valentim & Heleno, 2018), this study focuses on colonial ideology as a way to dictate and organize social structure. Drawing on SDT (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), we examine Luso-tropicalism as a colonial ideology that historically justified Portuguese rule and continues to operate as a legitimizing myth, protecting and reproducing group-based social hierarchy. We extend post-colonial ideology research by exploring how endorsing this worldview functions to justify racial inequalities in policing and resist anti-racist collective action in Portugal (Sibley & Osborne, 2016; Satherley & Sibley, 2018).

Taken together, this body of research suggests that support for colonial ideologies operates as HEMs by legitimizing intergroup attitudes and behaviors. In the Portuguese context, endorsing Luso-tropicalism likely functions as a legitimizing myth, sustaining resistance to collective behaviors such as engagement in anti-racist action. Accordingly, we hypothesize that Luso-tropicalism mediates the relationship between SDO and anti-racist collective action (H2).

### **1.2.3. Justifications of Racial Inequality in Policing: Perception of Racism Denial and Police Violence Justification**

Anti-racist associations in Portugal, such as DJASS, INMUNE, and SOS Racismo, challenge entrenched colonial ideologies and institutional practices that uphold social hierarchies, confronting narratives like Luso-tropicalism. Yet these efforts face resistance: individuals' biased perceptions of inequality, shaped by SDO, often minimize disparities and reduce the perceived need for change (Ho et al., 2025). High-SDO individuals are less likely to notice inequality cues in everyday settings, while low-SDO participants more readily identify disparities affecting marginalized groups (Waldfogel et al., 2021).

We propose not only that Luso-tropicalism operates as a legitimizing myth, but also that its legitimizing function is expressed through two hierarchy-sustaining mechanisms: racism denial and police violence justification. These mechanisms likely reflect, at a psychological level, the legitimizing role of Luso-tropicalism: by minimizing the recognition of racism and framing police behavior as legitimate, they provide explanatory pathways through which Luso-tropicalist ideology reduces support for anti-racist collective action.

#### **1.2.3.1. Racism Denial**

Several studies showed disagreement between Black and White individuals regarding the existence and prevalence of racism in contemporary society (e.g., in the American context). When comparing Black and White Americans, White individuals tend to perceive less racism overall and are more likely to view racist incidents as isolated events rather than as evidence of structural inequality (Carter & Murphy, 2015; Rucker & Richeson, 2021).

One factor contributing to this disagreement is explained by the Marley Hypothesis, which emphasizes the importance of critical knowledge of Black history for recognizing both past and present struggles against systemic injustice. The hypothesis suggests that ignorance of historical racial oppression fosters denial or under-recognition of racism in the present, whereas greater historical knowledge promotes awareness of systemic injustice (Nelson et al., 2012). The hypothesis corresponds to Bob Marley's song *Buffalo Soldier*: "If you know your history / then you will know where you're comin' from / and you wouldn't have to ask me / who the heck do I think I am" (Marley & Williams, 1983). The initial research on this hypothesis sought to challenge the standard narrative that treats dominant group perspectives as neutral reflections of reality, instead offering an empirically grounded explanation for such perceptual differences (Nelson et al., 2012).

Research on the Marley Hypothesis identifies two consistent factors shaping perceptions of racism (Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025). First, the informational source, i.e., what individuals know and have learned about racism. Second, motivation and identity relevance, i.e., self- or group-based factors influencing how perceptions of racism reflect on one's image. These two factors work together so that, for example, Indians with stronger national identification rated nation-glorifying events as more important than those emphasizing wrongdoing. This relationship was bidirectional, as exposure to glorifying historical events increased national identity, while exposure to critical portrayals decreased it (Mukherjee et al., 2018).

A central mechanism in the Marley Hypothesis is “reality attunement,” the ability to distinguish historical facts from fictional information about past racism (Nelson et al., 2012). Evidence shows that Black Americans generally possess greater reality attunement than White Americans, with the former scoring nearly three times higher on this task (Nelson et al., 2012). This difference often translates into Black Americans perceiving higher levels of racism and racial tension than White Americans (Bonam et al., 2018). Moreover, critical knowledge of past racism is consistently linked to greater recognition of contemporary racism, helping explain why different groups perceive racism in various ways (Nelson et al., 2012; Bonam et al., 2018; Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025).

While the initial study found that historical knowledge mediated perceptions of both systemic and individual racism (Nelson et al., 2012), later replications provided more substantial support for its role in systemic manifestations (Bonam et al., 2018; Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025). Previous studies also highlight the importance of racial identity in this process: stronger racial identity among White participants was associated with greater denial of systemic, but not isolated racism. For White individuals, acknowledging racism can threaten collective identity and undermine the group's self-image as non-prejudiced and egalitarian (Adams et al., 2006; Knowles et al., 2014). By contrast, Black participants who identified strongly with their group showed the opposite pattern, reporting higher perceptions of systemic racism (Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025). For them, recognizing racism affirms lived social realities and can serve a protective function (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Zell and Lesick (2022) extended the Marley Hypothesis to account for political differences in Americans' perceptions of racism. Their study found that White Republicans (compared to White Democrats) demonstrated less critical knowledge of Black history and perceived less individual and systemic racism. Historical knowledge mediated partisan differences in perceptions of individual racism, whereas systemic racism perception remained firmly tied to racial identity, indicating that identity-threatened perceptions persist.

Despite differences in political affiliation and racial group membership, the underlying principle of the Marley Hypothesis remains the same: ignorance of critical history hinders the perception of present-day racism (Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025). Moreover, Bonam et al. (2018) showed that “reality attunement” can be increased through historical education. Specifically, an intervention that exposed White Americans to the critical history of U.S. housing policy shifted their perceptions of systemic racism. Learning about the federal government’s role in creating Black ghettos, for example, changed participants’ beliefs about the origins of racial inequalities, thereby increasing recognition of systemic racism today. However, the effect of such interventions varied depending on the relevance of racial identity. For White Americans with low racial identity relevance, exposure to critical history strengthened perceptions of racism. In contrast, for those with high racial identity relevance, the effect was dampened, or even reversed, since strong identification with the dominant group can make acknowledgment of racism identity-threatening (Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025).

Moreover, the Marley Hypothesis highlights that dominant group perspectives are often subjective and motivated, giving rise to “ignorance technologies”, i.e., cultural-psychological tools that enable the denial of and inaction toward injustice (Mills, 1997). While informational sources can be reshaped through exposure to critical historical knowledge (Bonam et al., 2018), when racism perception is tied to dominant group motives or racial identity, defensive denial may function as a protective mechanism to safeguard group image (Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025).

In the Portuguese context, Luso-tropicalism can operate as an “ignorance technology” by shaping selective memory. It promotes the idealization of colonialism as a “golden age” in national history while obscuring its brutal realities (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). For instance, whereas Mozambican participants identified the slave trade as the most negative historical event, Portuguese participants omitted this entirely, instead emphasizing the “voyages of discovery” as a source of national pride. This glorification was particularly pronounced among those with stronger national identification (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). Acknowledging historical injustices, in this sense, threatens Portuguese national identity in the same way that acknowledging systemic racism threatens White Americans’ self-esteem (Bonam et al., 2018).

In essence, Luso-tropicalism, by fostering a glorified and biased understanding of Portugal's colonial history, acts as a barrier to acknowledging and addressing present-day racism. The Marley Hypothesis helps explain this by showing how the selective absence of critical historical knowledge, combined with the motivation to preserve a positive national identity, obscures the realities of racial injustice, past and present. Accordingly, we argue that individuals high in SDO will endorse Luso-tropicalism, which in turn promotes racism denial and weakens support for anti-racist collective action (H3).

### **1.2.3.2. Police Violence Justifications**

Dominant groups maintain their social position through disproportionate use of force towards subordinate groups (e.g., often within the criminal justice system). Systematic targeting aims to reinforce group inequality or asymmetry. To make this action seem acceptable or justified, they can disguise it by using legitimizing myths (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Police violence refers to the use of force by law enforcement that causes physical or psychological harm (Alpert & Smith, 1994). While some use of force may be deemed lawful, it often crosses into excessive or even brutal practices, such as beatings or racial abuse. This issue is especially salient in the context of systemic racism, as marginalized communities have historically, and continue to be, disproportionately targeted (DeVylder et al., 2022). In Portugal, for instance, Black neighborhoods face heightened police raids and militarization, and Black individuals are overrepresented in police-related deaths (Nascimento Teles, 2020; Varela, 2025).

Perceptions of police use of excessive force vary across different factors, including race, politics, racial attitudes, and perceptions of appropriateness of the use of force (Johnson & Kuhns, 2009; Drakulich et al., 2022). Individuals with higher levels of racial prejudice and those who strongly identify as conservatives were less likely to believe that police often use excessive force (Drakulich et al., 2022). Minorities consistently report higher perceptions of excessive force and less trust in policing, reflecting lived realities (Gerber et al., 2018). Another key factor is police legitimacy, i.e., the belief that police hold rightful authority. While legitimacy tends to increase acceptance of police actions, support declines when force exceeds normative boundaries (Gerber & Jackson, 2017). At this point, ideological justifications become crucial.

Support for excessive police force is strongly tied to RWA and SDO (Gerber & Jackson, 2017). For example, those high in SDO were significantly less likely to perceive misuse of deadly force as excessive (Perkins & Bourgeois, 2006). For high-RWA individuals, violence helps enforce order and control perceived threats; for high-SDO individuals, it reinforces hierarchical dominance by targeting subordinate groups (Gerber & Jackson, 2017; Koerner et al., 2023; Swencionis et al., 2021). In this sense, excessive force can be understood as motivated not merely by crime control but by the preservation of hierarchy and status (Gerber et al., 2021).

These ideological motives support critical perspectives that view punishment as a tool for maintaining dominant group power, particularly through its unequal and disproportionate impact on minority communities (Gerber et al., 2021). Justifications of police violence serve as rationalizations of systemic inequality, enabling individuals to perceive discriminatory practices as fair, necessary, or unavoidable (Sidanius & Pratto, 2012).

Such justifications extend beyond individual police–citizen encounters, reflecting historical and cultural legacies that sustain racialized forms of control. In post-colonial contexts, including Portugal, such justifications are best understood within a colonial ideological framework (Sibley & Osborne, 2016). We argue that justifications are likely to be associated with Luso-tropicalism ideology, which sustains a dual image: a tolerant national self-perception that masks state’s violent practices such as racialized policing.

To reconcile the contradiction between the Luso-tropicalist portrayal of Portuguese benevolence and the persistence of racialized state violence, justifications play a crucial role. For strong supporters of Luso-tropicalism, recognizing police violence as discriminatory would directly threaten the positive national self-image. The undeniable persistence of racial violence generates collective dissonance, which people must resolve to legitimise the ongoing inequalities faced by oppressed groups. Such structural contradictions are common in postcolonial societies (Sibley & Osborne, 2016). As Myrdal and colleagues (1944) argued, psychological and societal tensions arise when egalitarian national ideals collide with persistent social and economic inequalities, making it necessary to develop ideologies that reconcile these contradictions.

This tension may also be reduced through the recognition of injustice and support for actions that address ongoing harmful practices. However, in line with Sibley and Osborne (2016), we argue that individuals high in SDO are likely to endorse the colonial ideology of Luso-tropicalism and justify racialized police violence as a way of reducing dissonance between the national image and reality of racism. Luso-tropicalism may function ideologically to justify racialized police violence as a means of maintaining hierarchy, framing it as the containment of “delinquent” groups while minimizing recognition of discrimination between the Portuguese and racialized outgroups.

In sum, we propose Luso-tropicalism to function as a legitimizing myth that sustains the legitimacy of institutional violence. By framing intercultural relations of the Portuguese as benevolent and “mild-mannered”, Luso-tropicalism rationalizes inequality and preserves a positive national self-image. Based on this reasoning, we hypothesize that individuals higher in SDO will be more likely to endorse Luso-tropicalism, which in turn facilitates the justification of police violence and reduces support for anti-racist collective action (H4).

## Empirical Investigation

### 2.1. Overview of the Study

Drawing on social psychological theory of group-based dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), social representations of colonialism and post-colonial ideologies (Licata et al., 2018; Sibley & Osborne, 2016; Valentim & Heleno, 2018; Satherley & Sibley, 2018), this research examines SDO, colonial ideologies, justifications of racial inequality in policing (i.e., racism denial and police violence justifications), and their association with individuals' resistance to anti-racist collective action. Figure 1 provides a conceptual model illustrating the distinct yet interconnected roles of colonial ideologies, racism denial, and police violence justification in undermining anti-racist collective action.

Specifically, we propose colonial ideology to serve as a mediating mechanism between SDO and anti-racist collective action in Portuguese society. Furthermore, the legitimizing mechanism operates through two key psychological mechanisms, named justifications of racial inequality in policing: (a) denial of racism and (b) justification of police violence. Research questions that guided this study are the following:

1. How does colonial ideology relate to support for anti-racist collective action?
2. How can police justifications and racism denial underlie such initiatives?

Based on the previous theoretical background, we tested our hypothesized model:

H1: High SDO (vs. lower) is negatively associated with support for anti-racist collective action among the Portuguese.

H2: High SDO (vs. lower) increases support for Colonial Ideology, which in turn is associated with less support for anti-racist collective action among the Portuguese.

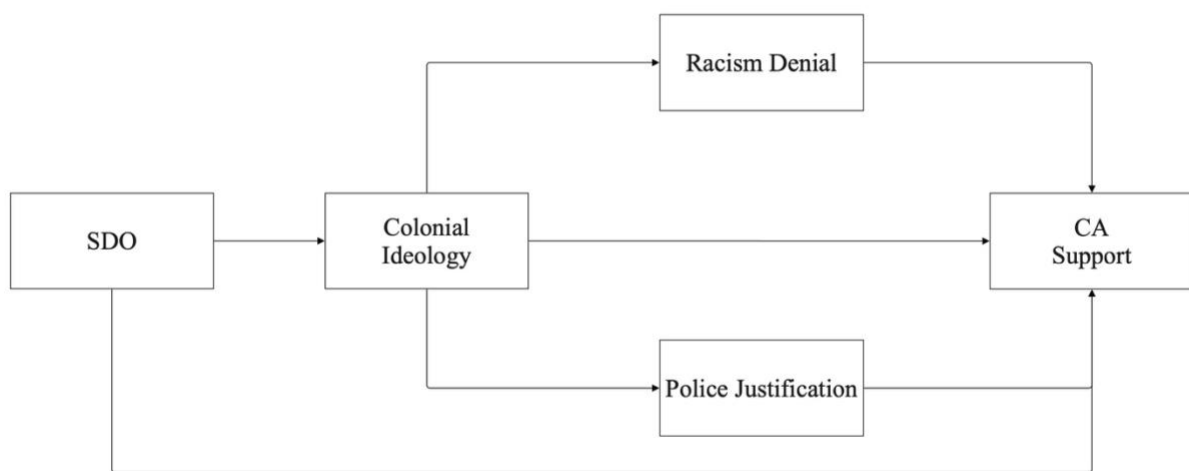
H3: High SDO (vs. lower) increases support for Colonial Ideology, which in turn is positively associated with more racism denial and, in turn, less support for anti-racist collective action among the Portuguese.

H4: High SDO (vs. lower) increases support for Colonial Ideology, which in turn is positively associated with police violence justifications and, in turn, less support for anti-racist collective action among the Portuguese.

To test the mediation model, we conducted a pre-test and a main study. A pre-test was carried out to ensure the ecological validity of the police violence scenario used in the main study. This pre-test aimed to confirm that the incident presented in the vignette was perceived as a "good-enough" reflection of real-life situations involving state violence and racialized policing in Portugal, allowing us to refine the stimulus before deploying it in the main study. Following the pre-test, we conducted the main study, using self-reported measures.

**Figure 1**

*Conceptual Map*



*Note.* The path  $c'$  ( $X \rightarrow Y$ ) represents H1; the path  $a_1$  and  $b_1$  ( $X \rightarrow M_1 \rightarrow Y$ ) represent H2; the path  $a_1$ ,  $a_2$  and  $b_2$  ( $X \rightarrow M_1 \rightarrow M_2 \rightarrow Y$ ) represent H3; the path  $a_1$ ,  $a_3$  and  $b_3$  ( $X \rightarrow M_1 \rightarrow M_3 \rightarrow Y$ ) represent H4.

## 2.2. Pre-test

Two pre-tests were conducted to evaluate the clarity, realism, salience, and emotional impact of the police–citizen interaction scenario used in the main study. The primary goal was to ensure the scenario was believable and aligned with the study’s objectives, mainly aimed at controlling for the potential emotional intensity of the racial police violence scenario.

Furthermore, the pre-tests assessed the appropriateness of language and expressions, the perceived authenticity and representativeness of the scenario, and participants’ emotional responses (valence and arousal).

## **2.2.1. Methodology**

### **2.2.1.1. Sample**

In the first pre-test, a total of 26 participants were initially recruited. After excluding incomplete responses ( $n = 6$ ), the final sample consisted of 20 university students, with a mean age of 19.9 years ( $SD = 1.77$ ; *range*: 18–26).

For the second pre-test, a total of 23 participants were recruited. The sample consisted of mostly male participants (56.5%,  $N=13$ ) with a mean age of 37.4 years ( $SD = 8.67$ ; *range*: 21–55).

### **2.2.1.2. Procedure**

Both pre-tests used a self-administered survey hosted on Qualtrics. In the first pre-test, participants were recruited in front of the classroom and accessed the survey via QR code. For the second pre-test, participants were recruited through an online platform, Clickworker.

Both pre-tests required informed consent before participation. In the first pre-test, participants read three scenarios reflecting contemporary social issues: C1 – Housing crisis; C2 – Climate change and forest fires; C3 – Police violence. The goal of pre-test one was to assess and control for the potential emotional intensity of the racial police violence scenario. Notably, C3 received the highest ratings for realism, emotional arousal, and salience. While this confirmed its relevance, the heightened emotional engagement raised concerns that participant responses in the main study could be driven more by emotional reactivity than by the ideological mechanisms.

To address this, a second pre-test was conducted. This survey included two scenarios: one retained from the first pre-test and a revised, less emotionally charged version of the police violence scenario. Pre-test two aimed to keep the scenario realistic while reducing excessive emotional activation to improve the measurement of the constructs in the study. All materials were written in Portuguese and reviewed by a native speaker for linguistic accuracy. See materials in Appendices A and B.

After reading each scenario, participants completed measures to assess whether the scenarios were perceived as believable, clear, and relevant (salient), and to evaluate participants' emotional responses, including valence (positive or negative feelings) and arousal (intensity of emotion). At the end of the study, participants provided demographic information before reading a final debriefing message.

### 2.2.2. Results

In Pre-test 1, all three scenarios were rated as highly realistic and clear, with mean ratings above 5.7. Specifically, realism means were C1 (Housing)  $M = 5.77$ ,  $SD = 0.96$ ; C2 (Climate)  $M = 6.12$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ; C3 (Police)  $M = 6.28$ ,  $SD = 0.84$ , and clarity means were C1  $M = 6.20$ ,  $SD = 0.95$ ; C2  $M = 6.28$ ,  $SD = 0.98$ ; C3  $M = 6.05$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ . Open-ended responses highlighted real-world relevance, with participants referencing housing issues for C1, major fires for C2, and cases of police violence (Portuguese and U.S.) for C3.

All scenarios elicited negative emotions, particularly C3, which had the lowest valence ( $M = 2.60$ ,  $SD = 1.54$ ) and highest arousal ( $M = 5.95$ ,  $SD = 2.06$ ), followed by C1 (valence  $M = 2.90$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ; arousal  $M = 5.35$ ,  $SD = 2.32$ ) and C2 (valence  $M = 2.75$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ; arousal  $M = 5.30$ ,  $SD = 2.13$ ).

In Pre-test 2, paired-samples t-tests compared Scenario 1 and Scenario 2 on realism, clarity, valence, and arousal. Scenario 1 was rated slightly more realistic ( $M = 5.08$ ) than Scenario 2 ( $M = 4.64$ ), but the difference was not significant,  $t(21) = 0.69$ ,  $p = .50$ ,  $d = .29$ . Similarly, clarity ratings were comparable (Scenario 1  $M = 5.79$ , Scenario 2  $M = 5.41$ ),  $t(21) = 0.63$ ,  $p = .54$ ,  $d = .26$ . Valence was marginally higher for Scenario 1 ( $M = 4.08$ ) than Scenario 2 ( $M = 3.55$ ),  $t(21) = 0.54$ ,  $p = .59$ ,  $d = .23$ , and arousal was slightly greater for Scenario 1 ( $M = 5.00$ ) than Scenario 2 ( $M = 4.36$ ),  $t(21) = 0.58$ ,  $p = .57$ ,  $d = .24$ .

Overall, in Pre-test 2, none of the comparisons showed statistically significant differences, and effect sizes ranged from small to small-moderate, indicating that the two scenarios were rated similarly across these dimensions.

### 2.2.3. Discussion

The results of Pre-test 1 confirmed that all three scenarios were perceived as realistic and believable, while not overly emotionally engaging. Our motivation was both clarity and methodological control, as we wanted to ensure that participants' responses in the main study were driven by the ideological mechanisms under investigation rather than excessive emotional arousal. Clarity ratings indicated that all scenarios were understandable to the student population, suggesting that the language and phrasing were appropriate. Notably, the police violence scenario (C3) received the highest ratings for realism, emotional arousal, and salience, which likely reflects recent high-profile media coverage of police violence cases (e.g., Odir Moniz). This heightened emotional engagement is critical for examining participant responses to police–citizen interactions in the main study.

For this reason, we conducted a second pre-test to evaluate whether a less emotionally charged version of the scenario could still be perceived as realistic, while minimizing unnecessary variance introduced by heightened emotional activation. The analyses from this follow-up pre-test showed no statistically significant differences between the original (Scenario 1) and the neutral adaptation (Scenario 2) across measures of realism, clarity, valence, and arousal. Effect sizes were consistently small, indicating no conclusive differences.

These findings suggest that the neutral adaptation maintained comparable levels of perceived realism and clarity relative to the original scenario, while slightly reducing emotional arousal. This slight shift toward emotional neutrality aligns with the intended goal of balancing emotional engagement without compromising scenario credibility. Overall, the pre-test results provide support for using the neutral version in the main study to examine participant perceptions while controlling for emotional activation.

## **2.3. Main Analysis**

### **2.3.1. Methodology**

#### **2.3.1.1. Design**

This study employs a quantitative, correlational design aimed at examining the associations between key psychological variables. Specifically, a serial-parallel mediation model was used to test the hypothesized indirect effects of multiple mediators.

#### **2.3.1.2. Sample**

A Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects using the online tool developed by Schoemann et al. (2017) showed that 210 participants were needed to detect a small to medium effect size ( $f^2 = 0.25$ ) with a power of 0.80 and a lower limit of the confidence interval for power (LL) of .82. A total of 387 participants accessed the survey. However, 172 participants were excluded from the final sample: 144 for not completing the study properly (e.g., missing or inconsistent responses), and 28 for not meeting the nationality criteria (i.e., not holding Portuguese or dual Portuguese nationality and not being born in Portugal).

The final sample consisted of 215 participants who completed the main study and were included in the analysis. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 87 years ( $M = 26.25$ ,  $SD = 11.04$ ). In terms of gender identity, 63.3% identified as female, 35.3% as male, 0.5% as non-binary, and 0.5% as other. The sample mainly consisted of White participants ( $n = 196$ , 91.2%) with Portuguese nationality (95.8%,  $n = 206$ ) and Portuguese double-nationality ( $n = 9$ , 4.2%). All were born in Portugal, except for two participants who indicated a connection between Portugal and Brazil. The sample primarily consists of people with bachelor's degrees ( $n = 116$ , 54%), with a political tendency toward centrism ( $n = 53$ , 24.7%), and moderate right-leaning attitudes ( $n = 59$ , 27.4%). For summarized sociodemographics, see Table 1.

**Table 1**  
*Sociodemographic Information of the Sample*

	<b>Total</b>	
	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Gender</b>		
Feminine	136	63.3
Masculine	76	35.3
Non-binary	1	.5
Other	1	.5
<b>Racial group</b>		
White	196	91.2
Black	3	1.4
Mixed	9	4.2
Asian	1	.5
Relate to none of these groups	6	2.8
<b>Nationality</b>		
Portuguese	206	95.8
Double	9	4.2

### **2.3.1.3. Procedure**

Before the implementation of the study, all materials were approved by the *Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa* (ICS-ULisboa) (Ref. 2025/1-a) from the Ethics Commission of ICS-ULisboa. The main study was administered via Qualtrics (2025). Informed consent was obtained digitally before the start of the survey. Participants were provided with a brief overview of the study, including the general topic, estimated duration, the researchers' contact information, and assurances regarding voluntary participation, anonymity, and confidentiality. Only participants who consented proceeded with the study.

Participants first completed a measure of the independent variable (SDO), followed by the first mediator, Luso-tropicalism. Next, participants were introduced to the second part of the study and were presented with a police–citizen interaction scenario. They were instructed to read the scenario carefully and then respond to related questions.

Following the scenario, participants completed two mediator measures (Racism Denial and Police Violence Justification), presented in randomized order. Afterward, they completed the measurement of the dependent variable (Anti-Racist Collective Action).

An attention check item was included within one of the scales. Finally, participants were asked to provide demographic information. At the conclusion of the study, participants were shown a debriefing statement that disclosed the whole purpose and procedure of the study, along with the researchers' contact information for follow-up questions. See Appendices C to E for the full study questionnaire.

### **2.3.1.4. Measures**

All the measures, except for Luso-tropicalism, were translated from English to Portuguese by a native Portuguese speaker. The SDO measure was previously translated for use in the research project's previous studies. All the other measures were translated and adapted for this study, particularly.

#### **2.3.1.4.1. Social Dominance Orientation**

SDO was measured using the SDO7(s) Scale (Ho et al., 2015). The scale includes 8 items, asking participant to evaluate on a 7-point scale their agreement with the sentences (1 = *Totally disagree* to 7 = *Totally agree*). The scale consists of two sub-dimensions, SDO-D (desire for group-based dominance) and SDO-E (preference for group-based inequality). An example of the item includes: “Alguns grupos de pessoas são simplesmente inferiores a outros

grupos.” (Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups). The scale demonstrated good internal consistency in the current sample ( $\alpha = .80$ ).

#### **2.3.1.4.2. Colonial Ideology**

Support for colonial ideology was measured using the new scale on colonial ideology, *Escala de Luso-tropicalismo* (A. Cabrita et al., in preparation), developed and validated for the Portuguese context. The scale includes 16 items rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Totally disagree* to 7 = *Totally agree*). The scale consists of four sub-dimensions: Negation of Discrimination, Symbolic Inclusion, Miscegenation, and Development. An example item is: “O colonialismo português foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento social das ex-colónias.” (Portuguese colonialism was fundamental for the social development of the former colonies). The scale demonstrated excellent internal consistency in the current sample ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

#### **2.3.1.4.3. Racism Denial**

Racism denial was measured using an adapted 6-item scale based on Nelson et al. (2012) and Bonam et al. (2019). Items were rated using a slider scale ranging from 0 = *Not at all* to 100 = *Completely*, allowing participants to indicate their responses along a continuous scale. An example item is: “Este incidente reflete um padrão sistemático de uso excessivo de força contra pessoas racializadas por parte da polícia.” (“This incident shows a systematic pattern of police using excessive force against racialized people.” (reverse coded). The scale demonstrated excellent internal consistency in the current sample ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

#### **2.3.1.4.4. Police Violence Justification**

Police violence justification was measured using an adapted 6-item scale based on Smith and Merolla (2019). Items were rated on a slider scale from 0 to 100, where 0 = *Strongly disagree* and 100 = *Strongly agree*. For example, one item asked participants to indicate “O agente agrediu injustamente a vítima.” (The officer unjustly assaulted the victim). The scale demonstrated good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

#### **2.3.1.4.5. Anti-racist Collective Action**

Collective action support was measured using an adapted 6-item scale based on Herkimer et al. (2025). Participants rated items on a Likert scale (0 = *Not at all* to 7 = *Certainly*),

indicating probability of participation in anti-racist efforts, such as “Participar na próxima manifestação anti-racista.” (To take part in the anti-racism protest). The scale showed good internal consistency in the current sample ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

#### **2.3.1.4.6. Sociodemographic Information**

Eight sociodemographics were provided by the participants, including age, gender, nationality, place of origin (naturalidade), race, political orientation, education level, and urban residence. Variables that had a significant relation to the main study variables in the preliminary analysis were included as controls. We accessed these variables as potential factors that may impact perceptions of police-citizen encounters to build a more robust model for the outcome variable. Urban resident refers to participants living in urban, suburban, or rural areas. Political orientation was assessed on a Likert scale, from 1 being *extreme left* to 7 being *extreme right*.

### **2.3.2. Results**

Statistical analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics (version 29) and MPlus (version 8; Muthén & Muthén, 2017) with the Robust Diagonally Weighted Least Squares (RDWLS) estimator. To examine the measurement model, we used Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), evaluating whether the proposed structure is consistent with the actual data. To test the hypotheses, we run the Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to assess goodness of fit and estimate parameters of the hypothesized model.

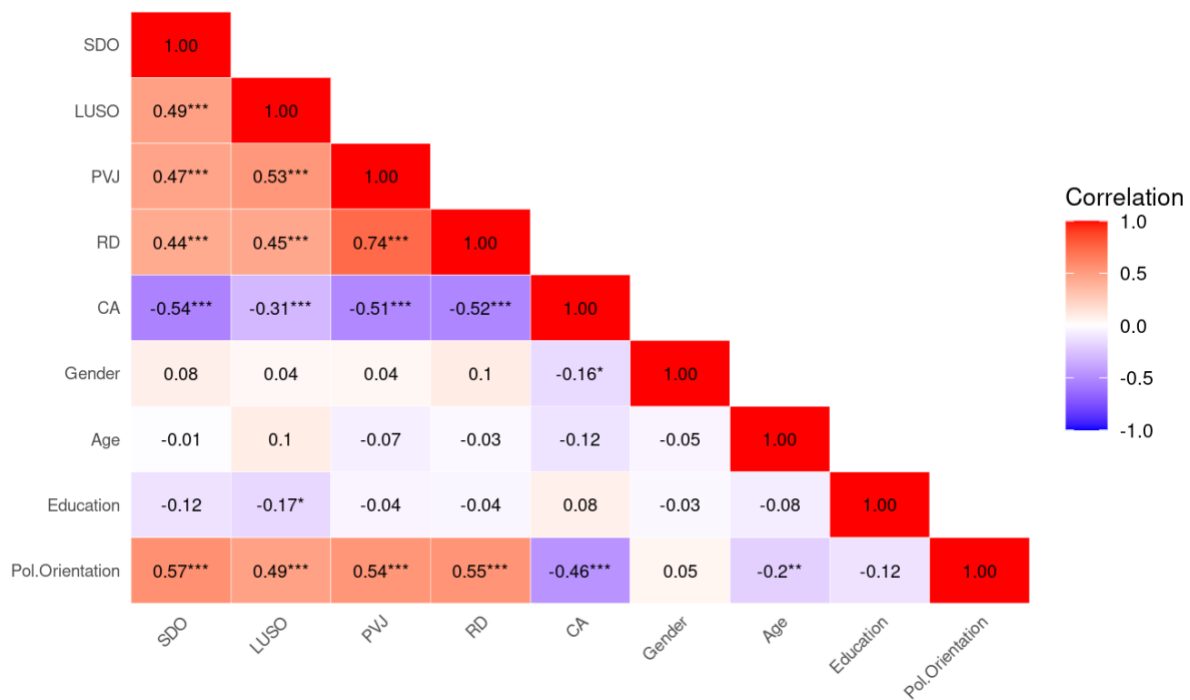
#### **2.3.2.1. Preliminary Analysis**

Descriptive statistics indicated varying levels of endorsement across the primary constructs. Participants reported a moderate level of SDO, with a mean score of 2.82 ( $SD = 1.18$ ). LUSO was endorsed at a slightly higher level, with a mean score of 3.72 ( $SD = 1.13$ ). For the continuous scales, the mean score for RD was 57.70 ( $SD = 29.65$ ), and PVJ had a mean score of 62.53 ( $SD = 24.15$ ). The mean score for CA was 5.24 ( $SD = 2.72$ ).

We explored the relationships between the main variables of the study and demographics with bivariate Pearson’s correlation analysis. We found that all main constructs were significantly correlated. As shown in Figure 2, SDO was positively associated with Luso-tropicalism ( $r = .49, p < .001$ ), Police Violence Justification ( $r = .47, p < .001$ ), and Racism Denial ( $r = .44, p < .001$ ), and negatively associated with Collective Action ( $r = -.54, p < .001$ ). Similarly, Luso-tropicalism was positively associated with Police Violence Justification ( $r = .53, p < .001$ ) and Racism Denial ( $r = .45, p < .001$ ), and negatively associated with Collective Action ( $r = -.31, p < .001$ ). In terms of demographics, Political Orientation was consistently correlated with all primary constructs, with the strongest positive relation to SDO ( $r = .57, p < .001$ ), followed by RD ( $r = .55, p < .001$ ), PVJ ( $r = .54, p < .001$ ), LUSO ( $r = .49, p < .001$ ), and negatively with CA ( $r = -.46, p < .001$ ).

**Figure 2**

*Heatmap of Pearson’s Correlations Between Key and Demographic Variables*



*Note.*  $N = 215$ . Values represent Pearson’s  $r$ . Two-tailed significance levels are reported.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to evaluate the measurement model for the key constructs, with a particular focus on PVJ and RD. Given the potential multicollinearity based on strong correlation between PVJ and RD ( $r = .74, p < .001$ ), we examined whether they represent distinct constructs or could be encompassed under a higher-order factor. Constructs are situated in the same context (racialized policing) but are theoretically distinct (one relating to racism perception and the other to justifications of violence).

Regarding the CFA, to evaluate whether the model is adequately capturing the data patterns, we considered the standard threshold for the model fit indices. The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), with values above .90 indicating good fit (Bentler and Bonett, 1980); the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), where values below .05 indicate good fit, values up to .08 are adequate, and values up to .10 are mediocre (Browne and Cudeck, 1993); and the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR), suggests values below .05 as a good fit with values up to .08 considered acceptable. Values up to .10 were also reported as acceptable (Hu and Bentler, 1995; 1999).

Firstly, we tested the initial two-factor model, specifying PVJ and RD as separate latent constructs. Model demonstrated marginal model fit:  $\chi^2(242) = 681.20, p < .001$ , CFI = .864, TLI = .844, RMSEA = .092, SRMR = .069. While SRMR fell within acceptable limits, the CFI and TLI were below the commonly accepted cutoff of .90, and the RMSEA exceeded the .08 threshold, indicating room for model improvement. Moreover, the structural relation between PVJ and RD was strong and highly significant ( $\beta = .829, p < .001$ ), suggesting multicollinearity and raising concerns about discriminant validity.

To assess whether a higher-order factor could better fit the data and account for the relationship between PVJ and RD, we compared the two-factor model to an alternative model in which PVJ and RD loaded onto a single higher-order latent construct representing Justifications of Racial Inequality in Policing (JUST). The higher-order model, similarly, demonstrated marginal model fit:  $\chi^2(244) = 683.98, p < .001$ , CFI = .863, TLI = .845, RMSEA = .092, SRMR = .070 (see Table 2 for model comparison).

**Table 2***Summary of Confirmatory Factor Analysis*

	<b>Model Comparison</b>	<b>CFI</b>	<b>TLI</b>	<b>RMSEA</b>	<b>SRMR</b>
Two-factors		.864	.844	.092	.069
$\Delta$	$\chi^2(242) = 681.20, p < .001$				
Higher-order		.863	.845	.092	.070
$\Delta$	$\chi^2(244) = 683.98, p < .001$				

Factor loadings of both first-order constructs onto the second-order JUST factor were significant ( $p < .001$ ), demonstrating a high loading with PVJ ( $\lambda = .972$ ) and RD ( $\lambda = .853$ ), supporting the higher-order structure. Table 3 depicts factor loadings for the higher-order model.

**Table 3***Higher-Order Model Factor Loadings*

<b>Items</b>	<b>Standardised Loading (<math>\lambda</math>)</b>	<b>S.E.</b>	<b>Two-Tailed P-Value</b>
<b>SDO</b>			
SDO-E	.739	.043	.000
SDO-D	.889	.038	.000
<b>LUSO</b>			
NEG	.711	.046	.000
SIMB	.322	.087	.000
MISC	.744	.045	.000
DEVE	.862	.034	.000
<b>JUST</b>			
PVJ	.972	.027	.000
RD	.853	.031	.000

**PVJ**

Item 1	.525	.089	.000
Item 2	.619	.084	
Item 3	.718	.057	.000
Item 4	.826	.037	.000
Item 5	.785	.040	.000
Item 6	.744	.055	.000

**RD**

Item 1	.949	.011	.000
Item 1	.909	.025	.000
Item 1	.926	.025	.000
Item 1	.621	.052	.000
Item 1	.724	.046	.000
Item 1	.918	.017	.000

**CA**

Item 1	.727	.045	.000
Item 2	.704	.043	.000
Item 3	.842	.027	.000
Item 4	.694	.039	.000
Item 5	.846	.027	.000
Item 6	.729	.038	.000

---

*Note.* Standardized loadings from the confirmatory factor analysis.

Results from the CFA evaluating the measurement model indicate that, although PVJ and RD are statistically distinguishable constructs, they are closely related and can be conceptualized as components of a broader ideological system, termed Justifications of Racial Inequality in Policing (JUST). Although the comparison of model fit indices showed no significant improvement for the higher-order model, this model addresses concerns of multicollinearity and aligns closely with the theoretical framework. Therefore, the subsequent structural model included JUST as a second-order latent factor, accounting for the shared variance between PVJ and RD.

### 2.3.2.2. Main Model

We tested the hypothesized model with SDO relating to Collective Action, mediated by Luso-tropicalism, and Justifications of Racial Inequality in Policing (Racism Denial and Police Violence Justifications). The following results present the adapted higher-order model, informed by the confirmatory factor analysis findings, in which two latent variables load onto a general factor JUST. The structural equation model fits the data moderately well with acceptable limits of CFI = .90 and SRMR = .076. However, TLI was slightly below the recommended cutoff (TLI = .874), and RMSEA exceeded the conventional threshold (RMSEA = .099), indicating less than optimal fit. The chi-square test was significant,  $\chi^2(71) = 220.60, p < .001$ , though this test is susceptible to sample size. As the sample size increases,  $\chi^2$  often becomes significant even if the model fits data moderately well (Goretzko et al., 2024). Considering fit indices, it suggests that the model showed an acceptable fit to the data.

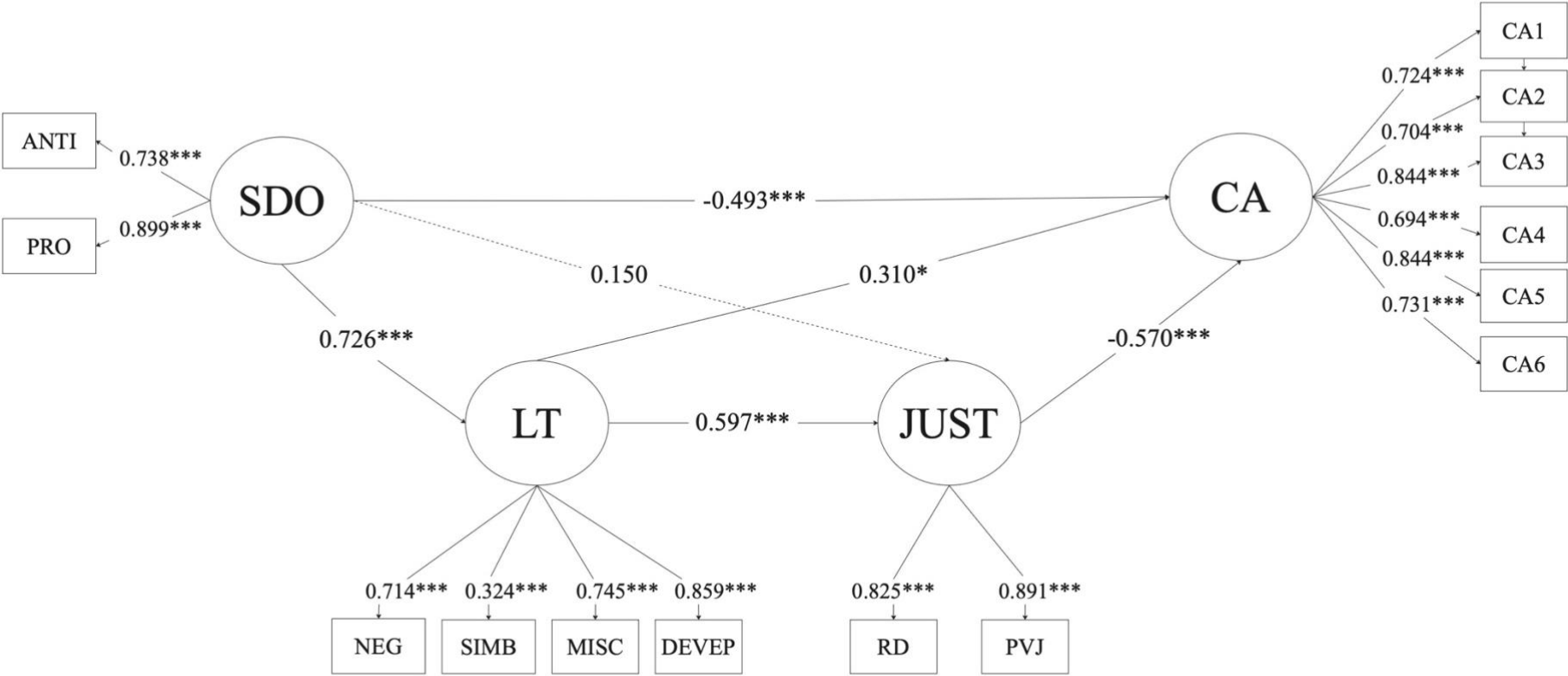
#### 2.3.2.2.1. Latent Variable Relationships

The structural model revealed several significant relationships between latent constructs (see Figure 3). LUSO was positively and significantly associated with SDO ( $\beta = .726, SE = .053, t = 13.61, p < .001$ ), meaning that individuals higher in SDO were more likely to endorse Luso-tropicalism. While LUSO was significantly linked with JUST ( $\beta = .597, SE = .123, t = 4.85, p < .001$ ), SDO was not significantly related to JUST ( $\beta = .150, SE = .123, t = 1.22, p = .224$ ).

Results for the structural relationships with Collective Action show significant relationships emerging from all three latent variables. SDO was significantly and negatively associated with CA ( $\beta = -.493, SE = .134, t = -3.69, p < .001$ ), indicating that individuals higher in SDO were less likely to support collective action. Likewise, Justifications of Racial Inequality in Policing was significantly and negatively associated with CA ( $\beta = -.570, SE = .115, t = -4.97, p < .001$ ), indicating that individuals who justified racial inequality in policing more strongly were less likely to support collective action. On the contrary, LUSO was significantly and positively related to CA ( $\beta = .310, SE = .148, t = 2.09, p < .05$ ), when accounting for SDO and JUST, suggesting that stronger Luso-tropicalism endorsers were more likely to support collective action.

**Figure 3**

*Diagram of Parameter Estimates of the Studied Concepts*



Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

### 2.3.2.2.2. Total, Direct, and Indirect Effects

To test the hypothesized model, we examined the structural equation model estimation parameters. The analysis revealed significant total effects and multiple indirect pathways through which SDO is associated with CA. Serial-parallel mediation effects are depicted in Table 4.

To test H1, an overall relationship between the predictor and the outcome, we examined the total effect of SDO on CA. The total effect of SDO on CA was significant and negative ( $\beta = -.601$ ,  $SE = .066$ ,  $t = -9.12$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating that higher SDO was associated with lower CA. However, the total indirect effect of SDO on CA was not statistically significant ( $\beta = -.108$ ,  $SE = .103$ ,  $t = -1.04$ ,  $p = .297$ ), suggesting that the proposed mediators do not explain the relationship between those two variables. The direct effect of SDO on CA remained significant ( $\beta = -.493$ ,  $SE = .134$ ,  $t = -3.69$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating that SDO has a direct negative relation to CA beyond its indirect effects.

However, two of three specific indirect paths were significant. To test H2, we examined a specific indirect path where LUSO mediates the relationship between SDO and CA. This pathway showed a significant positive indirect effect ( $\beta = .225$ ,  $SE = .114$ ,  $t = 1.98$ ,  $p < .05$ ), indicating that individuals higher in SDO were more likely to endorse Luso-tropicalist beliefs. Those beliefs, in turn, were associated with greater support for collective action. Thus, LUSO acted as a bridge between SDO and CA in a positive direction.

To test the H3 and H4, we examined a specific indirect path where LUSO works as a first mediator and JUST as a second. This mediation pathway showed a significant negative indirect effect ( $\beta = -.247$ ,  $SE = .082$ ,  $t = -3.01$ ,  $p < .01$ ), indicating that the negative effect of SDO on CA was fostered through its negative association with LUSO. In turn, people who strongly endorsed Luso-tropicalist beliefs were positively associated with JUST, which was finally linked to lower support for CA. This suggests that Luso-tropicalism allows individuals high in SDO to justify racial hierarchy by reinterpreting colonial history as benevolent. Those supporting Luso-tropicalist beliefs, in turn, were more likely to view police violence as justified and deny racism in police actions. Finally, when individuals justify racial inequalities in policing, they can be less motivated to support anti-racist actions. Because this specific indirect path was negative and significant, it indicates that this sequential ideological pathway partially explains the negative association between SDO and CA.

**Table 4***Effects of Mediation Analyses*

Effects	Mediation Model			
	Estimate	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> -value
Social Dominance Orientation				
Total Effect	-.601	.066	-9.12	.000
Direct Effect	-.493	.134	-3.69	.000
Total Indirect Effect	-.108	.103	-1.04	.297
<i>Specific Indirect Effects</i>				
SDO ⇒ LUSO ⇒ CA	.225	.114	1.98	.048
SDO ⇒ JUST ⇒ CA	-.086	.071	-1.20	.231
SDO ⇒ LUSO ⇒ JUST ⇒ CA	-.247	.082	-3.01	.003

*Note.* The estimates are fully standardized coefficients.

### 2.3.2.2.3. Complementary Analysis

The specific indirect path from SDO to Collective Action via Luso-tropicalism was positive, contrary to the predicted hypothesis. To explore alternative explanations for this unexpected finding, we conducted a complementary analysis. Specifically, to examine possible explanations for why the relationship between LUSO-CA changes direction when accounting for SDO.

Although Luso-tropicalism was negatively related to collective action, when not accounting for other variables, it was significantly and positively associated with collective action in the SEM model ( $\beta = .310, p < .05$ ), when accounting for SDO and JUST. The specific indirect path in which Luso-tropicalism mediated the relationship between SDO and collective action was also significant and positive ( $\beta = .225, p < .05$ ). This pattern suggests a suppression effect, whereby the positive association between Luso-tropicalism and collective action becomes evident only after controlling for its shared variance with SDO, an ideologically related, but negatively associated factor.

To examine whether the effect of Luso-tropicalism on collective action depended on levels of SDO, we conducted a path analysis with model constraints specified at varying SD levels of SDO. The results indicated that the effect of Luso-tropicalism on collective action was positive and statistically significant at lower levels of SDO, even when controlling for age, education, gender, and political orientation. Specifically, at  $-2$  SD of SDO, Luso-tropicalism was significantly and positively related to collective action ( $\beta = .622$ ,  $SD = .232$ , 95% CI [.111, 1.053]), as it did at  $-1$  SD ( $\beta = .511$ ,  $SD = .176$ , 95% CI [.165, .848]). However, at higher levels of SDO, the effect remained positive but was not statistically significant: at  $+1$  SD ( $\beta = .315$ ,  $SD = .165$ , 95% CI [-.032, .617]) and  $+2$  SD ( $\beta = .206$ ,  $SD = .214$ , 95% CI [-.258, .612]). As such, these findings suggest that the relationship between Luso-tropicalism and collective action is conditional on SDO levels.

### **2.3.3. Discussion**

Preliminary analysis provided insights into the overall endorsement of the study's key concepts and their correlations. The constructs showed the expected relations: SDO was significantly and positively related to all constructs, except that it was negatively associated with collective action. A similar pattern emerged for Luso-tropicalism, which correlated significantly and positively with both police violence justification and racism denial, while correlating negatively with collective action. Among the sociodemographic variables, political orientation was positively correlated with all study variables, except for collective action, where the correlation was negative.

Assessing the measurement model, CFA revealed issues of multicollinearity between the two parallel mediators, police violence justification and racism denial. Although the two-factor model showed they were statistically distinguishable, their strong correlations and high shared variance raised concerns about discriminant validity. A higher-order model, combining both constructs under a broader latent factor of justifications of racial inequality in policing (JUST), offered a theoretically coherent alternative. While fit indices did not show improvements, this structure addressed the multicollinearity issue. Therefore, JUST was retained as a second-order factor in subsequent structural analyses.

To test the hypotheses, we conducted SEM on the higher-order model. The analysis indicated that SDO showed a strong and consistent negative association with collective action, both directly and indirectly, thus providing support for H1. Because the direct association between SDO and collective action remained significant, this suggests partial mediation. In addition, SDO was related to JUST through Luso-tropicalism. This pattern implies that individuals with stronger support for group-based hierarchies (high SDO) tend to report higher endorsement of Luso-tropicalist beliefs, which in turn are associated with stronger justifications of racial inequalities in policing. These justifications appear to function as ideological rationalizations that portray inequality as legitimate or acceptable within the social order.

Contrary to the expectation in H2, Luso-tropicalism did not inhibit support for collective action; rather, it was positively associated with it, suggesting that endorsement of this ideology may also relate to greater support for collective efforts. The sequential mediation pathway from SDO to collective action, consistent with H3 and H4, indicates that Luso-tropicalism is negatively related to JUST (racism denial and police violence justification), which in turn is negatively associated with support for collective action. Taken together, the findings suggest a complex role for Luso-tropicalism: while SDO and JUST consistently undermine collective action, Luso-tropicalism simultaneously contributes to the legitimation of inequality and unexpectedly appears to enhance support for collective action.

To explore the ambivalent results related to Luso-tropicalism, we conducted a complementary analysis. This was particularly important because, although the correlation between Luso-tropicalism and collective action was negative, as was the indirect effect on collective action through JUST, the mediation analysis highlighted a suppression effect driven by overlap with SDO. To investigate this, we tested whether the effect of Luso-tropicalism depended on levels of SDO. The moderation analysis revealed that Luso-tropicalism has a dual function. While it operates as a hierarchy-enhancing myth for high-SDO individuals, it may simultaneously provide a symbolic resource that low-SDO individuals reinterpret in ways consistent with egalitarian values and support for collective action. In other words, aspects of Luso-tropicalism not tied to social dominance motives may independently foster greater support for anti-racist collective action.

## CHAPTER 3

### **Discussion and Conclusion**

Resistance to anti-racist efforts can be understood through SDT as a means of maintaining social hierarchies. Individuals motivated to preserve these hierarchies rely on legitimizing myths, i.e., culturally embedded belief systems that justify inequality and reflect a society's sociocultural dynamics (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In post-colonial societies, beliefs about the colonial past emerged to legitimize exploitation and racial hierarchy. Even after colonial rule ended, state violence continues to reinforce racial hierarchies, which anti-racist movements seek to challenge (Varela, 2023; 2025).

The results of the present study contribute to existing research on social change by highlighting the significant role of colonial ideology in explaining resistance for anti-racist collective action. The study's findings partially confirmed our hypotheses. We emphasize three important results: first, the study showed that the relationship between SDO and support for anti-racist collective action was mediated by colonial ideology and by the justification of racial inequality in policing. Second, contrary to our expectations, colonial ideology mediated the relationship between SDO and collective action in an unexpected direction: rather than mediating the negative effect, Luso-tropicalism fostered support for anti-racist efforts. Finally, we explored possible explanations for these results, finding that the effect of Luso-tropicalism on collective action was dependent on the level of SDO. In the following sections, we discuss these findings, considering previous research and outlining implications for future studies.

Firstly, the present study confirmed the established relationship between ideological worldviews (SDO) and collective action. As expected, individuals higher in SDO were less likely to support collective action, consistent with prior findings that hierarchical worldviews predict opposition to hierarchy-attenuating efforts (Ho et al., 2025). More importantly, our findings extend previous research on colonial ideology by showing that Luso-tropicalist beliefs are associated with lower support for anti-racist collective action. This aligns with recent work demonstrating that post-colonial ideology of Historical Negation (HN) and Symbolic Exclusion (SE) negatively predicts support for collective action on behalf of Indigenous people (Osborne et al., 2017; Herkimer et al., 2025).

Our results showed that Luso-tropicalism, specifically, predicted lower support for anti-racist collective action through justifications of racial inequalities in policing, motivated by high-SDO supporters. This finding indicates that Luso-tropicalism, in the context of racialized policing, functions as a legitimizing mechanism because it was both predicted by higher SDO and predictive of higher support for HE attitudes and reduced support for HA behavioral intentions (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

The legitimizing function of Luso-tropicalism appeared to operate through inequality justifications, which provided ideological tools to reduce support for collective action. Two mechanisms were especially relevant in this regard. First, racism denial reflects the tendency to minimize or deny racial discrimination, which is consistent with the previous findings that showed how limited critical historical knowledge reduces recognition of today's racism (Nelson et al., 2012; Bonam et al., 2018). In Portugal, where colonial memory is often narrated in glorifying terms, denying racism enables Luso-tropicalism to maintain a positive national image by minimizing colonial harm. A dominant narrative that emphasizes historical discontinuity, portraying the past as unrelated to the present-day inequalities, functions as a strategy to deny historical explanations for contemporary injustice. Thus, such narratives can undermine collective action by shaping perceptions of injustice, reducing group efficacy, and group identity (Freel & Bilali, 2020). When people believe that the past is not relevant to present-day inequalities, they are more likely to view systemic issues as “the way society works today.” This perception weakens the impact of injustice by reducing feelings of anger and guilt about historical wrongdoing; emotions that are important in motivating collective action. (Freel & Bilali, 2020).

Second, police violence justification serves as another justifying dimension, legitimizing racialized state violence as necessary for order and control, hence allowing individuals to deny its discriminatory nature (Koerner et al., 2023). In this sense, Luso-tropicalism seems to operate through what Mills (1997) terms the “epistemologies of ignorance”, not a passive lack of knowledge but an actively produced and maintained state that protects individuals with social dominance motives to sustain hierarchy. It retains their privilege and avoids responsibility by shaping individual cognition (reasoning, judgment) and social cognition (interpretation of social scenarios), filtering information in ways that confirm pre-existing hierarchies (Sullivan & Tuana, 2007).

However, endorsement of Luso-tropicalism was not limited only to individuals high in SDO. While overall, Luso-tropicalism was negatively associated with anti-racist collective action, the relationship shifted once SDO was considered: individuals low in dominance orientation also endorsed Luso-tropicalism, but in their case, this endorsement was associated with greater support for collective action. This suggests that Luso-tropicalism can be endorsed for reasons beyond the justification of social hierarchy. From an SDT perspective, this does not necessarily contradict the notion of Luso-tropicalism as a legitimizing myth, because its functioning still depended on the SDO levels (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Instead, it points to a more complex mechanism: when endorsed for non-hierarchical reasons (i.e., pro-egalitarian motives), Luso-tropicalism can increase support for hierarchy-attenuating efforts.

The dual mechanism of Luso-tropicalism, either fostering or dampening support for collective action, resonates with previous findings on colonial ideology that identified profiles of colonial ideologies (Rivera Pichardo et al., 2022; Bertenshaw et al., 2025). Colonial profiles are distinct subgroups within a population that endorse colonial ideologies for different motives and are related to different intergroup outcomes (Bertenshaw et al., 2025). Research examined HN and SE as two foundational ideologies for these profiles. Using latent profile analysis, distinct ideological profiles were revealed among the colonizer and the colonized group (Pākehā and Māori) and among U.S. Americans. The profiles differ based on levels of endorsement of colonial ideologies (high, middle, and low levels) and whether the relationship is symmetrical or asymmetrical.

Two ideological profiles among U.S. Americans supported Puerto Rican statehood: a pro-egalitarian group, endorsing both symbolic inclusion and material reparations; and a neo-colonial group, supporting symbolic inclusion but rejecting material responsibility (Rivera Pichardo et al., 2022). A similar study identified a pro-biculturalist profile in New Zealand, marked by egalitarian motives and willingness to challenge power inequalities. In contrast, anti-biculturalists showed the strongest opposition to bicultural policies, driven by support for intergroup hierarchy. The most common profile in the New Zealand sample mirrored the neo-colonial pattern. A moral credentialer group that appeared progressive through symbolic support for Māori culture but used this support as a moral cover to deny historical injustice and oppose material reparations. This asymmetrical profile (low SE, high HN) allowed individuals to maintain existing hierarchies under the guise of inclusion. Notably, the moral credentialer profile was found only among coloniser groups (Pākehā and U.S. Americans) and was absent among the former colonized groups (Māori).

Our results suggest that there may be at least two distinct profiles of colonial ideology in the Portuguese sample. The first profile, “hierarchy-justifiers,” is characterized by anti-egalitarianism and a motivation to preserve existing group hierarchies. These individuals strongly endorse Luso-tropicalist beliefs as a legitimizing myth to justify current racial inequalities and show significantly less support for anti-racist collective action, as such efforts threaten hierarchical structures. Their opposition to collective action likely includes low support for signing petitions, (re)posting on social media, attending protests, donating to organizations, and sustained engagement with anti-racist movements. This profile closely resembles the anti-egalitarian (Rivera Pichardo et al., 2022) and anti-biculturalist profiles (Bertenshaw et al., 2025), as it reflects an ideologically consistent motivation to maintain existing social stratification by opposing efforts that threaten privileged positions. In our sample, high-SDO individuals endorsed colonial ideology to justify their opposition to anti-racist efforts, using Luso-tropicalist narratives that framed racialized policing as acceptable or justified, while denying its racial motives.

On the other hand, “harmony-adherents” are characterized by low SDO and support for hierarchy-attenuating efforts. In this case, endorsement of Luso-tropicalism stemmed from adherence to equality. This contrasts with previous findings showing that low-SDO individuals are generally less likely to endorse hierarchy-enhancing ideologies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Ho et al., 2025). Prior research suggests that an egalitarian profile typically involves opposition to and rejection of the Dark Duo Model, meaning that individuals low in SDO would be expected to reject colonial ideologies (Sibley & Osborne, 2016). The issue with the harmony-adherents is the inconsistency between their support for egalitarian efforts and their endorsement of beliefs that deny historical and present injustices. The motive of equality coexists with the belief of inherent harmony that idealizes intergroup relations, which may lead to “illusion of equality,” similar to inconsistency among moral credentials.

This contradiction can be partially explained in the context of the Portuguese historical and contemporary background. Because Luso-tropicalism is deeply embedded in the sociocultural Portuguese context (e.g., in textbooks, monuments, and education), stemming from the lasting influence of the Estado Novo regime, these beliefs may be so naturalized in the society that people do not critically engage with its content (Meuer, 2023; Bastos & Castelo, 2024). For instance, Portuguese secondary school students adhered to Luso-tropicalist beliefs without critically questioning them, while simultaneously demonstrating a profound lack of knowledge about Portugal's former colonies (Balbé & Cabecinhas, 2024). This suggests that students can internalize colonial ideological beliefs even in the absence of factual historical knowledge related to those narratives. Such (dis)engagement is shaped by education and public discourse that continue to portray Eurocentric history, failing to challenge hegemonic representations, especially concerning sensitive topics such as colonialism and slavery (Bastos & Castelo, 2024).

Although people may recognize that inequality threatens social cohesion (e.g., increased conflict and social division), such threat-based concerns rarely translate into awareness of the more profound unfairness behind those inequalities (Petkanopoulou et al., 2025). For instance, support for disadvantaged groups (e.g., assistance for people experiencing poverty) can stem from paternalistic motives, rather than a genuine commitment to addressing structural causes. Supporting the underprivileged, in this case, does not equate to challenging privilege or redistributing power (Bechtel et al., 2018). This can lead to "benevolent complicity," where individuals believe they are doing good but inadvertently uphold the very inequalities they wish to deny. The "benevolence" lies in their belief in racial harmony, and the "complicity" lies in how that belief sustains the status quo. Such a dynamic can create a veil: individuals may appear egalitarian while avoiding transformative change (Elias, 2022).

Overall, these findings support previous research that showed the importance of culture when examining ideologies that legitimize social hierarchy (Sibley & Osborne, 2016; Osborne et al., 2017). Each social context has its own history, and intergroup conflicts reflect unique cultural backgrounds that need to be addressed according to their content (Osborne et al., 2017). We accessed ideology specific to Portugal and empirically demonstrated that colonial ideology, like Luso-tropicalism, can directly and indirectly either foster or undermine support for collective action. Our research contributes to the literature by a) demonstrating the importance of colonial ideology in undermining social action for greater racial equality, b) highlighting the importance of policing-related justifications of racial inequality in legitimizing resistance to action, and c) demonstrating how the same cultural narratives can serve different psychological functions depending on individual differences in social dominance orientation.

### **3.1. Limitations and Future Research**

Although our findings are informative, certain limitations remain that future research may address. First, our sample may not be representative since sociodemographic data show that more than half of the participants identified as female, almost all were white Portuguese young adults, educated with a political tendency towards centrism and moderate right-leaning attitudes. A large part of the participants' recruitment occurred at a university setting, limiting our ability to generalize these findings to the overall Portuguese population. However, recent research synthesis showed that sociodemographic variables like age and gender had little influence on engagement in collective action (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021).

Second, correlational design limits causal inference because it cannot establish temporal precedence or rule out alternative explanations (such as confounds), issues that are better addressed by experimental studies (Igartua & Hayes, 2021). While mediation analysis can partially address these ambiguities, it does not resolve all the limitations in correlational contexts. Mediation helps clarify how an independent variable transmits its effect to a dependent variable through a mediator. Notably, the validity of such models requires that the assumed structure aligns with the temporal ordering of variables (i.e., the independent variable precedes the mediator, which precedes the dependent variable). Thus, although mediation can suggest possible mechanisms and causal pathways by temporal ordering, the present study's correlational design prevents drawing firm causal conclusions (Igartua & Hayes, 2021). To address this limitation, future research should replicate the current findings using experimental designs.

Although the structural model showed acceptable fit, some indices indicated room for improvement. While it captured the overall relationships, it may be limited in how well it explains the interactions between variables or accounts for the variation in data. Modeling JUST as a higher-order factor helped address multicollinearity and fit the theoretical framework. Still, it may mask the unique contributions of its components and inflate mediated effects by collapsing distinct constructs into one latent factor. However, in our case, a serial-parallel mediation model was unsuitable due to multicollinearity between racism denial and police violence justifications, which could distort indirect effects. Although these factors were statistically distinguishable and loaded onto the higher-order JUST factor, combining them may obscure their unique theoretical roles and amplify mediated effects due to shared variance. Future research should assess whether merging them enhances or reduces conceptual clarity and measurement precision across sociopolitical contexts.

Another limitation arises from the police violence scenario, which considered only one racial target. As a result, it remains unclear whether the target's race explicitly drove participants' responses or whether they reflect more generalized reactions to deviance. To clarify this, future studies should include a White target as a comparison group to rule out alternative explanations for police justifications. Moreover, beyond Black–White comparisons, future research could examine whether justifications of police violence in relation to Lusotropicalism differ when the target is from formerly colonized countries, from the national in-group, or from other European migrant groups. This would improve understanding of whether justifications vary across different racial and ethnic targets.

While our measure consisted of both individual and systemic racism items, the hypothesized model and analysis did not explicitly differentiate between these two distinct forms in relation to colonial ideology and collective action. However, research suggests that acknowledgment of individual and systemic racism has different implications for motivating behavior. For example, among individuals who recognized systemic racism, exposure to police violence (via video and transcript) predicted support for policing-related policy changes through increased empathy (Bart-Plange & Trawalter, 2024).

Moreover, investigating additional emotional and cognitive factors that may shape attitudes towards racialized policing and anti-racist action is a valuable direction for future research. Racial identity plays a key role in racism perception; White participants who strongly identified with their racial group were more likely to deny the existence of systemic racism compared to individual incidents (Bonam et al., 2019; Rojas Melo Silva et al., 2025). In the context of racialized policing, individuals with a strong White racial identity tend to perceive Black victims as more threatening, view the officer's actions as less racist, and show a diminished empathetic response toward the victim. Notably, these effects were observed when the victim conformed to stereotypical representations of Black individuals (Johnson et al., 2020).

While we did not examine emotional factors as predictors of support for anti-racist efforts, existing research suggests that emotions can play a significant role. In the context of police violence, studies have shown that such incidents elicit stronger empathic responses than other types of potentially criminal deaths not involving police (e.g., fatal car accidents). This heightened empathy, in turn, has been found to predict support for policing-related policy reforms, but only among White Americans low in symbolic racism who recognize the systemic nature of police violence (Bart-Plange & Trawalter, 2024). Furthermore, research highlights the importance of empathy in motivating prosocial behavior. Empathic concern can, for example, reduce in-group/out-group bias (Finlay & Stephan, 2000) and link private self-cognitions to volunteering behavior (e.g., in an AIDS organization) (Finlay & Trafimow, 1998).

An interesting finding was the emergence of two potential profiles of Luso-tropicalist endorsement, one hierarchy-supporting, the other egalitarian, suggesting that people adopt these beliefs for different motives, shaping how they justify or engage in discrimination. The harmony-adherents profile reflects individuals with egalitarian motives who endorsed Luso-tropicalist beliefs; however, it remains unclear how aware this group is of the harm these beliefs cause, particularly in terms of undermining decolonization efforts. Future research could explore how educational interventions, targeted at both adults and youth, might reduce historical ignorance and increase support for decolonial reforms.

Finally, the current study measured support for anti-racist collective action. Nevertheless, it did not directly assess attitudes toward concrete decolonial measures, such as educational reform, material reparations, migration and citizenship justice, colonial memorialization, or structural policy changes. Future work could investigate different Luso-tropicalist profiles and examine their discriminatory practices within the context of transformative decolonial actions, such as truth-telling, reparations, and systemic reform.

### **3.2. Conclusion**

This study examined resistance to anti-racist collective action by focusing on the role of ideological factors. While the predictive role of SDO is well established, our findings extend this literature by applying Social Dominance Theory to colonial ideologies in Portugal. Previous research has shown that colonial ideologies legitimize hierarchy by framing colonial history in idealized terms, while our study adds two key contributions. First, we demonstrate that Luso-tropicalism functions as a legitimizing myth in the present by justifying racial inequalities in policing and undermining anti-racist collective action. Second, we show that this ideology does not operate uniformly: among individuals high in SDO, it reinforced resistance through racism denial and police violence justification, whereas among those low in SDO, it was unexpectedly linked to greater support for collective action. This dual function suggests the existence of at least two ideological profiles of Luso-tropicalism, extending prior work by showing how the same cultural narrative can serve different psychological purposes depending on individual orientations toward hierarchy. However, we also discuss that even when egalitarian motives are expressed, ignoring the colonial past and its ongoing consequences can still block recognition of systemic inequalities today.

Overall, this research contributes to understanding how colonial ideologies continue to legitimize racial inequalities by resisting anti-racist efforts. Justifications of police violence play an important role in maintaining this dynamic, alongside persistent cultural narratives that reinforce Eurocentric perspectives. To prevent the normalization of injustice, both police practices and the underlying cultural narratives must be critically challenged. Although the study is based on a correlational design, it provides valuable insights for future research on the psychological and ideological barriers to anti-racism.



## References

- Adams, G., Tormala, T. T., & O'Brien, L. T. (2006). The effect of self-affirmation on perception of racism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*(5), 616–626. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2005.11.001>
- Agostini, M., & van Zomeren, M. (2021). Toward a comprehensive and potentially cross-cultural model of why people engage in collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of four motivations and structural constraints. *Psychological Bulletin, 147*(7), 667–700. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000256>
- Alpert, G. P., & Smith, W. C. (1994). How Reasonable Is the Reasonable Man?: Police and Excessive Force. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-), 85*(2), 481–501. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1144107>
- Balbé, A., Lins, L., & Cabecinhas, R. (2024). “Não tem como a gente fugir do que nos ensinam.” *Estudos Ibero-Americanos, 50*(1), e45807. <https://doi.org/10.15448/1980-864x.2024.1.45807>
- Bart-Plange, D.-J. ., & Trawalter, S. (2024). On the Role of Police Shootings, Recognition of Systemic Racism, and Empathy on White Americans' Support for Police Reform. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 51*(10). <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672241237286>
- Bastos, C. (2019). Luso-tropicalism debunked, again. Race, racism, and racialism in three Portuguese-speaking societies. In W. Anderson, R. Roque, & R. Ventura Santos (Eds.), *Luso-tropicalism and its discontents: the making and unmaking of racial exceptionalism* (pp. 243–264). Berghahn. <https://doi.org/978-1-78920-113-0>
- Bastos, C., & Castelo, C. (2024). Lusotropicalismo. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.1486>
- Bechtel, M. M., Liesch, R., & Scheve, K. F. (2018). Inequality and redistribution behavior in a give-or-take game. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 115*(14), 3611–3616. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1720457115>

- Bentler, P. M., & Bonett, D. G. (1980). Significance tests and goodness of fit in the analysis of covariance structures. *Psychological Bulletin*, *88*(3), 588–606.
- Berry, C. M. (2023). A critical examination and meta-analysis of the distinction between the dominance and antiegalitarianism facets of social dominance orientation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *124*(2). <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000432>
- Bertenshaw, Z., Houkamau, C., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2025). Identifying Profiles of Colonial Ideologies: A Test of the Moral Credentialer Hypothesis. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *55*(4). <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.3158>
- Bonam, C. M., Nair Das, V., Coleman, B. R., & Salter, P. (2018). Ignoring History, Denying Racism: Mounting Evidence for the Marley Hypothesis and Epistemologies of Ignorance. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *10*(2), 257–265. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617751583>
- Browne, M. W., & Cudeck, R. (1993). Alternative Ways of Assessing Model Fit. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *21*(2), 230–258.
- Cabecinhas, R., & Feijó, J. (2010). Collective Memories of Portuguese Colonial Action in Africa: Representations of the Colonial Past among Mozambicans and Portuguese Youths. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, *4*(1), 2010. <https://d-nb.info/121237407X/34>
- Cabrita, A., Madeira, F., Valentim, J. P., Silva, W. A. D., & Pereira, C. R. (2025, May 28). *Validating a colonial ideology scale for the Portuguese context: Development, structure, and psychometric properties* [Conference presentation]. XII Simpósio Nacional de Investigação em Psicologia. Porto, Portugal.
- Carter, E. R., & Murphy, M. C. (2015). Group-based Differences in Perceptions of Racism: What Counts, to Whom, and Why? *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *9*(6), 269–280. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12181>
- Carvalho, C. L., Pinto, I. R., Costa-Lopes, R., Páez, D., Miranda, M. P., & Marques, J. M. (2021). Social Dominance Orientation Boosts Collective Action Among Low-Status Groups. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *12*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.681302>

- Choma, B. L., Sumantry, D., & Nasser, L. (2024). Sociopolitical ideologies as predictors of collective action across liberal and conservative domains: Injustice-based anger, efficacy, and empathy as mediators. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 54*(8), 474–486. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.13054>
- de Andrade, M. P. (2024). *The Revolution Will Be a Poetic Act* (L. Millar, Ed.). Polity Press.
- DeVylder, J. E., Anglin, D. M., Bowleg, L., Fedina, L., & Link, B. G. (2022). Police Violence and Public Health. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 18*(1), 527–552. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-072720-020644>
- Drakulich, K. M., Robles, J., Rodriguez-Whitney, E., & Pereira, C. (2022). Who Believes that the Police Use Excessive Force? Centering Racism in Research on Perceptions of the Police. *CrimRxiv*. <https://doi.org/10.21428/cb6ab371.a18081b6>
- Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2007). Right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and the dimensions of generalized prejudice. *European Journal of Personality, 21*(2), 113–130. <https://doi.org/10.1002/per.614>
- Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2009). A Dual-Process Motivational Model of Ideology, Politics, and Prejudice. *Psychological Inquiry, 20*(2-3), 98–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10478400903028540>
- Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2010). Personality, Ideology, Prejudice, and Politics: A Dual-Process Motivational Model. *Journal of Personality, 78*(6), 1861–1894. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2010.00672.x>
- Durão, S. (2006). *Patrulha e proximidade: uma etnografia da polícia de Lisboa* [Doctoral dissertation].
- Elias, A. (2024). Racism as neglect and denial. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 47*(3), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2023.2181668>
- European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). (2025). ECRI Report on Portugal. In *Council of Europe*. <https://rm.coe.int/sixth-report-on-portugal/1680b6668d>
- European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT). (2023). Report to the Portuguese Government on the periodic visit

- to Portugal carried out by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment . In *Council of Europe anti-torture Committee*. <https://rm.coe.int/1680adcb76>
- Finlay, K. A., & Stephan, W. G. (2000). Improving Intergroup Relations: The Effects of Empathy on Racial Attitudes<sup>1</sup>. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 30(8), 1720–1737. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2000.tb02464.x>
- Finlay, K. A., & Trafimow, D. (1998). The Relationship Between the Private Self and Helping Victims of AIDS. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28(19), 1798–1809. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1998.tb01346.x>
- Freel, S., & Bilali, R. (2021). Putting the past into action: How historical narratives shape participation in collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(1). <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2813>
- Freyre, G. (1933). *Casa-Grande & Senzala*. José Olympio.
- Freyre, G. (1961). *O luso e o trópico: sugestões em torno dos métodos portugueses de integração dos povos autóctones e de culturas diferentes da europeia num complexo novo de civilização, o luso tropical*. Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique.
- Gerber, M. M., González, R., Carvacho, H., Jiménez-Moya, G., Moya, C., & Jackson, J. (2018). On the justification of intergroup violence: The roles of procedural justice, police legitimacy, and group identity in attitudes toward violence among indigenous people. *Psychology of Violence*, 8(3), 379–389. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000177>
- Gerber, M. M., & Jackson, J. (2017). Justifying violence: legitimacy, ideology and public support for police use of force. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 23(1), 79–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316x.2016.1220556>
- Gerber, M. M., Puga, I., Baeza, F. G., & Jackson, J. (2021). *Police violence as punishment: Does excessive use of force serve to punish those who threaten status and power hierarchies in society?*
- Gutiérrez, A. S., & Unzueta, M. M. (2013). Are admissions decisions based on family ties fairer than those that consider race? Social dominance orientation and attitudes toward

- legacy vs. affirmative action policies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(3), 554–558. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.10.011>
- Gutiérrez, L. J., & Unzueta, M. M. (2022). My Kind of Guy: Social Dominance Orientation, Hierarchy-Relevance, and Tolerance of Racist Job Candidates. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 48(5), 014616722110110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672211011031>
- Henriques, J. G. (2024). *MP quer absolvição do agente Carlos Canha. Cláudia Simões foi “arrogante” e “exagerada.”* Público; Público. [https://www.publico.pt/2024/05/22/sociedade/noticia/mp-quer-absolvicao-psp-carlos-canha-claudia-simoes-arrogante-exagerada-2091378?cx=ultimas\\_1](https://www.publico.pt/2024/05/22/sociedade/noticia/mp-quer-absolvicao-psp-carlos-canha-claudia-simoes-arrogante-exagerada-2091378?cx=ultimas_1)
- Herkimer, J., Choma, B., & Nasser, L. (2025). Non-Indigenous Canadians’ Post-Colonial Ideologies, Allyship and Collective Guilt Predict Support for Reconciliation, Collective Action and Political Tolerance. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 35(1). <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.70043>
- Ho, A. K., Kteily, N. S., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., & Thomsen, L. (2025). *Social Dominance Orientation: The Motivational Basis of Intergroup Inequality*. [https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/128114/1/Ho\\_Kteily\\_Sheehy-Skeffington\\_and\\_Thomsen\\_Social\\_Dominance\\_Orientation\\_AESP\\_2025\\_Accepted.pdf](https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/128114/1/Ho_Kteily_Sheehy-Skeffington_and_Thomsen_Social_Dominance_Orientation_AESP_2025_Accepted.pdf)
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO<sub>7</sub> scale.. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(6), 1003–1028. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000033>
- Holt, L. F., & Sweitzer, M. D. (2020). More than a black and white issue: ethnic identity, social dominance orientation, and support for the black lives matter movement. *Self and Identity*, 19(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2018.1524788>

- Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1995). Evaluating model fit. In R. H. Hoyle (Ed.), *Structural equation modeling: Concepts, issues and application* (pp. 77–99). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling, 6*(1), 1–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118>
- Igartua, J.-J., & Hayes, A. F. (2021). Mediation, Moderation, and Conditional Process Analysis: Concepts, Computations, and Some Common Confusions. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology, 24*(e49). <https://doi.org/10.1017/sjp.2021.46>
- Jacoby-Senghor, D. S., Sinclair, S., & Smith, C. T. (2015). When bias binds: Effect of implicit outgroup bias on ingroup affiliation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 109*(3), 415–433. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039513>
- Johnson, D., & Kuhns, J. B. (2009). Striking Out: Race and Support for Police Use of Force. *Justice Quarterly, 26*(3), 592–623. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820802427825>
- Johnson, J. D., Lecci, L., & Dovidio, J. (2020). Black Intragroup Empathic Responding to Police Interracial Violence: Effects of Victim Stereotypicality and Blacks' Racial Identification. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 11*(5), 194855061985931. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550619859316>
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Chow, R. M., & Unzueta, M. M. (2014). Deny, Distance, or Dismantle? How White Americans Manage a Privileged Identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 9*(6), 594–609. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691614554658>
- Koerner, S., Staller, M. S., & Zaiser, B. (2023). Policing in the Light of Social Dominance Theory and the Social Distance Theory of Power. *Police Conflict Management, Volume I, 1*, 61–84. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-41096-3\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-41096-3_4)
- Kteily, N. S., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2011). Social dominance orientation: Cause or “mere effect”? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*(1), 208–214. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.09.009>

- Lastrego, S., Zoé Magonet, & Licata, L. (2023). An Unfinished Chapter: The Impact of Belgians' Social Representations of Colonialism on their Present-Day Attitudes Towards Congolese People Living in Belgium. *International Review of Social Psychology*, 36(1), 13–13. <https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.777>
- Licata, L., Khan, S. S., Lastrego, S., Cabecinhas, R., Valentim, J. P., & Liu, J. H. (2018). Social representations of colonialism in Africa and in Europe: Structure and relevance for contemporary intergroup relations. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 62, 68–79. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.05.004>
- Liu, J. H., Huang, L.-L., & McFedries, C. (2008). Cross-sectional and longitudinal differences in social dominance orientation and right wing authoritarianism as a function of political power and societal change. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 11(2), 116–126. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-839x.2008.00249.x>
- Lusa. (2025a). *Agente da PSP acusado do homicídio de Odair Moniz começa a ser julgado a 15 de outubro*. SIC Notícias. <https://sicnoticias.pt/pais/2025-06-17-agente-da-psp-acusado-do-homicidio-de-odair-moniz-comeca-a-ser-julgado-a-15-de-outubro-a54b45dc>
- Lusa. (2025b). *Relação de Lisboa reverte absolvição e condena agente da PSP por agressões a Cláudia Simões*. Diário de Notícias. <https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/rela%C3%A7%C3%A3o-de-lisboa-reverte-absolvi%C3%A7%C3%A3o-do-agente-da-psp-por-agress%C3%B5es-a-cl%C3%A1udia-sim%C3%B5es>
- Lusa, & Henriques, J. G. (2025). *Polícia envolvido na morte de Odair Moniz acusado de homicídio: MP quer proibi-lo de exercer*. PÚBLICO; Público. [https://www.publico.pt/2025/01/29/sociedade/noticia/ministerio-publico-acusa-homicidio-policia-envolvido-morte-odair-moniz-2120568?utm\\_source](https://www.publico.pt/2025/01/29/sociedade/noticia/ministerio-publico-acusa-homicidio-policia-envolvido-morte-odair-moniz-2120568?utm_source)
- Madeira, F., Ciambellini, M., Do Bú, E., & Pereira, C. R. (2023, February 23). *The past in the present. The Role of Portuguese Colonial Ideologies in Opposition to Social and Migration Policies*. Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Convention, Atlanta, US.

- Maeso, S. R. (2019). O Estado de negação e o presente-futuro do antirracismo: Discursos oficiais sobre racismo, “multirracialidade” e pobreza em Portugal (1985-2016). *Revista Direito E Práxis*, 10(3), 2033–2067. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2179-8966/2019/43883>
- Marcos, P. M. (2023). White Innocence, Black Erasure: Reviewing Alcindo (2020) Against the Fictions of Portuguese Colonial Bonhomie. *Práticas Da História. Journal on Theory, Historiography and Uses of the Past*, 16, 151–171. <https://doi.org/10.48487/pdh.2023.n16.31177>
- Marley, R. N., & Williams, N. G. (1983). *Buffalo soldier* [Recorded by R. Marley and The Wailers]. On Confrontation [Record].
- Meneses, M. P. G. (2010). O “indígena” africano e o colono “europeu”: a construção da diferença por processos legais. *E-Cadernos CES*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.4000/eces.403>
- Meuer, F. (2023). *Representations of colonialism and racism in Portugal: The role of lusotropicalism and historical defensiveness* [Master thesis]. [https://repositorio.iscte-iul.pt/bitstream/10071/30332/1/master\\_felix\\_meuer.pdf](https://repositorio.iscte-iul.pt/bitstream/10071/30332/1/master_felix_meuer.pdf)
- Mills, C. W. (1997). *The racial contract*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Morrison, K. R., & Ybarra, O. (2009). Symbolic threat and social dominance among liberals and conservatives: SDO reflects conformity to political values. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(6), 1039–1052. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.606>
- Mukherjee, S., Adams, G., & Molina, L. E. (2018). A cultural psychological analysis of collective memory as mediated action: Constructions of Indian history. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 5(2), 558–587. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v5i2.705>
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2017). *Mplus user's guide* (8th ed.). Muthén & Muthén.
- Myrdal, G., Sterner, R., & Rose, A. (1944). *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Harper & Brothers.
- Nascimento Teles, B. (2020). Violência policial e o debate no Twitter em Portugal: o caso do Bairro da Jamaica. *Intercom*, 43(1). <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-5844202018>

- Nascimento, W. S. (2016). Colonialismo português e resistências angolanas nas memórias de Adriano João Sebastião (1923-1960). *Revista Tempo E Argumento*, *09*(19), 283–306. <https://doi.org/10.5965/2175180308192016283>
- Nelson, J. C., Adams, G., & Salter, P. S. (2012). The Marley Hypothesis. *Psychological Science*, *24*(2), 213–218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612451466>
- Newton, H. J., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2018). The predictive power of post-colonial ideologies: Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion undermine support for resource-based bicultural policies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *62*, 23–33. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.03.005>
- Oliveira Rocha, J. A. (2021). The Cycle of Attention to Political Events: Racism and Police Violence in Portugal. *Perspectivas - Journal of Political Science*, *24*, 56–64. <https://doi.org/10.21814/perspectivas.3137>
- Osborne, D., Yogeewaran, K., & Sibley, C. G. (2017). Culture-specific ideologies undermine collective action support: Examining the legitimizing effects of postcolonial belief systems. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *20*(3), 333–349. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216682352>
- Perkins, J. E., & Bourgeois, M. J. (2006). Perceptions of Police Use of Deadly Force. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *36*(1), 161–177. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9029.2006.00056.x>
- Petkanopoulou, K., Griva, A., García-Sánchez, E., Vlastou-Dimopoulou, F., Daoultzis, K., Willis, G. B., & Rodríguez-Bailón, R. (2025). Why do people object to economic inequality? The role of distributive justice and social harmony concerns as predictors of support for redistribution and collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *64*(2). <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12877>
- Pratto, F., Çidam, A., Stewart, A. L., Zeineddine, F. B., Aranda, M., Aiello, A., Chrysoschoou, X., Cichocka, A., Cohrs, J. C., Durrheim, K., Eicher, V., Foels, R., Górska, P., Lee, I-Ching., Licata, L., Liu, J. H., Li, L., Meyer, I., Morselli, D., & Muldoon, O. (2013). Social Dominance in Context and in Individuals: Contextual Moderation of Robust Effects of Social Dominance Orientation in 15 Languages and

- 20 Countries. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 4(5), 587–599.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550612473663>
- Qualtrics. (2025). *Qualtrics XM - Experience Management Software*. Qualtrics.  
<https://www.qualtrics.com>
- Raposo, O., Alves, A. R., Varela, P., & Roldão, C. (2019). Negro drama. Racismo, segregação e violência policial nas periferias de Lisboa. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 119, 5–28. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.8937>
- Rivera Pichardo, E. J., Vargas Salfate, S., & Knowles, E. D. (2022). The psychology of colonial ideologies: Decoupling pro-egalitarian and neo-colonial sources of support for Puerto Rico statehood. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(2).  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12591>
- Rojas Melo Silva, M. F., Salter, P. S., & Bonam, C. M. (2025). Perceptions of racism in voter suppression: Testing the Marley hypothesis and a brief educational intervention. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 28(5).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302241309576>
- Rucker, J. M., & Richeson, J. A. (2021). Beliefs about the interpersonal vs. structural nature of racism and responses to racial inequality. *The Routledge International Handbook of Discrimination, Prejudice and Stereotyping*, (pp. 13–25).
- Satherley, N., & Sibley, C. G. (2018). A dual process model of post-colonial ideology. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 64, 1–11.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.03.003>
- Schoemann, A. M., Boulton, A. J., & Short, S. D. (2017). Determining Power and Sample Size for Simple and Complex Mediation Models. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 8(4), 379–386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617715068>
- Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(5), 1079–1092.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1079>
- Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2016). Ideology and Post-Colonial Society. *Political Psychology*, 37(1), 115–161. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12323>

- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression. In *Cambridge University Press*. Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139175043>
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (2012). Social Dominance Theory. *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, 2, 418–438. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446249222.n47>
- Slave Voyages. (2019). *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - Estimates*. Slavevoyages.org.  
<https://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates>
- Smith, J. P., & Merolla, D. M. (2019). Black, Blue, and Blow: The Effect of Race and Criminal History on Perceptions of Police Violence. *Sociological Inquiry*, 89(4), 624–644. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12275>
- Stewart, A. L. (2015). *Social Change in Social Dominance Theory: Ideological Norms and Violence Prevention in Gender Relations* [Doctoral Dissertation].
- Stewart, A. L., & Tran, J. (2018). Protesting Racial Hierarchy: Testing a Social Dominance Theory Model of Collective Action among White Americans. *Journal of Social Issues*, 74(2), 299–316. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12270>
- Sullivan, S., & Tuana, N. (2007). *Race and epistemologies of ignorance*. State University of New York Press.
- Swencionis, J. K., Pouget, E. R., & Goff, P. A. (2021). Supporting social hierarchy is associated with White police officers' use of force. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(18). <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2007693118>
- Thomas, E. F., Smith, L. G. E., McGarty, C., Reese, G., Kende, A., Bliuc, A.-M., Curtin, N., & Spears, R. (2018). When and how social movements mobilize action within and across nations to promote solidarity with refugees. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 49(2), 213–229. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2380>
- Tomicic, A., & Berardi, F. (2018). Between Past and Present: The Sociopsychological Constructs of Colonialism, Coloniality and Postcolonialism. *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 52(1), 152–175. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12124-017-9407-5>

- United Nations (UN). (2023). Concluding observations on the combined 18th and 19th periodic reports of Portugal . In *Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights*. <https://docs.un.org/en/CERD/C/PRT/CO/18-19>
- Vala, J., Lopes, D., & Lima, M. (2008). Black Immigrants in Portugal: Luso–Tropicalism and Prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, *64*(2), 287–302. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2008.00562.x>
- Valentim, J. P. (2011). Representações sociais do luso-tropicalismo e olhares cruzados entre portugueses e africanos. *M. J. Simões (Coord.) Imagotipos Literários: Processos de (Des)Configuração Na Imagologia Literária*, 55–75. <https://doi.org/978-972-9126-25-3>
- Valentim, J. P., & Heleno, A. M. (2018). Luso-tropicalism as a social representation in Portuguese society: Variations and anchoring. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *62*, 34–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.04.013>
- van Zomeren, M. (2016a). Building a Tower of Babel? Integrating Core Motivations and Features of Social Structure into the Political Psychology of Political Action. *Political Psychology*, *37*(1), 87–114. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12322>
- van Zomeren, M. (2016b). *From Self to Social Relationships*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781316145388>
- van Zomeren, M. (2019). Toward a cultural psychology of collective action: Just how “core” are the core motivations for collective action?. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, *13*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/prp.2019.7>
- van Zomeren, M., Leach, C. W., & Spears, R. (2012). Protesters as “Passionate Economists.” *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *16*(2), 180–199. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868311430835>
- van Zomeren, M., & Louis, W. R. (2017). Culture meets collective action: Exciting synergies and some lessons to learn for the future. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *20*(3), 277–284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430217690238>
- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-

- psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(4), 504–535.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504>
- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Bettache, K. (2011). Can moral convictions motivate the advantaged to challenge social inequality? *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14(5), 735–753. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430210395637>
- Varela, P. (2023). *Anti-racism in Portugal from past to present* [Doctoral dissertation].
- Varela, P. (2025). “Abuso policial, todos os dias o enfrentamos”: notas etnográficas sobre violência policial racista. *Etnografica*, 29(2), 435–455. <https://doi.org/10.4000/148hl>
- Waldfogel, H. B., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Hauser, O. P., & Kteily, N. S. (2021). Ideology selectively shapes attention to inequality. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.*, 118(14).  
<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2023985118>
- Zell, E., & Lesick, T. L. (2022). Ignorance of History and Political Differences in Perception of Racism in the United States. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 13(6), 194855062110564. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506211056493>
- Zmigrod, L. (2022). A psychology of ideology: Unpacking the psychological structure of ideological thinking. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 17(4), 1072–1092.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916211044140>
- Zubielevitch, E., Cheung, G. W., Sibley, C. G., Sengupta, N., & Osborne, D. (2021). People and the Place: Social Dominance Orientation Is Reciprocally Associated With Hierarchy-Enhancing Occupations Over Time. *Journal of Management*, 48(5), 1243–1269. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01492063211004993>
- Zubielevitch, E., Osborne, D., Milojev, P., & Sibley, C. G. (2023). Social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism across the adult lifespan: An examination of aging and cohort effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 124(3).  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000400>

## **Appendix A – Scenarios Pre-test**

### **Cenário 1: Aumento dos Preços das Casas e Rendas em Portugal**

Uma família residente em Lisboa foi forçada a abandonar o apartamento onde vivia há mais de 15 anos devido a um aumento de 40% no valor de renda. Sem alternativas viáveis no centro da cidade, tiveram de se mudar para uma localidade a 15 km de distância, longe do seu trabalho e da escola dos filhos.

Relatórios recentes apontam que o aumento do preço do arrendamento supere o dos salários, dificultando o acesso à habitação. Especialistas atribuem essa situação à forte procura estrangeira, políticas de incentivo ao investimento imobiliário e ao turismo, afetando principalmente famílias e jovens.

As políticas de habitação prometidas pelo governo têm sido consideradas insuficientes para enfrentar esta situação.

### **Cenário 2: Alterações Climáticas e Incêndios Florestais**

Um incêndio florestal de rápida propagação deflagrou na zona centro de Portugal. Nas 24 horas seguintes, o fogo destruiu dezenas de casas e forçou a evacuação de centenas de residentes. As equipas de emergência trabalharam incansavelmente para conter as chamas, mas ventos fortes e condições de seca extrema agravaram a situação.

Autoridades locais apontaram a causa do incêndio para uma onda de calor excepcional que atingiu a região por semanas, criando condições ideais para o fogo.

Cientistas alertam que as alterações climáticas aumentam a frequência e intensidade de ondas de calor e incêndios, tornando eventos outrora raros em ocorrências regulares. Líderes comunitários apelaram à redução de emissões de carbono e investimento em práticas sustentáveis.

### **Cenário 3: Violência Policial**

Um homem negro de 43 anos morreu no hospital após ser baleado por um agente da polícia. Durante uma operação stop, a vítima tentou evitar ser interrogada ao fugir no veículo, colidindo com carros estacionados numa área residencial.

Relatórios indicam que, após a perseguição, a vítima teria ameaçado os agentes com uma arma branca, levando um deles a disparar um tiro de advertência para o ar. Um polícia, com menos de dois anos de serviço, disparou dois tiros, um dos quais atingiu a vítima no peito.

A vítima foi transportada para o hospital, mas não resistiu aos ferimentos. Autoridades abriram uma investigação interna, enquanto a imprensa divulgou imagens mostrando que a vítima estava desarmada durante o incidente.

## **Appendix B – Scenario Main Study**

Durante um turno de patrulha, um agente da Polícia foi destacado para uma operação de fiscalização rodoviária. No decorrer da abordagem, entrou em contacto com um condutor que tentou evitar a intervenção policial, fugindo no veículo e colidindo com carros estacionados numa área residencial.

Durante a interação que se seguiu, ocorreu a seguinte ação (outras ações podem ter ocorrido antes, durante ou depois): Relatórios indicam que, após a perseguição, o condutor, um homem negro de 43 anos, terá ameaçado os agentes com uma arma branca, levando um dos polícias a disparar um tiro de advertência para o ar. Um agente, com menos de dois anos de serviço, disparou dois tiros, um dos quais atingiu o condutor no peito. O condutor foi transportado para o hospital, onde viria a falecer.

As autoridades abriram uma investigação interna, enquanto a comunicação social divulgou imagens que levantaram dúvidas sobre se o condutor estaria armado no momento do incidente.

## Appendix C – Informed Consent

Caro participante,

Está a ser convidado a participar num estudo para a investigação da tese de mestrado, coordenado por uma equipa de investigação do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (ICS-ULisboa) e do Iscte - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa.

Este estudo pretende compreender a **opinião dos portugueses sobre questões sociais contemporâneas**.

### **Explicação do Estudo e Procedimento**

Se aceitar participar neste estudo, a sua participação envolverá responder a um conjunto de questões. Estima-se que a sua participação tenha uma duração aproximada de 10 minutos. Ao participar, habilita-se ao sorteio de **5 vouchers de 25€ cada**, em cartão Lidl ou DÁ.

### **Confidencialidade e Anonimato**

Todos os dados recolhidos são confidenciais e anónimos e serão utilizados exclusivamente no âmbito deste estudo. Porque os dados recolhidos são anonimizados não existe a possibilidade de proceder à eliminação das respostas. Não serão analisados nem reportados dados individuais. Os resultados deste estudo serão apresentados e publicados em encontros e revistas científicas, através de estatísticas de dados agrupados.

### **Participação voluntária e informada**

A sua participação é totalmente voluntária. Embora não se antecipem riscos para a sua segurança ou bem-estar associados à sua participação, poderá recusar ou interromper a sua participação em qualquer momento. A recusa ou interrupção da sua participação não terá qualquer consequência para si ou para a investigação no seu todo. Em caso de riscos para a sua segurança ou bem-estar, poderá contactar a equipa de investigação.

### **Contato da equipa de investigação**

Este estudo obedece aos requisitos éticos fundamentais em matéria de investigação, tendo sido aprovado pela Comissão de Ética do ICS-UL. Se tiver alguma dúvida ou sugestão,

poderá entrar em contacto com a equipa de investigação através do seguinte contacto:

[filipa.madeira@ics.ulisboa.pt](mailto:filipa.madeira@ics.ulisboa.pt)

Para aceitar participar, clique na opção "Sim" abaixo.

Concorda em participar do estudo?

Sim

Não

## Appendix D – Questionnaire

### Social Dominance Orientation

Indique o quanto você apoia ou se opõe a cada ideia abaixo, selecionando um número de **1 (Discordo muito)** a **7 (Concordo muito)** na escala que se segue. Você pode responder rapidamente; o seu primeiro pensamento é geralmente melhor.

	Discordo Muito						Concordo Muito	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Deveríamos fazer o possível para igualar as condições dos diferentes grupos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grupos que estão numa posição inferior são tão meritórios como os grupos que estão numa posição superior.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
É injusto tentar tornar os grupos iguais.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Alguns grupos de pessoas são simplesmente inferiores a outros grupos.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Deveríamos trabalhar para dar a todos os grupos uma oportunidade igual de ter sucesso.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nenhum grupo deveria dominar na sociedade.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Uma sociedade ideal requer que alguns grupos estejam numa posição superior e que outros grupos estejam numa posição inferior.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A igualdade entre os grupos não deveria ser o nosso principal objetivo.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



O colonialismo português foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento civilizacional das ex-colónias.

Os portugueses e as pessoas das ex-colónias são muito mais semelhantes do que diferentes.

Os portugueses e as pessoas das ex-colónias devem ser considerados como uma única comunidade linguística.

Comparando com os outros países europeus, as tensões e conflitos entre os portugueses e as pessoas de outras origens que vivem em Portugal são menores.

O colonialismo português foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento económico das ex-colónias.

Clique na opção "4" para confirmar que está atento(a).

O colonialismo português foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento social das ex-colónias.

A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela integração com os povos colonizados.

As pessoas de outras culturas são mais respeitadas em Portugal do que noutros países europeus.

A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela especial capacidade dos portugueses se adaptarem ao modo de vida dos povos ex-colonizados.

Comparando com os outros países europeus, pode dizer-se que em Portugal existe menos racismo.

A história colonial portuguesa caracterizou-se pela capacidade de os portugueses se misturarem com os povos colonizados.

Os portugueses e as pessoas das ex-colónias contribuem significativamente para uma única comunidade cultural.

## Racism Denial

Por favor, avalie as acções da polícia no cenário com os números correspondentes (**0 = de modo algum, 100 = completamente**). Indique até que ponto considera que:

De modo algum 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Completamente

...a situação teria sido tratada de forma diferente, se o condutor fosse um homem branco.

A falta de justificação clara para início da perseguição sugere a existência de práticas institucionais discriminatórias no sistema policial.

Incidentes como este ocorrem com frequência no sistema policial.

...o agente da polícia usou de força excessiva pelo facto de o homem ser negro.

Este incidente reflete um padrão sistemático de uso excessivo de força contra pessoas racializadas por parte da polícia.

...a decisão do agente de disparar contra o homem demonstra preconceito racial.



## Anti-Racist Collective Action

Organizações anti-racistas em Portugal estão a organizar múltiplas iniciativas para combater o racismo policial e defender a justiça e a igualdade para todos os indivíduos.

Numa escala de **1 (Nada) a 7 (Certamente)**, indique a probabilidade de participar em diferentes ações sociais.

	<b>Nada</b>							<b>Certamente</b>	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Doar dinheiro a organizações anti-racistas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Publicar posts anti-racistas nas redes sociais.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Continuaria a empenhar-se em esforços contínuos de sensibilização anti-racista.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Assinar uma petição em linha de apoio aos movimentos anti-racistas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Ajudar a organizar a próxima manifestação anti-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Participar na próxima manifestação anti-racista.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	

## Sociodemographic Information

Género

Feminino

Masculino

Não-binário

Outro

Em que ano nasceu (indique em número, ex., 1989):

Por favor, indique a zona em que vive:

Zona urbana

Zona suburbana

Zona rural

Por favor, indique o seu nível de escolaridade.

1º Ciclo

2º Ciclo

3º Ciclo

Ensino Secundário

Licenciatura

Mestrado

Doutoramento

Qual a sua nacionalidade?

Portuguesa

Outra - Qual

Dupla nacionalidade - Quais

Qual o seu país de origem?

Portugal

Outra - Qual

Dupla nacionalidade - Quais

Qual ou quais das seguintes opções melhor definem o grupo a que considera pertencer?

Asiático

Branco

Cigano/Roma

Negro

Origem ou pertença mista

Não se revê em nenhum destes grupos

Em política é costume falar-se de esquerda e direita. Em termos de orientação política, como se posicionaria numa escala de 1 (Extrema - Esquerda) a 7 (Extrema - Direita)?

Extrema  
- Esquerda

Extrema  
- Direita

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

## Appendix E – Debriefing

Muito obrigado pelo vosso tempo!

Ao participar, está a contribuir para o conhecimento científico no domínio da psicologia social. Neste sentido, o parágrafo seguinte destina-se a dar-lhe mais informações sobre o objetivo da nossa investigação.

Esta investigação pretende aprofundar o conhecimento sobre as crenças luso-tropicalistas e a sua relação com as percepções face às questões étnico-raciais, nomeadamente a violência policial e a disponibilidade para apoiar uma ação colectiva antirracista. O cenário que descreve o evento de violência policial é fictício e foi fabricado pela equipa de investigação para efeitos deste estudo. No entanto, toda a informação incluída no cenário foi adoptada a partir de relatórios de jornais existentes sobre violência policial em Portugal.

Se tiver alguma dúvida sobre este estudo, pode pedir esclarecimentos através do seguinte e-mail: [epam@iscte-iul.pt](mailto:epam@iscte-iul.pt) & [filipa.madeira@ics.ulisboa.pt](mailto:filipa.madeira@ics.ulisboa.pt).

Para participar no sorteio dos vouchers, por favor clique no seguinte link e preencha os dados necessários. Assim, poderemos contactá-lo caso seja o vencedor.

**[Entrar no sorteio dos vouchers](#)**