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# Social insertion and racial prejudice: Distance from black people and socio-political variables

## ABSTRACT

*This article analyses the relationships between racial prejudice (flagrant and symbolic) and university students' membership of socio-political groups, their adherence to political ideologies, and their attitudes related to the developed and developing worlds. A total of 418 students participated in the study. The results show a negative correlation between adherence to left-wing ideology and social distance from black people. They also show that favourable attitudes to the developed world are positively correlated to the distance from black people. Finally, group memberships in social movements and in affective-religious communities inhibit the expression of symbolic racial prejudice.*

## KEYWORDS

racial prejudice  
social insertion  
political position  
Brazilian racism  
racial miscegenation  
Lusotropicalism

## RACISM IN BRAZIL

Black people arrived in Brazil as victims of the slavery that developed in Latin America between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Van den Berghe (1969) states that where there was enslavement the labour force developed with greater intensity in a plantation system. In fact, the slaves were inserted into a patriarchal system of rural production in which there was a high degree

of miscegenation between black and white people, a specific characteristic of Portuguese colonisation, which Freyre (1933) explains through the myth of Lusotropicalism.

The abolition of slavery in Brazil, which occurred late in comparison with other American countries, was according to Silva and Rosenberg (2008) characterised by the country not adopting racial segregation legislation and a legal definition of race membership; not developing specific policies to integrate the former slaves; and developing a policy of racial whitening by encouraging white European immigration (Andrews 1988). All these initiatives were in line with European eugenic policies of that time and retain the historical process of racial inequalities until the present day.

Those policies began to be critically debated during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. During this period, some authors expressed an optimistic view of racial relations that was based on miscegenation (Freyre 1933), while others denounced racial segregation (Fernandes 1965; 1972) and showed that the myth of racial democracy was useful as rationalisation for the development of discriminatory ideas and practices (Azevedo 1975).

Although Brazil's black population is still discriminated against (Pastore and Valle Silva 2000), there is a set of social and legal anti-racist norms that point towards the extinction of racial prejudice. This contradictory situation leads us to ask how these norms are understood and how actual racial discrimination is justified in Brazil. In order to analyse this, we shall first discuss how prejudice has been studied in psychology, as well as the new forms of racism in Brazil.

## **RACIAL PREJUDICE**

In the psychological study of the social discrimination process, the more useful concept is that classically defined as 'an aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group; and it is, therefore, presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group' (Allport 1954: 7). In this definition, prejudice is the negative orientation or negative affective position of an individual or group of individuals towards another social group.

As the term suggests, prejudice assumes negative prejudgments and beliefs about the characteristics of members of a race, religion or any other social group (Jones 1972). These prejudgments and beliefs concerning the characteristics of a social group are implicit cognitive aspects of the notion of prejudice. Prejudices are not just negative feelings and beliefs about social groups: they are essentially related to discriminatory practices (Brown 1995).

How do we explain the existence of prejudice and discriminatory practices? Social psychology has developed a great diversity of explanatory models about the factors determining discriminatory practices (Brown 1995; Duckitt 1992). Initially, psychological theories about prejudice concentrated their analyses on the intrapersonal level (Adorno et al 1950; Dollard et al 1939), where the behaviour is explained by the internal dispositions of the individual. Later explanations began to emphasise interpersonal factors such as contact between members of different groups (Allport 1954). However, since the 1960s theories about prejudice have followed two different perspectives in social psychology (Álvaro and Garrido 2007): the psychological and the sociological.

From a psychological perspective, the theories are associated with social cognition theory, which emphasises intra-individual psychological factors,

particularly the automatic or conscious cognitive aspects. Thus, Tajfel and Wilkes (1963) have shown that an automatic consequence of the categorisation process is an accentuation of the similarities among members of the same class, as well as the differences among members of different classes. Subsequently, Tajfel (1969) suggested that the origin of the perceptive accentuation be applied to both the physical and social stimuli. Group differentiation would be a consequence of the social categorisation. According to this view, prejudice would be the result of biased evaluation in which people will discriminate in favour of their 'in-group' (Brown 1995).

Sociological theories place prejudice within the social processes of exclusion and inclusion, and try to explain actual forms of discrimination through analysis of real conflicts and the ideological collisions that develop around them. In this manner, group differentiation will be conceived in the framework of a new understanding of social function (Vala 1999).

Thus, Billig (1985) believes that if ideology reflects the economic organisation, it is only to be expected that modern thought is contradictory, because it includes both moral aspirations of brotherhood and equality, and realistic concerns of distributive justice in the competitive and meritocratic context of capitalism. Although the ideology arises in the actual conditions of power relations, as a mental construct it follows the psychological laws that govern the cognitive and affective processes (Van Dijk 1998; 2008). Therefore, prejudice will be the result of institutional processes of differentiation according to skin colour and the phenotype features that still exist today, despite the existence of a social hierarchy that is based on race being denied at every stage (Guimarães 1999).

If racism is an ideology or discourse that justifies racially discriminatory processes of denying genotype differences, we could ask ourselves in which forms these processes are evident today. Several theories have analysed new forms of racial prejudice. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) state that, according to the theory of the aversive racism, the context of responses determines whether prejudice will be expressed in a more open or a more subtle way, depending on the prominence of anti-racist norms.

On the other hand, as far as Kinder and Sears (1981) are concerned, contemporary racism is sustained on many different grounds. It emerges as a result of a threat to Western cultural values arising from the demands of racial minorities, rather than as a consequence of any depreciative perception of them. In the same sense, Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) believe that prejudice in the modern world manifests itself in the defence of traditional values and in an increased perception of the cultural differences that separate the social groups. Finally, Billig (1981) and Potter and Wheterell (1987) consider that racist and anti-racist attitudes are nothing other than the reproduction of arguments and disagreements that already circulate in society.

## **RACIAL PREJUDICE IN BRAZIL**

Brazil is a country in which powerful economic, cultural and criminal discrimination against black people exists in an atmosphere in which the expression of any form of racial prejudice is strongly rejected. So how do new forms of racism develop in Brazil? In an analysis of the whole of Brazil, Venturi and Paulino (1995) discovered that 89 per cent of Brazilians recognise the existence of racial prejudice in the country; however, despite their awareness of this generalised prejudice, only 10 per cent admitted they were prejudiced. The authors also discovered that 87 per cent of Brazilians, while not recognising

themselves as being prejudiced, indirectly revealed some kind of prejudice. Camino et al (2001) observed that among students there is an almost unanimous (98 per cent) recognition that prejudice exists in Brazil, although the vast majority (84 per cent) did not believe themselves to be prejudiced. In fact, while they believe in the existence of racial prejudice in Brazil, 82 per cent of students categorically deny they are prejudiced. Rodriguez (1995) calls this phenomenon 'cordial racism', stating that this attitude is a means by which not to offend those who are more discriminating. In rejecting this opinion, Silva (1995) and Camino et al (2001) argue that 'Brazilian racism' does not seem to have any positive attributes, but is actually efficient in its function of discriminating against black people, and is also, unfortunately, very difficult to eradicate.

Camino et al (2001) studied the ways in which racial differences are perceived in Brazil. They asked a group of students in Paraíba (in north-eastern Brazil) what occupations they thought black people were more likely to participate in. No fewer than 70 per cent of respondents described occupations requiring physical abilities, such as dancing and sport, but which did not require any acquired qualification and which did not have any direct relationship with the exercise of authority. By contrast, 70 per cent of the students responded that white people were more likely to participate in professional occupations or activities related to authority. When the study introduced a possible comparison between the races by asking students what occupations black and white people were better able to perform, almost two-thirds of respondents stated that professional success is independent of skin colour.

One might think that the existence in Brazil of both a very clear racial miscegenation and a strong discrimination against blacks could lead to the emergence of a powerful process of accommodation. From this perspective, Camino et al (2004) assume that the methods of categorising racial differences should clearly contain elements that justify the relation of dominance. However, social dominance does not appear to be so obvious because of anti-racist standards. With the aim of unravelling these contradictions, Camino et al (2004) observed that when asked to choose from eight adjectives describing people as either friendly or unfriendly, students used more adjectives describing friendly people and fewer describing unfriendly people in relation to black people than in relation to whites; however, when they were asked how Brazilians in general would respond, the results were reversed. These results differ from those obtained in the United States (Dovidio et al 1989; Gaertner and McLaughlin 1983) and Europe (Vala et al 1999), where people use more positive adjectives to describe their racial or ethnic groups, but when it is negative adjectives, people are more controlled and use them in the same extent that they use them to classify their own group. In the Brazilian context, mainly as a consequence of the extensive racial miscegenation that has occurred, many of the social values are clearly and proudly attributed to the black heritage, making the process of masking at the personal level a lot more intense.

In an attempt to ascertain whether the perceptions we have about black people are characterised by the idea they have more natural abilities (e.g. strength, dexterity and rhythm) and fewer cultural skills (organisation, trade and policy), and whether these ideas are related to our perceptions of the citizens of the developed and developing worlds, Camino et al (2007) conducted some research with a sample of university students. They discovered that when answering for themselves, participants used more adjectives relating to

the developing world and fewer relating to the developed world to describe black people, and more adjectives relating to the developed world and fewer relating to the developing world to describe white people. They gave the same pattern of response when asked to answer for all Brazilians. The research also confirmed these results among blue and white collar workers.

The results that Camino et al obtain (2001; 2004; 2007) show that society, while clearly inhibiting classical expressions of racial discrimination, is developing new means of categorisation that are intended to replace the concept of race for modernism: whites being associated with the values of the developed world and blacks with the perceived values of the developing world. These new forms of categorisation are not faced with anti-racist norms, which allow the exclusion processes to continue. We can describe this process of categorisation, using as an analogy the psychoanalytic concept of 'reactive formation', to show that even the psychological mechanisms of inhibition – as new forms of racial discourse – aim to differentiate current racial discrimination from slavery by removing from the citizen any feelings of culpability for the situation. These new ways of representing colour differences are intended to justify social practices that in Brazil maintain racial discrimination. If skin colour has been converted in a division between countries, as foreseen by Du Bois ([1903] 1989), the studies by Camino et al support the idea that even within the countries of the developing world such divisions exist. This division does not imply that non-whites are an inferior race, but rather that non-white culture is less well adapted to modernity. Thus, the white citizens of the developing world will relate more to cultural values they assume to be developed-world values than to the values they attribute to the developing world (Pereira et al 2001).

## **SOCIAL INSERTION AND RACISM**

One might ask why prejudices change in such a way as to deny their own prejudice, and how these new forms of racism are diffused. For Doise (1982), individuals' psychological development is partly due to the process of the internalisation of norms and values, and partly due to self-reflection. But self-reflection operates from internalised values: we only perceive things from where we are, from our own position in society. It is in groups that the individual takes possession of discourses that approach those that they consider to be real.

Therefore, in-group bias should be situated in the specific context of the ideological conflicts that have developed within a society (Camino 1996; Doise 1982). This approach does not explain in-group favouritism in terms of psychological factors (social comparison and self-esteem), but as a result of its own dynamic of power relations between groups (Deschamps 1982; Doise 1976). Thus, prejudice is defined as a form of relationship between groups whereby, in the specific context of power relations, majority groups develop and express negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviours towards members of social minorities because they are members of these groups (Camino and Pereira 2000).

It is believed that ideological representations are not produced automatically inside each social category, but rather by the dynamic inside each society as a whole. On the other hand, this dynamic implies, for example, that social majorities will try to reinforce norms and beliefs about their superiority; however, social minorities can challenge these ideas and deconstruct them,

developing new ones in a dialectic process. In this way, ideas and feelings about prejudice arise from the institutionalised forms of discrimination and reinforce them in an interactive manner. In this case, prejudice as an individual attitude is developed among individuals of the majority group, although members of the minorities will also accept them in some way.

This analysis of the social dynamics of discrimination and prejudice brings about the need to reflect on two aspects: how do dominant ideas protect themselves from ideological impacts, and how suited are individuals to the set of ideas that permeate the society? In respect to the defence mechanisms of the dominant ideas, it is observed that in contemporary societies, the existence of social hierarchies is formally denied and the application of principles of justice and social equality is strongly supported. These attitudes seem to be changing, but is the social dynamic that leads to discrimination also changing? The economic indices do not seem to confirm these changes; indeed, they seem to indicate that discrimination is increasing. What seems to be changing is the form of understanding relations of inequality and feelings of superiority. It is this aspect that we have termed 'new forms of prejudice'.

The second aspect to be analysed concerns the processes by which individuals and groups appropriate the ideas and feelings that form the social fabric. This appropriation does not happen mechanically and automatically within each social group. No one is born with the ideas of any group, and these ideas are not acquired automatically. Camino (1996) suggests that we must consider the form of participation in social categories through the importance attributed to the representative institutions of that category. For example, a person is not born a worker: their consciousness about their status will depend on several factors, such as their specific inclusion in a system of the division of labour and their relationship with trade unions, etc., because these are organisations that develop and propagate ideas relating to the social category that is 'worker'.

The meaning of a situation or social category cannot be constructed simply with its objective characteristics: it must be constructed using the search for confirmation of previously existing social meanings. These meanings exist as social beliefs and ideologies in society (Billig 1985; 1991). The adhesion of people to these beliefs and ideologies occurs according to their group memberships; therefore, any individual's social insertion can be analysed through their actual participation in the several groups that form societies (Camino 1996).

For example, Camino and colleagues (Camino and Costa 1994; Costa et al 1994) have shown that just because a person is a university student this does not mean that their socialisation process will automatically be related to university political culture. In fact, they note that students who participate more often in extracurricular activities had greater rates of political participation and greater political party identification. Thus, it is through participation in their own organisations and extracurricular activities in university-organised groups that they develop their political views.

Several studies have shown the importance of analysing actual forms of social insertion in order to understand real action in different social situations. Camino et al (1998) show the relationships between individual's participation in different community, religious and political organisations and their voting behaviour. Finally, Camino et al (2004) observed that sympathy for certain political parties affects both the way of understanding the nature of human rights and the kind of commitment citizens and the state have to implementing them.

This study sought to analyse the relationships among a set of indices with regard to the social insertion of university students and their political attitudes and racial prejudices – their perceptions of the social distance between themselves and black people – and their symbolic prejudice – defined as their unfavourable attitudes towards affirmative action for black people.

Specifically, we expected that in respect of social insertion, the students' identification with social movements and university political bodies would be negatively correlated to both aspects of prejudice. With regard to political attitudes, we expected that positive attitudes towards developing-world, left-wing ideologies and social changes would also be negatively correlated to both aspects of prejudice. Furthermore, we expected that positive attitudes towards the developed world would correlate positively with symbolic prejudice.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### ***Participants and procedures***

The participants included 418 university students from Paraíba: 80 per cent were studying humanities and social sciences and 20 per cent were studying health sciences. Women made up 70 per cent of the respondents. As many as 57 per cent described themselves as Roman Catholics, 17 per cent as protestant and 6 per cent as Other and 20 per cent said they followed no religion. Respondents were aged between 17 and 50 (mean=22; standard deviation=5.59). At least 41 per cent said they were white, 48 per cent mulatto and 5 per cent black, while 6 per cent refused to say.

### ***Instruments***

- Measures of racial prejudice:  
Prejudice was assessed using two indices: (1) social distance from black people – the perceived distance between white, black and mulatto people was assessed as follows: using a figure of seven circumscribed circles contained in the inner circle the word 'I', participants were asked to situate the three racial groups in related to that word in order to demonstrate how close to or how far from these groups they perceived themselves; (2) symbolic prejudice – an adaptation of the tool used by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) was used, with the students being questioned on Brazilian social policies directed towards racial minorities (blacks and indigenous people, etc.). The questions were assessed on a Likert scale, ranging from one (totally disagree) to five (fully agree).
- Measures of social insertion:  
This was adapted from the version used by Camino and da Costa (1994) and Camino et al (2005). Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their identification with various civil society organisations (family, religion, politics, social movements, academic etc.) with responses ranging from one (no identification) to four (strongly identify) on a Likert scale. In order to analyse the structure of the different levels of identification, a factor analysis was performed using the principal component method (Varimax rotation), which showed good adaptation to the sample studied (KMO=0.864,  $p<0.000$ ). The results showed the existence of three factors explaining 64 per cent of the variance: (1) Affective-religious insertion

( $\alpha=0.86$ ), composed of religious activities, family group and groups of friends inside and outside the university; (2) Political university insertion ( $\alpha=0.73$ ), defined by identification with student movements and political parties; and (3) Social movement insertion ( $\alpha=0.57$ ), defined as identification with social movements (e.g. racial, sexual, gender, etc.).

- Measures of political attitudes:

*Political position:* Participants were asked to answer Osgood's semantic differential (Osgood et al 1957) about two aspects of their political lives: (1) their political position (right-left wing); and (2) tradition-social changes. Both were measured on seven-point Likert scales.

*Favourable attitudes to the developed and developing worlds:* participants were asked about their level of admiration for developed- and developing-world countries and their wish to live in these countries. The answers were represented on a Likert scale ranging from one (not at all) to four (very much).

## RESULTS

The aim of this study was to show the relationship between the two aspects of prejudice studied here with a set of psychosocial variables related to the students' social insertion and their political attitudes. However, these psychosocial variables – by their very nature – can be closely correlated. To avoid the spurious effect of the possible existence of correlations among independent variables in this kind of analysis, we used the multiple regression (stepwise) technique that allows each of its steps to develop partial correlations, removing the possible influence the dependent variables may have on each other.

Regarding the perceived distance in relation to black people (Table 1), multiple regression by the gradual method [ $R=0.39$ ,  $p<0.000$ ] shows that there are three significant variables: negative in respect of identity with affective-religious network ( $\beta=-0.27$ ,  $p=0.000$ ) and left-wing positive attitude ( $\beta=-0.15$ ,  $p=0.00$ ), and positive in respect of the developed world ( $\beta=0.12$ ,  $p=0.01$ ). The three variables together explain 16 per cent of the variability of the results.

We had previously thought that recognition of the existence of a distance from black people is not only an expression of a psychological sentiment, but is primarily a political position relating to one of the most exploited sectors of Brazilian society: its black population. Thus, as expected, the favourable attitude of the left-wing is negatively correlated with the perception of distance from black people, indicating that the greater the identification with left-wing ideologies, the smaller the distance perceived by the student in relation to black people. The same reasoning can explain the correlation of positive attitude to the developed world with the perceived distance in relation to black people. Based on these results, we can infer that the more students admire, identify with and wish to live in developed countries, the more explicit is the distance between the students and black people, who are perceived to belong to the developing world (Camino et al 2007).

Finally, we note that among the social insertion indices, only the identification with the affective-religious network achieved significant results. These results show that the higher the identification with this network, the smaller the perceived distance in relation to black people. In fact, this is an



Variables	Distance from black people	
	$\beta$	$p <$
Identification with the network		
Social movements	-0.02	n.s.
Affective-religious	-0.27	0.00
University policy	0.06	n.s.
Favourable political attitudes towards		
Developed country	0.12	0.01
Developing country	0.03	n.s.
Left-wing ideologies	-0.15	0.00
Social change	-0.02	n.s.
Statistics		
Multiple correlation coefficient	$R=0.39$	
Explained variability (per cent)	$R^2=16$ per cent	
Significance of the sample	$F_{(3,397)}=24.53$	
$p <$	0.000	

Table 1: Multiple regressions of students' socio-political variables relating to distance from black people.

unexpected result, albeit one that does not contradict the theoretical ideas discussed here.

Regarding symbolic prejudice (Table 2), multiple regression [ $R=0.69$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ] shows the existence of five significant variables: negative in respect of identification with social movements ( $\beta = -0.18$ ;  $p = 0.00$ ), the affective-religious network ( $\beta = -0.43$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ) and positive left-wing attitudes ( $\beta = -0.13$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ), and positive in respect of positive attitudes towards the developed world ( $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ) and the developing world ( $\beta = 0.13$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ). These five variables together explain 47 per cent of total variance.

It can be observed that both the favourable attitude towards the left wing and identification with the network of social movements correlated negatively with symbolic prejudice. As might be expected, the greater the importance attributed to minority movements (racial, sexual and feminist) and to left-wing ideologies, the lower the acceptance of a negative vision of the black population's demands. It was also found that the affective-religious network is negatively correlated to the perceived distance from black people.

The discussion above led us to expect a positive relationship between favourable attitudes to the developed world and symbolic prejudice. One of the pillars of Western culture is its meritocratic values, which are opposed to the ideas underlying affirmative action. However, a positive correlation

Variables	Symbolic prejudice	
	$\beta$	$p.<$
Identification with the network		
Social movements	-0.18	0.00
Affective-religious	-0.43	0.00
University policy	-0.02	n.s.
Favourable political attitudes to		
Developed country	0.13	0.00
Developing country	0.13	0.00
Left-wing ideologies	-0.13	0.00
Social change	0.05	n.s.
Statistics		
Multiple correlation coefficient	$R=0.69$	
Explained variability (per cent)	$R^2=47$ per cent	
Significance of the sample	$F_{(3,397)}=70.23$	
$p<$	0.00	

Table 2: Multiple regressions of the socio-political variables relating to symbolic prejudice among students.

between favourable attitudes to the developing world and symbolic prejudice was unexpected. Finally, the correlation between favourable attitudes to the developed and the developing worlds is not significant [ $r=0.07$ ;  $p=n.s.$ ].

## CONCLUSIONS

This research sought to examine the influence of social insertion and socio-political variables on two forms of prejudice: explicit (distance) and implicit (symbolic prejudice). We understand prejudice as a specific form of relationship between groups that arose within an asymmetrical power relationship. In this situation, negative and derogatory attitudes and hostile behaviour that was directed at the minority group developed. Prejudicial attitudes arise from institutionalised forms of discrimination, but within a society, prejudices are opposed by anti-prejudiced ideas. What we would like to know is how the diffusion of this complex set of ideas (some of which are opposing) is realised?

We also ask what leads people to adhere to a specific part of the set of ideas circulating in a given society. We begin with the assumption that these ideas do not circulate evenly throughout the social system. A type of belief and attitude circulates more for certain social groups, while different or

opposing views circulate in other groups and organisations. The adhesion to certain ideas will depend on an individual's type of social insertion, which is defined as the participation and identification of an individual in a particular civil society group or organisation. The main hypothesis of this study emerges from these ideas: people will adhere to prejudiced or anti-prejudiced ideas depending on the type of social insertion they have.

It is clear that in groups all kinds of beliefs and norms other than prejudiced ones circulate. In general, these ideas come together to form larger units. These beliefs appear to us to be relevant in the study of racism: the position of the individual in the political space (their adhesion to the political programmes of either left- or right-wing political parties) and their attitude towards the fact that there are developed and developing countries. It is thought that both forms of social insertion and political attitudes described above have a direct influence on the development of prejudice.

Specifically, one would expect that those students who identify with networks of social movements and politics, and whose political attitudes are sympathetic to left-wing ideologies, social changes and the developing world, are those who would have less prejudiced attitudes, while those students who identify with the values of the developed world and who share right-wing political views would demonstrate higher levels of prejudice.

Our results partially confirm these assumptions: left-wing students perceive black people as less distant and have the lowest levels of symbolic prejudice. Our data also support the conclusions of Pettigrew and Meertens (1995), who, in a similar sample to that of the present study, noted that people with higher levels of education and who identified with left-wing ideologies have the lowest scores on symbolic prejudice, and reject the crude and blatant expressions of hostility between groups. Camino (1995; 2005) and Mendoza and Camino (2005) have shown that the more people are involved in opposition movements and identify with them, the more they reject the use of meritocratic standards of justice in solving social problems. In this sense, these young people reject a fundamental characteristic of symbolic prejudice, while those who show positive attitudes in relation to the developed world are also those who perceive themselves to be more distant from black people and less inclined to meet their policy demands.

With regard to social insertion, our results only partially confirm our hypotheses. As might be expected, students who identify themselves more with social movements generally agree with the political demands of the black population; however, they do not perceive there to be any smaller social distance towards black people. An unexpected result was the finding that the students who most closely identified themselves with the affective-religious network perceive there to be a shorter distance between themselves and the black population and had lower levels of symbolic prejudice. To the extent that the network consists of organisations such as family, friends and religion – which are all very different in nature – it is difficult to identify what specific type of socialisation this network offers and how this influences the development of less racist attitudes. Clearly, more studies are needed to explain these results.

A result that was certainly not expected was that showing a positive correlation between positive attitude to the developing world and symbolic prejudice.

These results raise the question: what does the term 'developing world' mean for today's youth? Does it mean, as is supposed in this study, the political mobilisation that was developed in the 1960s and 1970s, during the

period of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle? Or does it signify poverty and social immobility? In this latter case it is also difficult to understand how a negative attitude towards developing countries can relate positively to symbolic prejudice. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the meaning of the term 'developing world' before we can continue research in this direction.

We conclude by stating that racial prejudice is not an individual attitude, but a political attitude affected by the power relations between different racial groups. Our results corroborate the idea that various ideological factors are capable of influencing the expression of racism to mobilise anti-racist attitudes.

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