



Minority Influence in a Society of Victims

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Authors' contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration among all authors. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

Gypsies have been a marginalized and persecuted minority for more than five centuries. The experiment carried out compares the influence of a victimized minority - which accommodates itself to the prevailing society of victims- with an active minority that opts for vindicate the rights that are already guaranteed to the majority of individuals by social system and by political or religion values. Following a hypothesis derived from pluralistic ignorance in racial attitudes, i.e. the belief that most are racist but not me, it was shown that when the majority in-group was accused of being racist, a victimized minority triggers more favorable attitudes toward Gypsies (i.e., support for affirmative action and other forms of compensation and transforms lay explanations of the causes of their marginalization) than an active minority. However, when the accusation of being racist is made at the individual level, then the minority with a victimizing style triggers less favorable attitudes than the active minority. We discuss the societal ethos that the new victimized minorities have introduced as regards majority-minority relationships.

Keywords: Collective discrimination; Gypsies; victimized and active minorities; minority influence; pluralistic ignorance.

1. INTRODUCTION

Gypsies have been the paradigmatic example of a minority persecuted for centuries in each and every European country since the 15th century [1-9]. They have been the target of both ethnocide and genocide *avant la lettre*. Laws and ordinances of all types have been introduced to "domesticate them", and to cut off their roots. These measures escalated until they became the extermination policies that the Nazis applied: forced sterilization and the genocide of more

than 200,000 Gypsies [10] which the German government did not even recognize until 1982. Nowadays, the Gypsies in Europe are the most numerous ethnic minority [6] with a population of approximately eight million. Institutional persecution, however - as well as non-institutional- did not end with the Nazi genocide. Discrimination continued after the fall of the Berlin Wall in Eastern Europe [11] and it continues: deportations in Germany, or expulsions in France during the presidency of Sarkozy (see, for example,

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<http://www.amnesty.eu/en/news/press-releases/eu/discrimination/roma/>).

Gypsies are still currently seen as the most rejected minority in all European countries, as it can be seen in the 2015 Eurobarometer for the 28 EU countries (<http://ec.europa.eu/comfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurveyDetail/search/437/surveyKy/2077>). Similarly, a representative survey on ethnic prejudice in Spain assessed attitudes in a pool of 7,161 students and professors from primary and secondary schools regarding various minorities and out-groups relevant to that country (e.g., Gypsies, Moors-Arabs, Blacks, Jews, Indians, Latin Americans, Protestants, foreigners, Portuguese, and Americans). The results again showed that Gypsies were the minority that provoked the greatest rejection [12]. In this survey, 45% of respondents openly admitted to personally having antipathy to, and prejudice against, Gypsies. Participants also think that 82% of the Spanish population maintains attitudes of antipathy and prejudice against Gypsies.

Indeed, any parameter on the living conditions of this minority will place them among the most marginalized minorities in Europe. For example, in 2011 the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights collected data (N = 11,000) in 11 EU member states on the situation of Gypsies in employment, education, housing and health, as well as on issues of equal treatment and rights awareness [13]. On average, about 90% of the Gypsies surveyed live in households with an income below national poverty line. One out of three Gypsy respondents said that they are unemployed. Around 20% of Gypsies live in slums or ruined houses. Of those surveyed, 42% of Gypsies said that they have no access to electricity, running water or sewage. More than 93% of Gypsies aged 18 to 24 have not completed upper-secondary education, when the comparable rate of early school leavers for the total EU-28 population was 13.5%. Moreover, on average, 54% of Gypsies feel that they experience discrimination when looking for work.

In sum, the Gypsy community today, like six centuries ago, seems to be a prototypical group with "tribal stigma", as Goffman [14] would say. The study of attitudes towards this minority and how to influence them and, on the other hand, the social explanations that the majority use to understand the state of marginalization they suffer, basically in terms of "it's their fault" vs. "it's my fault", can be important to understand the

discrimination suffered by so many other ethnic minorities in one or another cultural or geographical context.

The question addressed in the experiment presented in this article is which strategy of social influence of the minority itself would be more favourable to face its discrimination, to accommodate itself to a society of victims and present itself as a victimized minority or to seek a change by behaving as an active minority defending its style alternative life?

1.1 From Active Minorities to Victimized Minorities

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) instigated a new relationship between the majority and the minorities. Shortly thereafter, it became manifest that there was a discrepancy between principles of justice and equality with daily practices of discrimination [15]. For example, in the United States constitutional convictions concerning fairness, justice, and equality were still in contradiction with racial segregation imposed in schools, public transportation and the army. This flagrant discrimination ended up outraging and led to the civil rights movement, headed by Blacks in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. The era of active vindications was born. Its main goal was to extend egalitarian values to all minorities whose marginalization from society's mainstream had, until then, been considered normal. The fight of the civil rights movements helped to shape a new relationship between the majority and minorities through abstract normative principles (e. g., justice and equality). It led the majority of the population to accept the democratic principles established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a normative guide (see D'Amato 1995; Doise 2002).

If initially the civil rights movement in United States transformed the attitudes of the majority towards minorities, step by step, other factors were added that contributed to the construction of a culture of empathy with victims of discrimination. The 1970s witnessed a boom in the emergence of NGOs (Lang 2013). And a vital role in this boom was played by the mass media, which since the 1950s had maintained an international normative pressure against the violation of human rights and the persecution of minorities (a few examples: the situation of Blacks in the USA or South Africa, the colonial

emancipation -UK-, Stalin's dictatorship -USSR-, persecution of dissidents in the Chinese or Cuban communist regimes, Maori's rights -Australia and New Zealand-, removal of the caste system -India-, the situation of women -Iran, among others-). Diffusion of images and information about victims' situations, fosters the view of the victim as a moral human being with all the rights that this implies. The internalization of the fight against the persecutions of minorities was also taking place in the field of justice (e.g., creation of the International Criminal Court in 2001, which 120 nations endorsed). This international dimension became fundamental for the evolution of respect for minorities' rights. A renowned specialist in international criminal law commented on this topic, stating that: "the twentieth century will not be remembered as unique because of mass atrocities, even its genocides, but it may be remembered for the creation of international human rights tribunals, reparations, and truth and reconciliation commissions" (Minow 2002, 28).

Since the enhanced focus on human rights, such as equality and justice, there has been there have been several relevant changes in the expression of ethnic and racial prejudices, and in social explanations of the marginalization of minorities. One of those changes consists in the ethical assessment that is done in case of manifestly or publicly expressing prejudice against ethnic and racial minorities. Understanding social discrimination as unjust and undemocratic was one of the most significant changes brought about by the civil rights movement [16]. Schuman et al. [17] studying racial attitudes in the USA since the 1940s, concluded: "Whereas discrimination and enforced segregation against black Americans were taken for granted by most white Americans for as recently as the World War II, today the norm holds that black Americans deserve the same treatment and respect as whites" (312). Not only is it undesirable to resort to stereotypes and prejudice traditionally applied to these minorities, but the person who resorts to them is even seen "as morally inferior human being" (Jones 1997, 42). As Sommers and Norton [18] remark, lay theories of racism reflect that few contemporary social categories are as undesirable as that of 'racist' and with a desire to distance the self from it. It is a normative change on ethnic and racial prejudices, which, although until then they had been seen as something "natural", it is beginning to be accepted that they are unfair and immoral, i.e., socially undesirable.

This normative change makes individuals much less likely to express overt prejudice toward minority groups [19-22].

But active minorities from 1960s carries out as well a collective new social representation of minorities-majority relationships [23-25]. The majority began to admit that racism was real, started to be recognised as the source of ethnic and racial prejudice, and, by extension, that it was a cause of the marginalization of the minorities that were its target. As several scholars have shown [26-29] a new societal ethos and a new era of victimized minorities developed broadly in the 1980s. The novelty concerning issues of discrimination and racism against minorities is that the majority stops seeing the minority as something "natural", stops explaining them by the nature of the minorities themselves, and begins to see themselves as a perpetrator of harm to minorities. This change in social explanations encompasses a decreasing *sua culpa*—that is, less victimization of minorities—and an increasing *nostra culpa*, an assumption of guilt or responsibility by the majority in the marginalization of minorities. The minority was no longer seen as merely deviant but came to be seen as the victim of the majority's discrimination.

In summary, the influence of the active minorities of the 60s would achieve, on the one hand, stop the expression of explicitly racist personal attitudes and, on the other hand, the recognition of the existence of a racist majority, even though no one personally calls itself racist. Pluralistic ignorance was used to explain this mismatch between non-discriminatory personal attitudes and discriminatory perceived majority attitudes toward ethnic minorities. For example, O'Gorman [30,31] observed that in the 1960s and 1970s the majority of whites in U.S. did not favour segregation, but overestimated that the majority of whites did favour segregation. In accordance with the concept of 'pluralistic ignorance', a study of Guimond, Streith, and Roebroek [32] with a representative sample of the French population reveals a significant difference between personal attitudes toward multiculturalism and assimilation (i.e., the French are personally in favour of multiculturalism) and the perceived social norm (they think that the majority of French people are opposed to multiculturalism). This belief that others are more ethnically or racially prejudiced than oneself has been shown in a growing diversity of studies [33-35].

2. OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS

A hypothesis derived from this phenomenon of "pluralistic ignorance" of attitudes and beliefs about discrimination against minorities is that it favours collective guilt, since it is assumed that the majority discriminates against them and, therefore, the status of victimized minority will be easily recognized, without experiencing individual guilt since individually they do not perceive themselves as discriminatory and therefore hardly recognize the minority's status as victimized.

Another question of the experiment carried out was to compare the influence of a victimized minority with an active minority that, in a society with high empathy towards victims [36-39]. opts for vindicate the rights that are already guaranteed to the majority of individuals by social system and by political or religion values.

A series of studies by Mugny and collaborators [40-43] showed that a minority framing its antixenophobic demands in humanitarian terms (e.g., respect human dignity) got more manifest influence than an active minority framing its demands in more conflictive socio-political terms (e.g., workers' rights). Similarly, Shnabel, Dovidio, and Levin [44] compared the effect of framing the situation of the minority as distress framing (pointing out the suffering and feeling of humiliation and frustration that the minority experienced due to their sensitive status in the country), or as rights framing (pointing out that the majority group is in flagrant violation of the principles of justice and equality by discriminating against the minority on the basis of ethnicity or religion). Although the authors limited themselves to measuring the manifest effect of these two types of minorities, they confirmed in a series of three experiments that in the condition of rights framing, less favourable attitudes towards measures of affirmative actions oriented towards the minority (empowering policies) were observed than in the distress framing condition. All those results can be interpreted within the social competition theory [45,46] given that under rights framing, the minority would be represented as active and would elicit a greater sense of competition, inducing less support for empowering policies, while humanitarian framing would lead to representing the minority as victimized and promote greater support for the compensation measures.

On the other hand, Moscovici and Pérez [47] showed that the victimized minority induced an

ethical relationship of guilt within the majority, and the active minority induced a political relationship of conflict and confrontation with the majority. In terms of manifest influence, the victimized minority induced more favourable attitudes towards positive discrimination measures than the active minority. It was the conflict created by the active minority, and not the victimized minority, however, that produced the greatest positive change in a latent measure, i.e., blaming the Gypsies themselves less for their situation of marginalization.

The integration of this set of results led us to the hypothesis that if the minority behaves as active and implements a conflict with the majority group, symbolizing a competition of mutual reproaches, then the majority would go on to defend and preserve their moral identity [48] denying their responsibility for the situation of the minority. If that conflict instead of being placed on a strict plane between entities, majority vs. minority, is placed in a plane between the individual vs. the minority, it is predicted according to previous studies that there may be a conversion effect, a latent influence [49,50]. In this condition, the active minority should induce a greater transformation of the representation of the minority as less deviant and more integrated in the majority mainstream, as observed in the experiments of Moscovici and Pérez [51].

In summary, it was predicted that the victimized minority will obtain more favourable attitudes towards their compensation and be less blamed - less victimization- for their marginalization in the condition of the collective level accusation of the majority group as a perpetrator of minority discrimination than when that level of accusation is not highlighted. Conversely, the active minority that resorts to external conflict will be more effective when the majority group is not all accused of having discriminated against the minority.

3. METHOD

3.1 Participants

The experiment was conducted with 166 students (77.1% women) from the University in Spain (age $M = 20.26$, $SD = 3.37$). A G^* power analysis [52] shows that the sample of 166 participants provided the power of .80 ($\alpha = .05$) to detect a small to moderate effect size of $f = 0.22$. Participation was voluntary and anonymous. Preliminary analyses indicated that neither the

sex nor the age of the participants produced any main effect or interaction with the rest of the variables.

3.2 Procedure

The experiment was carried out in a common classroom and in libraries. All the participants read a text (composed of 583 words), entitled *The Gypsies: A historically persecuted minority*. This text recalled the persecution suffered for five centuries by the Gypsies throughout their history in Spain. The text confirmed that the situation of marginalization in which Gypsies still live is a consequence of the discrimination to which they are subjected by the Payos (i.e., Spaniards, "Payos" in Spanish).

Afterwards, participants had to determine the ranking of eight minorities, according to how they considered them, from the most to the least legitimate in being recognized as historical victims. In alphabetical order, the minorities were: black people, ex-prisoners, Gypsies, homosexuals, immigrants, indigenous people, Jews and Moors. Based on the results of previous studies (e.g., Pérez, Ghosn, and Molpeceres, in press), it was predicted that approximately half the participants would place Gypsies at the 6th position or below, that is, among the less deserving of being recognized as a historical victimized minority. This assumption was used to introduce the manipulation of a first independent variable. The measurements of the dependent variables were taken, and at the end of the experiment a detailed debriefing was carried out.

3.3 Design and Manipulation of Independent Variables

The experiment consisted of a 2 (participants typified as *high vs. low in racism* against Gypsies) x 2 (the majority in-group typified as *high in racism vs. absence of such typification*) x 2 (style of influence of the Gypsy minority: *victimized vs. active*) factorial design.

Participants typified as high vs. low in racism. Once the participants had made their minority ranking, they were all given the following information:

"According to the results of previous studies, the people who ranked the previous page by placing Gypsies in the 6th or 7th position, that is, as the least deserving of being recognized as a

historical victim, scored very highly in racism tests."

Participants were presented with a figure illustrating that information. The participants who had placed Gypsies in 6th, 7th or 8th positions were made part of the condition typified as high in racism (69 participants, 41.6% of the sample), while those who had placed them in one of the top five positions of the ranking were not typified as high in racism (97 participants, 58.4% of the sample). In the following sections, we will refer to them as high and low in racism, respectively.

Collective majority in-group typified as high in racism vs. absence of such typification. The following information was added for participants in the condition in which the collective majority in-group was typified as high in racism:

"According to the results of previous studies, more than 90% of your fellow university students, like you, usually answer the previous page by placing Gypsies in the 6th or 7th position, that is, as *the least worthy of being recognized as a historical victim*, and they score very high in the racism tests."

The information about the in-group was simply not added for participants in the condition of absence of in-group typification as high in racism. Note that *racism* was used instead of the term *discrimination* to intensify the manipulation.

Victimized minority style vs. active minority style. Participants were told that a summary of the historical persecution suffered by Gypsies had been presented to a sample of Gypsies in a survey. The Gypsy sample had been asked what they thought and what should be done to put an end to the racism they suffer. Participants were told that most of the surveyed Gypsies agreed with the following claim:

In the *condition of victimized minority style*, the text added:

"That is why we have clearly earned, we deserve, that the state and society (the *Payos*) ask us for forgiveness, and that we receive compensation. We deserve the approval of a series of measures of positive discrimination. Denying Gypsies that forgiveness, that compensation and those positive measures is pure racism."

In the *condition of active minority style*, the text added:

"Payos feel superior to us. And that's not true. We Gypsies are different, but not inferior. There are negative things in our culture, but in that of the Payos there are negative things as well. The Payos have their positive values, but we Gypsies also have ours. To treat us as inferior when the only thing is that we are different is pure racism."

Dependent Variables and measures of minority influence

Perception of Gypsies as deviating from the majority mainstream. This measure comprised two items, a) "In comparison with the Payos, the Gypsies..." followed by a scale that ranged from (1) "they always respect the norms" to (7) "they do not always respect the norms"; and, b) "In comparison with the Payos, the Gypsies..." followed by a scale that ranged from (1) "they are always exemplary citizens" to (7) "they are not always exemplary citizens". An index was calculated from the mean of these two items ($r(159) = .70, p < .001$). The higher the score on this scale, the higher the perception of the Gypsies as deviating from the majority mainstream ($M = 5.04; SD = 1.09$).

Attitudes towards the compensation of Gypsies. Manifest influence scale. This scale is composed of eight items. The items measure attitudes to positive discrimination and the compensation of Gypsies for the historical discrimination to which they have been subjected. It includes items such as: a) *We have to grant special rights to Gypsies to erase that horrible past from memory;* b) *At least 2% of management positions in public institutions must be reserved for Gypsies;* c) *The state has to compensate Gypsies for their persecution in the past;* and, d) *It is necessary to provide more financial aid for Gypsies.* These items were scored on a scale of 1 (completely agree) to 9 (completely disagree). An index was created, grouping the eight items. A low score indicated more favorable attitudes towards the compensation of Gypsies ($M = 5.35, SD = 1.61$). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .83.

Victimization of Gypsies for their marginalization. Latent influence scale.

This scale was taken from Pérez and Mugny [53] and is composed of the following five items (1 = completely agree; 9 = completely disagree): (a)

Gypsies are less concerned about their children's education than the Payos; (b) *Gypsies are less determined to excel than the Payos';* (c) *Gypsies are less involved in politics than the Payos;* (d) *Gypsies care less about technological progress in our society than the Payos.* (e) *Gypsies respect nature and the ecosystem more than the Payos do* (reverse-scored). An index was created grouping the five items. Low scores indicated more victimization of Gypsies ($M = 4.66, SD = 1.46, Cronbach's\ alpha = .70$). An important element of this scale for the victimization of Gypsies due to their marginalization is to see the minority as an entity isolated from the majority of society and disunited from the human community, and to reduce the explanation to one implying their fault, that is, to attribute their separation to the idea that they do not want to profess the values of the majority mainstream. Items on this scale were directly aimed at measuring to the degree to which, compared to the Payos, Gypsies are represented as having less desire to improve and less interest in values such as schooling, technology, politics, or environmental protection. These are values that perform as cultural truisms [54] of prosperity for the majority. The more participants insist that the Gypsies are unconcerned about these mainstream values, the greater the victimization of the Gypsies due to their marginalization (i.e., Gypsies are blamed more for their own situation of marginalization). These are latent items, since most people simply consider them to be factual statements.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Statistical Analysis

Each of the dependent variables was analyzed through an ANOVA 2 (participants typified as high vs. low in racism) x 2 (collective majority in-group typified as high in racism vs. absence of such typification) x 2 (victimized minority style vs. active minority style).

The perception of Gypsies as deviating from the majority mainstream.

The ANOVA 2x2x2 showed an interaction between the style of minority (victimized vs. active) and the collective accusation of the majority in-group of being highly racist vs. absence of such accusation, $F(1,151) = 6.12, p = .014, \eta^2 = .039$. No other effect was significant ($ps > .14$).

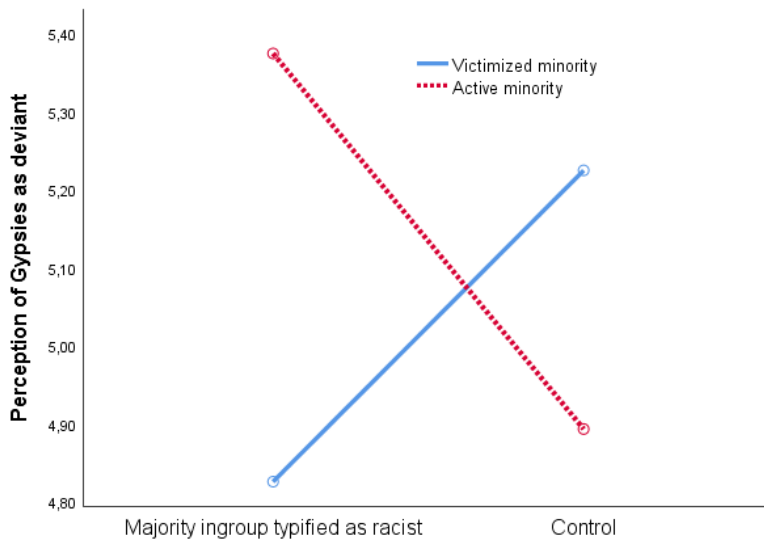


Fig. 1. Perception of Gypsies as deviating from the majority mainstream (higher score, greater perception as deviant)

As can be seen in Figure 1, in the condition in which the majority in-group was accused of being racist against Gypsies, the active minority ($M = 5.38$, $SE = .19$) induced a perception of Gypsies as being more deviant, deviating further from the majority mainstream, than the victimized minority ($M = 4.83$, $SE = .17$, $p = .028$, 95% $CI [-1.04, -.06]$), and than the control condition in which the accusation of being racist was not applied to the majority in-group ($M = 4.89$, $SE = .18$, $p = .056$, 95% $CI [-.98, .01]$). The victimized minority tended to induce a lower degree of confrontation with the Payos when the majority in-group was accused of racism ($M = 4.83$, $SE = .17$) than when it was not ($M = 5.22$, $SE = .17$, $p = .094$, 95% $CI [-.87, .07]$). Therefore, under conditions of collective accusation of the majority in-group as perpetrator, the minority that opts for a victimized strategy induces a lower majority/minority confrontation than the minority that opts for an active strategy.

Attitudes towards the compensation of Gypsies. Manifest attitude scale.

On this scale, the ANOVA 2x2x2 showed a main effect of participants typified high vs. low in racism according to their degree of recognition of Gypsies as victims. Those typified as low in racism were more in favor of compensation measures for Gypsies ($M = 4.98$, $SE = .16$) than

those typified high in racism ($M = 5.85$, $SE = .19$) ($F(1,158) = 12.16$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .071$]. The victimized minority also tended to elicit more favorable attitudes towards compensation ($M = 5.18$, $SE = .17$) than the active minority ($M = 5.66$, $SE = .18$, $F(1,158) = 3.69$, $p = .056$, $\eta^2 = .019$). It was also significant the interaction between the type of minority (victimized vs. active) and the collective in-group typified as high in racism towards Gypsies vs. no such typification $F(1,158) = 4.0$, $p = .047$, $\eta^2 = .025$. As can be seen in Figure 2, the actual difference between the victimized minority and the active minority was only significant when the majority in-group was accused of racism: in those conditions the victimized minority ($M = 4.98$, $SE = .25$) induced more favorable attitudes towards compensation than the active minority ($M = 5.95$, $SE = .26$, $p = .006$, 95% $CI [-1.65, -.29]$). The difference between the victimized minority ($M = 5.39$, $SE = .237$) and the active minority ($M = 5.37$, $SE = .25$) disappeared ($p > .95$) under the conditions in which there was no collective in-group accusation of racism. The active minority even tended to generate less favorable attitudes towards the compensation of Gypsies in the condition of collective in-group accusation of racism ($M = 5.95$) than in the condition in which the in-group accusation was not made ($M = 5.37$, $p = .095$, 95% $CI [-1.10, 1.26]$).

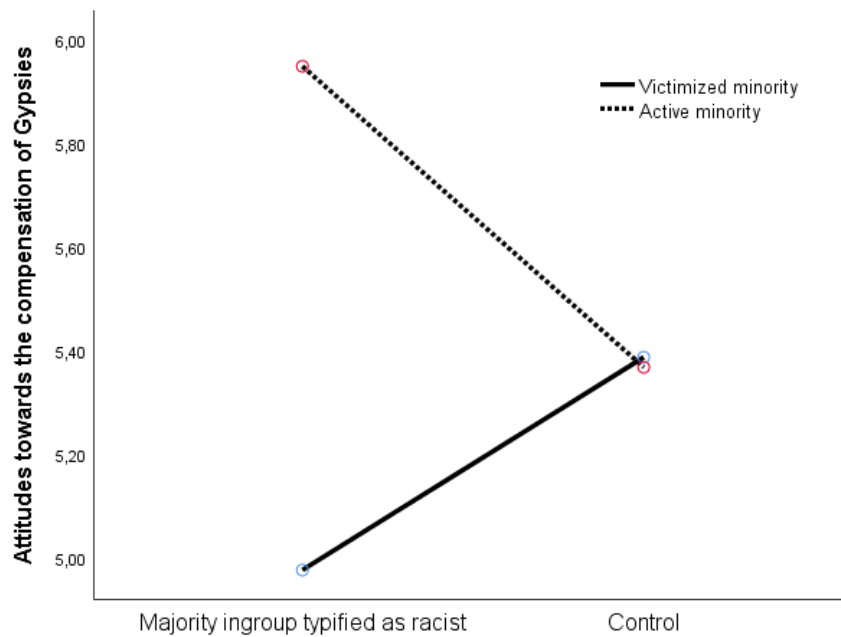


Fig. 2. Attitudes toward the compensation of Gypsies (lower score, greater favorable attitude toward compensation)

Victimization of Gypsies for their marginalization. Latent attitude scale

The ANOVA 2x2x2 on this scale showed an interaction between the type of minority (victimized vs. active) and the in-group accusation of racism against Gypsies vs. the absence of such accusation $F(1,156) = 10.41, p = .002, \eta^2 = .063$. An interaction was also noted between the type of minority and participants typified as high vs. low in racism against Gypsies ($F(1,156) = 3.89, p = .050, \eta^2 = .024$).

As can be seen in Fig. 3, in the conditions of collective in-group accusation of being racist against Gypsies, the victimized minority can be seen as less guilty of their own marginalization ($M = 5.02, SE = .229$) than the active minority ($M = 4.07, SE = .239, p = .003, 95\% CI [-.31, 1.58]$). Like in study from Pérez, Ghosn, and Molpeceres (in press) a binomial hypothesis of perpetrating majority-victimized minority is confirmed by those results. Accordingly, the victimized minority induced less victimization of Gypsies for their marginalization when the in-group was collectively accused of being racist against them ($M = 5.02$) than when the collective in-group accusation was not made ($M = 4.41, SE = .217, p = .047, 95\% CI [.008, 1.22]$). The active minority induced the opposite effect: a greater victimization of Gypsies for their marginalization,

that is, *sua culpa*, when the entire in-group was accused of being racist against them ($M = 4.07$) in comparison to the absence of this collective in-group accusation of racism ($M = 4.94, SE = .232, p = .007, 95\% CI [-1.50, -.23]$). In absence of the collective in-group accusation of racism, the active minority tended to induce less victimization of Gypsies for their marginalization ($M = 4.94$) than the victimized minority ($M = 4.41, p = .085, 95\% CI [-1.14, .07]$).

The interaction between the style of minority (victimized vs. active) and the typification of participants as high vs. low in racism against Gypsies, showed that those typified as high in racism (for not recognizing Gypsies as historical victims), the active minority induced a greater victimization of Gypsies for their marginalization ($M = 4.13$), than both in comparison to the victimized minority ($M = 4.79, p = .056, 95\% CI [-.017, 1.34]$) and to those typified as low in racism ($M = 4.88, p = .021, 95\% CI [.12, 1.39]$). To present as a victimized minority seems like an adequate strategy for both types of participants, high and low typified as racists, but the active minority is a less effective strategy for high typified as racists, i.e., those who resist recognizing the historical injustice of the minority.

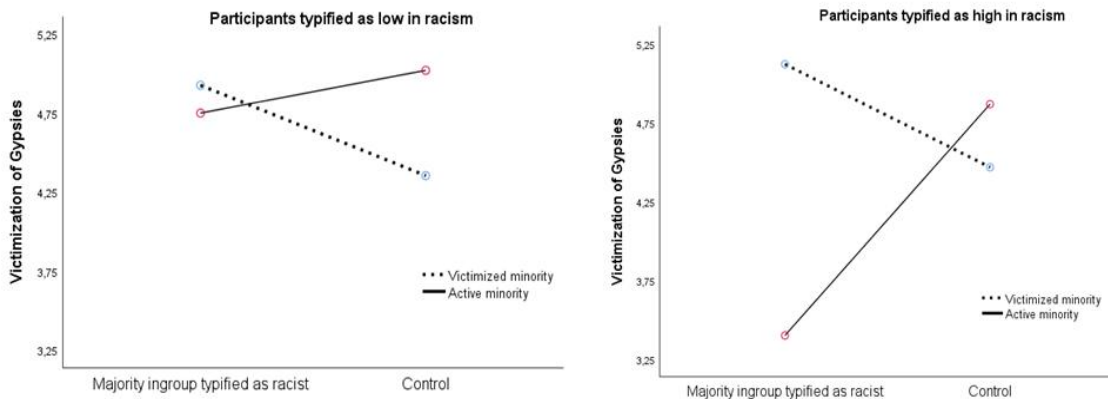


Fig. 3. Victimization of Gypsies for their marginalization. Latent attitude scale. The lower the score, the greater the victimization, i.e., sua culpa

5. DISCUSSION

In the manifest scale of attitudes towards the compensation of Gypsies for their persecution, the results have shown that when the majority in-group was accused of racism for refusing to recognize Gypsies as victims of historical persecution, the victimized minority induced more manifest attitudes in favor of their compensation than the active minority. These results confirm that of Pérez, Ghosn, and Molpeceres (in press), where the collective in-group accusation of discrimination also induced more favorable attitudes towards compensation of the minority. These results also agree with those of Shnabel, Dovidio, and Levin (2015), where the minority represented as active elicited a greater sense of social competition, which induced less support for empowering policies; while a distressed style led to a representation of the minority as victimized and promoted greater support for compensation measures, i.e., manifest influence, in our terms.

In the latent scale measuring the victimization of Gypsies as social explanation for their marginalization, the minority who adopted a victimized style was less the target of victimization in the condition in which the majority in-group was accused of discriminating against the minority, compared to when such an accusation was not stated. The result was reversed when the minority resorted to an active style that established a political relationship with the majority, when it chooses to affirm itself as different and maintain a conflict with the majority. When explicitly confronted with the majority in-

group, accusing it of inflicting a mistreatment on the minority, participants went on the defensive and blamed Gypsies for their own situation of marginalization, that is, a greater victimization (i.e., *sua culpa*). From the perspective of social identity theory, when the in-group is accused of being the cause of suffering of the minority, a threat to the moral identity of the group is felt. As result, the in-group would try to defend their moral identity by derogating the minority out-group [55,56]. This process of derogation of the victim, instead of emancipating the minority of its marginality, leads to a validation of the status quo of the majority, keeping it in collective innocence. Rejecting victims or viewing them as deserving their suffering would be also predicted by theories such as the just world theory [57] and system justification theory [58]. By contrast, the active minority further transforms the explanation about the social culpability of the minority situation if the level of conflict is not between the *majority* and the *minority*, but between the *individual* and the *minority*. At this level of individual-minority interaction, the active minority was more effective than the victimized minority. The individual was seen to become more defensive about the victimized minority than about the active minority. These results confirmed a similar latent influence provoked by an active minority observed by Moscovici and Pérez (2007), in which experiments the majority in-group was not explicitly accused of being racist against the minority. The new result of this experiment is that the active minority ceases to provoke such latent influence, the conversion effect in Moscovici's terms (1980), when the majority is accused of being racist, and the

conflict with this majority is situated on an intergroup level of social competition.

In summary, the collective accusation of racism against the majority in-group is a relevant parameter that differentiates the influence of the minority that resorts either to the victimized style or to the active style. The victimized minority has their claim in favor of compensation legitimized in a pluralistic ignorance context in which the majority is stated as racist. In such a context, the majority resolves their internal conflict and improves their moral identity through their collective responsibility, by accepting the measures of positive discrimination requested by the victimized minority. The active minority prompts a confrontation with the majority and thereby frees the majority from the collective responsibility of the situation of marginalization in which the minority is living. Considering all these effects, it seems appropriate to conclude with the comment that Allport once made: "Whenever it is pointed out, preferably in a calm tone of voice, that prejudiced remarks are not in the (ingroup) tradition, the bigot is most effectively defeated".

6. CONCLUSION

The Civil Rights Movement in the '50s and '60s - i.e. active minorities- helped to shape a new relationship between majority and minorities. It led the majority of the population to accept the democratic principles established in the Declaration of Human Rights. In so doing, it transformed the moral perspective from which the majority regards their own behaviors towards social minorities. This resulted in an immorality judgment of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors that had long been regarded as natural. From then on, one of the main motivations for the majority will be to preserve an unblemished moral identity. And, given the social interdependence between the majority and minority groups, whenever a minority gets unfair treatment a feeling of guilt will be aroused in the majority. Collective guilt increases the desire to apologize and to provide restitution or compensation to the victimized minority (for a review, [59] The majority's concern about their unblemished moral identity is one of the factors enabling the emergent moral power of minority groups (Pérez and Molpeceres, 2018). Social movement denouncing hierarchical microaggressions is a confirmation of this new moral power of minorities [60-63].

As a result of such change in the '80s a new moral representation of discriminated minorities,

a new category of minorities – victimized minorities – has appeared. The social representation of the causes of the marginalization of the minority is transformed, and from seeing the minority as deviant, it begins to be seen as a victim.

The temptation for minorities is to consider as their main objective of constructing themselves as victims -of the present or the past- and, given that where there is a victim there must be a culprit, this would lead to an excessive blaming of the majority, which sooner or later will end up rebounding and trying to get out of the victim-culprit binomial. This culture of victimhood can also lead to a competition among minorities themselves to see who is or has been more victimized. All this suggests that the path of active minorities to make society as a whole respect their democratic rights may in the long run be much more fruitful than the path of victimized minorities.

DATA AVAILABILITY

The materials and data that support the findings of this study are available at osf.io/cfea9

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COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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