



**The role of acculturation strategies in the internalisation of racial oppression within Black families in Portugal**

DOMINIQUE LETH-SØRENSEN

**Orientadora de Dissertação:**

PROF.<sup>a</sup> DOUTORA MARIANA PIRES DE MIRANDA

**Professora de Seminário de Dissertação:**

PROF.<sup>a</sup> DOUTORA MARIANA PIRES DE MIRANDA

Dissertação submetida como requisito parcial para a obtenção do grau de:

MESTRE EM PSICOLOGIA CLÍNICA

Dissertação de Mestrado realizada sob a orientação da Prof. Doutora Mariana Miranda, apresentada no ISPA-Instituto Universitário para obtenção de grau de Mestre na especialidade de Psicologia Clínica.

## Agradecimentos

À Prof. Doutora Mariana Miranda que, através do seu amor pela profissão, pela psicologia sistémica e pela ciência e pela sua dedicação enquanto psicóloga cidadã me contagiou e me mostrou o verdadeiro potencial e dever da psicologia. Somos todxs mais ricxs graças ao teu olhar crítico e curioso sobre a sociedade onde vivemos e pela tua coragem em incansavelmente trazer justiça social para o campo da psicologia. Obrigada pela tua aprendizagem humilde, é um orgulho ter-te como um farol neste início de carreira. Pronta para o que vier!

A todxs xs que nos guiaram e aconselharam para um melhor caminho. Obrigada ao Henda Vieira Lopes pela sua direção no início do projeto, à Sílvia e D. Aldina pela disponibilidade e direção para as nossas escalas.

À Anna Luiza, que, mal saída da sua tese, se propôs mergulhar no tema novamente comigo e servir de guia e porto seguro. Não tenho palavras para agradecer a tua paciência, a tua maturidade, o teu entusiasmo e, acima de tudo, a tua amizade. Sem ti, esta tese não teria sido possível - praticamente e emocionalmente. Que orgulho ver-te nestes primeiros passos enquanto profissional e que sorte temos todxs por cá te ter. Do fundo do coração, obrigada querida amiga.

Às que fizeram parte do processo. À Filipa que desde o início me acompanhou nos momentos de maior desespero e alegria. Obrigada por tudo que te propuseste fazer quando eu não podia, sem ti também nada disto teria sido possível. Espero que venhas acreditar em ti como eu acredito - por agora, conseguimos! À Alciomara e à Leonor que sempre se mostraram entusiasmadas e preparadas para embarcar neste projeto conosco - obrigada pelo vosso apoio sempre que precisámos dele. À Marta que sempre teve um ouvido atento, uma curiosidade inspiradora, uma mente incrível se mostrou sempre pronta para analisar qualquer dúvida. Da tese e da vida. Obrigada pela amizade que vai ficar.

Aos que me são mais queridos. Aos meus pais por nunca terem deixado de me apoiar, mesmo quando o meu percurso não foi linear. Devo-lhes tudo e que sorte tenho em saber que o fariam de novo. Ao meu irmão que nunca baixou os braços. Ao Peter por perceber este trajecto e me apoiar nele apesar dos desafios que nos causou. Obrigada por teres estado presente, sempre e incondicionalmente, até quando eu mal estava. Pelo carinho e por me lembrar o que é vida. Pelo feedback interminável e pela paciência imensa. À Madalena que iluminou estes meus dois últimos anos e sem quem não estaria onde estou hoje. Obrigada por seres a minha âncora, por me veres por quem sou e me ajudares sempre a encontrar serenidade.

Por último, e sem quem realmente nada disto teria sido possível, obrigada a todxs xs que participaram. Obrigada pela abertura, pela coragem, pela honestidade, pelo acolhimento e pela partilha.

## Abstract

The study of internalisation of racial oppression has recently started to constitute a subject of research in psychology. However, little research has focused on acculturation as an operationalisation of racial socialisation and its potential effects of the internalisation of racial oppression. This study aimed to investigate this association as well as whether strategies are passed down transgenerationally. 70 Black dyads from two different generations within one family, i.e. 140 persons who identified as Black, participated and were asked to complete a Portuguese-adapted bi-directional acculturation scale as well as a colonial mentality scale used to measure internalised racial oppression. We hypothesised that an assimilation strategy - i.e. low identification with heritage culture and high identification with destination culture - would yield highest levels of colonial mentality. Furthermore, we posited that an older generation's wish for a younger generation's acculturation strategies would be associated with the younger generation's actual reported acculturation strategies. Results showed both hypotheses were confirmed - albeit to different degrees - and its structural and clinical implications are discussed.

*Keywords:* Colonial Mentality, Acculturation, Racism, Intergenerationality, Colonialism

## Resumo

Tanto o estudo da aculturação como da internalização da opressão racial têm sido objeto de pesquisas em psicologia. No entanto, pouca investigação se concentrou na aculturação como uma operacionalização da socialização racial e dos seus efeitos potenciais na internalização da opressão racial. Este estudo teve como objetivo investigar essa associação, assim como uma potencial transgeracionalidade na transmissão de estratégias de aculturação. Participaram 70 díades de participantes Negrxs de duas gerações diferentes dentro de uma família, ou seja, 140 pessoas. Estas foram solicitadas a preencher uma escala de aculturação bidirecional, bem como uma escala de mentalidade colonial usada para medir a opressão racial internalizada. Ambas escalas estão adaptadas ao contexto português. Colocamos a hipótese de que uma estratégia de assimilação - ou seja, baixa identificação com a cultura hereditária e elevada identificação com a cultura de destino - produziria níveis mais elevados de mentalidade colonial. Além disso, postulamos que o desejo de uma geração mais velha de estratégias de aculturação para uma geração mais jovem estaria associado às estratégias de aculturação reais relatadas pela geração mais jovem. Os resultados mostraram que ambas as hipóteses foram confirmadas - embora em graus diferentes - e suas implicações estruturais e clínicas são discutidas.

*Palavras-chave:* Mentalidade Colonial, Aculturação, Racismo, Intergeracionalidade, Colonialismo

## Table of Contents

Introduction .....	1
Problem statement: Portugal and its Post-Colonial Legacy .....	1
Literature Review .....	3
On the Existing Racial Structure and Oppression .....	3
Three Levels of Racism.....	3
Internalised Racial Oppression.....	5
Colonial Mentality Within Psychology .....	6
Racial Socialisation in the Family .....	8
Definitions and its Manifestations.....	8
Acculturation as an Operationalisation of Racial Socialisation .....	9
The Study.....	12
Relevance of Clinical Psychology for the Study of Internalised Racial Oppression .....	12
Relevance of the Present Research.....	13
A note on Intersectionality.....	13
Hypotheses .....	14
Methods .....	14
Design and Participants .....	14
Measures.....	15
Sociodemographic information .....	15
Acculturation .....	18
Internalised Racial Oppression.....	18
Procedure .....	19
Positionality and Reflexivity .....	20
Discussion of Results and its Implications.....	21
Results .....	21
Variable Descriptives.....	21
Moderation Analysis Acculturation Strategies Predicting Colonial Debt .....	21
Intergenerational Transmission of Acculturation Strategies.....	23
Discussion of findings .....	24
Demographics of Participants.....	25
Acculturation and Colonial Debt.....	26
Acculturation and Transgenerationality .....	27

Limitations.....	27
Implications and Future Research .....	28
Implications for Psychology.....	28
Future research .....	29
Conclusion .....	30
Appendices .....	36
Appendix A - Brief definition of Lusotropicalism .....	36
Appendix B - Fit of Models for Colonial Debt and Acculturation Measures of Generation 1 and 2 .....	37

### **Index of Tables**

<b>Table 1.</b> Descriptives for Generation 1.....	16
<b>Table 2.</b> Descriptives for Generation 2.....	17

### **Index of Figures**

<b>Figure 1.</b> Acculturation strategies as illustrated by slopes.....	32
---	----

## **Brief Index of Terms**

**Racialised person:** someone who is an actual or perceived member of a group who has been subjected to a racialisation process based on their skin colour, origin, language, etc., by others. This term acknowledges that racialised persons have often been connoted as “different” and even “inferior” and puts the onus of responsibility for creating such an ideology on colonial ideologies.

**Afrodescendent person:** in Portugal, it refers to someone Black whose heritage and ethnicity comes from previously colonised African countries.

**Global Majority:** is a political term which encourages a change in perception from people belonging to so-called “ethnic minorities” such as Black, Asian, Brown, and indigenous to one that acknowledges that the world’s population is composed of approximately 80% of the aforementioned groups.

**Heritage culture:** culture here is understood as a phenomenon that is flexible and mutable in time and place. It can be conceived as the expression of ways of living passed on from one generation to the next. It can include customs, practices, beliefs, values, art, and food amongst others.

**Destination culture:** is the culture Global Majorities come in contact with when they emigrate to a new country. It also involves, amongst others, customs, practices, beliefs, values, art and food. Destination countries and cultures have often been referred to in the literature as “host” countries (e.g. Berry, 1974; Bourhis, 1997). However, more recently, the imbalance this term creates in terms of power dynamics where one is a “guest” to the “host” is controversial, especially in cases of persons emigrating to countries that formally colonised them.

## Introduction

### **Problem statement: Portugal and its Post-Colonial Legacy**

In April 2023, Portuguese artist and academic Grada Kilomba was awarded an honorary doctorate degree in Lisbon, for her work, namely in the fight against racism. Kilomba was one of the first Black persons to be recognised and celebrated within the Portuguese field of psychology. Indeed, her doctoral thesis, looking at women's experience of daily racism, was published in Berlin in 2008, yet it took over a decade for her work to be translated into Portuguese - a marker of the long-overdue acknowledgment of Portugal's history of colonialism and racism (Publico, 2023).

Portuguese colonial expansion stretched across the globe from Brazil in South America to East Timor in South-East Asia. and lasted over five centuries. Beginning in 1415, it ended finally in 1975, when the *Estado Novo (New State) fascist dictatorship*, led by António de Oliveira Salazar, fell against the wars for independence by colonies (Gorjão-Henriques, 2018). Almost half a century later, in August 2023, the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) - which includes Portugal, Brasil, Cape-Verde, São-Tomé and Príncipe, Guiné-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, East Timor and more recently also Equatorial Guiné - made an agreement to facilitate mobility and residency permits between these countries (Público, 2023). In Portugal, this agreement stipulates that persons from the CLPL will automatically be given a one-year residence permit via an online application that does not require the previously mandatory proof of a return-trip or sufficient income. This agreement claims to facilitate people to apply for permanent residence should they subsequently wish to.

In 2022, Portugal counted 124.283 PALOP (African Countries of Portuguese Official Language) citizens with a residence permit (temporary or permanent) - compared to 781.247 European immigrants (of which, for comparison's sake, over 45.000 are from the UK). In total, PALOP immigrants constitute 13% of immigration to Portugal, with most persons coming from Cape Verde, Angola and Guiné-Bissau respectively (PORTADA, 2023). Data on PALOP movement to Portugal has only been recorded since 1980, the time around which Portugal created a law stating that Portuguese nationality was not earned by place of birth (i.e. Portugal) but by "blood" (i.e. skin colour), ultimately deciding that free movement from those they had colonised was to be restricted (Henriques, 2010). There is currently no existing data on the proportion of Portuguese nationals with PALOP heritage.

Indeed, Portugal still has much reckoning to do in relation to its colonial past. Where countries like the UK, Germany or Belgium have begun to take steps towards officially condemning the ills committed by their ancestors (Kilomba, 2008/2020; Lazaridou & Fernando, 2022; Licata & Klein, 2010; ), Portugal's narrative surrounding colonialism still rests on the idea of the "good coloniser" and the "benign explorer" (Vala et al., 2008). This narrative stems from the social representation that is Luso-Tropicalism (see appendix A for further explanation), a concept that turned the Portuguese collective memory - that is, the set of shared representations from the past based on a group members' identity - into a country that was a "soft" coloniser (Licata, 2010; Lima & Vala, 2004). Ultimately, Portugal has romanticised colonisation and turned violence into glory and today, colonial times are still erroneously referred to as "The Times of Discoveries" (*O Tempo dos Descobrimentos*) (Kilomba, 2020).

Kilomba (2022) refers to Portugal as still being in a stage of negation of its past. Indeed, despite having been the biggest transatlantic trafficker in the history of colonisation - half of the estimated 12 million people from Africa who were made slaves are believed to have gone through Portugal to be sold -, colonialism and its inherent racism is still viewed as other nations' problem (Lima & Vala, 2008). Kilomba (2008/2020) argues that for genuine deconstruction of colonialism, there must be a collective consciousness that goes through: negation, guilt, shame, acknowledgement and reparation, respectively. The current negation of Portugal's racist history hinders the recognition of its present-day consequences.

The mainstream discourse on racism in Portugal posits that it exists mostly in one-on-one microaggressions, carried out by specific individuals (Gorjão Henriques, 2018). Yet, in almost all socio-economic-political dimensions, Black or Afrodescent persons are at a disadvantage: many Black and/or Afrodescent Portugal-born persons are officially recognised as "immigrants" as per a 1981 law which stopped automatically recognising PALOP citizens as nationals; there are ten times more PALOP citizens in prison than White persons, a ratio that exceeds that of the USA; and social housing and *tin neighbourhoods* (i.e. slums) around Lisbon are disproportionately inhabited by Black and/or Afrodescent persons (Gorjão Henriques, 2018). These few and incomplete examples illustrate the actual complex historical, structural and institutional racism in Portugal.

This racist structure has damaging consequences for mental health of racialised persons that has been extensively and systematically documented across the globe (e.g. Lazaridou & Fernando, 2022; Paradies et al., 2015; Ribas, 2022; Utsey et al., 2016). However, one

consequence of such a structure is internalised racial oppression, which has been less empirically documented - especially within the family structure relevant to this thesis' systemic lens. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate certain pathways through which racism is internalised and potentially perpetuated within the family system, namely through the scope of acculturation strategies as a way of operationalising racial socialisation. The exploration of these understudied themes is deemed important in the fight against this structure and as such, this thesis hopes to contribute to a more conscious psychology practice.

This paper will start by presenting a literature review that analyses the different levels of racism and oppression that exist; colonial mentality within psychology; and how these structures may be insidious within the family through acculturation strategies that may be intergenerationally passed down through racial socialisation. Based on relevant theory and previous research, the hypothesis and the methodologies used to test it are then presented. This section includes an explanation on the role of psychology in this field, as well as addressing positionality and reflexivity. The last chapter discusses the results in light of theory, as well as its potential implications for the clinical field.

This thesis follows a monographic structure. It does so because, given the historical, political and societal dimensions that make up the structural racist society still existing today and all its ramifications on the topics explored in this study, it was deemed that an extensive theoretical dive into existing theory was necessary and relevant. This is also in line with the systemic lens this thesis employs in its analysis which aims to bring a holistic scope to the topic.

## **Literature Review**

### **On the Existing Racial Structure and Oppression**

#### ***Three Levels of Racism***

To grasp what racism actually is, it is essential to consider Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a starting point. In the 1970s, legal scholars in the USA such as Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado and Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the concept CRT in an attempt to resist oppression, by academically defining racism. CRT posits that “race” and “racial differences” are socially

constructed concepts that are invented, perpetuated and reinforced by structural forces in society which result in oppression and inequities (Crenshaw et al., 1995). It views racism as being complex and sometimes subtle, where it is often disguised as “normality” so it can fit within the status quo. CRT has an activist and resistant component to its theory as it challenges ahistoricism by stressing the need to understand racism in its social, economic, political and historical context (Gillborn, 2015).

In her *Gardener’s Tale*, Jones (2000) proposes a three-levelled typology of racism: institutionalised, personally-mediated and internalised. Jones defines institutional racism as the differential access to goods, services and opportunities in society based on race. It is ingrained in institutions such as the law, health and education and is thereby normalised, even legitimised. Its presence is manifested in differences in material conditions and access to power. Personally-mediated racism is defined as the prejudice and assumptions made on the basis of race. Where prejudice refers to the assumptions made on the abilities, intentions and motives of others based on a person’s race, discrimination goes one step further as it is the action one then takes based on these assumptions. It can be intentional, unintentional, overt and covert. It can manifest as violence, lack of respect, but also unfounded suspicion, amongst others. Personally-mediated racism is the level of racism which Portugal accepts - albeit to a limited extent - as existing today and relegates to few individuals who do not represent “Portuguese values” (Gorjão Henriques, 2018; Lima & Vala, 2008).

Scholars have suggested that the permanent feature of institutional racism in Western society gives way for racialized people to eventually internalise the notion that they are allegedly inferior (Pyke & Dang, 2003). The result of this process is what is termed as internalised racism, defined as racialised persons’ acceptance of denigrating messages about their abilities and worth (Jones, 2000). Fanon (1952/2017) was instrumental in exposing the effects a racist society has on an individual’s perception of the self. He personally recounts feeling shame, contempt for himself, nausea, a “fear of failing” and a sense of imprisonment. Internalised racism can manifest itself in the belief of limitations to one’s own humanity, dreams, self-expression, and rejection of ancestral roots (Jones, 2000). Internalised racism can be expressed by one's desire to abandon their ethnic heritage (striving to adopt typically white physical traits) and/or by expressions of self-hatred and disinvestment (lack of engagement in their future by dropping out of school, not voting, or engaging in unhealthy activities) (Jones, 2000). This is the level of racism this thesis seeks to gain a better understanding of and as such, will seek to explore in further detail in the following sections.

### *Internalised Racial Oppression*

The term Internalised racial oppression is very much in line with the term internalised racism and has been succinctly defined by Pyke (2010) as “the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one’s racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust and disrespect for one’s race and/or oneself”. This definition summarises work by, namely, Fanon (1963) and postcolonial academic Memmi (1968) which posit that sustained denigration and injustice may lead to the eventual belief that one’s race is inferior.

As such, the concept of internalised racial oppression is useful to explain this phenomenon: the term “internalised racism” has recently been contested by scholars as it may inadvertently be reductionist and perpetuate a notion that internalised oppression is solely an internal experience, failing therefore to consider the root of this problem, which is unquestionably systemic in nature (David et al., 2019). Furthermore, focusing on the term “internalised” disregards the notion that it is not because Global Majority people have internalised an alleged inferiority that there is an “acceptance” of such discrimination - it is important to note here the existing resistance and the adoption and mastery of tools against oppression such as the continuous fight for equal rights, movements such as #BlackLivesMatter and demanding fair accounts of history in schools, for example (e.g. Afuape et al., 2021; França & Silva, 2015).

Some scholars have coined the term “appropriated racial oppression” as better encapsulating the nuanced lived-experiences of Global Majorities regarding racial oppression (David et al., 2019). However, “appropriated racial oppression” is not without its limitations either: “appropriate” usually refers to something being taken away without permission - which would imply there would need to be permission from the oppressors. Furthermore, “appropriating” something always comes from one group with more power taking advantage of a concept from a marginalised group - just as racism can only go one way, from oppressor to oppressee, appropriation, conceptually, can also only be unidirectional. Its conceptualisation may therefore be inadequate (David et al., 2019). As such, if the term internalised racism or internalised racial oppression is to be used, it is paramount that it is consistently coupled with the caveat that this internalisation would not exist, would it not be for a racial oppression in the first place. This study will therefore use the term internalised racial oppression throughout. To better understand such processes of internalised racism, it is important to look at the historical context of colonialism and its legacy, as it has been, and still is, both an ultimate expression of

racism's hierarchisation power and vehicle through which this form of oppression is perpetuated.

### **Colonial Mentality Within Psychology**

Classic colonialism, considered as brutally taking ownership of a land and imposing a set of institutions, beliefs, values and behaviours is rarely put into practice nowadays<sup>1</sup>. Through neo-colonialism, modern forms of oppression drawn from the colonial legacy still legitimate the subordination of nonwhite groups (Nikalje & Çiftçi, 2021). Indeed, Fanon (1963) argued that colonialism's legacy and the continued subjugation of the oppressed to the norms of those in power results in a *colonial mentality*<sup>2</sup>. Colonial mentality is comprised of two dimensions: firstly, the depreciation of a person's heritage and a sense of inferiority, and secondly, the acceptance of an imagined superiority of the coloniser (Fanon, 1952/2017; Ribas, 2022).

Colonial mentality was first empirically studied by David and Okazaki (2006) who created a five-dimensional scale that captured perceptions of American/Western cultural superiority by Filipinx<sup>3</sup> and Filipinx Americans. The study looked at the extent to which participants deemed Western culture more desirable in terms of values, behaviours and physical appearance, among others - and in turn, deeming their own cultural heritage as inferior. After testing and confirming the scale's validity, it was applied to a wide sample demonstrating that overall, 29% of participants endorsed at least one dimension of colonial mentality with 9% endorsing two dimensions or more.

Since its empirical inception, colonial mentality has also been studied in Chinese and Indian populations in the USA, Ghana and Portugal (Utsey et al., 2015; Nikalje & Çiftçi, 2021; Hill et al., 2022; Ribas, 2022). Recently, the Ghanaian scale - itself adapted from David and Okazaki's original scale - was adapted and validated into a Portuguese context by Ribas (2022). This version of the scale was chosen because it reflects the relations between White ex-colonisers and Black persons whose countries were colonised - which is relevant to the Portuguese context. It comprises four distinct dimensions: (1) *physical characteristics* - the

---

<sup>1</sup> Although other forms of oppression, such as neo-imperialism or territorial occupation still manifest regularly (Nikalje & Çiftçi, 2021).

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that, despite the focus of this thesis being on the lived experience of Black and Afro-descendent persons, colonial mentality can be experienced and is perpetuated by any person of any race.

<sup>3</sup> The "x" in Filipinxs refers to a gender neutral denomination

depreciation of physical appearance in favour of a more Westernised appearance; (2) *cultural shame and inferiority* - feelings of shame relating to one's hereditary culture and a sense of inferiority compared to White Portuguese culture; (3) *within-group discrimination* - discriminating against newly-arrived African immigrants or Black/Afro-descendent persons perceived as less assimilated; and (4) *colonial debt* - the acceptance and tolerance of historical and continued oppression as well as colonialism's legacy (Utsey et al., 2015).

Internalised racial oppression and colonial mentality have consistently been associated with negative mental health outcomes (e.g. Fanon, 1952/2027; Hill et al., 2022; Nikalje & Çiftçi, 2021; Ribas, 2023; Utsey et al., 2015). In their study with Asian Indian persons in the US, Nikalje and Çiftçi (2021) found that, when controlling for demographic variables, cultural shame and feelings of inferiority significantly predicted the variance in symptoms of depression. This finding is consistent with David and Okazaki's (2006; 2010) studies which suggested covert forms of colonial mentality, that is, the dimension relating to shame and inferiority significantly predicted depression beyond other tested variables. More recently, Estrellado and colleagues (2022) found colonial mentality to be associated with lower psychological flexibility, that is, a lower ability to tolerate negative thoughts and feelings in order to live a value-based life. However, the effect-size was small in all variables included as measures of psychological flexibility.

Utsey and colleagues (2015) demonstrated that in Ghana, three dimensions of their colonial mentality scale - internalised cultural shame and inferiority, physical traits, and colonial debts - were associated with lower self-esteem and higher depression scores. Furthermore, internalised cultural shame and inferiority, colonial debt and within group-discrimination were associated with anxiety. Ghana has been independent for almost seventy years, yet the psychological sequelae of colonialism still prevail in the form of internalised racial oppression. Fanon argued that a Black person is not only Black, they are Black always in contrast to a White person and are therefore faced with challenges regarding their self-image (Fanon 1952/2017).

More recently, Ribas (2022) demonstrates that in Portugal the internalised cultural shame and inferiority, and physical characteristics dimensions of colonial mentality were significantly associated with levels of depression. Within-group discrimination and depression were only tendentially significantly associated while colonial debt was not correlated with depression - in line with David and Okazaki's (2006) findings. Furthermore, Ribas found that colonial mentality was negatively associated with a communication and problem-solving

dimension of family resilience. This is in line with research suggesting that colonial mentality may hinder the capacity to nurture, value and perceive resilience with Global Majority families and ultimately impact an individual's appreciation of ingroup members and their cultural background - all of which are typically transmitted by the primary social system, the family - the focus of the next section (Minniear & Soliz, 2019).

## **Racial Socialisation in the Family**

### ***Definitions and its Manifestations***

Racial socialisation is a phenomenon that occurs in family and peer groups of all races. In a family context, it essentially comes down to teaching children what it means to belong to a certain race in the current societal structure and what its implications are. However, while White parents have the privilege of not needing to teach their children about race, Global Majority parents often do not have the choice as it can be a question of “fitting in” - such as when they go to school - or still, survival for their children - such as when they come into contact with the police (Afuape et al., 2021; Spanierman, 2022). Racialised families operate within a structure that has existed and perpetuated these norms for centuries. Racial socialisation is important in the study of colonial mentality because - given the role that family plays, by excellence, as the primary socialisation system - it can shed light on how oppression is learned and inadvertently perpetuated.

Racial socialisation within Global Majority families can be thought of as having three main components. Firstly, parents may focus on transmitting the value of belonging to one's own ethnic group while, secondly and simultaneously, also having the need to prepare the child to navigate the racial structure of society beyond the family system. This leads them to, lastly, finding pragmatic and suitable ways to teach their children how to face structural, social, economic, and political inequalities. These practices have been thought of as “routine” and something Black parents “have to do” for their children (França & Silva, 2021). It is fundamental to note that racial socialisation is not confined to experiences of oppression and prejudice but also serves as resistance and transmitting pride (França & Silva, 2021).

Scholars in the last many decades have studied the mechanisms through which parents passed down this information and its effect on children. For instance, in the US, Spencer (1983) looked at racial socialisation in the family by measuring socialising practices: how much one

valued their ethnic group, learning about civil rights and the acknowledgement of racial discrimination. He found that if parents transmitted these from the age of seven, children were more likely to develop a pro-Black orientation. Cross (2005) demonstrated that children in families who were effective at socialising their children in relation to their identity as Black persons and their place within the Black community showed positive self-esteem. This was done through parents giving children a realistic view of the society they lived in, preparing them how to engage with groups of different races as well as constructing a positive in-group image.

Hughes & Chen (1997) found that parents who have reported to suffer from institutional discrimination and associated stress were more likely to pass on to their children - socialise them with - messages which promote mistrust and prepare them against prejudice. As such, depending on the content of the messages passed on from one generation to the next, socialisation may encourage or discourage children from interacting with different racial groups.

Generally, parents will consciously or unconsciously teach their children how to act both with ingroup and outgroup members. This can be by telling them what they should or shouldn't wear in order to fit in with the "norm", how to talk, how to carry themselves, what to read and so on. In other words, parents use their own acculturation strategies to socialise their children. The following section expands on this notion of acculturation and highlights how such strategies manifest within different generations.

### ***Acculturation as an Operationalisation of Racial Socialisation***

**Acculturation in Psychology.** Acculturation in this thesis is understood by what Graves (1967) coined as *psychological acculturation*, that is, the process an individual experiences within a group collectively experiencing acculturation. Berry (1990) later suggested it was the process by which individuals change "both by being influenced by contact with another culture and by participating in the general acculturative changes under way in their own culture". Following tenets of systemic psychology, this thesis proposes that acculturation strategies, although considered here as individual processes, are learned through racial socialisation (e.g. França & Silva, 2015; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Furthermore, Bourhis and colleagues (1997) propose that the internalisation of racial oppression may be influenced

by acculturating to another country. In the process of assimilating into Euro-North American culture, racialised persons may feel the need to abandon their heritage culture.

Acculturation has been conceptualised as a bi-directional adaptation that occurs when two (or more) ethnocultural groups come into contact with one another. However, focusing on the adaptations made by Global Majority individuals, Berry (1974; 1980) identified two basic issues they face: the first is deciding whether the heritage culture should be retained or discarded and the second is deciding whether relations with the destination group should be sought or avoided. These two dimensions allow for a quadrant with four different acculturation strategies: (1) *integration* - retaining the heritage culture while simultaneously seeking relations with the host group (2) *assimilation* - the heritage culture is undesirable and relations with the host group are to be sought (3) *separation* - contact with the host group is avoided and the heritage culture is retained and (4) *anomie* or *individualism* - the first referring to what was previously coined marginalisation and referred to a state where neither the heritage culture is retained, nor identification with the host group is made and the second referring to an individual rejecting group ascriptions, therefore seeing themselves as individuals first before members of any given group.

Fundamental to the study of acculturation is considering the macro dimension of a country's ideology and the influence this has on people's subsequent strategies. Bourhis and colleagues (1997) suggest there are four clusters of state ideologies that live on a continuum: pluralism, civic, assimilation and ethnic ideologies. Pluralism defends that immigrants are expected to adhere to "public values" (e.g. democratic ideals) but that the state does not have legitimacy to interfere in "private values" (e.g. how to dress, religious expressions) and may endorse, namely financially, activities that promote immigrants' cultural values. Civic ideology adheres to the same principles but has a non-intervention stance whereby it will not actively promote cultural celebrations. Assimilation also maintains that it cannot interfere in an individual's private spheres but it may limit certain linguistic and cultural activities in public spheres, for example. The ethnist ideology believes that immigrants must not only adopt public values but that the state also has a right to limit the expression of certain aspects of their private life.

In effect, Hipolito-Delgado (2010) found that in the US, individuals who were most assimilated to the destination culture, had less contact with their heritage culture and identified most strongly with the US identity, also showed the highest levels of internalised racial oppression. This was compared to individuals who were not as strongly assimilated and

retained close contact with their heritage culture. It is important to note that Hipolito-Delgado's measure of acculturation differs from Berry's and what he defines as assimilation is high competency in English, US cultural identity and US cultural competence. A study by Miranda and colleagues (2014) with Roma and migrant populations in Italy and Portugal showed that an assimilation strategy led to higher levels of in-group dehumanisation, i.e. higher levels of inferiorisation. One hypothesis posits that identifying strongly with a country with a colonial history and pervasive racism will lead to the belief that one's ethnic group is inferior - a key component of internalised racial oppression and colonial mentality (Bell, 2005).

Based on their research and Berry's theory of acculturation, David and Okazaki (2006) posit that colonial mentality may increase the likelihood for individuals who emigrate to employ either assimilation or marginalisation strategies. They argue further that, although colonial mentality may pull an individual away from their heritage culture, it might not result in an adherence to the destination country, i.e. an assimilation strategy. They suggest individuals may more promptly employ marginalisation strategies as a result of lack of identification with either heritage or destination culture. However, two dimensions within colonial mentality - namely physical traits and within-group discrimination - as shown in the reviewed literature demonstrate adherence, or at least the "desire" to adhere, to a Eurocentric culture and as such, a "wish" to assimilate (e.g. David & Okazaki, 2006; Ustey et al., 2015; Ribas 2023).

**Acculturation as a Manifestation of Racial Socialisation and Internalised Racial Oppression.** Research shows that acculturation processes do not only happen when individuals or groups immigrate into a new setting - second generation children have also been shown to employ acculturation strategies (Berry & Hou, 2017; Berry & Sabatier, 2010). For instance, the legal status ascribed to second generation immigrants can have a strong impact on acculturation strategies within the host society and they may be prevented from fully participating in society (Bourhis et al., 1997)<sup>4</sup>. Beyond the state policies that influence acculturation in second generations, strategies may be passed on in the family from one generation to the next. Research has suggested that this phenomenon of intergenerational

---

<sup>4</sup> Portugal recently put a law in practice allowing children of immigrants born in the country to have the right to Portuguese nationality if their parents have been legally living in Portugal for at least one year prior to the birth (Ministry of Justice, 2022). However, it is neither automatic nor free, meaning the bureaucracy and fee to obtain it often acts as an impediment (Gorjão Henriques, 2018).

ethnic-racial socialisation may teach children that being from a certain ethnic group can have negative connotations (Spanierman, 2022). As such, these attitudes and practices learned by children may lead to the internalisation of their racial inferiority over time and over generations.

For instance, a study by Hill and colleagues (2021) suggests that Chinese American children may learn the “minority model” stereotype - that is, exhibiting allegedly positive characteristics that allow them to be high-achievers, especially in certain fields such as science - from their parents. Their research yielded first, a correlation between parents’ and children’s internalisation of racism (measured with the Asian Minority Myth scale) and second, that children who had made plans to pursue science careers scored higher levels of internalised racial oppression. However, the study measured an association and its predictive value is therefore limited. Nevertheless, this study is the first, to our knowledge, to investigate the racial socialisation within the family setting and its association with the internalisation of racism.

This literature review, though non-exhaustive, provided an overview of the historical processes within Portuguese society, which impact today’s narrative on racism within the country. It also engaged with scholarship on racial oppression, colonial mentality, racial socialisation and acculturation to build a case for this research: namely, that different acculturation strategies will lead to different levels of colonial mentality and that acculturation is passed down amongst generations. The following chapter introduces the study, including its relevance, a note on intersectionality, and closes with the main hypotheses guiding the research.

## **The Study**

### **Relevance of Clinical Psychology for the Study of Internalised Racial Oppression**

Racism’s deleterious effects on mental health have been clearly demonstrated over the last decades. Given the structurally racist and patriarchal nature of the society, it is essential that the field of psychology investigates the interplays between such a society and mental health. Furthermore, the field of psychology has a long history of studying individual/cognitive/lived-experience processes, providing an especially relevant lens to approach the study of internalised racial oppression. Note that this does not mean addressing racism as an individual-level problem (Salter et al., 2018)

This topic is relatively new in this field with approximately 90% of studies having been conducted in the last two decades only (David et al., 2019). Since then, psychometric scales have been developed to quantitatively grasp the experience of different Global Majority groups (Filipinx Americans, Latinx, Puerto Ricans, Ghanaians and recently Black persons from Portuguese ex-colonies) and how these are associated with different psychological constructs such as self-esteem, ethnic identity and mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety (Cajucom, 2017; Clement, 2015; David & Okazaki, 2006; Ribas, 2023; Utsey et al., 2015;).

Different theories in psychology have tried to explain the psychological mechanisms through which internalised racial oppression functions. The cognitive behavioural theory (CBT) lens suggests the distorted view of the self and one's racial group as inferior; and of others such as White people as superior. Such perceptions of inferiority are expressed through self-denigrating thoughts, attitudes and behaviours that develop as a consequence of experiences in a racist environment. One of CBT's main tenets is that the most frequent thoughts are those most accessible to our memory and as a result are those we tend to believe in more. CBT therefore posits that due to prolonged exposure to the subtle, overt, institutional and personally mediated experiences of racism, members of racially oppressed groups may begin to internalise an alleged inferiority (Cajucom, 2017; David, 2009; David, 2019)

### **Relevance of the Present Research**

This thesis seeks to deepen an understanding in the interaction between colonial mentality and acculturation strategies within families. It does so in the family setting to get insight into how this interaction may be passed down from one generation to another. The need to generate knowledge derived from the people facing racism and acculturation is socially and empirically urgent particularly in Europe (e.g. Kilomba, 2008; Hipolito-Delgado, 2010; Ustey et al., 2015).

### **A note on Intersectionality**

One of CRT's main tenets is the concept of intersectionality introduced by Crenshaw (1995). It posits that perceived group membership can make individuals vulnerable to certain forms of biases - yet because people belong at any given time to different social groups, their complex identities shape the specific way in which they experience bias. For instance, men and women may experience racism differently, just as women from different races may experience

sexism differently (Crenshaw, 1995). As such, although not explicit in the research questions presented, this thesis will consider results in light of intersectionality and thus reflect on the different social dimensions that may impact the lived experience of participants.

## Hypotheses

The thesis is constructed through a systemic lens and its scope is the family system across two generations. The study is set in Portugal and its overall purpose is to investigate acculturation strategies and colonial mentality in Black and Afrodescendent families in a postcolonial society<sup>5</sup>.

The central thesis is that different acculturation strategies will yield differences in the extent to which colonial mentality manifests. Specifically it hypothesises that:

1. Different acculturation strategies will yield different levels of internalisation of Colonial Mentality. We suggest that the stronger the identification with Heritage Culture and the weaker the identification with the Destination Acculturation, the higher levels of Colonial mentality will be.
2. There is an association between the first generation's desire for the second generation's acculturation strategies and the second generation's reported acculturation strategies.

## Methods

### Design and Participants

This research followed a cross-sectional research design. In total, 70 dyads or 140 people were included in the final data set. 16 dyads were excluded either due to incomplete questionnaires, one generation only being present or cognitive impairment. These dyads include parent-children, aunt/uncle-niece/nephew and grandparent-grandchild relationship. 99 participants (71%) identified as female - 87% in generation 1 and 54% in generation 2 - and 41 (29%) as male - 13% in generation 1 and 46% in generation 2 - and their age ranged from 10

---

<sup>5</sup> Note that a post-colonial society refers to the effects that colonialism still has today - such as enabling a structurally racist society

to 75 years old ( $M = 34.5$ ,  $SD = 16.4$ ). Only 22 participants (16%) were born in Portugal with the remaining 118 (84%) having been born abroad. Immigration years ranged from 1969 to 2023 ( $M = 5$   $SD = 15.23$ ). Participants' identified heritage cultures included primarily Angola (33%), Guiné-Bissau (23%), São-Tomé and Príncipe (23%), Cape-Verde (9%) and others<sup>6</sup>.

The legal situation of most participants was that of temporary residency (46%) followed by citizenship (30%). All but 3 participants (98%) had parents born outside of Portugal with Angola accounting for most (31%), followed by Guiné-Bissau (25%) and São-Tomé and Príncipe (21%). 33% of participants reported firstly that it was “very difficult to live with the current income”, 29% reported that it was “difficult to live with the current income”, followed by 27% who reported “One can live off the current income”. Regarding education, 32% of participants had completed highschool.

Data collection was conducted via a snow-balling sampling method and participants were therefore approached through different pathways simultaneously. These included: contact with schools; contact with organisations and institutions that work with Afrodescendent populations; anti-racism activist groups; via instagram and facebook with the project's social media account; inviting students at the university where the thesis was conducted; and through personal contacts. Most participants for the study were invited to partake through a partnership with CEPAC, a not-for-profit organisation that offers support to immigrant persons. All participants identified as Black.

## Measures

### *Sociodemographic information*

At the beginning of the questionnaire, participants were asked information based on their sociodemographic characteristics such: as age; sex; schooling; country of birth; if born out of Portugal, the date of immigration; country of birth of both parents; relationship status; perceived income; and legal situation in the country. Participants were also asked to state who they were in relation to the family member they were participating with “e.g. I am the daughter of x”. Descriptives are broken down by generation in tables 1 and 2.

---

<sup>6</sup> The migration year is not out of the 140 participants but of the 118 who emigrated.

**Table 1.** Descriptives for Generation 1

	n	%		n	%
Schooling			Country of Birth		
No schooling	4	3%	Portugal	3	4%
1 <sup>st</sup> Cycle of Education	10	14%	Angola	22	31%
2 <sup>nd</sup> Cycle of Education	11	16%	Brazil	4	6%
3 <sup>rd</sup> Cycle of Basic Education	11	16%	Cape-Verde	7	10%
Level IV Professional Education	19	27%	France	1	1%
Bachelor's Degree or higher	15	21%	Germany	/	/
Current Income			Guiné-Bissau	17	24%
Current income allows one to live comfortably	4	6%	São-Tomé and Príncipe	16	23%
Current income is enough to live on	9	13%	Migration year		
It is difficult to live off the current income	20	29%	1960-1969	1	2%
It is very difficult to live off the current income	35	50%	1970-1979	5	8%
Legal situation in the Country			1980-1989	4	7%
Rather not answer	3	4%	1990-1999	6	11%
Without residence permit	1	1%	2000-2009	2	4%
Temporary residence permit	38	54%	2010-2019	34	53%
Permanent residence permit	6	9%	2020-Present	13	20%
Citizenship	20	29%			

**Table 2.** Descriptives for Generation 2

	n	%		n	%
Schooling			Country of Birth		
No Schooling	/	/	Portugal	19	27%
1 <sup>st</sup> Cycle of Education	2	3%	Angola	13	19%
2 <sup>nd</sup> Cycle of Basic Education	9	13%	Brazil	4	6%
3 <sup>rd</sup> Cycle of Basic Education	21	30%	Cape-Verde	4	6%
Level IV Professional Education	26	37%	France	/	/
Bachelor's Degree or higher	26	37%	Germany	1	1%
	12	17	Guiné-Bissau	14	20%
Current Income			São-Tomé and Príncipe	15	21%
Current income allows one to live comfortably	12	17%	Migration year		
Current income is enough to live on	27	39%	1960-1969	/	/
It is difficult to live off the current income	19	27%	1970-1979	/	/
It is very difficult to live off the current income	10	14%	1980-1989	/	/
Legal situation in the Country			1990-1999	1	2%
Rather not answer	10	14%	2000-20009	1	2%
Without residence permit	7	10%	2010-2019	24	48%
Temporary residence permit	26	37%	2020-Present	25	50%
Permanent residence permit	3	4%			
Citizenship	22	31%			

## ***Acculturation***

Ryder and colleagues (2000) conceptualised a 20-item bi-direction scale for acculturation where 10 items focused on the *heritage culture* and the remainder 10 on the *destination culture*. A version adapted by Miranda and colleagues (2014) was used for this thesis. Questions were answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale where 1 is “*not important*” and 5 is “*very important*”. The scale assesses acculturation attitudes taking into account various aspects of individuals’ lives (e.g. values, social groups, food preferences) and asks the same question twice, once in regards to the identified heritage culture and once in regards to the destination culture. The scale can be analysed according to the four quadrants Berry identified as potential strategies aforementioned: low-low = anomie/individuation; high-low = separation; low-high = assimilation; high-high = integration. This study adapted one scale to measure generation 1’s acculturation desires for generation 2. This means that, instead of a self-report questionnaire for themselves, generation 1 was asked to fill it considering the acculturation outcomes they would most like for generation 2.

A confirmatory two-factor analysis was conducted for each generation of the dyads included. For generation 1’s scale, results were adequate ( $\chi^2/df = 3.19$ , CFI = .94, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .18) while for generation 2’s scale, they showed a very good fit of model ( $\chi^2/df = 1.00$ , CFI = .99, TLI = .99, RMSEA = .01).

## ***Internalised Racial Oppression***

The present study uses a recent adaptation by Ribas (2023) of the Colonial Mentality Scale to the Portuguese context, itself adapted from both the Filipinx and the Ghanaian version of the instrument. It contains the same four dimensions as the Ghanaian version (see chapter on Colonial Mentality within Psychology) but drew from the Filipinx version for dimension 1. This version of the self-reporting measure is a 24-item rating-scale ranging from 1 - “strongly disagree” to 5 - “strongly agree”. A higher score indicates a higher endorsement of colonial mentality.

At first, without the intention of refining the Colonial Mentality Scale (CM), we reanalysed the data collected by Ribas (2023) in a study recently developed in Portugal. We focused on improving the precision with which the CM construct is calculated and, in parallel, on simplifying the scale by reducing the number of items initially proposed by Ribas (2022). To analyse the quality of the items in this instrument, we used Item Response Theory (IRT),

specifically using Samejima's model for political items from the Gradual Responses (1988). The analysis focused on the parameters of discrimination (a) and difficulty (b), as well as the characteristic curves of the items and the information that each one provides. Our analysis indicated that: items 1, 5, 9 and 13 best captured dimension in-group discrimination; 2, 6, 10 and 14 best captured dimension physical characteristics; 3, 7, 11 and 15 best captured dimension colonial debt; and lastly 4, 8, 12 and 16 best captured dimension cultural shame and inferiority.

However, a confirmatory multigroup analysis (Brown, 2015; Byrne, 2012) carried out with the data found in the present study indicated that, of the various dimensions of MC assessed, only the Colonial Debt dimension demonstrated configurational, metric and scalar invariance between generation 1 and generation 2. These invariances are essential to ensure that comparisons between parent and child data are reliable (Brown, 2015; Byrne, 2012). Focusing exclusively on this dimension, we were able to identify tight fit indices for the models relating to generation 1 and generation 2 (indicate the fit indices separately for parents ( $\chi^2/df = 0$ , CFI = 1, TLI = 1, RMSEA = .00) and children ( $\chi^2/df = 0$ , CFI = 1, TLI = 1, RMSEA = .00), respectively<sup>7</sup>). Furthermore, we observed high values for the Alpha and Omega coefficients, reflecting a reliable internal consistency of this dimension in both groups of participants ( $\alpha = .70$ ,  $\omega = .74$ ). This result reinforces the relevance of the Colonial Debt dimension in understanding the Colonial Mentality across generations.

## **Procedure**

Data was collected for two master theses as well as for a continuing overall project taking place in both Portugal and Brasil. Besides the variables collected specifically for these theses, other variables were collected for the purpose of the overall project. Two master students, a researcher and a cultural mediator joined to collect data. Members of the research group rotated between meetings with participants. The cultural mediator assisted particularly in cases where the family felt more comfortable speaking Creole than Portuguese. A pilot interview with a mother and daughter originally from Cabo-Verde was conducted to test and validate concepts used in the overall study.

Data was collected either in person or online. For the in-person collection, the research group arranged a time and place that was most convenient for the family to participate in (e.g.

---

<sup>7</sup> See the factor analysis model in appendix C.

in their home, a café, in a garden and after work or during weekends). In most cases, both family members completed the questionnaires simultaneously. In some cases, two meetings took place for one family to respond. Participants were given the consent form with a brief introduction to the study. Each family could choose to enter a lottery to win two 50€ shopping vouchers. Each dyad was then asked to agree on a term for their cultural heritage which they were to think of when relevant in the questionnaires. Examples of these coined terms included *Angolan*, *Cabo-Verdean*, *Brazilian* and *African*.

The online collection was done via Zoom and followed the same procedure as in-person. Data was collected using Qualtrics to record responses. After completion of the questionnaires, the research group remained available to discuss any of the content if the family wished to.

### **Positionality and Reflexivity**

Although not common in quantitative studies, positionality and reflexivity are deemed essential for the theme of this thesis. As a white woman with high education, having invited Black persons from mostly difficult economic and migration situations to participate in this study, I often, with my research group, discussed the il/legitimacy and ethics of researching this field. I acknowledge the racist structure within which academia and psychology operate and therefore the power dynamics inherent to this project. Furthermore, by discussing this subject, I do not claim to speak for the group of participants. Rather, I hope to bring talks of decolonisation to psychology in Portugal (and elsewhere) and the responsibility we white psychologists (to be) have in combating this structure.

It was essential here to take an active anti-racist stance throughout the project: in the conceptualisation of the study by, for example, reading and using a majority of works by racialised authors; in the data collection process by, post-collection, stating our disagreement with the statements in the questionnaires, being there for whatever feedback participants wished to share and being “citizen psychologists” when relevant and appropriate; by analysing the results and discussing them acknowledging our positionality and the social dynamics at play; by having committed to share the results of our study with those interested and having a social media account for the project with the purpose of raising awareness on the topic as well as celebrating the all scholars and authors who are and/or work with racialized people.

It is essential to note that neutrality or objectivity - hailed in the science disciplines - is not only dangerous because it supposes that there are those who “know” and those who do not (Kilomba, 2008/2020), but also unhelpful in conducting systematic investigation and going against the status quo (e.g. Hooks, 1990). As such, despite this thesis being of quantitative nature and not offering the depth of lived experiences a qualitative research might, results will be discussed with the depth that this subject necessitates.

On a last, personal note, I come from a multi-cultural family background with two nationalities and a Black brother who was adopted as a toddler. The issues of internalised racial oppression and acculturation in the family have as such surrounded my life since childhood and it is therefore a theme I feel responsibility for not only as a citizen but as a sister.

## **Discussion of Results and its Implications**

### **Results**

#### ***Variable Descriptives***

Participants’ mean acculturation strategies were measured for both heritage and destination culture and for each generation. For the heritage acculturation strategies, Generation 1’s mean average was above the average ( $M = 3.78, SD = .86$ ) while Generation 2’s was high ( $M = 4.19, SD = .63$ ). For the destination culture, Generation 1’s average was slightly above average ( $M = 3.56, SD = .56$ ) as was Generation 2’s ( $M = 3.58, SD = .82$ ). These scores indicated a slightly higher tendency towards an acculturation strategy closer to heritage culture, especially for the second generation of participants. This tendency can be reflective of two strategies within Berry’s quadrant, namely separation (high scores on heritage culture; low scores on destination culture) or integration (high scores for both heritage and destination culture). Colonial debt was used here for generation 2 and as the only dimension of colonial mentality ( $M = 1.93, SD = 1.02$ ).

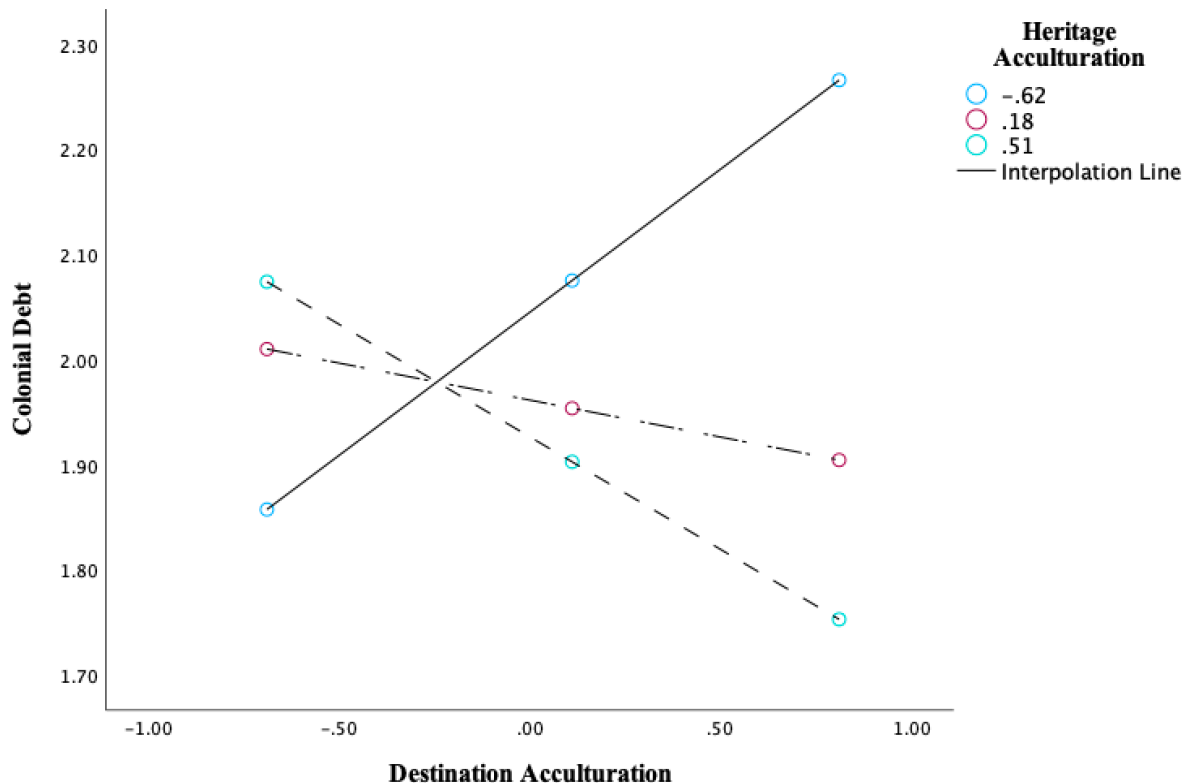
#### ***Moderation Analysis Acculturation Strategies Predicting Colonial Debt***

A Moderation analysis was conducted with the aim of investigating how acculturation strategies towards the destination and the heritage culture influence the perception of colonial debt. The moderation was conducted using PROCESS Macro (version 4.2.) (Model 2; Hayes 2002) with a 5000 simulation bootstrapping.

There was no main effect between generation 2's acculturation strategies and their own reported colonial debt. This was true for acculturation with the destination culture ( $B = .0058$ ;  $SE = .1531$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.2999, .3115]$ ), as well as acculturation with the heritage culture ( $B = -.1051$ ;  $SE = .1973$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.4991, .2889]$ ). However, as predicted, the interaction between the two dimensions of acculturation significantly predicted colonial debt ( $B = -.4308$ ;  $SE = .1892$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.8085, -.0530]$ ).

In order to further deconstruct this interaction, we calculated simple slopes of the link between acculturation to the destination culture and colonial debt were calculated at three established cut-off points in acculturation to the heritage culture: 16% inferior, 64% median e 16% superior (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. Acculturation strategies as illustrated by slopes



When analysing individually each single slope, no statistically significant relationship was found between acculturation to destination culture and colonial debt in all levels of acculturation with heritage culture: low ( $B = .2721$ ;  $SE = .1782$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.0836, .6279]$ ), medium ( $B = -.0704$ ;  $SE = .1616$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.3929, .2522]$ ) or high ( $B = -.2129$ ;  $SE = .1929$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.5990, .1711]$ ). However, because the moderation was significant, we can assume that the slopes are significantly different between themselves. Considering our analysis, we can observe that colonial debt is indeed higher in the assimilation quadrant, i.e., when acculturation to destination culture is high, and acculturation with heritage culture is simultaneously low.

### ***Intergenerational Transmission of Acculturation Strategies***

Because what appears to predict higher levels of colonial debt is the assimilation preferences, i.e., an interaction between heritage and destination acculturation preferences, it is important to further explore the determinants of this interaction term. This paper focuses on the transgenerational transmission of acculturation, and the first analysis in this section will therefore include as predictors of acculturation for generation 2, the preferences of generation 1 for generation 2 acculturation.

Again, this analysis was conducted using PROCESS Macro (version 4.2.) (Model 1; Hayes 2002) with a 5000 simulation bootstrapping. Results show that generation 2's acculturation wishes for generation 1's acculturation to heritage or destination culture do not independently influence generation 2's actual acculturation preferences. Both generation 2's preference for generation 1's identification with the destination culture ( $B = .1524$ ,  $SE = .1945$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.2360, .5407]$ ) and identification with the heritage culture ( $B = -.0791$ ,  $SE = .2039$ ,  $IC\ 95\% [-.4863, .3281]$ ) did not influence the actual acculturation preferences of generation 2 (operationalised as the interaction term). However, the interaction between generation 1's wish for generation 2's identification with destination culture and generation 2's identification with heritage culture was significant ( $B = -.4458$ ;  $SE = .1809$ ;  $IC\ 95\% [-.8071, -.0845]$ ). This correlation between the two interaction terms is a first indicator of our transgeneration hypothesis.

To further deconstruct these findings, two other moderation analyses were conducted. Both with generation 1's wishes for generation 2's acculturation to destination culture and with

heritage culture as predictors, the first only had as dependent variable the preference of generation 2 towards the heritage culture and the second only had generation 2 preferences towards the destination culture.

Having acculturation to the heritage culture as the dependent variable showed that the effect was not significant for the model's interaction ( $B = .1568$ ,  $SE = .0908$ , IC 95% [-0.245, .3381]), for generation 1's wishes for generation's 2 acculturation to destination culture ( $B = -.1460$ ,  $SE = .0976$ , IC 95% [-.3409, .0489]), nor for generation 1's wishes for generation 2's acculturation to heritage culture ( $B = -.1799$ ,  $SE = .1023$ , IC 95% [-.0245, .3841]).

The same analysis was conducted then with generation's 2 identification with destination culture as the dependent variable. The interaction was not significant, ( $B = -.0170$ ,  $SE = .1235$ , IC 95% [-.2636, .2296]) nor was generation 1's wishes for generation 2's acculturation to destination culture ( $B = -.0422$ ,  $SE = .1327$ , IC 95% [-.2228, .3073]) or generation 1's wishes for generation 2's acculturation to heritage culture ( $B = -.1401$ ,  $SE = .1392$ , IC 95% [-.1378, -.4180]).

Although both analysis yielded statistically non-significant results, they show that, when including in the model generation 2's heritage acculturation in relation to generation 1's preferences of acculturation to both heritage and destination culture, there is a tendentially significant interaction ( $F(1,65) = 2.98$ ,  $p = .088$ ). As we deconstruct this relation, we notice a significant effect of generation 1's preferences towards heritage culture on generation 2's heritage acculturation. However, when acculturation to destination culture is low or medium, the influence of heritage culture from generation 1 on 2 is not at all accounted for ( $F(1,65) = .57$ ,  $p = .891$ ).

We have to highlight however, that neither the last two analyses fully explain the intergenerational transmission of acculturation effect that we describe in the first moderation. It shows nevertheless that 1) the transmission of between generation 1s wishes of acculturation for generation 2 and generations 2 reported acculturation exists and 2) that the transmission of acculturation preferences of one or other group never occurs independently, they are dependent on each other.

## **Discussion of findings**

Overall, this study sought to investigate how different acculturation tendencies may be associated with colonial mentality. It further posited that generation 1's acculturation

preferences for the younger generation is an operationalisation of racial socialisation and that as such, acculturation desires from an older generation would be associated with actual acculturation choices from a younger generation.

### ***Demographics of Participants***

Before engaging in the analysis of the hypotheses tested, it is important to note the demographics of participants and the impact these may have had on results. Firstly, almost three quarters of participants were female. For the first generation - that is, the care-giver role -, 87% were women and for the second generation, numbers were more evenly split, with 54% being female. In 1999 looking at racial socialisation within African American families in the US, Thomas and Speight found gender differences in the types of messages that children were being taught depending on their gender: boys were more likely to be prepared against prejudice - that is negative stereotypes to fight against -, while girls were more prepared to deal with society's structure and find pride in their heritage as a means to integrate society more successfully. Another study found that the socialisation of mothers predicted boys' but not girls' preparation for bias and again, that cultural socialisation was perceived as more important for girls than boys (Hughes et al., 2009). This finding is especially interesting in light of this study, which considers acculturation as an operationalisation of racial socialisation, has a higher number of female participants and found a higher tendency towards identifying with one's heritage culture in comparison to the destination culture.

Another important demographic factor to consider within this study is (im)migration. The majority of participants emigrated to Portugal within the last five years and as such may still be in a very active stage of the acculturation process to the destination culture - and may never stop acculturating. In a study looking at acculturation in immigrant youth, Karataş and colleagues (2020) highlight the stressors that immigrants may face when coming into contact with a new destination culture, which may in turn influence acculturation: fear of deportation, marginalisation by the destination society, discrimination, economic difficulties, laboural difficulties. The uncertain, unequal, and often long-lasting and tedious process of immigrating to Portugal for afrodescendant persons make this an important factor to consider within the population of participants in this study. For instance, it is interesting to consider that most participants demonstrated separation or integration strategies - an interesting avenue to explore

with a longitudinal study would be whether these strategies would change over time with a prolonged stay.

### ***Acculturation and Colonial Debt***

This study initially aimed to test the moderating effect that identifying with heritage culture had in the relationship between identifying with the destination culture and colonial mentality. However, due to the low number of participants, the model could not support the colonial mentality scale in its entirety and the colonial debt dimension of the scale was used for the analysis.

Through its moderation analysis, this study showed that those who score higher on assimilation - i.e. who identify strongly with Portuguese culture and less so with their heritage culture - compared to the three other strategies (individuation/anomy, separation and integration) also have higher levels of colonial debt. This preference for the assimilation strategy may reflect a romanticization of Portuguese culture. This is in line with what David and Okazaki identified in the US with Filipinx immigrants who perceived the dominant group's maltreatments as a well-intentioned - albeit patronising - view of their group and therefore scored higher levels of colonial debt (David and Okazaki, 2006). In a structurally racist society which supports a narrative where colonisers (or their descendents) are allegedly superior, racialised persons may inadvertently begin to support this narrative and believe the notion that colonised countries should be grateful for having been "civilised and a normalisation of maltreatments for the sake of "progress".

This finding is particularly interesting to consider in the Portuguese context where its history of colonisation is still so fraught with romantic notions of relations between colonisers and colonised - the benevolent coloniser and the genteel colonised (e.g. Vala et al., 2008). Although the majority of participants are immigrants and may not have a very long experience in Portuguese society, Ustey and colleagues (2015) already demonstrated that the effects of a colonial narrative still hold true today for previously colonised countries. As such, it appears that to assimilate in such a context, with this Portuguese narrative of colonialism means having higher levels of colonial debt compared to other acculturation strategies. As such, we suggest that the extent to which one identifies with heritage- and destination culture may be influenced by the historical vision and narrative of colonialism held today. However, it is important to note that this suggestion is theoretical as this study is correlational and does not measure causality.

### ***Acculturation and Transgenerationality***

A general association between an older generation's desires of acculturation for a younger generation and the latter's actual acculturation was indeed found. As such, this study confirmed the transgenerational hypothesis posited with the following finding: there appears to be an association between an older generation's wish for a younger generation's identification with the destination culture and the younger generation's identification to their heritage culture. Furthermore, subsequent analyses seems to suggest that when the first generation reports wishes of low identification with their heritage culture for the second generation - fitting into the quadrant individualism/anomie or assimilation -, and the more the first generation wants the second to identify with the destination culture - i.e. fit into the quadrant assimilation or integration -, the less the second generation will identify with its heritage culture - again, fitting into the quadrant individualism/anomie or assimilation.

These findings are generally in line with the theory that acculturation is an operationalisation of racial socialisation and that this takes place primarily within the family system where messages about heritage and destination cultures are passed down from one generation to the next (e.g. França & Silva, chapter 5; Karatas et al., 2020). Indeed, these findings back up intergenerational transmission theory stipulating that children adopt - at least to a certain extent - the acculturation orientation of their parents (Degner & Dalege, 2013). Furthermore, they confirm findings from Karatas and colleagues (2020) where in a sample of immigrants, they demonstrated that parents' influence on destination culture adoption was the strongest predictor compared to peers' influence. Both these studies suggest that children from migrant families may tend to follow their parents - or caregivers - example and wishes in terms of adopting the destination culture.

### ***Limitations***

Several limitations can be observed for this study. The first refers to the correlational nature of the study which shows an association between colonial mentality and acculturation strategies, however without being able to determine causation or the direction of the relationship. Furthermore, this study does not account for the socialisation that occurs from children to parents', i.e. it does not investigate the bidirectionality of socialisation. It also does not consider the role that peers have in potential racial socialisation or choice of acculturation

strategies, nor does it explicitly consider the role of a destination society's demands for acculturation (i.e pluralism, civic, assimilation and ethnic ideologies). Moreover, some participants arrived in Portugal very recently and may not have stable acculturation strategies at the time of data collection.

Other limitations include bias in participant's responses. Social desirability bias may be particularly important in this study, given the sensitive nature of the questionnaires and the fact that the majority of the research group was White and educated, compared to many participants who lived in economically precarious environments. Bias may also have played a role due to the personal contact between certain participants and researchers. In the case where a member of the research group knew a participant, the group tried to mitigate this by having another member of the group conduct the data collection. Lastly, the number of participants and dyads used for the performed analyses do not allow to accurately measure a trend in the participants' responses. This meant, for example, that only the Colonial Debt dimension of the Colonial Mentality scale could be used in the final model and that certain trends did not yield statistically significant results.

## **Implications and Future Research**

### ***Implications for Psychology***

Although this thesis does not address racism in relation to potential trauma, it is important to note that structural racism can lead to trauma that is then passed on from one generation to another (e.g. Yehuda, 2018). Historical trauma theory suggests that the psychological consequences of mass traumatic experiences - such as colonialism - can be transmitted through generations through physiological, environmental and social pathways, as well as beliefs and attitudes (Henkerson et al., 2022). Indeed, this theory suggests that children may be socialised within their families according to perceived racist experiences. The findings of this study confirmed the transmission of attitudes towards one's culture and as such reinforce the need for systemic psychology to consider this intergenerationality within a racist structure - even in more subtle forms than overt trauma such as acculturation tendencies or colonial mentality.

Specifically, therapists must be aware that the wishes that parents or caregivers express in relation to their children's acculturation do seem to in fact have power over children's acculturation choices - which may in turn culminate in the internalisation of racial oppression and subsequently poor mental health outcomes (Hankerson et al., 2022). As such, it may be important to bring immigrant families acculturation wishes into the therapeutic space.

Furthermore, it is paramount for psychologists to acknowledge and integrate in their practice the structural, racist, patriarchal norms that people - and therefore, clients - operate within. Here the systemic lens is crucial as it recognises that internalised racial oppression would not exist if systemic racism did not exist in the first place and that, subsequently, it may lead to the development and maintenance of psychological distress and psychopathology (David et al., 2019). As such, this lens highlights systemic and environmental changes that force psychologists to act beyond the typical individual/clinical setting and incorporate a social justice framework. This can be done through, for example, services being actively anti-oppression by valuing non-Eurocentric ways of healing, by actively countering the power imbalances between “expert” and “client” and adopt a posture Falicov (1995) coins as *not-knowing* (for a review see Miranda & Vieira-Lopes, 2021).

Just as importantly, oppression-informed psychologists must embrace roles and new skill sets beyond the typical “therapist”, “researcher”, “health worker”. The psychologist must become what APA President Jessica Henderson Daniel defines as a “citizen psychologist”, such as collaboratively working with the communities they have agreed to serve and understanding what their needs and preferences are to facilitate systemic changes.

### ***Future research***

The first critical point to address in any future research in this field is the painful history that certain marginalised groups have with psychology (and conventional western-science generally). Psychology has been used to inferiorise certain groups and legitimise their oppression as well as taking away credibility from certain groups’ own epistemology (Lazaridou & Fernando, 2022). One of Kilomba’s (2007) central issues in her studies is asking the questions: “Who knows?” “Who can know?” “Who knows what?” and “Who’s knowledge are we legitimising”. To answer these questions, we must do away with scientific imperialism and generate knowledge from those who know: those who live through racial oppression. As

such, people pertaining to these various groups must be included in the conceptualisation of these concepts and integrate an appropriate historical understanding of racism.

o that aim, further research with qualitative methods that focus on the point of view of racialised persons would provide a more nuanced understanding of issues within this field. Based on our experience post-data collection, it became clear that a qualitative angle would have provided a depth of lived experience that was not possible to capture through quantitative questionnaires. Such research would benefit from adopting an intersectional approach to better understand the cumulative effects of different forms of oppression on the mental health of different groups of people.

Based on recommendations by David and colleagues (2019), future work could try to make clearer the association between internalised racial oppression and other psychology related concepts such as system justification theory, social dominance theory, and internalised oppression more generally. This would be relevant in order to establish a clearer connection between the relevance of internalised racial oppression and psychology as a discipline.

It is important to note here that most European societies promote assimilation strategies. Indeed, in their research on group identity, Dovidio and colleagues (2007) highlight the importance of replicating patterns of findings within this field beyond a Western and European context where assimilation ideology reigns and therefore, subsequent assimilation from global majority is expected.

## **Conclusion**

To our knowledge, this was one of the first studies to investigate directly the association between different acculturation strategies and the internalisation of racial oppression through the measure of colonial mentality. Our initial hypothesis which suggested that an assimilation strategy - lower identification with heritage culture and higher identification with destination culture - would lead to higher levels of colonial mentality when compared to other strategies proved to be true. The second hypothesis confirmed that the wishes of an older generation's acculturation strategy for a younger generation's is associated with the younger generation's reported acculturation strategies. These findings are particularly important given the Portuguese post-colonial context which continues to promote a romanticisation of its colonial

past and perpetuates a structurally racist society which may have deleterious effects on racialised persons' well-being.

Por que não tentar outro ponto de vista?

A história dos outros, quem a contará?

Se qualquer colônia sem colonialista

São os que já estavam lá

Tentemos então ver a coisa ao contrário

Do ponto de vista de quem não chegou

Pois se eu fosse um preto chamado Zé Mário

Eu não era quem eu sou

Os navegadores chegaram cá a casa

E foi tudo novo p'ra eles e p'ra mim

A cruz e a espada e os olhos em brasa

Por que me trataste assim?

Não é culpa nossa se quem p'ra cá veio

Não se incomodou ao saber do horror

A história não olha a quem fica no meio

E o que foi é de quem fôr

Canto dos Torna-Viagem, Zé Mário Branco

## References

- Afuape, K., Bisimwa, N., Campbell, K., Jemmott, R., Jude, J., Nijabat, N., Simpson, S. (2021). Black and proud: Impact of intergenerational racism upon global majority family systems. *Journal of Family Therapy*, 44(1), 5-19.
- Bell, D. (2005). *Silent covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Berry, J. (1974). Psychological aspects of cultural pluralism: Unity and identity reconsidered. In J. Brislin (Ed.), *Topics in culture learning*. Honolulu, HA: East-West Culture Learning Institute.
- Berry, J. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In E. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation, theory, models and some new findings*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Berry, J., & Hou, F. (2017). Acculturation, discrimination and wellbeing among second generation of immigrants in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 61(2017), 29-39.
- Berry, J., & Sabatier, C. (2010). Acculturation, discrimination, and adaptation among second generation immigrant youth in Montreal and Paris. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 34(2010), 191-207.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moïse, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senécal, S. (1997). Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32(6), 369-386.
- Brown, T. A. (2015). *Methodology in the social sciences: Confirmatory factor analysis for applied research*. The Guilford Press.
- Byrne, B. M. (2012). *Structural equation modeling with Mplus: Basic concepts, applications, and programming*. Routledge.
- Crenshaw, K. W., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (1995). Introduction. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* (pp. xiii-xxxii). New York, NY: New Press.
- Cross, B. E. (2005). New racism, newfound education and same ole' oppression. *Educational studies*, 38(3), 263-274.

- David, E. J. R., & Okazaki, S. (2006). Colonial mentality: a review and recommendation for Filipino American psychology. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*(1), 1.
- David, E. J. R., & Okazaki, S. (2010). Activation and automaticity of colonial mentality. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40*(4), 850-887.
- David, E. J. R., Schroeder, T. M., & Fernandez, J. (2019). Internalized racism: A systematic review of the psychological literature on racism's most insidious consequence. *Journal of Social Issues, 75*(4), 1057-1086.
- Degner, J., & Dalege, J. (2013). The apple does not fall from the tree or does it? A meta-analysis of parent- child similarity in intergroup attitudes. *Psychological Bulletin, 139*(6), 1270–1304. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031436>
- Gorjão Henriques, J. (2018). *Racismo no país dos brancos costumes*. Portugal: Tinta da China.
- Graves, T. D. (1967). Psychological acculturation in a tri-ethnic community. *Southwestern journal of anthropology, 23*(4), 337-350.
- Falicov, C.J. (1995). Training to Think Culturally: A Multidimensional Comparative Framework. *In Family Process 34*(4), 373-399
- França, D. & Silva, K. (2015). *A Psicologia Social do Desenvolvimento nas Relações Raciais e Racismo*. Blucher.
- Freyre, G. (1933). Casa grande y senzala. *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia, 10*, 158.
- Hayes, A. F. (2022). Introduction to Mediation, Moderation, and Conditional Process Analysis: A Regression-Based Approach (Vol. 3). The Guilford Press.
- Hankerson, S. H., Moise, N., Wilson, D., Waller, B. Y., Arnold, K. T., Duarte, C., ... & Shim, R. (2022). The intergenerational impact of structural racism and cumulative trauma on depression. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 179*(6), 434-440.
- Henriques, M. A. (2010). *Argumentos para uma Viagem sem Regresso. A imigração PALOP por via da saúde: Um estudo de caso*. ACIDI, IP.

- Hill, D. J., Li, D., Wang, J., & Liew, J. (2021). Cultural Values, Intergenerational Transmission of Internalized Racism, Education, and Career Goals in Chinese American Families. *Journal of Career Development, 49*(5), 1168-1180.
- Hipolito-Delgado, C. P. (2010). Exploring the Etiology of Ethnic Self-Hatred: Internalized Racism in Chicana/o and Latina/o College Students. *Journal of College Student Development, 51*(3), 319-331.
- hooks, b. (1990). *Yearning: Race, gender and cultural politics*. South End Press.
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science, 1*(4), 200-214.
- Hughes, D., Hagelskamp, C., Way, N., & Foust, M. D. (2009). The role of mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization in shaping ethnic-racial identity among early adolescent boys and girls. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*, 605-626.
- Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(5), 747-770.
- Karataş, S., Crocetti, E., Schwartz, S. J., & Rubini, M. (2020). Understanding adolescents' acculturation processes: New insights from the intergroup perspective. *New directions for child and adolescent development, 2020*(172), 53-71.
- Lazaridou, F., & Fernando, S. (2022). Deconstructing institutional racism and the social construction of : A strategy for professional competence training in culture and migration mental health. *Transcultural psychiatry, 59*(2), 175-187.
- Licata, L., & Klein, O. (2010). Holocaust or benevolent paternalism? Intergenerational comparisons on collective memories and emotions about Belgium's colonial past. . *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV), 4*(1), 45-57.
- Lino, P. (2021). Discurso colonial português "é errado e continua a existir", diz professora da Universidade da Califórnia. . *Observador*. Retrieved from <https://observador.pt/2021/10/25/discurso-colonial-portugues-e-errado-e-continua-a-existir-diz-professora-da-universidade-da-california/>
- Lusa (2023, February 19) Portugal vai atribuir autorização de residência de forma automática a imigrantes da CPLP. *Público*.

<https://www.publico.pt/2023/02/19/sociedade/noticia/portugal-vai-atribuir-autorizacao-residencia-forma-automatica-imigrantes-cplp-2039534>

- Memi, A. (1968). L'homme dominé, le noir, le colonisé, le prolétaire, le juif, la femme, le domestique. *Petite Bibliothèque Payot, Paris*
- Minnear, M. & Soliz, J. (2019). The effect of intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action is mediated by reductions in SDO. *Journal Of Applied Social Psychology, 49(5)*, 307-318. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12586>
- Miranda, M., Gouveia-Pereira, M., & Vaes, J. (2014). When in Rome...Identification and acculturation strategies among minority members moderate the dehumanisation of the majority outgroup. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 44*, 327-336.
- Miranda, M. P. & Vieira-Lopes, H. (2021). Terapia Familiar com Famílias Culturalmente Diversas. In M. Gouveia-Pereira, & M. P. Miranda (Eds.), *Manual de Terapia Familiar – Teoria, Avaliação e Intervenção Sistémica* (pp. 127-138). Pactor.
- Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A. & Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *PloS one, 10(9)*, e0138511.
- PORTADA, Estatísticas Sobre Portugal e Europa (2023). População estrangeira com estatuto legal de residente: total e por algumas nacionalidades <https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/populacao+estrangeira+com+estatuto+legal+de+residente+total+e+por+algumas+nacionalidades-24>
- Pyke, K., & Dang, T. (2003). “FOB” and “whitewashed”: Identity and internalized racism among second generation Asian Americans. . *Qualitative Sociology, 26(2)*, 147-172.
- Ribas, A., Miranda, M. & do Bú, E. (2023). Explaining the mental health consequences of internalized racism: The mediating roles of family resilience and collective action. [Manuscript submitted for publication].
- Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). Is Acculturation Unidimensional or Bidimensional? A Head-to-Head Comparison in the Prediction of Personality, Self-Identity, and Adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79(1)*.
- Salema, I. (2023, April 14). Grada Kilomba voltou ao lugar onde foi a única estudante negra, agora como doutora honoris causa. *Público*.

<https://www.publico.pt/2023/04/14/culturaipilon/reportagem/grada-kilomba-voltou-lugar-onde-unica-estudante-negra-doutora-honoris-causa-2046151>

- Salter, P. S., Adams, G., & Perez, M. J. (2018). Racism in the structure of everyday worlds: A cultural-psychological perspective. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 150-155.
- Samejima, F. (1988). Comprehensive latent trait theory. *Behaviormetrika*, 24(24), 1–24. [https://doi.org/10.2333/bhmk.15.24\\_1](https://doi.org/10.2333/bhmk.15.24_1)
- Spanierman, L. B. (2022). Confronting Whiteness in Developmental Science: Disrupting the Intergenerational Transmission of White Racism. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 32(3), 808-814.
- Spencer, M. (1983). Children's cultural values and parental childrearing strategies. *Developmental Review*, 4, 351-370.
- Thomas, A. J., & Speight, S. L. (1999). Racial identity and racial socialization attitudes of African American parents. *Journal of Black psychology*, 25(2), 152-170.
- Utsey, S. O., Abrams, J. A., Opare-Henaku, A., Bolden, M. A., & Williams, O. (2015). Assessing the Psychological Consequences of Internalized Colonialism on the Psychological Well-Being of Young Adults in Ghana. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 41(3), 195-220.
- Yehuda, R., & Lehrner, A. (2018). Intergenerational transmission of trauma effects: putative role of epigenetic mechanisms. *World psychiatry*, 17(3), 243-257.

## Appendices

### Appendix A - Brief definition of Lusotropicalism

Luso-Tropicalism is a term coined by anthropologist Gilberto Freyre in 1933 that was appropriated by the Salazar dictatorship to claim a “uniqueness” in Portuguese colonial relations with colonised countries based on a supposed national empathy and capacity to deal

with “others” (Vala et al., 2008). Luso-tropicalism also meant to set Portugal apart from allegedly more violent contemporaries - namely Spain, depicted as ruthless - to appease the country and give the impression that Portuguese colonisation was “successful” and “peaceful” (Vala et al., 2008; Ribas, 2023).

## Appendix B - Fit of Models for Colonial Debt and Acculturation Measures of Generation 1 and 2



