From deviant minorities to victimized minorities

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1 Cuius regio, eius religio: conversion or expulsion

The persecution of minorities is a universal phenomenon. This persecution differs in form in each culture depending on the political, ethnic, sexual and religious identity of the persecuted minority. European history features numerous cases of minorities being persecuted by the State, Church, political parties or fanatical ideological groups (Moore, 2000). The Inquisition symbolizes the institutional method of persecution of unorthodox minorities, but it is not the only type that has been practised. In western societies, until the sixteenth century, minorities were seen as mere deviations and disruptions of the social, political and religious order from the dominant power and from the majority under its government. The uniformization policy (a less euphemist concept than the more recent assimilation policy) was applied to them. This policy was synthetized into the maximum *cuius regio, eius religio*: either the minority would convert to the religion and culture of the dominant group, or it would be expelled from the state. Jews and Gypsies, for example, are among the minorities that for centuries have suffered this state policy of persecution and uniformization.

2 Right to dissidence

In a second stage, those in power and majority society begin to accept the right to dissent. Among multiple events that led to appeals for tolerance of those who were different, the exploitation and extermination of indigenous groups during the conquest of the New World throughout the 16^{th} and 17^{th} centuries stands out. One of the most emblematic figures of this period was Bartolomé de Las Casas (see Hanke, 1951), whose defence of the indigenous population was one of the first calls for calls for human rights (see Lauren, 1988). John Locke also defended a new vision in the treatment of minorities, especially those based on religious beliefs. He not only opposed

the policy of imposing religious beliefs on citizens, but also developed an influential argument defending the belief that each individual has certain "natural rights" that preceded existence of organized societies. People are born, Locke (1689/1960) declared, in a state of perfect equality, where naturally there is no superiority or jurisdiction of one over another. He pointed out that these rights should be recognized for all humanity. From this new vision of minorities, not only were these egalitarian concepts argued, but the very existence of minorities and their right to resist the oppression of uniformity were also valued. These two centuries-old cultures related to the relationship between majorities and minorities – between uniformization and the right to dissent – have inspired countless studies in social sciences under different names, such as assimilation, integration, or multiculturalism (see for example Guimond, Sablonnière and Nugier, 2014).

If religion was the first great *themata* (Moscovici, 2001) in the framework of which the relationship with heterodox minorities developed, several Enlightenment philosophers (e.g., Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Hume) were to extend it to a political *themata*. They supported tolerance and egalitarian principles and called for a democratic political system. They questioned the use of the vertical power of the absolute monarchies. A political milestone occurred with the Declaration on the Rights of Man and Citizen issued during the French Revolution (1789), where some minorities began to have some rights recognized (e.g., emancipating Jews, abolishing slavery – even though they were re-established by Napoleon – women's right to inherit, decriminalizing homosexuality) and became conscious of the discrimination to which they were subjected and the need to fight by themselves against oppression. Hochschild (2006) has estimated that two hundred years ago, three-quarters of the world's population were in bondage of some kind or another. Within this general historic perspective of the fight against oppression, the movement in favour of the abolition of slavery defined a cardinal phase in the relationships between the majorities and the minorities. The organizing principle of this movement was to abolish relations in which the dominant groups kept the minorities oppressed. This abolition inspired the movement of other minorities, also marked by oppression – women, workers and colonized peoples. In that context, women, like O. de Gouges or Wollstonecraft (1792), initiated an active assertion of women's rights for complete equality with those of men, and they are usually considered the pioneers of the posterior feminist movement (Botting, 2016).

Despite the relevance of these changes in the political mind-set, most thinkers of the Enlightenment maintained – "in a completely natural way" – their prejudices towards minorities such as blacks, indigenous people or women. They considered these minorities to be naturally inferior to the western white man. These philosophers also proposed a whole spectrum of folk-anthropological theories that had – and continues to have – an enormous influence on the prejudices of the majority towards these minorities (Jahoda, 1999; Pérez, 2018).

3 The era of active minorities

After World War II, both the ethical shock of the Nazi genocide and the approval of the Charter of Human Rights (1948) instigated a new relationship between the majority

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and the minorities. Shortly thereafter, it became manifest that there was a discrepancy between principles of justice and equality with daily practices of discrimination. For example, at the same time as Germany was condemned for racial prejudice, in the USA, racial segregation was still imposed in schools, public transportation and the army. This flagrant discrimination lead to the civil rights movement, headed by blacks in North America in the 1950s and 1960s. The era of active vindication was born. Its main goal was to extend democratic rights to 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 (D'Amato, 1995; Doise, 2002).

The civil rights movements of the 1960s changed the attitudes of the majority towards minorities. The moral value of discrimination also changed, as it started to be seen as unjust, immoral and undesirable. Schuman, Steeh, Bobo and Krysan (1997), studying racial attitudes in the USA since the 1940s, concluded: "what has changed over the past half century is the normative definition of appropriate relationships between blacks and whites. 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" (pp. 311-312). Qualifying all social discrimination as immoral was one of the most significant changes brought about by the civil rights movement. From then on, one of the main motivations for the majority was to preserve an unblemished moral identity (Jones, 1997).

This normative change towards discrimination (see Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002) led us (Pérez & Mugny, 1993) to examine the hypothesis of conflict in majority group members that still causes them today to discriminate against a minority: an individual who is led to openly discriminate a social minority in a context that disapproves this discrimination will experience a moral identity conflict that he/she will try to resolve. This hypothesis was tested in a series of experiments where the Gypsies were the targeted minority. The results showed that participants were clearly reluctant to discriminate against this minority – despite the fact that Gypsies are one of the most vilified minorities in Europe (see Liégois, 1994). Majority group members preferred to express positive judgments rather than negative ones, and even expressed more negative judgments towards their own majority in-group than towards the Gypsy minority. This confirmed the change of meaning when discriminating a minority. It was also observed that the clearer the norm of the majority against racism, the greater the moral conflict in the person that infringed that norm. The resolution of that conflict was translated into less discriminatory attitudes towards the minority, even compared to conditions in which participants were only asked to express positive judgments towards the Gypsies, that is, to avoid discriminating against them.

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4 Ethical *themata* in majority-minority relationships

If initially the civil rights movement in the USA transformed the attitudes of the majority towards minorities, step by step, other factors were added that contributed to the construction of a culture of solidarity with victims of discrimination. The 1970s witnessed a boom in, the emergence of NGOs (Lang, 2013). A critical 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. As is well known, the great obstacle to implementing human rights is national sovereignty. Different countries publicly accept the principles of justice and equality that form the backbone of the Charter of Human Rights, but they prefer them to be imposed on other countries rather than put into practice in their own. These principles are accepted as long as they do not imply that other states intervene in their domestic affairs, such as, for example, 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) and the situation of women (Iran), among others. Nevertheless, the diffusion of images and information about victims´ situations, observing the suffering of others from any part of the world, imagining that this could happen to oneself and sensing the feeling of rage for those suffering create a socio-emotional climate that contributes to showing empathy and solidarity with minorities. It fosters the view of the victim as a moral human being with all the rights that this implies.

The internalization of persecutions of minorities is also taking place in the field of justice. After the Nazi holocaust, an international tribunal was established to prosecute some Nazi leaders. In the first Nuremberg trials (1945-48), the legal category of crime against humanity and no statute of limitations for this crime were advocated. Consequently, all citizens of the world could have recognized rights that heretofore were not acknowledged. The persecuted minorities found that there was international support protecting them against domestic law. Their persecution could be reported to an international court. Nonetheless, it was not until 1997, when the events of the war in Yugoslavia took place, that the International Criminal Tribunal defined the sentence of crime against humanity. Another step in the justice discipline was the creation of the International Criminal Court in 2001, which 120 nations endorsed. This inter-nation 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, pp. 28-29).

5 From collective innocence to collective guilt

If the decades of 1950s and 1960s were mainly the era of active minorities, the following decades were the era of victimized minorities. During the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1948, attention to victims was non-existent (*cf.*, Ehrenfreund, 2007). The

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ethical concepts of the crime against humanity and no statute of limitations for this crime, which were pronounced (or declared?) in those trials, later became two of the organizational principles of the collective guilt paradigm and, thus, of victimized minorities. These crimes are treated outside of major legal categories, such as individual responsibility and no statute of limitations for such a crime, and take a new approach from the ground of the ethics. To the category of individual guilt was added the category of collective responsibility (Jaspers, 1946/2001): the individual, even if not guilty of a crime, may feel pressure to assume collective responsibility of a flagrant injustice committed by his/her ancestors against some minority. Although this timelessness could be considered reckless from a traditional legal perspective, it is not from an ethical mind-set that calls for solidarity with the victims.

A new paradigm of collective memory is configured when combining this ethic of collective responsibility with the novel legal concept of no statute of limitations of the crime of genocide (see Haas & Jodelet, 2000, Licata, Klein & Gély, 2007). The moral identity of a group is not only made up of synchronous intergroup elements, but also of diachronic ones. In a context of high undesirability of discrimination, this historical memory of the violation of human rights as fundamental as equality and justice predisposes the majority to flush away their past and to try to reconstruct a moral identity tainted by behaviours of their ancestors. A whole series of studies in social psychology analyses the dynamics of this moral identity within this new paradigm of ethics of collective responsibility (for a review, see Branscombe and Doosje, 2004).

6 From deviant minority to victimized minority

For our part, more than in those dynamics of the in-group's moral identity, we focus on the evolution of the relationships between the majority and the minority that has led to this new paradigm of ethics of collective memory and responsibility. In this new paradigm, being able to be recognized as a victim of a more or less remote past grants one certain rights. Active minorities (Moscovici, 1976; Mugny, 1981; Papastamou, 1983) of the 50s and 60s were often labelled as deviant and achieved their influence through external conflict *with* the majority. Afterwards, a new category of minorities emerged in which minorities are recognized as victims (Moscovici & Pérez, 2007). Victimized minorities, through guilt, achieved their influence by inducing an internal conflict *within* the majority. Faced with victimized minorities, the majority is pressured to prove its moral identity. Consequently, the majority willingly adopts strategies to enhance their moral identity. As a result, the majority celebrates acts of collective memory and accepts petitions for forgiveness and even material compensation for the damages that their ancestors have inflicted on these victimized minorities.

The existence and influence of these new victimized minorities were examined in two experiments in which the Gypsies were the targeted discriminated minority (Moscovici and Pérez, 2007). The experiments compared a) the influence of an active minority that roots its strategy in calling for a radical social change to put end its discrimination; with b) the influence of a victimized minority that roots its strategy in a demand for recognition of the discrimination that they suffered. The results showed that with the victimized minority, an *ethical* relationship of culpability *within* the

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majority was established, while with the active minority, a *political* relationship of conflict and confrontation *with* the majority was established. The manifest and latent influence of these two minorities was measured. On manifest level, the victimized minority provoked more favourable attitudes than the active minority towards affirmative compensatory actions for the Gypsies. Shnabel, Dovidio and Levin (2015), in a series of three experiments, also observed a greater manifest influence of a victimized minority compared to an active minority. These authors presented the situation of the minority with what they call *rights framing* (they point out that the majority group enters in flagrant violation of the principles of justice and equality by discriminating against the minority on the basis of ethnicity or religion), or *distress framing* (they point out the suffering and feeling of humiliation and frustration that the minority experienced due to their sensitive status in the country). Their results confirmed that in the condition of *rights framing*, less favourable attitudes towards measures of affirmative action oriented towards the minority (empowering policies) were observed than in the *distress framing* condition. These authors interpret the results within the framework of their unified instrumental model of group conflict (Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005). They concluded that under the *rights framing* orientation, the minority would be represented as active and would elicit a greater sense of competition, inducing less support for empowering policies, whereas *distress framing* would lead to representing the minority as victimized and promote greater support for those compensation measures.

In experiments by Moscovici and Pérez (2007), in addition to a measure of manifest influence, a latent measure of influence was also obtained. They asked whether the motivation of the majority was to reduce the internal moral conflict created by the victimized minority, a mere act of apology by which it can enhance its moral identity, or whether it was also a transformation in their representation of the minority. To measure whether this change in the representation of the minority occurred, they measured the degree to which the minority was victimized. In particular, the latent scale measured to what degree, when compared to the *Payos* (*Payos* refers to non-Roma Spaniards, a term used by both Gypsies and non-Gypsies), the Gypsies were represented with less desire to improve and less interest in values fundamental to the majority, such as schooling, technology, politics and the protection of the ecosystem. This measure is latent because for *Payos* it is "a fact" that Gypsies have little or no concern about these values. However, presented as a question of degree, that is, on a scale that measures to what degree they perceive a disinterest of the Gypsies, means that they are seen by the majority as different in matters that for the latter are already *truisms*. In the logic of victimization of minorities, their marginalization is not due to them being the victims of discrimination of the majority, but rather to *sua culpa*, their own lack of interest in leaving it. It has to be remembered that a basic component of collective innocence is victimization – i.e., to believe that the minority has a set of characteristics that incites or justifies their discrimination. Well, in this latent measure a greater influence of the active minority than of the victimized minority was observed. Therefore, if the minority adopts the victimized strategy, it obtains more manifest influence than the active minority. However, if it adopts the strategy of the active minority, it causes the usual effect of conversion of minorities: greater latent

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influence than manifest influence. In summary, although the victimized minority induced more favourable attitudes towards compensatory measures for Gypsies, it was the active minority that generated the lowest victimization of the Gypsies, i.e., a more positive representation of the minority.

7 Nostra culpa, mea culpa, sua culpa and minority influence

A brief historical review from the 1970s shows that these favourable attitudes towards victims are a new phenomenon (see for example Accattoli, 1998; Barkan, 2000; Brooks, 1999; Howard-Hassmann, 2014). A new paradigm of collective guilt has been necessary for victims to be recognized as such. As was mentioned, the role of active minorities has been crucial for the emergence of this paradigm. In a new experiment (Pérez, Molpeceres and Ghosn, in preparation), the hypothesis that the positive influence of the victimized minority was facilitated by the new context of collective guilt (vs. individual guilt) was tested. The belief in the existence of collective racism favours the belief in the existence of victims of racism. The new category of the victimized minority corresponds to the new ethic of collective guilt. If there is a victim, there must be a culprit. Following this reasoning, in this experiment collective guilt has been compared with the individual guilt that occurs when discriminating against a minority. In one condition, the participating group as a whole was accused of discriminating against the minority; in another condition, the accusation was made only at an individual level. The prediction was that the minority would be recognized more as a victim when it was stated that it had been discriminated against collectively by the majority group (vs. discriminated against on an individual basis). To verify that it is the ethical relationship with the victimized minority, and not the discriminator identity that was assigned to the participants, it was predicted that the accusation of having discriminated against an out-group (individually vs. collectively) would not have the effect on attitudes towards the minority in question.

The experiment consisted of a factorial design 2 (*ad hoc* categorization vs. historical groups) x 2 (collective vs. individual discrimination). All the participants, 131 students from the University of Valencia, began by completing the classic matrices test of the Minimal Group Paradigm by Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament (1971). Participants were told that "for administrative reasons of the study", they had been divided into two groups. Afterwards, two types of categorization were introduced. Half of the participants were divided with an *ad hoc* criterion of categorization into the Alpha and the Omega groups, although, unknowingly, they were all assigned to the Alpha group. For the other half of the participants, the historical division between *Payos* and Gypsies was used. In this condition, participants distributed points between a person from the *Payos* majority group (belonging group of all the participants) and a person from the Gypsy minority group. In the *ad hoc* categorization condition, they distributed points between someone from the Alpha in-group and someone from the Omega out-group. A day later, participants were informed about the supposed "results" of this task, which allowed for the introduction of the manipulation of the independent variable accusation of collective vs. individual discrimination. In the collective discrimination condition, it was reported that in total, 85% of the responses of the people in their group had been discriminatory, either against the Gypsy minority

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or against the Omega out-group, depending on the experimental condition. In the individual discrimination condition, each participant was told of that same result in private, making him/her believe that it was his/her individual result.

After this manipulation, all participants responded to a scale of guilt for the historical discrimination against the Gypsy minority, on a manifest scale of attitudes towards the compensation of this minority and on a latent scale of victimization of the minority, that is, to attribute to it the causes of their own discrimination. The results showed that the participants who were accused of having collectively discriminated against the Gypsy minority, compared to those who were accused at the individual level, had a greater recognition of the Gypsies as victims and a greater feeling of collective guilt. This confirms the hypothesis that belief in the existence of collective racism, when it is included in the individual himself, increases recognition of the Gypsies as victims. This effect does not derive from a mere strategy to improve the moral identity of the group questioned by the experimental manipulation. It was the collective accusation of the majority for discriminating against the minority, and not the collective accusation of the in-group for discriminating against an *ad hoc* out-group, which has led to recognizing the Gypsies as victims. The results also confirmed a second hypothesis regarding the transformation of representation of a deviant minority into a victimized minority – i.e., a lower victimization of the Gypsies due to their marginalized situation. Participants accused of collectively discriminating against the Gypsies attributed to the Gypsies a lower degree of blame for the marginalization that they are faced with, compared to the conditions of collective discrimination against an out-group or individual discrimination against the Gypsies (see Figure 1a). Thus, when the majority is accused of collectively discriminating against the minority, it transforms the social representation of the causes of the marginalization of the minority, and from seeing the minority as deviant, they start to see minority group members as victims.



Figure 1a: AxB, p <.022.

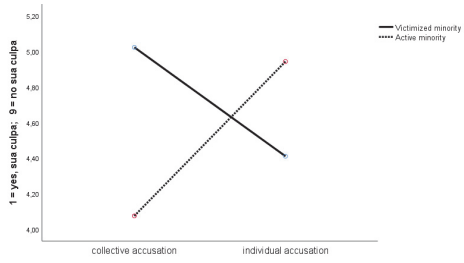


Figure 1b: AxB, p <.002

Figure 1a: AxB, p <.022. Figure 1b: AxB, p <.002
Figures 1a and 1b: Latent attitude scale: Victimization of the Gypsies for their marginalization (1 = *sua culpa*; 9 = *no sua culpa*).

The next question posed concerned the strategy that most favours the minority when the majority has a sense of collective guilt. Which is more advantageous for the minority: to appear victimized and, therefore, intensify the internal moral conflict *within* the majority; or to appear active and questioning, creating an external conflict

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with the majority? A new experiment was designed to put two variables into interaction: the victimized or active strategy of the minority and the collective or individual accusation of the majority as perpetrator. The experiment followed a 2 (active minority vs. victimized minority) x 2 (majority accused vs. not accused of collectively discriminating against the minority of Gypsies) factorial design. It was predicted that the victimized minority would receive more favourable attitudes as compensation and would be less victimized in the condition of accusation of collective discrimination. On the contrary, the active minority, which resorts to external conflict, was predicted to have a greater effect when the entire majority group was not accused of discriminating the minority. The results confirmed the prediction. When the majority group was accused of being racist for refusing to recognize the Gypsies as victims of historical persecution, the victimized minority induced more manifest attitudes favourable to their compensation than the active minority. On the latent scale, participants showed less victimization of Gypsies when the minority adopted the victimized strategy and the majority was collectively accused of discriminating against it, compared to when that collective accusation was not specified (see Figure 3b). The result was reversed when the minority used an active strategy. The active minority established a political relationship with the majority, that is, when the minority chooses to affirm itself as deviant and to maintain a conflict with the majority. When the majority is explicitly accused of being racist and mistreating the minority, the majority becomes defensive and blames the Gypsies for their own marginalization, and they victimize them even further.

A particular theoretical interest of these experiments is how or at what level collective guilt is resolved. Collective guilt (e.g., original sin or existential guilt, see Jaspers, 1946) refers to the feeling the individual carries with him because of his group membership. Multiple studies show that today, collective guilt increases the desire to apologize and provide restitution or compensation to the victimized minority (e.g, Mallett & Swim, 2004; Miron, Warner & Branscombe, 2011; Stewart, Latu, Branscombe & Denney, 2010; for a review, see Wohl, Branscombe & Klar, 2006). Now, from the perspective of the social identity theory, it can also happen that when the in-group is accused of causing the suffering of the minority, it results in a threat to the moral identity of the in-group, in which case it tries to defend its moral identity by derogating the minority out-group (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999; Branscombe, Schmitt & Schiffhauer, 2007). This process of derogation of the victim, far from emancipating the minority from its marginality, leads to validation of the status quo. This rejection of victims, or viewing them as deserving their suffering, is also predicted by theories such as just world theory (Lerner, 1980) and system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994). What we observed in our experiments is that the deviant minority is more likely to the explanation of social responsibility of the situation of the minority if the conflict develops not at an intergroup level between the majority and the minority, but between the individual and the minority. At this level of individual-minority interaction, the active minority is more effective than the victimized minority. A new result of this latest experiment is that the active minority ceases to provoke the conversion effect when the majority is collectively accused of being racist.

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8 Conclusion

In summary, the collective accusation of racism to the majority in-group is a relevant parameter that differentiates the influence of the minority. The minority resorts either to the victimized strategy or the deviant strategy. The victimized minority legitimates its vindication of compensation in a context in which the majority group is presented as racist. The majority resolves their internal conflict and improves their moral identity through collective responsibility by accepting the measures of positive discrimination requested by the victimized minority. When the deviant minority collectively accuses the majority of discrimination, it generates a conflict of confrontation with the majority. This external conflict frees the majority from the collective responsibility of the marginalized situation in which the minority finds itself. Therefore, the collective guilt that is generated in the majority – when being explicitly accused of having discriminated against the minority – turns out to be a relevant variable for the influence of minorities. What are the factors that have made it possible to go from collective innocence to collective guilt? We have pointed out the following factors: the moral shock caused by the Nazi genocide, the institutionalization of the Charter of Human Rights, the non-prescription of crimes against humanity and, the most relevant for our point of view, the active struggle of minorities for civil rights and equal extension of democratic principles to everyone. All these factors have contributed to transforming the relationships between the majority and minorities. A deviant minority is constituted into a victimized minority. From relationships that – to simplify – we could call political, we have gone to relationships mediated by ethical principles. The new relationships not only condemn, until almost becoming a taboo, the discrimination against minorities, but, and this is new, they introduce the ethics of collective social responsibility. Thus, it is not only about not being personally racist, but also about vindicating rights for minorities. This ethical paradigm in the relationships between the majority and the minority would have transformed not only the majority, but also the minorities themselves. The minority, from being seen as a mere deviant, finds the possibility of being recognized as a victim of the majority. The recognition of victimized minorities, together with the current obsession of society for victims, as Erner (2006) points out, would lead to collective guilt. In some cases, collective guilt leads to compensatory attitudes of the minority.

A final general theoretical issue is the interaction between the transformation of deviant minorities into victimized minorities and the type of conflict they generate. As indicated, victimized minorities induce a moral conflict within the majority, generating collective guilt. Meanwhile, deviant minorities induce a conflict of confrontation with the majority. When the majority is under threat or suspected of being racist, the victimized strategy of minorities seems more beneficial for them. Since the active tone of confrontation evokes competition between the majority and the minority, this strategy puts the majority on the defensive. However, when it is not the group that is accused of racism, but rather the individual, the result is reversed. It has been shown that the individual becomes more defensive towards the victimized minority, but at the same time does not take the external conflict generated by the active minority to an intergroup level. In the condition of individual accusation, the active minority

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produces what is known in classical studies of minority influence as the conversion effect (Moscovici, 1980).

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