RACISM AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING WORLD

Edited by
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AND
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Racism: An Evolving Virus

JORGE VALA AND CICERO PEREIRA

This chapter presents a series of hypotheses and empirical results associated with some questions that have guided our research into racial beliefs and racial prejudice: first, does it make sense to talk about racism in contemporary democratic societies? Secondly, if it does, how is it possible to explain the durability of racial prejudice and discrimination based on belief in the idea of race in formally anti-racist democratic societies? And thirdly, what possible peculiarities are displayed by social attitudes in Portugal in relation to people who are seen to belong to different racial or cultural groups?

We will attempt to answer these questions by revisiting some of the results of our previous studies and by presenting new empirical evidence that supports the hypothesis that we have developed: namely, that racist beliefs and racial prejudice persist and are publicly expressed in contexts in which the anti-racism norm is not prominent, or in which processes of legitimisation are invoked and preserve a self-concept defined as non-prejudiced. We are thereby adopting a psychosocial level of analysis rooted in social representations, inter-group relations, legitimating and normative principles, and self-concept construal.

We begin by briefly presenting an overview of psychosociological research into racism in the USA and in Europe. It is within this context that we situate our own investigation, carried out in Portugal, the main analytical lines of which are described in the second part of the chapter. In the third part, we present new data that allow better understanding of the evolution of racial prejudice in Europe and in Portugal within the context of migratory processes. Finally, adopting a psychosociological analytical framework, we present new empirical evidence of the evolution of racial beliefs and their impact on attitudes to immigrants and to black people.

1 This research was partially supported by a grant from the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia awarded to the first author (PTDC/PSI/99099/2008). We would like to thank Rui Costa-Lopes and Denis Sindic for comments on an earlier draft of this manuscript.
Restructuring of racial beliefs and racial prejudice in the post-war period

In the 1990s, a series of studies published in the USA revealed that negative attitudes towards black people were decreasing significantly. Thirty years after the struggle for civil rights and the institutionalisation of equal rights between whites and blacks in the USA, it was becoming clear that beliefs, stereotypes and negative attitudes towards black people were changing.

It was also in the 1990s that a theoretically oriented analysis of the results of the 1988 Autumn Eurobarometer, by Pettigrew and colleagues, revealed that Europeans had rearranged their beliefs concerning immigrants (Turks in Germany; North Africans and Asians in France; Surinamese and Turks in the Netherlands; West Indians and Asians in Great Britain). These beliefs were structured into a single pattern that opposed traditional or blatant racial prejudice (i.e. attribution of racial inferiority and expression of the feeling that the ‘purity of the ingroup’ is under threat) in favor of a more subtle racial prejudice (i.e. attribution of racial inferiority and expression of the feeling that the ‘purity of the ingroup’ is threatened the ‘cherished values’ on which American success was founded). The latter corresponding to common-sense appropriations and transformations of ideas diffused by the so-called scientific or biological racism and by formalised racist ideology.

These European findings came in the wake of studies in the USA which, since the 1980s, had shown that racial prejudice based on beliefs in biological inferiority were becoming reorientated towards beliefs in cultural inferiority. In fact, these studies showed that a new type of anti-black prejudice was emerging, based on the belief that blacks did not share the values of meritocratic individualism and threatened the ‘cherished values’ on which American success was founded. Significantly, these new types of belief were seen not as prejudice but as legitimate reasons for maintaining a social distance with respect to black people.


How can this rearrangement of the bases of racial prejudice and its public expression be explained? We believe that a normative explanation, as proposed by Pettigrew, could provide clarification. In fact, after the Second World War and the confrontation with the consequences of racist ideology, it was difficult to defend biological racism and its justifications publicly. It is true that the apartheid regime in South Africa was founded after the Second World War, in 1948, and that twenty long years, dominated by protests and struggle, passed between the end of the war and the passing of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Voting Rights Act (1963) in the United States. But it is also true that these struggles and the legislative changes to which they gave rise progressively created an anti-racist social norm whose impact on individual and collective attitudes is, in our opinion, demonstrated by the aforementioned studies.

Individuals’ relationships with social norms can assume different modalities. Using a typology proposed by Pettigrew and Meertens, and inspired by Kelman’s ideas on normative social influence, we would say that these modalities can be designated as: rejection, compliance, and interiorisation of the norm.4 Thus, the expression of traditional blatant racism would correspond to the rejection of the anti-racism norm, while the expression of subtle or cultural racism would imply a formal acceptance of that norm accompanied by hidden expressions of racial prejudice which do not involve self-identification as a prejudiced person. Only egalitarianism (rejection of cultural and traditional racism) would correspond to the interiorisation of the anti-racism norm. The transformation of biological racism into cultural racism would thereby grant continuity to basic racist beliefs without the anti-racism norm being questioned.

The possibility that biologically based racism might be transformed into culturally based racism was raised by Lévi-Strauss5 and has given rise to an extensive range of literature that is historical,6 theoretical-reflexive,7 or more empirical.8 It is in the context of this debate that the expressions ‘new racisms’ or...
new expressions of racism’ were coined.11 ‘New racism’ refers to a phenomenon that is highly complex because it is manifested indirectly and ubiquitously and because it involves different behaviours and beliefs which have at least two characteristics in common: they are not perceived as being anti-normative, and they imply more than ‘ethnocentrism’ or the simple glorification of the ingroup. ‘New racism’ evokes a series of diffuse beliefs and sentiments that involve the perception of ‘profound differences between human groups’, the ‘essential’ nature of these differences and a belief in the hierarchised organisation of human groups. While these beliefs are ever more ubiquitous, they are not inevitable. As was stated above, the prominence of the anti-racism norm could reduce their expression.

But just as social contexts that affirm egalitarian values, the basis of anti-racism, can reduce prejudice, so the expression of racism can increase in social contexts in which values promoting a hierarchical organisation of people in society prevail, such as meritocratic individualism. This hypothesis follows one of the central arguments in Gunnar Myrdal’s 1944 study, An American Dilemma.12 In fact, the tension between the values of egalitarianism and meritocracy was first stated by Myrdal in his analysis of racism in the USA. Myrdal analysed racism in the context of the conflict between a belief in humanistic egalitarianism, the pressure of personal interests, and the belief in meritocratic individualism. According to Myrdal, the ‘American Dilemma’ was that, even though the USA promoted humanistic egalitarianism, racism was still frequent because of the importance of meritocratic individualism. Later, Katz and Hass developed the hypothesis that the tension between egalitarianism and meritocratic individualism was the foundation for ambivalent attitudes towards black people in the USA, and showed that, when egalitarianism is prominent in a given social context, people express less or no racism; however, when the values of meritocratic individualism, associated with the legitimacy of social hierarchies, are prominent, then racist beliefs are expressed more easily.13 Moreover, as Schwartz would show, the conflict between the values of egalitarianism and meritocracy and power is not specific to American social contexts, as social contexts that affirm egalitarian values, the basis of anti-racism, can reduce prejudice, so the expression of racism can increase in social contexts in which values promoting a hierarchical organisation of people in society prevail, such as meritocratic individualism. This hypothesis follows one of the central arguments in Gunnar Myrdal’s 1944 study, An American Dilemma.12 In fact, the tension between the values of egalitarianism and meritocracy was first stated by Myrdal in his analysis of racism in the USA. Myrdal analysed racism in the context of the conflict between a belief in humanistic egalitarianism, the pressure of personal interests, and the belief in meritocratic individualism. According to Myrdal, the ‘American Dilemma’ was that, even though the USA promoted humanistic egalitarianism, racism was still frequent because of the importance of meritocratic individualism. Later, Katz and Hass developed the hypothesis that the tension between egalitarianism and meritocratic individualism was the foundation for ambivalent attitudes towards black people in the USA, and showed that, when egalitarianism is prominent in a given social context, people express less or no racism; however, when the values of meritocratic individualism, associated with the legitimacy of social hierarchies, are prominent, then racist beliefs are expressed more easily.13 Moreover, as Schwartz would show, the conflict between the values of egalitarianism and meritocracy and power is not specific to American society, and those values may therefore be relevant in explaining racism in other social and cultural contexts, as shown by several authors in a wide range of national contexts.14

11 E.g. Vala et al., ‘Is the Attribution of Cultural Differences to Minorities an Expression of Racial Prejudice?’

Racial prejudice in Portugal: analytical paths

It was in the theoretical context just described that, in 1995, we began a research programme whose initial results were published four years later.15 Surprised by the fact that, at the time, the social sciences in Portugal had not yet produced systematic analyses of expressions of racism in the country, specifically with regard to immigration from the ex-colonies and the widespread manifestation of opposition to this immigration, we outlined a research project that aimed to diagnose and identify the correlates of racism and racial prejudice in Portugal. In the meantime, this research project was extended, and the new working hypotheses to which it gave rise now assumed a much broader scope that is not confined to the Portuguese socio-political context.

The correlational empirical research on which our project was based allowed us to conclude that racial prejudice towards black people was framed in Portugal in accordance with the same patterns of beliefs that Pettigrew and Meertens had described for other European countries (Germany, the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands).16 In other words, there was a blatant model, rooted in biological racism, and a so-called subtle model associated with cultural differentiation. The oft-invoked conjecture that the racial attitudes of the Portuguese displayed a certain particularism or specificity was not supported.

The examination of the factors underlying the patterns of racial prejudice revealed that its relationship with individual economic income was very weak. It was also shown that levels of education were found to correlate with blatant prejudice but not with subtle prejudice. We interpreted this result as stemming from the greater ability of more educated people to identify blatant prejudice as being anti-normative.

The examination of the correlates of these two types of prejudice (blatant and subtle) also revealed that the key underlying psychosociological factors are the feeling of negative interdependence between whites and blacks, racial identity, and moral conservatism.17 The importance of perceptions of negative interdependence associated with feelings of threat, as well as identity-related factors, in the origin of racial prejudice is not surprising as these findings are in line with current results in the European Union’, in W. Atts and L. Halman (eds), European Values at the End of the Millennium (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 139–63; A. Ramos and J. Vala, ‘Predicting Opposition towards Immigration: Economic Resources, Social Resources and Moral Principles’, in A. Gat and K. Mylons (eds), Quest Erat Demonstrandum: From Herodotus’ Ethnographic Journeys to Cross-Cultural Research (Athens: Pedi Books, 2009), pp. 245–64; C. Pereira et al., ‘From Intra-Humanization to Discrimination: The Mediation of Symbolic Threat Needs Egalitarian Norms’, Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 45 (2009), pp. 336–44.

16 Pettigrew and Meertens, ‘Subtle and Blatant Prejudice’.
17 These conclusions are based on results of a multiple regression model, and therefore the effect of each variable is controlled for the whole set of variables included in the model.
From hetero-ethnicisation to racial beliefs

For white people, the black man is a saint or a devil, moving from innocence to wickedness without passing through the human.

Andaré, in Mia Couto’s *Vinte e Zinco*.

Particularly stimulating for the understanding of contemporary racial prejudice was the fact that the data from our first investigation allowed us to maintain that the mere perception of strong cultural differences between a national ingroup (for example, the Portuguese) and an outgroup that has been the subject of explicit racial inferiorisation constitutes an indirect manifestation of racial prejudice. In other words, the attribution of cultural differences to a group that has been racialised in the past is not an antecedent of prejudice against this group, as traditionally proposed, but an expression of prejudice. We have named this expression of prejudice hetero-ethnicisation. Several studies that we have led have shown that the simple attribution of cultural differences in important areas of life strongly correlates with traditional racism, with explicit cultural inferiorisation and orientation to behavioural discrimination. More importantly, our studies have also shown that black people’s meta-perceptions that they are seen as culturally different correlate with the expression of feelings of discrimination. These results led us to study the relationship between hetero-ethnicisation, and ontologisation and infra-humanisation.

Ontologisation was defined by Moscovici and Pérez as the attribution to members of an outgroup (for example, black people) of more personological traits that evoke nature (e.g. intuitive, spontaneous) than traits that evoke culture (e.g. honest, creative, intelligent). This categorisation of personological traits into cultural vs. natural is implicit, it is consistently found in Western languages and is recurrently used in daily life. Moreover, it acquires a strong sense of latent inferiorisation when it is used in the context of relations between social groups, namely, when a dominant ingroup opposes an outgroup that has been racially inferiorised in the past.

In turn, Leyens and colleagues studied a very particular, and also veiled, form of group inferiorisation within the plane of the emotions. They call this infra-humanisation. In fact, they verified that common sense distinguishes between primary emotions (e.g. contentment, excitement, anger, irritation) and secondary emotions or feelings (e.g. compassion, hope, bitterness, regret); and they also showed that while primary emotions are attributed both to humans and to animals, secondary emotions or feelings are considered to be exclusively human. The results of studies carried out in very different countries have confirmed that people attribute greater ability to express (negative or positive) secondary emotions to their group than they do to other groups, particularly racialised outgroups.

Following the hypotheses of the studies that we have just mentioned, recent work (see Figure 3.1) carried out in Portugal has shown that the representation of
black people involves not only hetero-ethnicisation but also ontologisation and infra-humanisation. It shows how, in an indirect way, when black people are implicitly represented as being culturally different and inferior they are also seen as being closer to nature than to culture, less capable of expressing specifically human emotions (secondary emotions); and are more negatively evaluated. Our results also show that these perceptions constitute a 'latent factor' of racial prejudice. More importantly, this latent factor is predicted by explicit racial beliefs associated with biological and cultural racism.

This analytical path and the empirical studies carried out show not only the ubiquity of contemporary racism but also the diversity of its explicit and veiled expressions. The non-apparent racist nature of many of these expressions proves that the anti-racism norm is effective and that many people are genuinely concerned with the construction of a non-prejudiced self-concept. On the other hand, the series of studies presented also shows that racism has moved from the biological plane to the plane of culture. These transformations in racial beliefs imply clarifications to which the following point aims to contribute.

A conceptual statement

In contemporary societies, diverse modalities of racism coexist. Is it possible to identify some theoretical principles underlying the diversity of the phenomenon and, simultaneously, to distinguish it from racial prejudice? Indeed, definitions of racism in the plane of social representations or collective beliefs are more ambiguous, less consensual and thus more problematic than the definition of racial prejudice. In fact, with very few exceptions, most studies have conceptualised and operationalised racists and racialised identities as a form of social domination and exploitation. But how can one distinguish between these two concepts? One way to do this is to consider the nature of the relationship between the two concepts. If we consider the relationship between the two concepts as a causal relationship, then we can see that the racist beliefs of a society contribute to the construction of a racist society. If we consider the relationship as a mutual relationship, then we can see that the racist beliefs of a society are a product of the racist society itself. In either case, we can see that the relationship between the two concepts is complex and cannot be reduced to a simple cause-and-effect relationship.

28 Vala et al., 'The Attribution of Cultural Differences to Minorities as an Expression of Racial Prejudice?'
29 Figure 3.1 is a highly simplified presentation of the test of a model based on Structural Equation Modelling; see R. B. Kline, Principles and Structures of Structural Equation Modelling (New York: Guilford, 1998). The results indicate that this model fits very well to the data and is better than alternative theoretical models.
30 Several empirical studies carried out in Portugal have contributed to explore this perspective deeply; see e.g. R. Cabeceiras, Preto e Branco: A naturalização da discriminação racial (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2007); M. F. M. Mendes, Imigração, identidades e discriminação: Imigrantes russos e ucranianos na área metropolitana de Lisboa (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2010).
Attitudes of Europeans towards immigration of people perceived as ethnically different, 2002–10

The data that we have presented so far refer to published studies and aim to show the different dimensions of racial prejudice and its connection to racist beliefs in Portugal, as well as the significant parallels that exist between the structural organisation of racial prejudice in Portugal and the structure that exists in some other European countries.

The question to which we now turn concerns the way that racial prejudice has changed (or not) in Portugal and Europe as a whole. We do not have data of sufficient quality to allow us to answer this question directly. However, to address this issue, albeit indirectly, we can make use of the European Social Survey (ESS) data. In fact, the analysis of the ESS indicator regarding opposition to immigration in European countries by people perceived as belonging to ‘a different race or ethnic group’ could constitute a proxy for discrimination based on race or ethnicity. In addition, the fact that we can compare results obtained in Portugal with those from other countries allows us to test once again our hypothesis concerning the non-specific nature of racial prejudice in Portugal.

Opposition to immigration

As can be seen in Table 3.1, the different European countries that participate in the ESS express moderate opposition to immigration, contrary to the message that is habitually circulated in the media. Greece and Hungary are the countries that most openly express opposition to immigration, and Sweden is the country that expresses least opposition.

From a longitudinal point of view, small changes occurred between 2002 and 2010, and the response pattern was maintained. If we compare the countries present in all of the rounds with the answers involving all of the countries, regardless of their involvement in a given wave, we can also confirm that the response pattern is maintained.

In Figure 3.2, we compare Portugal with Europe as a whole, taking ‘Europe’ to mean the European countries involved in all of the rounds. The results show greater opposition to immigration in Portugal than in these countries taken together. These differences are statistically significant despite the fact that the effect size is small. In other words, although a tendency towards greater opposition to immigration is found in Portugal, it lies within the same response pattern as that of the group of ‘European’ countries. It should also be noted that throughout the decade (2002–10) anti-immigration attitudes remained steady, even after the financial crisis broke out in September 2008.

Immigration and economic and cultural threat perceptions

The literature has shown that threat perception, specifically the perception of economic threat and the threat to cultural identity, underlies negative attitudes to immigration. The study involves a minimum of 1,500 statistically valid interviews in each country. The questions are designed by experts in their respective fields and the data collected are subject to a demanding validation plan. The ESS began in 2000, and the first wave of data was collected in 2002. At that time, as now, the debate on immigration was highly contentious. For this reason, it was a central topic in the first edition of the ESS. Some of the questions asked in 2002 were incorporated into subsequent ESS waves (2004, 2006, 2008).

The indicator is the following: ‘To what extent do you think [country] should allow people of a different race or ethnic group to come and live here? 1. Allow many to come and live here; 2. Allow some; 3. Allow few; 4. Allow none.’ The 2002 data were collected between September 2002 and February 2003.

The 2008 data were collected between September 2004 and February 2009.

34 This was the theoretical orientation adopted in our research published in 1999. The current chapter is based on a very different conceptual approach.

35 See Frederickson, ‘Racism, for a historical approach.

36 The European Social Survey (ESS) is a biennial study of social attitudes which is academically oriented and is based on probabilistic samples and highly rigorous methodologies. This makes it different from other European surveys and has made this open database a reliable source for academic researchers.

Table 3.1. Opposition to immigration belonging to a different ethnic group (ESS data)

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<th>Countries</th>
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</table>

* Only countries that have participated in all rounds: Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, United Kingdom, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Slovenia.

But if the association between economic threat perception and negative attitudes towards immigration is an old one in the common sense, the association between cultural threat and immigration is more recent. This association has been reinforced by the Islamist attacks on the USA of 11 September 2001, and diffused by the media. But in so-called ‘cultivated’ thought, too, this association is an object of dissemination. For instance, Huntington, after the ‘Clash of Civilizations’ in 1996, published a book on the ‘challenges to the American national identity’ in which he presents Latin American immigration as a force against the ‘American credo’. In this vein, we will now assess the impact of threat perceptions on attitudes to immigration. To do so, we begin by describing the prominence of threat perceptions.

Figure 3.3 compares the degree of perception of economic threat in Portugal and in Europe as a whole. We therefore confirm that the response patterns are similar and that they lie above the mid-point on the scale.

With regard to the cultural threat attributed to immigrants, it is much lower than the perception of economic threat, but reaches slightly higher values in Portugal than in the other European countries that participated in all rounds of the ESS (see Figure 3.4).

We can now take a new step in the analysis, exploring the hypothesis that threat perception is an important factor that underlies the expression of opposition to the immigration of people perceived as being racially or ethnically different. The data presented in Table 3.2 show very clearly that threat perception is much more
Table 3.2. Predictors of opposition to immigration of people perceived as belonging to a different ethnic group (for Portugal and Europe as a whole)

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<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>-.04</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.09*</td>
<td>.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.11*</td>
<td>.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Left-right</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.09*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.07*</td>
<td>.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Threat perceptions</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Economic threat</td>
<td>.27*</td>
<td>.27*</td>
<td>.37*</td>
<td>.31*</td>
<td>.37*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural threat</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>.26*</td>
<td>.22*</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>.19*</td>
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<tr>
<td>R² Adjusted</td>
<td>.26*</td>
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Standardised regression coefficients (Betas). Gender (0 = female; 1 = male). Education = years of full-time education completed. Left-right = 0 (left) to 10 (right). *p < .001.
important in determining oppositional attitudes to immigration than educational level, age or political identification. These results occur in Portugal and in Europe (as a whole) and reveal a considerable degree of stability throughout the decade. It was within the framework of these conclusions that Pereira and co-authors proposed and showed that threat perception is a factor that legitimates discrimination against immigrants and facilitates the transition from prejudiced feelings to discriminatory action.

In sum, the series of data presented reveal that Europeans’ opposition to immigration of people perceived as being ethnically different is not as high as is currently stated. They also establish that economic and cultural threat perceptions are important predictors of opposition to immigration, particularly as far as economic threat is concerned. Although many studies in different countries have shown the need for immigrants and their relevant contribution to the economy, the threat perception associated with immigration is confirmed as one of the most important factors in determining oppositional attitudes to immigration and the legitimisation of this opposition.

The increase in immigration classified as illegal, discussions concerning it in social communication, and political measures taken to prevent immigration have created the social ambience to expand and renovate racist beliefs and their veiled or manifest expression. The next section in this chapter analyses this hypothesis within the framework of the assumptions about the conceptualisation of racial beliefs stated above.

Racist beliefs, anti-black racism and opposition to immigration

In a study carried out by the European Community in 2008 on discrimination experienced by so-called ethnic minorities, it was found that the Roma reported the most episodes of discrimination, followed by sub-Saharan Africans. These

44 A recent study shows that threat perception remains an important predictor of opposition to immigration, even when socio-cultural factors such as the number of immigrants, the increase in immigration flows, and legislation on immigration are included in a multilevel analysis: A. Ramos, J. Vala and C. Pereira, ‘Racial Prejudice and Opposition to Anti-Racist Policies in Europe: Individual and Contextual Predictors’, paper presented at Annual Conference of the European Survey Research Association, Prague, 2009.


46 In the case of Portugal, see the study by E. S. Ferreira, H. Rato and M. J. Morriaga, Viagens de Ulysses: Efeitos da imigração na economia portuguesa (Lisbon: Alto Comissariado para a Migração e Minorias Étnicas, 2004); also A. Almeida, Impacto da imigração em Portugal nas contas do Estado (Lisbon: ACIDI, 2003).


48 This study, ‘Group Focused Enmity’, was led by Wilhelm Heitmeyer and Andreas Zick of the University of Bielefeld. In Portugal it was coordinated by Cicero Pereira, ICS, University of Lisbon. The study was conducted in eight European countries: France, Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and Portugal.

49 Measures used: Cultural racism: ‘Some cultures are clearly superior to others’; Biological racism: ‘Some races are more gifted than others’. Responses vary from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).
degree, culturally based racism.\textsuperscript{50} Note that the questions we are using to identify approval of racist beliefs do not associate these beliefs, as is usual, with specific targets (for instance black people). Two further conclusions can also be drawn: racist beliefs play an active role in social opinion, but only in some countries are they above the midpoint on the scale: Hungary, Portugal, and Poland.

Continuing our argument, it is now necessary to determine whether biological and cultural racism are significantly related to anti-black racism and opposition to immigration. In other words, do those who believe that profound biological and cultural differences exist between human groups, and that these differences are associated with stable hierarchies, tend to oppose immigration and to believe that blacks, specifically, are an inferior group?

In order to answer this question, we have used multiple regression models. These models assess the effects of racial beliefs on anti-black racism\textsuperscript{51} and opposition to immigration\textsuperscript{52} once the effects of sex, age, education, and political identification have been statistically controlled.

Our results confirm that in the case of anti-black racism, both in Portugal and in the other countries, biological and cultural racism are important factors in the emergence of anti-black racism. In other words, our model, which separates ‘untargeted’ racist beliefs from racism aimed at a specific group, is reinforced by this analysis. At the same time, it is shown that cultural as well as biological racist beliefs, rather than being simply organisers of social perception or categorisation principles, are antecedents of a ‘radical alterity’, the consequence of which is the infra-humanisation of certain social groups (black people, in the case in question).

Concerning opposition to immigration, the results are similar. We can therefore conclude that, rather than the other factors that are habitually considered, it is racist beliefs that motivate people to oppose immigration.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{50}See Figure 3.5. In each country means are statistically different: \(F_{\text{Netherlands}}(2, 940) = 39.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08; F_{\text{France}}(2, 988) = 135.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .23; F_{\text{Spain}}(2, 828) = 81.01, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11; F_{\text{Italy}}(2, 852) = 123.83, p < .001, \eta^2 = .23; F_{\text{Netherlands}}(2, 924) = 184.48, p < .001, \eta^2 = .29; F_{\text{Netherlands}}(2, 924) = 141.89, p < .001, \eta^2 = .24; F_{\text{Spain}}(2, 827) = 99.59, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19. Multiple comparisons also indicate differences between means in each country, \(p < .05\) (LSD).

\textsuperscript{51}‘Anti-black racism: ‘There is a natural hierarchy between black and white people’: ‘Blacks and Whites should rather not get married’. Responses vary from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).

\textsuperscript{52}In order to measure opposition to immigration two indicators were used. Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they thought their country ‘should allow people of a different race or ethnic group from most [country nationality] people to come and live here?’ (0-item 1) and ‘should allow people from the poorer countries outside Europe to come and live here?’ (04-item 2). The answers were registered on a scale ranging from 1 (allow many to come and live here) to 4 (allow none).

\textsuperscript{53}For each dependent variable we estimated three regression models. In the first model we estimated the effect of the controlling variables (i.e. sex, age, education, and political identification). In the second model we added biological racism, and in the third we added cultural racism as a predictor. Looking at the effects on anti-black racism, the results of the first model explain 14 per cent of the variance in Portugal and 5 per cent of that in Europe. Biological racism explained 7 per cent of the variance in anti-black racism in Portugal and 9 per cent of that in Europe over and above the variance explained. Conclusions

This chapter addressed the meanings of racism in contemporary democratic societies and the possible peculiarities of racism in Portugal. With regard to the first question, we put forward hypotheses and empirical results in support of the idea that racism has undergone ‘adaptive transformations’, an expression derived from the evolutionary metaphor that inspired us. These transformations allowed the essential aspects of traditional racial ideology to be maintained, and could be described as an adaptive response to the normative pressures that have been exerted on racism since the end of the Second World War. In fact, the use of the metaphor of racism as an evolving virus helps to see it as a series of dynamically structured beliefs that are capable of undergoing adaptive transformations. The ‘mutations’ that have taken place permit derogatory attitudes and behaviours towards people perceived as being different and inferior, in spite of the force of the anti-racism norm.

It was within this framework that we analysed the emergence of ‘subtle racial prejudice’ in contrast to ‘blatant racial prejudice’, and proposed the hypothetical construction of ‘cultural racism’, highlighting the way in which it retains the same essential characteristics as traditional biological racism, while protecting the individual from being seen by him/herself or by others as prejudiced or racist. Explicit cultural racism has also been subjected to the anti-racism norm and is now often expressed in veiled forms, of which we described just three: ‘hetero-ethnicisation’, ‘ontologisation’, and ‘infra-humanisation’. Normative pressures and processes related to the representation of the self are therefore central to the analysis of the changes which racism has undergone.

It is within this analytical context that several medium-range theories analyse the mechanisms that legitimise prejudice and discrimination and that allow social thinking to develop apparently non-racist justifications for racist behaviours and attitudes. These justifications resolve possible social and psychological conflicts arising from the tension between the need to show compliance with egalitarian values and, at the same time, congruence with racist attitudes and beliefs. Underlying the contemporary dynamics of racial beliefs requires a distinction between racial prejudice and racism. The former is particularly associated with a negative evaluation of a group based on the idea of race or ethnic differences, and by the controlling variable, while cultural racism explained 3 per cent of the variance in Portugal and 7 per cent of that in Europe. Significantly, both biological and cultural racism are the best predictors of anti-black racism both in Portugal and in Europe. A similar pattern was observed concerning opposition to immigration. Controlling variables explained 4 per cent of the variance in Portugal and 3 per cent of that in Europe. Biological racism explained 5 per cent of the variance in both Portugal and Europe, while cultural racism explained over 7 per cent of the variance in Portugal and 10 per cent of that in Europe. Significantly, both biological and cultural racism were the best predictors of opposition to immigration, with cultural racism presenting the stronger effects.
largely corresponds to the traditional content that has come to be known as ethnocentrism.\textsuperscript{54} Racism, however, is now a common-sense theory about the organisation of human groups based on a belief in profound differences between these groups and their hierarchical organisation. It also involves the belief that not all groups share human 'essences' or 'characteristics' to the same degree. Appropriating a conceptual proposal made by Doise, prejudice is close to ethnocentrism, while racism expresses a feeling of 'radical alterity', to the extent that differences perceived between groups, based on biological or cultural criteria, are represented as profound or based on essential traits in a way that transforms the Other, perceived as different, into someone less human.\textsuperscript{55}

The new wave of immigrants who have come to Europe in the last twenty years have lent a new acuity to the study of racism, racial prejudice, and the changes that it has undergone. In fact, in response to European countries' unacknowledged needs of more workforce and a compensation of their demographic imbalances, new immigrants from Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America have sought better living conditions in the European Union. However, the arrival of such immigrants has given rise to an increasing sense of threat in the political-institutional discourse and in the minds of many Europeans. We therefore analysed fear of immigration and the perception of threat associated with immigration in order to better understand contemporary expressions of racism and its consequences. We were thereby able to confirm that opposition to immigration derives not only from the perception of economic threat but also from the perception of cultural threat, both in Portugal and in other EU countries. In the case of Portugal, these feelings of economic threat are widespread despite the studies that show the benefits to economic development that result from immigration.

In the final stage of the paper, we took black immigrants as the object of our analysis. Studies in Europe have shown this group to be one of the most likely to be subjected to discrimination. Thus we developed an empirical analysis of the relationship between biological racism, cultural racism, and anti-black racism, within the framework of the assumptions stated above concerning contemporary racisms. This analysis also assumes that the pressure of the anti-racism norm is exerted differently on beliefs that uphold biological racism, on beliefs that uphold cultural racism, and on the application of these different types of racial beliefs to specific targets, such as black people. As has been shown, the anti-racism norm exerts a stronger pressure on the application of racist beliefs to specific targets, such as black people. In turn, and also in accordance with our normative hypothesis, biological racism has fewer adherents than cultural racism. It is perhaps normative pressure, which protects black people, that underlies the fact that in Portugal, black people are targeted with less prejudice than Brazilian and Eastern European immigrants, as other studies show.\textsuperscript{56} The following results must also be highlighted: both biological racism and cultural racism correlate with opposition to immigration and with anti-black racism. Thus, cultural racism is as consequential as biological racism.

With regard to the differences that lie behind the structure and salience of racist beliefs in Portugal and in the other European Union countries, the results strongly contradict the hypothesis of Portuguese singularity. This hypothesis is often present in common sense and in political discourse, and has also been repeated in academic discourse. However, different results stemming from broad and diversified samples taken at different times do not show any traces of this oft-invoked Portuguese singularity. It is therefore worth examining the reasons for the persistence of such a hypothesis.\textsuperscript{57} As a tentative explanation, we propose that a systematic study of the collective memory of the Portuguese regarding the discoveries, the Empire, colonialism, and decolonisation should be carried out. Few studies have empirically addressed the collective memory regarding such subjects. Above all, no study to date has analysed the relationships between such memories and the contemporary representations that uphold cultural and biological racism as well as anti-black racism.\textsuperscript{58} We believe that there is an urgent need to develop this field of research and to analyse the hypothesis that such collective memories function as a legitimising factor of contemporary prejudice and racism.

We know that the development of our understanding of contemporary racism must involve the study of representations of the relations between European countries, ex-colonies, decolonisation, and the recruitment of workers from ex-colonies in order to stimulate post-war European development. But one other field of research awaits a new impulse. We are referring to the link between social events and the cognitive processes involved in the construction of racial prejudice and the changes which it undergoes.

In fact, the conceptual hypothesis that we propose regarding racism and its

\textsuperscript{54} We are referring to the recent study by António and Policarpo, carried out by CESOP of the Universidade Católica Portuguesa for the FCG: J. António and V. Policarpo, A imigração em Portugal nos últimos dois portugueses (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2011).

\textsuperscript{55} Note, however, the complex relationship between racism, national identification and political ideologies in Portugal: Vala et al., 'Black Immigrants in Portugal'.

\textsuperscript{56} Some exceptions should be mentioned, particularly Valentin Alexandre, 'O Império e a ideia de raça, séculos XIX e XX', in Jorge Vala (ed.), Novos Racismos (Oeiras: Celta, 1999), pp. 333-44; Claudia Castelo, 'O modo português de estar no mundo': O Euro-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa, 1933-1961 (Porto: Afrontamento, 1998); and C. Sá and P. Castro (eds), Memórias do descobrimento do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: Museu da República, 2005).
adaptive transformations involves an analysis of their historical, cultural and socio-economic correlates, but also requires an understanding of how these transformations are fed by the basic principles governing the functioning of the cognitive system. We therefore draw attention to the need to undertake research addressing not only the relationship between social and ideological processes, social prejudice, and categorisation, but also to investigate whether there exists a relationship between the hierarchised architecture of categorisation systems and the hierarchised representations of social groups. The known link between social categorisation and 'value' must be associated with this process. Thus, the process by which profound differentiation and 'value' hierarchisation are established in relation to human groups is a phenomenon that stems from social processes, but which is fed by the cognitive processes of categorisation and essentialisation of social categories, as well as by the relationship between these processes and the social 'value' of categorised objects.