Master Thesis

Luso-tropicalism, attitudes, gender and emotions facing labor market competition with immigrants in Portugal.

Erasmus +: Erasmus Mundus Master on Work, Organizational, and Personnel Psychology (WOP-P). Edition 2015-2017

Student:

Ana Catarina Almeida da Costa

University of Coimbra

Home tutor:

Joaquim Pires Valentim, PhD

University of Coimbra

Host tutor:

Yolanda Estreder Ortí, PhD

University of Valencia

Acknowledgements

Abstract

The ideas concerning the lack of prejudice among Portuguese people, having its historical roots in the Luso-tropicalist beliefs related to the Portuguese colonialism, have been vastly disseminated in the Portuguese common sense. Our aim was to study among Portuguese college students the linking of these Luso-tropicalist beliefs to the attitudes towards immigration and to the emotions facing a fictional scenario of labor market competition that involves an immigrant, and in which the participant is put in disadvantage. It was found that only negative attitudes towards ethnic groups (prejudice), but not Luso-tropicalism, and also not traditional nationalism, had a significant impact on the opposition towards immigration. However, Luso-tropicalism predicted more sadness and less indifference in the fictional scenario. We also wanted to study how the interaction between the gender of the participants and the gender of the immigrant influenced the emotions in the fictional scenario. Male participants felt simultaneously more solidary and humiliated when the immigrant was a man, differing from the female participants at a significant level. Our research contributes to acknowledge the complexity of the emotional effects of adhesion to Luso-tropicalism on possible labor market competition situations. It also contributes to the evidence that the gender of the immigrants must be taken into account when studying the acceptance of an immigrant population by the members of a host society.

Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 *Luso-tropicalism*

The idea of the Portuguese people as tolerant, without ethnic prejudices and possessing a natural ability to mingle with people of other cultures has been vastly disseminated in the Portuguese common sense (Valentim, 2003, 2005, 2011; Valentim & Heleno, in press). This highly accepted social representation has its historical roots in Luso-tropicalism, whose fundaments were developed for the first time in 1933 by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in his book *Casa Grande & Senzala*, who aimed to explain the supposed uniqueness of Portuguese colonialism. Freyre (1933) considered that the Portuguese people, lacking a racial or cultural purity, had built plastic characteristics and abilities that contributed to their adaptation to the tropics and to their successful colonization: the ability to move and scatter in the world, overcoming their demographic weakness (mobility), to mingle (miscegenation) and to adapt to different climates (acclimatization).

By Freyre sociological conception, the Portuguese colonizer was already the product of the miscegenation of Christians, Arabs and Jews, and was predisposed to mingle without prejudice with black and indigenous women (Medina, 2000), making the Portuguese expansion and colonialism exceptionally tolerant (Almeida, 2008). The antagonism between master and slave was cushioned and harmonized through the socializing and vertical mobility forces that were specific in the Brazilian case, such as crossbreeding, dispersed inheritances, access by mestizos to high positions, the "lyrical Portuguese Christianism", moral tolerance and hospitality towards foreigners (Medina, 2000).

This Luso-tropicalist concept, based on the hypothetical existence of a specific Portuguese cultural trait (Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008; Valentim, 2011) was used later, in the 1950s, during Portuguese dictatorship, as an ideology that would legitimate the maintenance of colonialism in Africa (Almeida, 2008; Cardão, 2015; Castelo, 2011; Medina, 2000; Valentim, 2011). In fact, given the necessity of the Portuguese Government to affirm the national unity against the external pressures that were favorable to the independence of the colonies, Luso-tropicalist ideas were reproduced, in a simplified and nationalistic approach, in the official discourse (Castelo, 2011). Thereafter, discourses on the inferiority of blacks could be proffered at the same time as

discourses on the different way in which the Portuguese had encountered and colonized other peoples with supposedly less violence, with more miscegenation, with more dialogue, and in opposition to cruder and more distant ways by other colonial powers (Almeida, 2008). To reproduce these ideas, mass culture events were held in order to offer a fertile ground for interpreting and understanding the dissemination of Luso-tropicalism as an "imagined political community" (Cardão, 2015).

Luso-tropicalism survived the end of dictatorship and the colonies' independence and, despite wide criticism of its basic premises, is maintained until now (Valentim, 2011) in a simplified version still embedded in the national imaginary, underlining the immunity to racism of the Portuguese people and their "universalist vocation" (Castelo, 2011).

1.2 *Luso-tropicalism, prejudice and immigration*

We consider that the concept of a social representation, proposed by Moscovici (1973) to define systems of shared values, ideas and practices that provide the members of a community with a code for social exchange is useful to study Luso-tropicalism and its impact in society. Being a common-sense theory about abstract concepts (Valentim, 2003), there is evidence that the social representation of Luso-tropicalism of the Portuguese people does not have correspondence among Africans from ex-colonies, emphasizing that this popular construct is one-sided. Valentim (2003), in a study with college students, found that although both Portuguese and Africans agreed with the idea that miscegenation was a particular feature of the Portuguese colonization, there was a strong divergence in all other Luso-tropicalist variables (namely, less racism in Portugal than in other European countries, more peaceful and benevolent colonization and perception of ethnical conflicts in contemporary Portuguese society).

Besides, some studies have been conducted with the aim to study social Luso-tropicalist representations and their relationship with prejudice, racism and attitudes towards immigration of the Portuguese people (Santos, 2013; Silva, 2015; Vala et al., 2008; Valentim, 2011; Valentim & Heleno, in press). Vala et al. (2008) showed that Luso-tropicalism can prevent overt forms of prejudice but not its covert dimensions. Indeed, they verified that the Luso-tropicalist representation can contribute to the explanation of the prevalence of the anti-prejudice norm, and that it can also suppress the impact of national identification on prejudice. In the Portuguese case, the Luso-tropicalist representation, stressing the "plasticity," "non-conflictual," "flexibility," and

"cordiality" of the Portuguese "national character," might contribute to the weak association between national identity and prejudice in Portugal. But despite the Luso-tropicalist representation, the authors found that white Portuguese individuals express a covert negative evaluation of cultural differences attributed to black immigrants. Similar results regarding the existence of subtle expressions of prejudice among the Portuguese were found earlier by Vala, Brito and Lopes (1999), who showed that the expression of anti-Black covert prejudice in Portugal is much higher than the expression of explicit prejudice, and by Lages, Policarpo, Marques, Matos and António (2006), who found evidence for some covert prejudiced attitudes towards immigrants by Portuguese people. In addition, Valentim (2003, 2011) verified that while the prejudice of the Africans towards the Portuguese is expressed more openly, the Portuguese prejudice in relation to Africans presents itself mostly through a lesser attribution of positive characteristics than through the attribution of negative characteristics.

These attitudes upheld by the Portuguese are found to be in contemporary western societies, where the manifestations of prejudice and racism are more subtle and indirect (Lima & Vala, 2004; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Vala et al., 2008). Negative talk about minority groups or immigrants may be heard as biased, prejudiced or racist, which means that such discourse needs to be hedged, mitigated, excused, explained or otherwise managed in such a way that it will not 'count' against the speaker or writer (van Dijk, 1992). This new type of racism is more damaging than more open and explicit expressions: since it is harder to identify, it is therefore more difficult to combat it (Lima & Vala, 2004).

Vala et al. (1999) found that national identification (nationalism) is not a significant predictor of opposition to immigration among Portuguese people, contrary to what Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) verified in other European countries. However, although Portuguese people still engage in a popular Luso-tropicalist discourse, they are at the same time confronted with the social exclusion of African immigrants of ex-colonies (Almeida, 2008). Vala et al. (2008) found, indeed, that Luso-tropicalism did not contribute to less prejudice towards immigrants and, similarly, Silva (2015) and Valentim & Heleno (in press) verified that Luso-tropicalism did not diminish the opposition towards immigration. The contribution of Luso-tropicalism in preventing discrimination against immigrants was also not observed in a recent study with Brazilian immigrants conducted by Santos (2013) in work context. The immigrant

participants in this study reported that they are also discriminated because they represent an economic threat in the labor market, as they are competing with Portuguese citizens.

In a research done by Eaton (1998) it was verified that some immigrant communities in Portugal were often viewed as inferior groups by the host population. Vala, Pereira and Ramos (2006) verified that Portugal is the country with the highest public expression of opposition to immigration in comparison to other countries of the European Union. And although data from the 4th wave (2008) of the European Social Survey does not confirm these results, it shows that the attitudes towards immigration in Portugal are more negative than the overall mean value of the 26 European countries that were surveyed (Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, 2016). Similarly, Lages et al. (2006) found that a majority of Portuguese individuals rejected the upcoming of more immigrants to the country and agreed with giving all the individual rights to immigrants only if they were employed. Also, the same study reported that a certain amount of discrimination was being perceived by immigrants in Portugal, which supports the aforementioned studies of Valentim (2003, 2011). On the other hand, the authors pointed that explicit racist practices are rare in Portugal in comparison to other European countries. Furthermore, in a study with Eastern European immigrants, Baganha, Marques and Góis (2004) revealed that a majority of these immigrants reported that their migratory experience in Portugal was positive or very positive. And at least apparently, Portugal differs from other European countries regarding the integration of Muslim immigrants. Oliveira and Silva (2011), analyzing the integration of Muslim Pakistani immigrants, stressed the absence of visible cultural incompatibilities and even a "religious indifference" between this small community and Portuguese civil society.

1.3 *Attitudes towards immigration in Western societies*

The way attitudes and emotions are shaped towards immigration can be better understood through theories of group behavior like the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Valentim, 2008) and group-threat theories which focus on the perceived threat posed by strangers to a group (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; François & Magni-Breton, 2013; Quillian, 1995; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). The theory of social identity states that people define their social identity by categorizing themselves into one or more in-groups whose boundaries will be enforced against other groups. In fact, a group can contribute to the positive aspects of an individual's self-image only if it can

be positively differentiated on some dimensions from other groups (Billig & Tajfel, 1973). Hence the effect of in-group favoritism, which defines itself by the preferential treatment people give to others when they are perceived to be in the same in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This process can help us explaining the negative attitudes and the discrimination that immigrants face being members of an out-group (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013; François & Magni-Breton, 2013; Santos, 2013).

Similarly, integrated threat theory, developed by Stephan and Stephan (1996), proposes that when individuals believe that their social groups are threatened (even if the threat is not real), prejudiced reactions are likely to emerge in defense. According to the authors, there are four kinds of threats that can lead to prejudice towards immigrants: realistic threats (concerning threats to the political and economic power of the in-group or to the physical or material well-being of the in-group), symbolic threats (threats posed by perceived differences in values and beliefs between the in-group and the immigrant groups), negative stereotyping, and intergroup anxiety. There is evidence that a combination of realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes predicts prejudice towards immigrant groups in United States (Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephen, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). Vala et al. (2006) confirmed that in Portugal the opposition to immigration is anchored in the perception of threat not only at an economic and security level, but also in the identity sphere, but the authors consider that this threat perception is derived, to a large extent, from racial prejudice, except in the case of security threat.

In this context, we must underline the concept of nationalism, which can be defined as the territorial boundaries that the nation has a right to control and the membership boundaries of the population that makes up the nation (Barrington, 1997). Although successful nationalism implies a minimum of social harmony, and an acceptance of the values that shared symbols communicate (Haas, 1986), nationalism can be also an ideology which may simply promote one's own identity against others (Jaffrelot, 2003). Under this framework, the perceived threat posed by immigration may be fueled by a fear of loss of national characteristics and identity, or a taste for cultural homogeneity (Dustmann & Preaston, 2007) and may be more intense for people whom it is especially important to preserve convention, social norms, and customs, especially if they are confronted with a large proportion of an immigrant population, enhancing the potential for societal change (Davidov, Meulemann, Schwartz & Schmidt, 2014).

Actually, since group identification increases the desire for a narrow and clear social identity, the more an individual identifies himself/herself within his/her national group, the greater will be his/her perceived group threat and his/her opposition towards immigration (Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013). Besides, Croucher (2013) revealed that when the members of the host culture feel threatened, they are more likely to believe an immigrant group does not want to acculturate. Examining the Muslim immigration in Europe, the author found significant negative relationships between perceived threat and the belief that Muslims were not adequately assimilating.

There are a multitude of factors influencing perceived group threat. Quillian (1995), analyzing the attitudes towards immigrants in 12 European countries, asserted that collective threat was a function of two factors: the numerical size of the subordinate group relative to the dominant group, and the economic circumstances. The author conceptualized a group-threat theory where prejudice is a largely collective phenomenon in which individual attitudes are crucially affected by relations between dominant and subordinate social groups. On the other hand, Davidov et al. (2014) found that individual values towards immigration are more relevant in societies whose culture encourages pursuing one's own goals and expressing one's unique preferences. Analyzing data from 24 countries, the authors found that universalism values predicted more positive attitudes and conformity-tradition values predicted more negative attitudes, but in countries with less collectivist cultures, both values had stronger effects.

Both economic and non-economic factors shape attitudes towards the arrival of immigrants (e.g., Bridges & Mateut, 2009; Dustmann & Preaston, 2007). Regarding economic factors, Palmer (1996), analyzing Canadian surveys between 1975 and 1995, found that opposition to immigration is highly correlated with the unemployment rate and that the most prejudiced groups are not the strongest immigration opponents (e.g., older respondents are the most prejudiced but younger respondents are the most opposed to immigration). The author suggests that opposition to immigration is a complex attitude resulting from the interplay between various concerns and moderating beliefs about immigration's consequences. Scheve and Slaughter (2001) verified that more educated and skilled individuals have more favorable attitudes to further immigration while less-skilled workers are more likely to prefer limiting immigrant inflows. Consistent with this model concerning labor market competition, Mayda (2006) found that skilled individuals favor immigration if natives of that country are more skilled than immigrants, since in this case immigration reduces the supply of

skilled relative to unskilled labor. The opposite is true for countries where natives are less skilled than immigrants. On the other hand, Brenner and Fertig (2006) found that higher education exhibits a positive impact on attitudes towards immigrants regardless of the differing native and immigrant skill compositions across countries. This finding is in accordance with other studies that show that a higher education is associated with less prejudice (e. g., Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Vala et al., 1999).

The ethnicity of the immigrants plays an important role on both the perceived economic and cultural threats that they pose. Bridges and Mateut (2009) asserted that educated natives perceive labor market competition from arriving immigrants of the same ethnic background only. On the contrary, immigrants of a different ethnicity are perceived to have a negative impact on the country's culture. Indeed, Dustmann and Preaston (2007) verified that opposition towards further immigration in UK is strongly related to the proposed origin of immigrants, with much larger resistance the more ethnically distinct the immigrant population is.

1.4 *Emotions towards immigrants*

Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) propose that social groups pose multiple threats and elicit a variety of emotions, like anger, which is likely to occur when an out-group is seen to gain in-group economic resources (e.g., jobs) and disgust, which can occur, namely, when an out-group is thought to carry a contagious and harmful physical illness. According to the authors, different groups elicit different profiles of emotion and this diversity is often masked by general measures of prejudice. Tapias, Glaser, Keltner, Vasquez and Wickens (2007) also found that emotional responses towards outgroups are differentiated and not just yoked to overall negative affect. Examining the associations between prejudice and emotions towards African-Americans and gays, they verified that emotions were generally stronger in response to the gay prime than the African-American prime, however, contempt as well as sympathy yielded no such difference.

The differentiation of emotional responses towards out-groups can also be seen in the study of Caprariello, Cuddy and Fiske (2009), who verified that members of low-competition, high-status groups elicit significantly more admiration and pride than members of other groups while members of low-competition, low-status groups elicit more pity and sympathy. And in another study in Spain conducted by Igartua, Moral-Toranzo and Fernández (2011), participants felt more negative emotions of disgust,

contempt, anger, shame, and fear when reading a news story that had a delinquency frame and involved Moroccan immigrants than when it had to do with Latin American immigrants. However, Brewer (1999) points that negative evaluations of the out-group do not necessarily lead to hostility or conflict; on the contrary, groups can manage to live side by side without going into conflict in a state of mutual contempt and disgust, which are emotions that are associated with avoidance rather than attack. The absence of open hostility towards out-groups was studied by Safdar et al. (2009), who verified the existence of different rules for displaying powerful emotions, like anger, toward in-group members, and powerless emotions, like sadness, toward out-group members. Especially in collectivist cultures, more expression of negative emotions to out-group members (like anger) might be indicative of the differences that are stressed between groups in this culture and the relative lack of concern for harmony with out-group members.

Most emotional responses towards immigrants seem to be negative (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Dijker, 1987; Silva, 2015; Vala et al., 1999). Dijker (1987) identified four categories of emotions by Dutch autochthonous people when confronted with Surinamers and immigrant workers from Turkey and Morocco: positive mood, anxiety, irritation and concern. In a recent study in Portugal by Silva (2015), it was found that Portuguese students feel more negative than positive emotions towards the presence of immigrants in the labor market, including disgust and hostility. These negative emotions are diminished when there is the perception that in Portugal other cultures are better and harmoniously integrated. Previously, Vala et al. (1999) had found that opinions regarding higher restrictions on immigrants' rights are associated with less positive emotions towards them.

Vala et al. (1999) also verified that negative attitudes towards Black individuals in Portugal were related more often with the denial of positive emotions than with the expression of negative emotions, and suggested that racial discrimination may express more easily through emotions than through stereotypes. Similarly, Tapias, Glaser, Keltner, Vasquez and Wickens (2007) verified that out-groups can spontaneously elicit specific emotions without directly activating stereotypes or appraisals associated with those emotions. But specific emotions can also elicit prejudice. According to DeSteno, Dasgupta, Bartlett and Cajdric (2004), some emotions, like anger, influence automatic evaluations of out-groups because of its functional relevance to intergroup conflict and competition, whereas other negative emotions less relevant to intergroup relations, like

sadness, don't. In their study, the authors found that induced anger created automatic prejudice in the participants towards an out-group, whereas sadness and neutrality resulted in no automatic intergroup bias.

1.5 *The influence of the immigrants' gender on discrimination*

There is some evidence supporting the idea that the gender of the immigrants is a factor that influences discrimination and attitudes towards immigration (e.g., Derous, Ryan and Nguyen, 2012; François & Magni-Berton, 2013; Kim & Noh, 2014; Midtbøen, 2016; Shamsuddin, 1998).

Women can be victims of multiple forms of subordination, including gender and ethnic discrimination and there is growing recognition that the failure to address the various differences that characterize the problems of different groups of women can obscure or deny human rights protection due to all women (UN Report, 2000). According to the Multiple Minority Status Hypothesis, proposed by Nelson and Probst (2004), individuals that belong to more than one minority group simultaneously or with multiple stigmatized identities, as is the case of immigrant women, are expected to experience greater discrimination, including discrimination in the workplace. Evidence for this theory that suggests that women may not be only discriminated by their gender but also by their ethnic affiliation, have been collected, for instance, by Derous et al. (2012) who found that Arab women in Netherlands were more disadvantaged when applying to a job than Arab men and Dutch women or men, even when implicit prejudice against Arabs was low.

But there are other theories that focus on the intersection of ethnicity and sex with different conclusions regarding the discrimination faced dissimilarly by men and women.

Conflict theory largely asserts that social structure is based on the dominance of some groups over others and that groups in society share common interests, whether its members are aware of it or not (Lindsay, 2010). These groups, which can include men and women and people from different ethnicities, can be differentiated as minority or majority according to the level of resources they possess (Lindsay, 2010). But the members of these groups can experience the societal competitive processes in different ways. In fact, evidence has shown that men and women have different preferences for placing themselves in a competitive environment (Niederle & Vestlung, 2008). Girls

and boys are raised differently, and while boys are encouraged to be assertive, girls are encouraged to show empathy and be egalitarian (Ruble, Martin, & Berenbaum 2006).

Because men tend to be more competitive (Niederle & Vestlung, 2008), Sidanius and Pratto (1999) suggest the subordinate male target hypothesis (SMT) in which ethnic minority men suffer the most discrimination. More specifically, the difference in discrimination experienced by ethnic minority men as opposed to men of the dominant culture is much greater than the discrimination experienced by ethnic minority women as opposed to women of the dominant culture. The interaction between the gender of the members of the host society with the gender of the immigrants on the shaping of the attitudes and feelings towards immigration was also studied by François and Magni-Berton (2013). The authors found that in a society in which gender roles are well distinguished, the members of the host society tend to feel more hostility towards immigrants of the same sex than to immigrants of the opposite sex.

There is some evidence that ethnic discrimination is more pronounced among men than women and those male immigrants or ethnic minority men perceive being the victims of more discrimination in comparison with women (e.g., Midtbøen, 2016; Preston et al., 2011; Salvatore, 2012; Shamsuddin, 1998). In the United States, Hosoda, Stone and Stone-Romero (2003) found that job discrimination based on ethnicity appears to have a more negative effect on Black men than on Black women, especially if the job requires a high level of cognitive ability. In a study in Italy, Salvatore (2012) verified that the occurrence of perceived discrimination was higher among immigrant compared to Italian males for all geographical areas of origin considered. And in two studies in Canada (Kim & Noh, 2014; Preston et al., 2011) it was verified that immigrant men are more likely than immigrant women to perceive discrimination of all types, including in the workplace. Kim and Noh (2014) suggest that women, who are more likely to work inside the home, are less likely to encounter discrimination than men, who traditionally work outside the home. In another Canadian study, Shamsuddin (1998) verified that labor market adjustments occur at a faster rate for female immigrants than for male immigrants but, according to the author, this can be explained by the fact that female immigrants usually compete for `bad' jobs with low wages that have already been segregated by gender. In a recent field experiment with children of Pakistani immigrants in Norway, Midtbøen (2016) observed that the negative effect of ethnic background on employment probabilities is larger among men than women.

On the other hand, the study of the influence of the gender of the members of the host culture as a factor affecting attitudes towards immigration has had inconsistent results so far. Women have been found to be more intolerant of immigration in some studies (François & Magni-Breton, 2013; Maya, 2006) and more tolerant in others (Davidov et al., 2014). Using data from the European Social Survey (ESS), Brenner and Fertig (2006) determined that gender do not seem to play a systematic role across countries in the shaping of attitudes towards immigrants. On the other hand, Bridges and Mateut (2009) attested that males are less likely than females to oppose the arrival of immigrants of the same ethnicity due to cultural concerns, but are more likely than women to oppose immigration because they believe that immigrants make the country a worse place to live.

2. Aims and hypothesis

Following the line of research of the Luso-tropicalism contemporary repercussions, it is our aim to study how the Luso-tropicalist beliefs of Portuguese college students relate to their attitudes towards immigration and emotions facing a scenario of labor market competition against an immigrant. Simultaneously, we aim to study how the interaction between the gender of the participants and the gender of the immigrant influence these emotions. More specifically we aim:

- To assess the association of Luso-tropicalism, attitudes regarding different ethnic groups (prejudice) and traditional nationalism and non-nationalism with attitudes towards immigration
- To study how the gender of an immigrant character presented in a fictional narrative regarding a labor market competitive situation influences differently the emotions of the male and female participants
- To study the impact of Luso-tropicalism on the emotions of the participants in the same fictional narrative in which an immigrant person is hired for a job instead of the participant.

Although previous studies did not find a significant correlation between Luso-tropicalism and opposition towards immigration (Silva, 2015; Valentim & Heleno, in press), they highlighted the association between Luso-tropicalism and prejudice and the lack of a protective effect of Luso-tropicalism against the opposition to immigration

among Portuguese people. In this context, we aim to verify the aggregated effect of Luso-tropicalism, prejudice and traditional nationalism on the attitudes towards immigration.

We are basing our hypothesis in the framework of the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Valentim, 2008) and other group-threat theories (e.g., Quillian, 1995; Stephan & Stephan, 1996) which underline the importance of the in-group favoritism for explaining the negative attitudes of the members of a society towards immigrants. Also, our study takes into account the evidence gathered so far regarding the positive relationship between nationalism and opposition to immigration in Europe. Hence, we propose the following hypothesis:

H1: Luso-tropicalism, prejudice and traditional nationalism will have a negative effect on the attitudes towards immigration, while non-nationalism will have a positive effect on attitudes towards immigration.

Besides, on the basis of the studies that established that the gender of the immigrants is a factor that can impact differently the attitudes towards immigrants from the male and female members of the host society (François & Magni-Breton, 2013; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), and considering the subordinate male target hypothesis (SMT) of Sidanius and Pratto (1999), we hypothesize that:

H2: There will be an interaction between the gender of the participants and the gender of an immigrant in a fictional scenario of labor market competition on the emotions facing this scenario. Male participants will have more negative emotions when a male immigrant character is presented.

Finally, making a connection between studies that suggest that Luso-tropicalism does not offer a protective effect against opposition to immigration (Silva, 2015; Vala et al., 2008; Valentim, 2003, 2011, Valentim & Heleno, in press) and the study of Vala et al. (1999), who found that opinions regarding higher restrictions on immigrants' rights are associated with less positive emotions towards them, we suggest that:

H3: Luso-tropicalism will predict more negative emotions and less positive emotions in a situation in which an immigrant is hired for a job position instead of the participant.

3. Methodology

3.1 *Sample description*

The data was collected from December 2015 to March 2016 and had the participation of 502 students of Portuguese nationality from the University of Coimbra, 76% women and 23% men. The mean age was 20.36 (SD = 2.58). The majority of them were studying Pharmacy (54.3%) and Psychology (22.2%). The others were from several other courses including Educational Sciences (8.5%), Social Service (6.9%) and Engineering (3.7%).

3.2 *Procedure*

To collect the data, we used the survey method, applying self-administrated questionnaires. Apart from the scales and the questions described below, we presented a fictional scenario in the form of a small narrative with two versions assessing the emotions of the participants towards a situation in which the gender of the fictitious immigrant changes (male / female) depending on the version. To 231 participants (48 males and 183 females) was presented the first version, in which the immigrant was a man, and to other 233 participants (53 males and 180 females) was presented the second version, in which the immigrant was a woman.

3.3 *Measures*

Luso-tropicalism scale (Valentim & Heleno, in press). It is composed of seventeen items that measure the participants' perspectives about Portuguese colonialism and the tolerance and the attitudes that Portuguese people display towards people of other cultures. These items must be rated in a Likert scale from 1 (*I completely disagree*) to 7 (*I completely agree*). Examples of items are the following: *The colonial Portuguese history is characterized by the cultural integration with the colonized populations* and *In comparison with other European countries we can say that in Portugal there is less racism.* Previous studies (Valentim, 2003; Pereira, Barros, Torres & Valentim, 2015) found two factors: *Present*, which was related with several aspects of the present Portuguese society regarding social harmony, tolerance and adaptive abilities, and *Past*, which was related to Portuguese colonial past. However, Valentim and Heleno (in press) found four factors: *Harmonious relations*, *Colonial past*, *Ability to adapt* and *Cultural integration*. In our study we found the initial

solution of two factors by running a principal components analysis with varimax rotation, with eleven items loading in *Luso-tropicalism Present*, and with other six items loading in *Luso-tropicalism Past*.

Attitudes towards ethnic groups living in Portugal (prejudice) (Vala et al., 1999; Valentim & Heleno, in press). It measures the prejudice towards other ethnic groups. The participants must rate, also in a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*extremely unfavorable*) to 7 (*extremely favorable*), how much favorable is their opinion regarding nine different ethnic groups that currently live in Portugal: Roma, Arabs, Portuguese, Africans, Brazilians, Europeans from the EU, Eastern Europeans, Asians and North-Americans. The total score (prejudice) is obtained by calculating the mean of the opinion scores regarding all the groups except the Portuguese people, and then subtracting it to the score of the opinion regarding the Portuguese people.

Attitudes towards immigration (Vala et al., 1999). It measures the attitudes towards the acceptance of immigration, asking the participants to decide which immigrants, if any, must be sent back to their countries of origin by the Portuguese Government. The scale is comprised by six items and the participants must choose only one. The item that reflects the most unfavorable attitude towards immigration is: *The Government must send back all the immigrants to their country of origin, even those who were born in Portugal*. The item that reflects the most favorable attitude is: *The Government must send back none of the immigrants that live at the moment in Portugal*. A higher score in the scale means a more favorable attitude towards immigration.

Scale of nationalism (Valentim & Heleno, in press). The participants must rate in a Likert scale ranging from 1(*it never applies to me*) to 7 (*it applies very often to me*) how much eight self-definitions apply to themselves. For our study, through a principal components analysis with varimax rotation, we found a solution of two factors, one (Traditional Nationalism) that is related to more traditional social identity concepts (*patriot*, *proud of the history of my country*, *traditionalist*, *proud of my national roots* and *nationalist*) and other (Non-nationalism) that is associated to more trans-national characteristics (*europeist, africanist* and *modern*).

Fictional scenario. It was presented a small narrative in which participants must imagine themselves firstly as being employed with a temporary contract in an enterprise. Then, when the contract expires, they are told that the enterprise has financial problems and that the contract cannot be renewed. However, after a month, and while in unemployment looking for a job, they become aware that an immigrant

person was hired by the same enterprise through a special program supporting the integration of immigrants in the labor market. Half of the participants were told that this immigrant was a man while the other half of the participants were told that the immigrant was a woman. All participants were asked to rate their emotions towards this situation in which only the gender of the immigrant changed. Hence, they must say, in a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Nothing*) to 7 (*Very much*) how much they felt angered, solidary, sad, indifferent, understanding, outraged and humiliated. We based our selection of these emotions in the study of Poeschl, Valentim and Silva (2015). The answers to each emotion are used as a separate measure.

3.4 *Data analysis*

First, basic descriptive statistical analyses were conducted in order to obtain mean and standard deviation values for the studied variables as well as Pearson correlations. For the scales of Luso-tropicalism and Nationalism, a Principal Components Analysis with varimax rotation was conducted and the subscales that we used and that we described in the Measures part are the result of this analysis. Reliability analyses were conducted for the scale of Attitudes towards ethnic groups living in Portugal (prejudice) and for each subscale of Luso-tropicalism and Nationalism.

In order to test the first and the third hypothesis we carried out Multiple Linear Regression Analysis, with the independent variables entering the equation at the same time. Although the Pearson correlation results had already shown that Luso-tropicalism subscales (*Luso-tropicalism Present* and *Luso-tropicalism Past*) were not correlated to attitudes towards immigration, we opted anyway to enter them in the equation to test the first hypothesis in conjunction with the variables of prejudice and nationalism, not only to fulfill our previous goal, but also to observe how the model worked. On the other hand, we did not enter the non-nationalism subscale in the model, since its Cronbach's alpha was too low ($\alpha = .56$). For the second hypothesis, we used a two-way MANOVA to test the total model, using the gender of the participants and the gender of the immigrant as the between-subject factors and using emotions as dependent variables, and then the subsequent univariate ANOVAs for each dependent variable. Since the MANOVA results only showed that there were significant effects of the gender of the immigrant but did not say if it was in the male or female participant population, we also used complementary t-tests to observe the existence of significant differences in the male and female participants in separate.

4. Results

In Table 1 we can observe the means, the standard deviations, the reliability indexes and the matrix of correlation coefficients among all the variables. The internal consistency of the scales was good, except for the scale of non-nationalism (α = .56).The relationships between traditional nationalism and *Luso-tropicalism Present* (r = .27, p <.01), and *Luso-tropicalism Past* (r = .21, p <.01), were statistically significant, which was the expected outcome. Both *Luso-tropicalism Present* and *Luso-tropicalism Past* were correlated at a significant level positively with anger (r = .11, p <.05; r = .12, p <.05), sadness (r = .16, p <.01; r = .14, p <.01) and outrage (r = .12, p <.01; r = .10, p <.01) and negatively with indifference (r = -.13, p <.01; r = -.15, p <.01).

The pattern of correlations between prejudice and the main variables are the expected outcome. The relationships between prejudice and *Luso-tropicalism Present* (r = .10, p <.05), *Luso-tropicalism Past* (r = .12, p <.01), traditional nationalism (r = .21, p <.01), attitudes toward immigrations (r = -.17, p <.01), anger (r = .15, p <.01), sadness (r = .12, p <.01), understandigness (r = -.11, p <.05), and outrage (r = .13, p <.01), were statistically significant. Traditional nationalism was significantly associated with attitudes towards immigration (r = -.12, p <.05) and with sadness (r = .15, p <.01). The association between non-nationalism and solidarity was significant and positive (r = .10, p <.05). It is also interesting to note that attitudes towards immigration was significantly associated with humiliation (r = -.09, p <.05).

All the seven emotions were correlated with each other at a significant level, with r ranging between -.53 to -.03 and between .10 and .75. The pattern of the correlations was the expected: the two positive emotions (solidarity and understandigness) were negatively correlated with the negative emotions (anger, sadness, outrage and humiliation). As for the neutral emotion (indifference), the correlation pattern was not so straightforward. More indifference was associated with less anger (r = -.53, p <.01), more solidarity (r =.32, p <.01), less sadness (r = -.51, p <.01), but at the same time with more outrage (r =.37, p <.01) and humiliation (r =.10, p <.05).

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, reliabilities and matrix of correlation coefficients among study variables

	Range	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.Luso-Trop. Present	1-7	4.66	.50	(.76)												
2. Luso-Trop. Past	1-7	3.93	.78	.44**	.(78)											
3. Prejudice	1-7	1.27	1.08	.10*	.12**	(.86)										
4. Trad. Nat.	1-7	4.69	1.18	.27**	.21**	.21**	(.88)									
5. Non. Nat.	1-7	4.17	.99	.18**	.08	-.02	.49**	(.56)								
6. Attitudes Imm.	0-5	3.63	.92	-.07	-.08	-.17**	-.12*	.04	-							
7. Anger	1-7	4.40	1.83	.11*	.12*	.15**	.09	.02	-.03	-						
8. Solidarity	1-7	3.73	1.48	-.04	-.06	-.06	.05	.10*	.05	-.38**	-					
9. Sadness	1-7	4.50	1.82	.16**	.14**	.12**	.15**	.06	.01	.64**	-.21**	-				
10. Indifference	1-7	3.00	1.93	-.13**	-.15**	-.06	-.08	.01	.02	-.53**	.32**	-.51**	-			
11. Understandigness	1-7	3.71	1.50	-.07	-.03	-.11*	.01	.08	.07	-.46**	.65**	-.25**	.38**	-		
12. Outrage	1-7	4.08	1.85	.12**	.10*	.13**	.05	-.01	-.06	.75**	-.35**	.58**	.37**	-.48**	-	
13. Humiliation	1-7	3.35	2.06	-.06	-.08	.02	-.02	-.05	-.09*	.26**	-.09*	.14**	.10*	-.23**	.45**	-

*Notes: *p<.05; **p<.01. Cronbach's alpha coefficients are in brackets. Luso-Trop. Present = Luso-tropicalism Present; Luso-Trop. Past = Luso-tropicalism Past; Trad. Nat. = Traditional nationalism; Non. Nat. = Non-nationalism; Attitudes Imm.= Attitudes towards immigration.*

Table 2 shows the results of the effects of Luso-tropicalism, prejudice and traditional nationalism on attitudes towards immigration (H1). Although our hypothesis included non-nationalism as a predictor, we did not enter this subscale since its internal consistency was low. Only 3.3% of the variance can be explained by the 4 independent variables, but this proportion of variance is significant (R^2 =.033, $F(4.46)$=3.92, p<.01).

Table 2. Effects of Luso-tropicalism, prejudice and traditional nationalism on attitudes towards immigration

	B	SD
Luso-tropicalism Present	-.04	.09
Luso-tropicalism Past	-.04	.06
Prejudice	-.12**	.04
Traditional nationalism	-.05	.04
R^2	.03*	

*p<.05; **p<.01*

It can be observed a non-significant negative effect of *Luso-tropicalism Present* on attitudes towards immigration (B = -.04, *p* > .05) and *Luso-tropicalism Past* on attitudes towards immigration (B = -.04, *p* > .05). Hypothesis 1 was only partially supported.

Related to Hypothesis 2, the results showed a partial support. The MANOVA analysis shown in Table 3 revealed significant multivariate effects for the gender of the immigrant [Wilks'Λ = .95, *F*(7.45) = 3.22, *p* < .05, partial *η2* = .05] and for the interaction between the gender of the participants and the gender of the immigrant [Wilks'Λ = .97, *F*(7.45) = 2.24, *p* < .05, partial *η2* = .03], although the effect sizes are small. In fact, the analysis of the partial η2 indicates that the gender of the immigrant accounts only for 4.7% of the variance and that the interaction accounts for 3.3%. There were no significant effects for the gender of the participant alone.

Table 3. MANOVA Results for the emotions by gender of participant and immigrant

	Wilks'Λ	F	df	p	partial η2
Gender of:					
Participant	.99	.64	7	.72	.01
Immigrant	.95	3.22	7	.00**	.05
Participant* Immigrant	.97	2.24	7	.03*	.03

*p < .05; **p < .01*

Given the significant multivariate results, univariate ANOVAs were then examined for each emotion, and there were found significant effects for the emotions of solidarity and humiliation, although these effects are small as the analysis of the partial η2 reveal (see Table 4). For solidarity, there was a significant effect of the gender of the immigrant [$F(1.46) = 6.93$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta 2 = .02$] as well as a significant effect of the interaction between the gender of the participant and the gender of the immigrant [$F(1.46) = 5.63$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta 2 = .01$].

Table 4. Univariate ANOVA summary for each emotion

|	SS	df	MS	F	partial η2
Anger					
Participant gender	.02	1	.02	.01	.01
Immigrant gender	2.10	1	2.10	.63	.01
Participant gender* Immigrant gender	.30	1	.30	.09	.01
Error	1545.87	460	3.36		
Solidarity					
Participant gender	.02	1	.02	.01	.01
Immigrant gender	14.85	1	14.85	6.93**	.02
Participant gender* Immigrant gender	12.07	1	12.07	5.63*	.01
Error	985.55	460	2.14		
Sadness					
Participant gender	6.93	1	6.93	2.08	.01
Immigrant gender	3.49	1	3.49	1.05	.01
Participant gender* Immigrant gender	1.86	1	1.86	.56	.01
Error	1534.97	460	3.34		
Indifference					
Participant gender	.75	1	.75	.20	.01
Immigrant gender	6.04	1	6.04	1.64	.01
Participant gender* Immigrant gender	.05	1	.05	.01	.01
Error	1693.16	460	3.68		
Understandigness					
Participant gender	.67	1	.67	.30	.01
Immigrant gender	.41	1	.41	.18	.01
Participant gender* Immigrant gender	.02	1	.02	.01	.01
Error	1031.25	460	2.24		
Outrage					
Participant gender	.01	1	.01	.01	.01
Immigrant gender	.73	1	.73	.21	.01
Participant gender* Immigrant gender	.39	1	.39	.11	.01
Error	1579.60	460	3.43		
Humiliation					
Participant gender	2.79	1	2.79	.67	.01
Immigrant gender	14.68	1	14.68	3.50	.01
Participant gender* Immigrant gender	20.35	1	20.35	4.86*	.01
Error	1928.64	460	4.19		

*p< 0.05; **p< 0.01

It can be observed in Table 5 that male participants reported feeling more solidary towards a male immigrant ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.66$) in comparison to a female immigrant ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 1.45$) in the fictitious scenario that was presented to them, and this difference was significant [$t(101) = 2.81$, $p < .01$]. Female participants also felt more solidary towards a male immigrant ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.52$) than towards a female immigrant ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.35$) but this difference was smaller in comparison to male participants. We plotted this gender difference (Graphic 1).

Table 5. Means and Standard Deviations for participants' gender and immigrants' gender, with t-tests

| Dependent variable	Immigrant gender	Participant gender							
		Male (N=101)				Female (N=363)			
		Mean	SD	t	N	Mean	SD	t	N
Anger	Male	4.48	1.98	.13	48	4.52	1.82	1.13	183
	Female	4.38	1.95		53	4.30	1.78		180
Solidarity	Male	4.15	1.66	2.81**	48	3.77	1.52	.17	183
	Female	3.32	1.45		53	3.73	1.35		180
Sadness	Male	4.46	1.77	1.02	48	4.60	1.83	.39	183
	Female	4.09	1.90		53	4.54	1.82		180
Indifference	Male	2.94	1.74	-.94	48	2.81	1.98	-1.36	183
	Female	3.19	1.87		53	3.12	1.92		180
Understandigness	Male	3.63	1.67	-.06	48	3.70	1.56	-.60	183
	Female	3.68	1.49		53	3.79	1.39		180
Outrage	Male	4.17	1.81	.36	48	4.09	1.80	.23	183
	Female	4.00	2.11		53	4.06	1.83		180
Humiliation	Male	3.96	2.05	2.03*	48	3.26	2.03	-.35	183
	Female	3.02	2.13		53	3.34	2.05		180

*$p<.05$; **$p<.01$

Graphic 1. Interaction between gender of participants and gender of the immigrant on Solidarity

Estimated Marginal Means of Solidarity
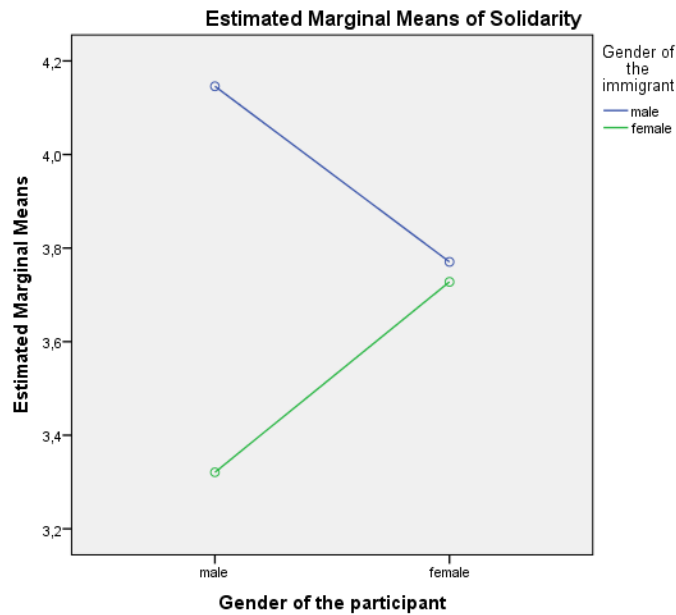
For humiliation, there was only a significant effect of the interaction between the gender of the participant and the gender of the immigrant [$F_{(1.460)} = 4.86$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta2 = .01$]. We plotted this difference (Graphic 2). Male participants also reported higher scores on humiliation towards a male immigrant ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 2.05$) than towards a female ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 2.13$), and this difference was significant in the separate t-test [$t_{(101)} = 2.03$, $p < .05$].

Graphic 2. Interaction between gender of participants and gender of the immigrant on Humiliation

Estimated Marginal Means of Humiliation
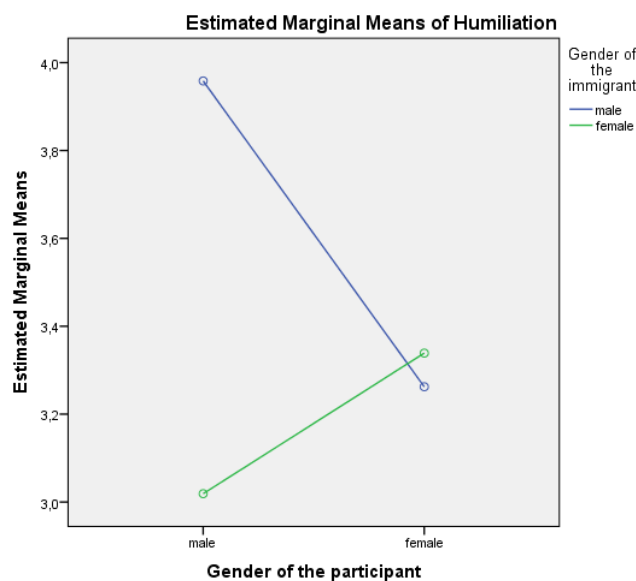
Our hypothesis regarding the existence of an interaction between the gender of the participants and the gender of the immigrant was corroborated for only two emotions, solidarity and humiliation. We also proposed that males would have more negative emotions when a male immigrant was involved in comparison to a female, but this was found only for the emotion of humiliation.

Regarding the Hypothesis 3, the regression models partially corroborated it (see Table 6).

Table 6. The effects of Luso-tropicalism on emotions

	Anger		Solidarity		Sadness		Indifference		Understan-dingness		Outrage		Humilia-tion	
	B	SD	B	SD	B	SD	B	SD	B	SD	B	SD	B	SD
Lus.Trop Pres	.24	.19	-.04	.16	.45*	.19	-.35	.20	-.22	.16	.36	.19	-.15	.21
Lus.Trop. Past	.22	.12	-.09	.10	.21	.12	-.28*	.13	-.01	.10	.14	.12	-.15	.14
R^2	.02*		.01		.03**		.03**		.01		.02*		.01	

*$p<.05$; **$p<.01$; Lus.Trop Pres= Luso-Tropicalism Present; Lus.Trop Past= Luso-Tropicalism Past*

It can be observed that *Luso-tropicalism Present* predicted sadness (B = .45, SD = .19, $p < .05$; R^2 = .03, $F_{(2.452)}$ = 7.39, $p < .01$). On the other hand, *Luso-tropicalism Past* predicted indifference (B = -.28, SD = .13, $p < .05$; R^2 = .03, $F_{(2.45)}$ = 6.80, $p < .01$).

5. Discussion

The aims of this study were to assess the joint effect of Luso-tropicalism, prejudice and nationalism on the attitudes towards immigration and the effect of Luso-tropicalism alone on the emotions facing a scenario in which the participants must imagine themselves being dismissed by an enterprise, realizing a month later that the same enterprise had hired an immigrant through a special program supporting the integration of immigrants in the labor market. Half of the participants received the information that this immigrant was a man, while the other half was told that the immigrant was a woman, because we also aimed to study the impact of the gender of the immigrant on the emotions of the male and female participants, more specifically, the interaction between the gender of the participants and the gender of the immigrant.

27

Results showed that the hypothesized effects of Luso-tropicalism, prejudice and traditional nationalism were corroborated only partially, since the two subscales of Luso-tropicalism (*Luso-tropicalism Present* and *Luso-tropicalism Past*), and traditional nationalism did not have a significant negative effect on the attitude towards immigration. Although previous studies did not find a significant correlation between Luso-tropicalism and opposition towards immigration (Silva, 2015; Valentim & Heleno, in press), we entered the Luso-tropicalist subscales in our regression model in conjunction with prejudice and traditional nationalism, because we wanted to observe its aggregated effect on the attitudes towards immigration. According to the aforementioned literature, we also did not find such correlation between Luso-tropicalism and attitudes towards immigration. However, our study showed that there was a positive association between the two Luso-tropicalist subscales and prejudice at a significant level, as Vala et al. (2008) found. This can be a result of the fact that individuals that score higher on Luso-tropicalism, praising the more tolerant characteristics of the society they belong, would be somewhat more prone to consider themselves as superior to the members of other societies, which are not viewed in such a positive light. It can also be that Luso-tropicalist beliefs are associated with a lower awareness of the collective prejudice and, by extension, individual prejudice, which would reflect itself through more slight reactions of rejecting the members of an out-group. In fact, according to Vala et al. (1999) and Valentim (2003), the individuals that do not consider themselves prejudiced have other more subtle prejudiced reactions.

It seems, hence, that the Portuguese individuals that demonstrate a higher praising of the more tolerant and less prejudiced characteristics of the Portuguese society do not have significantly more negative attitudes towards immigration, but they "authorize" themselves to express more negative views about the individuals of other ethnic groups. We suggest that the Luso-tropicalist beliefs presuppose a superiority feeling that can more easily drive an individual to portray out-groups more negatively.

Prejudice had a significant negative effect on the attitudes towards immigration, which supports in part the study of Vala et al. (2006), who showed that threat perceptions represented by immigrants in Portugal derives, to a large extent, from racist prejudice and not only from situations of economic fragility.

According to theories of group behavior like the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Valentim, 2008) and the integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996), individuals may perceive multiple threats posed by strangers to their social

group, which make them more prone to oppose immigration as a defensive reaction. But according to Vala et al. (2006), racial prejudice can also be a cause and not only a consequence of the threat represented by immigration. Since we did not assess the different perceived threat dimensions posed by immigration, we are not able to affirm if prejudice derives or not from a perceived threat, as Stephan and Stephan (1996) proposed as a cause for prejudiced reactions against members of an out-group.

We must underline that prejudice had a positive and significant correlation with traditional nationalism, which can be understood under the framework of the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) that stresses the importance of in-group favoritism. In fact, we can consider that if people are more prone to define their social identity by categorizing themselves into a stricter, less universalist in-group, like the nation, they are also more predisposed to enforce the boundaries of their in-group against other groups, who are viewed more unfavorably. As Jaffrelot (2003) proposed, nationalism may promote one's own identity against others.

Results did not confirm the negative effect of traditional nationalism on attitudes towards immigration, contradicting previous studies made in Europe with other measures (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013). According to Davidov et al. (2014), the opposition to immigration is greater for people to whom it is especially important to preserve traditions and customs, but we did not find support for this claim. It does not seem that the participants in our study who define themselves being traditionalist feel that the traditions they wish to preserve are in danger in the presence of an immigrant population that is more likely to have a different culture.

Nevertheless, the absence, in our study, of a significant effect of nationalism on attitudes towards immigration supports other studies in the Portuguese context (Vala et al., 1999; Vala et al., 2008). In order to explain the lack of this effect, Vala et al. (2008) suggested that Luso-tropicalist beliefs, stressing the cordiality and flexibility of the Portuguese "national character", might moderate the impact of the national identity on prejudice and opposition towards immigration. In this sense, individuals with Luso-tropicalist beliefs, which underline the "universalist vocation" (Castelo, 2011) of the Portuguese people, and their ability to mingle with other people (Medina, 2000; Valentim, 2003, 2011) would be more likely to believe that the more tolerant characteristics of Portuguese society allow a better integration of immigrants, and hence they would perceive that immigrants pose a lower threat to the homogeneity of the

society. This would be an example of the protective effect of Luso-tropicalism on the attitudes towards members of other groups. However, we did not assess the moderating role of Luso-tropicalist beliefs.

This study responds to calls for directly measure the relationship between Luso-tropicalism and opposition to immigration (Vala et al., 2008; Valentim & Heleno, in press). Our findings contribute to a better understanding and awareness of the complexity of the Luso-tropicalist concept. Although being significantly associated with prejudice, it does not affect the attitudes towards immigration, which suggests that the relationship between these variables is more intricate. The effects of Luso-tropicalism on the attitudes towards immigrants may not be as negative as when immigrants are presented explicitly as individuals of a different ethnicity or nationality.

Since immigration is now a reality in Portugal, the study of the attitudes that we presented here of students, who are expected to enter the labor market soon, may be crucial to understand how immigrants will be accepted by Portuguese young people also looking for jobs and to prevent prejudice against them.

Our second hypothesis regarding the existence of an interaction between the gender of the participants and the gender of an immigrant in a fictional scenario of labor market competition on the emotions facing this scenario was partially supported. The main MANOVA model shows that such interaction exists, in fact, but the analysis of the univariate ANOVAs demonstrates that this interaction is only significant for the emotions of solidarity and humiliation. The results seem at the beginning somewhat paradoxical since male participants reported feeling significantly more solidary and humiliated if the immigrant chosen to the job instead of them in the fictional scenario was a man, also differing significantly from female participants on this point. Males reported feeling an higher intensity of emotions towards the male immigrant versus the female immigrant, being them negative (humiliation) or positive (solidarity), while for the female participants there wasn't a significant effect of the gender of the immigrant on any of their responses (as we can observe separately with t-tests). The humiliation and solidarity felt by females were significantly less affected by the gender of the immigrant in comparison to males. We can consider that in this study women were more indifferent to the gender of the immigrants.

Hence, our results support only in part the competition theory proposed by François and Magni-Breton (2013) that hypothesized that the competition between immigrants and natives should mainly concern immigrants belonging to the same

gender as natives. Our study suggests that this kind of intra-sexual competition is true only in the case of males, which can be understood if we consider the different normative role requirements for women and men in society, in which men are still expected to be the breadwinner, while women are attached to roles involving love and nurturing (Lindsey, 2010). Because threat and conflict are predominantly associated with intergroup competition among men in society who are given the breadwinner role, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) hypothesized that ethnic minority men suffer the most discrimination and, in fact, the male participants of this study tended to feel stronger emotions towards the male immigrant.

Baxter and Wallace (2009) also found that women can be viewed more unthreatening to men, who can exclude them from the in-group/out-group dichotomy. Hence, and extrapolating to our study, a male would feel more threatened and have more humiliation feelings when he is put in a disadvantage against a male of an out-group in the labor market competition process because he feels that they are competing for the same social goals. We can allude to Klein's (1991) definition of humiliation as an experience of being devalued, put down, or disparaged for who one is, rather than what one does. This author states that the humiliation dynamic in our society is, for the most part, played out within a highly competitive win-lose context, which we consider to be the case of the current labor market competition.

On the other hand, the fact that male participants also reported feeling significantly more solidary towards a male immigrant in the same fictional scenario in comparison to a female immigrant may suggest that, in a competitive context, they tend to be more indifferent to women, suppressing both negative and positive emotions towards them. We must underline that not only the expression of negative emotions but also the denial of positive emotions can be associated with prejudice, as Vala et al. (1999) found.

We found only a relative support for the hypothesis of Sidanius and Pratto (1999) which establishes that the difference in discrimination experienced by ethnic minority men as opposed to men of the dominant culture is much greater than the discrimination experienced by ethnic minority women as opposed to women of the dominant culture. Indeed, our study suggests that males do not just have a stronger negative reaction (humiliation) towards other male immigrants which could make them more prone to discriminate against them, but also they have simultaneously a more positive feeling (solidarity). They may not feel threatened by women of an out-group but they also do

not feel solidary. Nevertheless, our study points that the higher discrimination felt by male immigrants or ethnic minority men in comparison with females reported in the literature (e.g., Midtbøen, 2016; Preston et al., 2011; Salvatore, 2012; Shamsuddin, 1998) can be influenced by the fact that the male members of the host society may have a stronger negative reaction towards them in comparison to their more neutral reaction towards female immigrants.

In any case, we must be cautious interpreting these results since there are no significant effects of the gender of the immigrant or of the interaction on the other five emotions that were assessed, which suggests that we must not generalize the results to the other emotions just because they are also negative or positive. The size effects are also small.

The gendered attitudes towards immigration, namely the interaction between the gender of the members of the host society and the gender of immigrants, have not gathered yet much attention. With our research, we showed that the emotions towards immigrants in a specific situation of labor market competition are partially influenced by the aforementioned interaction, which can have practical implications regarding the attitudes and emotions that members of a host society experience facing migratory flows to their country.

Our third hypothesis regarding the impact of Luso-tropicalism on the emotions in the labor market competition situation presented in the fictional scenario was only partially corroborated, since Luso-tropicalism only had a significant impact on the emotions of sadness and indifference. More specifically, Luso-tropicalist beliefs regarding the more tolerant and adaptive characteristics of Portuguese society in the present predicted more sadness, and Luso-tropicalist beliefs regarding the period of past colonization predicted less indifference towards a situation in which an immigrant is hired for a job instead of the participant. This finding is particularly interesting because Luso-tropicalism, which is found to be associated with prejudice towards out-groups (Valentim, 2003; Valentim & Heleno, in press), did not elicit at a significant level the emotions that are usually linked to prejudiced reactions, like anger or open hostility (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Silva, 2015). In this situation that puts the participant in a severe disadvantage in favor of an immigrant, it would be expected that Luso-tropicalist beliefs would be associated to powerful emotions with functional relevance to intergroup conflict and competition (DeSteno et al., 2004) and that are likely to occur when an out-group is seen to gain in-group economic resources, as jobs (Cottrell &

Neuberg, 2005). However, we found that Luso-tropicalism was associated with sadness which, according to DeSteno et al. (2004) is an emotion that is less relevant to intergroup relations and do not result in intergroup bias.

Hence, Luso-tropicalism did in fact predict a more negative emotion (sadness), although this emotion can be considered more adaptive and benign than other negative emotions. According to Bonanno, Goorin and Coifman (2008) sadness in response to a loss would clearly be adaptive as an ephemeral reaction whose expressive functions, like the evocation of helping responses in others, would facilitate bereavement in the context of the broader social group. And in the context of intergroup relationships, facing adverse situations, the expression of sadness can also be considered a more socially desirable response than the expression of more powerful emotions like anger, as Safdar et al. (2009) found. In fact, in order to maintain social harmony, sadness can be a more adaptive emotion to display in social situations that involve members of out-groups (Safdar et al., 2009).

The most expressive effect that Luso-tropicalism had on this adverse situation that brings an imaginary job loss to the participant was, in fact, on the negative emotion that can be considered, in certain contexts, the most appropriate to show facing members of an out-group. It may be the case that Luso-tropicalist representations, which assume the uniqueness of the Portuguese people in their harmonious relationship with others, carry with them the corresponding desire of some social harmony that does not allow the expression of strong emotions of rejection. In fact, as Vala et al. (1999) showed, covert prejudice in Portugal is much higher than the expression of explicit prejudice.

Luso-tropicalism also predicted a significant less indifference, but we do not know how this lesser indifference manifests. If participants with higher Luso-tropicalist beliefs were less indifferent to the labor market competition situation in which an immigrant is put at advantage, they should be feeling specific negative emotions, but since there wasn't an effect on other emotions besides sadness, the negative effect produced by Luso-tropicalism was somewhat imprecise. This finding also underlines the fact that Luso-tropicalism was not able to predict strong emotional responses.

This research allowed specifically to observe that the main emotional reactions predicted by Luso-tropicalism regarding a situation of labor market competition were not the ones that are usually associated to prejudice, which contributes to the general

study of the diversity of emotions that can be or not be elicited by the multiple threats that out-groups pose (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005).

The results should not be generalized to the Portuguese population since our sample is of students and of a narrow age range. The size of the sample also does not allow us to make such generalization. However, students are on the verge of entering the labor market where they can meet immigrants competing for and cooperate in the same jobs and, in this sense, it is relevant to assess their attitudes and emotions.

Our effect sizes were small in all our results for the three hypotheses. Since only 4.3% of the variance can be explained by the variables that we used in our first hypothesis to predict attitudes towards immigration, many other factors might play an important role. Further studies might assess the different perceived economic, cultural and symbolic threats posed by immigrants that may impact not only such attitudes but also the attitudes towards members of other ethnic groups (prejudice). The complex relationship between threat perceptions, prejudice and opposition towards immigration should be better clarified, namely if prejudice derives from threat perceptions, if it is the opposite, or if it is a two-way relation. And since different studies have pointed the importance of the ethnicity of immigrants (Bridges & Mateut, 2009; Dustmann & Preaston, 2007) in the shaping of attitudes towards them, we consider that in the future this factor must be taken into account.

We recommend that future studies explore better our finding regarding the absence of a correlation between Luso-tropicalim and attitudes towards immigration, also found in Valentim and Heleno (in press). Also, regarding the absence of a significant effect of nationalism on attitudes towards immigration, we suggest that the moderating impact of Luso-tropicalist beliefs should be analyzed, as Vala et al. (2008) already proposed.

The fictional scenario used for testing the second and third hypotheses has also limitations, namely the fact that it does not allow to assess the emotions towards immigrants in general, but just the emotions in a very specific context in which an immigrant person is posing as an effective competitor in the labor market who is favored by an enterprise, while the participant is rejected. It is a situation that is supposed to fuel negative emotions, although the score of the two positive emotions (solidarity and understandigness) is not substantially lower in comparison to the negative emotions, which shows that facing a complex situation in which the participants are "discriminated" against an immigrant, they can report a variety of

emotions that can be interconnected in different ways. Nevertheless, it would be risky to generalize these results to the pattern of emotions felt towards immigrants in more neutral circumstances or in other situations that, albeit non neutral, are qualitatively different. Also, another important point is that we do not know how would be the emotions' scoring if in the fictional scenario it wasn't presented an immigrant, but just another person without specifying his or her origin. In the future, for fictional scenarios of this kind that feature immigrant characters, it would be recommended to introduce another group to whom a non-immigrant character is presented in order to compare the reactions. Also, in order to study the emotions towards immigrants in a general way, it can be useful to use other fictional scenarios that do not feature a so aggressive and explicit competition situation.

Finally, since François and Magni-Breton (2013) proposed that the rejection of same-sex immigrants happens when society promotes different roles between genders, we suggest that future studies focus on the emotions towards male and female immigrants, controlling the level of internalization of the traditional gender roles of male and female participants.

6. Conclusion

This study aimed to have a better understanding of the social adhesion to Luso-tropicalist ideas, a topic that was developed in only a few recent studies (Pereira et al., 2015; Santos, 2013; Silva, 2015; Vala et al., 2008; Valentim, 2003; Valentim & Heleno, in press), and to study its relationship with the attitudes towards immigration, which has been receiving growing attention all over the Western societies (e.g., Brenner & Fertig, 2006, Davidov et al., 2006; Dustmann & Preston, 2009).

We found that prejudice but not Luso-tropicalism was a predictor of more opposition towards immigration. On the other hand, Luso-tropicalism had an impact on emotions facing a scenario of labor market competition with immigrants. We also found that some emotions were influenced by the interaction between the gender of the participants and of the immigrant.

Our sample of college students that are on the verge of entering the labor market gave us a view of what will be their near future acceptance of immigrants as labor competitors in a much likely context of economic crisis. Taking previously into account

their attitudes and perceptions can contribute to the creation of more adequate migration policies and practices regarding the integration of immigrants in the labor market in Portugal.

References

Almeida, M. V. (2008). *Portugal's colonial complex: from colonial Lusotropicalism to postcolonial Lusophony.* Queen's Postcolonial Research Forum. Queen's University, Belfast, 2-3. Retrieved from: http://miguelvaledealmeida.net/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/portugals-colonial-complex.pdf

Baganha, M. I., Marques, J. C., & Góis, P. (2004). Novas migrações, novos desafios: A imigração do Leste Europeu. *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais, 69*, 95-115.

Barrington, L. W. (1997). "Nation" and "nationalism": The misuse of key concepts in political science. *Political Science and Politics, 30*(4), 712-716.

Baxter, J., & Wallace, K. (2009). Outside in-group and out-group identities? Constructing male solidarity and female exclusion in UK builders' talk. *Discourse & Society, 20*(4), 411-429.

Billig, M., & Tajfel, H. (1973). Social categorization and similarity in intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 3*(1), 27-52.

Bonanno, G.A., Goorin, L., & Coifman, K.G. (2008). Sadness and grief. M. Lewis, J. Haviland Jones, & L. Feldman Barrett (Eds.) *The Handbook of Emotion* (3rd Edition). New York: Guilford.

Brader, T., Valentino, N., & Suhay, E. (2008). Is it immigration or the immigrants? The emotional influence of groups on public opinion and political action. *American Journal of Political Science, 52*(4), 959-978.

Brenner J., & Fertig, M. (2006). *Identifying the determinants of attitudes towards immigrants: A structural cross-country analysis*, IZA Discussion Paper No. 2306.

Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*(3), 429–444.

Bridges, S., & Mateut, S. (2009). *Attitudes towards immigration in Europe.* Working paper. Department of Economics, University of Sheffield. Retrieved from: http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/10004/1/SERPS2009008.pdf

Caprariello, P. A., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Fiske, S. T. (2009). Social structure shapes cultural stereotypes and emotions: A causal test of the stereotype content model. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 12*(2), 147–155.

Cardão, M. (2015). Allegories of exceptionalism: Lusotropicalism in mass culture (1960–74). *Portuguese Journal of Social Science, 14*(3), 257-273.

Castelo, C. (2011). *Uma incursão no lusotropicalismo de Gilberto Freyre.* Blogue de História Lusófona, 261-280. Retrieved from: http://www2.iict.pt/archive/doc/bHL_Ano_VI_16_Claudia_Castelo__Uma_incursao_no_lusotropicalismo.pdf

Cottrell, C. A., & Neuberg, S. L. (2005). Different emotional reactions to different groups: A sociofunctional threat-based approach to "prejudice". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*(5), 770–789.

Croucher, S. M. (2013). Integrated threat theory and acceptance of immigrant assimilation: An analysis of Muslim immigration in Western Europe. *Communication Monographs, 80*(1), 46-62.

Davidov, E., Meulemann, B., Schwartz, S. H., & Schmidt, P. (2014). Individual values, cultural embeddedness, and anti-immigration sentiments: Explaining differences in the effect of values on attitudes toward immigration across Europe. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 66*, 263-285.

Derous, E., Ryan, A. M., & Nguyen, H. D. (2012). Multiple categorization in resume screening: Examining effects on hiring discrimination against Arab applicants in field and lab settings. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 33*, 544–570.

DeSteno, D., Dasgupta, N., Bartlett, M. Y., & Cajdric, A. (2004). Prejudice from thin air: The effect of emotion on automatic intergroup attitudes. *Psychological Science, 15*(5), 319-324.

Dijker, A. J. (1987). Emotional reactions to ethnic minorities. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 17*, 305–325.

Dustmann, C., & Preston, I. P. (2007). Racial and economic factors in attitudes to immigration. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy, 7*(1), 62.

Eaton, M. (1998). Foreign residentes and ilegal immigrants in Portugal. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 22*(1), 49-66.

Falomir-Pichastor, J. M., & Frederic, N. S. (2013). The dark side of heterogeneous ingroup identities: National identification, perceived threat, and prejudice against immigrants. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 49*, 72-79.

François, A., & Magni-Berton, R. (2011). Individual gendered attitudes toward immigrants. Empirical evidence from French surveys. *The Social Science Journal, 50*, 321–330.

Freyre, G. (1933). *Casa-Grande & Senzala: Formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarcal*. Lisboa: Livros do Brasil.

Haas, E. B. (1986). What is nationalism and why should we study it? *International Organization, 40*(3), 707-744.

Hosoda, M., Stone, D. L., & Stone-Romero, E. F. (2003). The interactive effects of race, gender, and job type on job suitability ratings and selection decisions'. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 33*(1), 145-178.

Igartua, J., Moral-Toranzo, F., & Fernández, I. (2011). Cognitive, attitudinal, and emotional effects of news frame and group cues, on processing news about immigration. *Journal of Media Psychology: Theories, Methods, and Applications, 23*(4), 174-185.

Iturbe-Ormaetxe & Romero, J. G. (2016). Financing public goods and attitudes toward immigration. *European Journal of Political Economy, 44*, 159–178.

Jaffrelot, C. (2003). For a theory of nationalism. *Questions de recherche , 10.*

Kim, I., & Noh, S. (2014). Ethnic and gender differences in the association between discrimination and depressive symptoms among five immigrant groups. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 16,* 1167-1175.

Klein, D. C. (1991). The humiliation dynamic: An overview. *Journal of Primary Prevention 12*(2), 93–121.

Lages, M. F., Policarpo, V. M., Marques, J. C. L., Matos, P. L., & António, J. H. C. (2006). *Os imigrantes e a população portuguesa: Imagens recíprocas – Análise de duas sondagens, 21*, Lisboa: ACIDI.

Lima, M. E. O., & Vala, J. (2004). As novas formas de expressão do preconceito e do racismo. *Estudos de Psicologia, 9*(3), 401-411.

Lindsey, L. L. (2010). *Gender roles: A sociological perspective*. Boston, MA: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Mayda, A. M. (2006). Who is against immigration? A cross-country investigation of individual attitudes towards immigrants. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, 88*(3), 510–530.

Medina, J. (2000). Gilberto Freyre contestado: O lusotropicalismo criticado nas colónias portuguesas como álibi colonial do salazarismo. *Revista USP, São Paulo, 45*, 48-61.

Midtbøen, A. H. (2016). Discrimination of the second generation: Evidence from a field experiment in Norway. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 17*(1), 253-272.

Moscovici, S. (1973). Foreword. In C. Herzlich, Health and illness: a social psychological analysis. London : Academic Press

Nelson, N. L., & Probst, T. M. (2004). Multiple minority individuals: Multiplying the risk of workplace harassment and discrimination. In J. L. Chin (Ed.), *The psychology of prejudice and discrimination: Ethnicity and multiracial identity Vol 2* (pp. 193–217). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group.

Niederle, M., & Vesterlund, L. (2008). Gender differences in competition. *Negotiation Journal, 24*(4), 447-463.

Oliveira, P., & Silva, D. (2011). *Integração da imigração paquistanesa em Portugal*. CEPESE – População e Prospectiva, Working Papers. Retrieved from http://www.cepese.pt/portal/pt/investigacao/working-papers/populacao-e prospectiva/integracao-da-imigracao-paquistanesa-em-portugal/integraassapso-da-imigraassapso-paquistanesa-em

Palmer, D. L. (1996). Determinants of Canadian attitudes toward immigration: More than just racism? *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 28*(3), 180-192.

Pereira, C., Barros, C. Torres, A. R., & Valentim, J. P. (2015, February). *O papel do preconceito e do lusotropicalismo nas atitudes face à imigração qualificada*. Paper presented at the First Congress of the International Association of Social and Human Sciences in Portuguese Language, Lisboa.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *25*, 57-75.

Poeschl, G., Valentim, J. P., & Silva, B. (2015). The thousand shades of the financial and economic crisis: A study of the social representations of the crisis in Portugal. *Spanish Journal of Psychology, 18*(77), 1–10.

Preston, V., Chua, J., Phan, M., Park, S., Kelly, P., & Lemoine, M. (2011). *What are immigrants' experiences of discrimination in the workplace?* TIEDI Analytical Report 21. Retrieved from: http://www.yorku.ca/tiedi/doc/AnalyticalReport21.pdf

Quillian, L. (1995). Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and anti immigrant racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review, 60*(4), 586-611.

Safdar, S., Friedlmeier, W., Matsumoto, D., Yoo, S. H., Kwantes, C. T., Kakai, H., et al. (2009). Variations of emotional display rules within and across cultures: A comparison between Canada, USA, and Japan. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 41*(1), 1-10.

Ruble, D. N., C. L. Martin, and S. A. Berenbaum. 2006. Gender development. In *Handbook of child psychology*, 6th edn, edited by W. Damon and R. M. Lerner. New York: Wiley.

Salvatore, M. A., Baglio, G., Cacciani, L., Spagnolo, A., & Rosano, A. (2012). Discrimination at the workplace among immigrants in Italy. *La Medicina del Lavoro, 103*(4), 249-258.

Santos, L. B. (2013). Prejudice, discrimination, Luso-Tropicalism, Lusophony, and organizational justice in Portugal, from the point of view of Brazilian immigrants. *Revista Psicologia, Organizações e Trabalho*, *13*(1), 61-74.

Scheve, K. F., & Slaughter, M. J. (2001). Labor market competition and individual preferences over immigration policy. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, 83* (1), 133-145.

Shamsuddin, A. F. M. (1998). Thedouble-negative effect on the earnings of foreign-born females in Canada. *Applied Economics, 30*(9), 1187-1201.

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Silva, A. (2015). *As emoções associadas ao luso-tropicalismo e à percepção de ameaça face aos emigrantes em contexto laboral: Um estudo com estudantes portugueses.* Unpublished master thesis in Psychology: University of Coimbra, Portugal.

Stephan, W.G., & Stephan, C.W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 20*, 409-426.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Achman, G. (1999). Prejudice towards immigrants. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 29*(11), 2221-2237.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.

Tapias, M. P., Glaser, J., Keltner, D., Vasquez, K., & Wickens, T. (2007). Emotion and prejudice: Specific emotions toward outgroups. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 10*(1), 27–39.

United Nations (2000). *Gender and racial discrimination. Report of the Expert Group Meeting: 21-24 November 2000 Zagreb, Croatia.* Retrieved from: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/genrac/report.htm

Vala, J., Brito, R., & Lopes, D. (1999). *Expressões dos racismos em Portugal.* Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

Vala, J., Lopes, D., & Lima, M. E. O. (2008). Black immigrants in Portugal: Luso-tropicalism and prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, *64*(2), 287-302.

Vala, J., Pereira, C. & Ramos, A. (2006). Racial prejudice, threat perception and opposition to immigration: A comparative analysis. *Portuguese Journal of Social Science, 5*(2), 119-140.

Valentim, J. P. (2003). *Identidade e lusofonia nas representações sociais de portugueses e de africanos*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal.

Valentim, J. P. (2005). Luso-tropicalismo e lusofonia: Uma perspectiva psicossocial. *Via Latina*, *6*(2), 67-73.

Valentim, J. P. (2008). Identidade pessoal e social: Entre a semelhança e a diferença. *Psychologica*, *47*, 109-123.

Valentim, J. P. (2011). Social psychology and colonialism: Luso-tropicalism as a social representation in the context of contemporary Portuguese society. In J. P. Valentim (Ed.), *Societal Approaches in Social Psychology* (pp. 179-194). Berne: Peter Lang.

Valentim, J. P., & Heleno, A. M. (in press). Luso-tropicalism as a social representation in Portuguese society: Variations and anchoring. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*

van Dijk, T. A. (1992). Discourse and the denial of racism. *Discourse & Society, 3*(1), 87-118.