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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MINORITY GROUPS: THE
LEGITIMISING ROLE OF JUSTICE PERCEPTIONS

KARLA SANTOS MATEUS

JOÃO PESSOA

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LEGITIMISING ROLE OF JUSTICE PERCEPTIONS

Karla Santos Mateus

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Resumo

Negros, mulheres e homossexuais são grupos que sofrem fortemente a violência intencional no mundo e são comumente vitimizados secundariamente tanto por pessoas como por instituições. A persistência desta violência e o suporte social que recebe está baseado num processo de legitimação. Esse processo envolve, frequentemente, percepções e desejo de justiça. Com base na literatura recente sobre a psicologia social dos processos de legitimação das desigualdades sociais, esta tese propõe a hipótese de que percepções de justiça, como a vitimização secundária, funcionam como justificativa para a discriminação contra minorias sociais em situação de violência. Para testar a hipótese aqui proposta, desenvolvemos um programa de pesquisa no qual realizamos três estudos experimentais e um correlacional, os quais apresentamos em dois artigos. No primeiro artigo, testamos preliminarmente a nossa hipótese em dois estudos experimentais sobre a violência contra grupos minoritários (negros vs. mulheres vs. homossexuais). No Estudo 1 (N = 104), os resultados mostraram que os participantes culpavam mais as mulheres por sua própria vitimização, responsabilizaram menos o agressor quando a vítima era negra e descreveram a violência homofóbica como uma problema social comum, semelhante à violência geral que ocorre na sociedade. O Estudo 2 (N = 217) deu um passo além e mostrou que esses efeitos ocorrem, principalmente, quando os participantes são solicitados a responder de acordo com o que a sociedade pensa. No segundo artigo, realizamos dois novos estudos com o objetivo de testar se a vitimização secundária de uma vítima de agressão está relacionada ao preconceito e com a crença no mundo justo (BJW). No Estudo 1 (N = 102), manipulamos as pistas sobre orientação sexual de um homem vítima de violência e constatamos que os participantes mais preconceituosos minimizavam o sofrimento da vítima e a culpabilizam mais quando perceberam que esta vítima era um homossexual. O Estudo 2 (N = 205) replicou o papel do preconceito nessa vitimização secundária e mostrou que, nos participantes com elevada BJW, o preconceito motiva a minimização do sofrimento da vítima quando esta é percebida como homossexual. Discutimos o conjunto dos resultados no contexto do modelo da discriminação justificada, destacando o papel do preconceito, da BJW e da vitimização secundária no processo de legitimação da violência contra grupos minoritários.

Palavras-chaves: Preconceito; violência; Crença no Mundo Justo; Vitimização Secundária; Legitimação.

Abstract

Black people, women and homosexuals are groups of individuals who severely suffer with intentional violence in the world and are commonly secondarily victimized by both citizens and institutions. The persistence of this type of violence and the social support it encounters is based on a legitimation process. This process often involves different perceptions and a desire for justice. Based on recent literature addressing the social psychology around legitimation processes of social inequalities, this thesis proposes the hypothesis that perceptions of justice, such as secondary victimization, work as a justification for discrimination against social minorities in situations of violence. To test the hypothesis proposed here, we developed a research program in which we carried out three experimental studies and a correlational one, which we present throughout two different articles. In the first piece, we preliminarily tested our hypothesis in two experimental studies on violence against minority groups (black people vs. women vs. homosexuals). In Study 1 (N = 104), the results revealed that participants blamed more women for their own victimization, in addition to holding the aggressor less accountable when the victim was black, and described homophobic violence as a common social issue similar to the general violence that occurs in society. Study 2 (N = 217) took it a step further and demonstrated that these effects occur mainly when participants are asked to respond according to what society thinks. In the second article, we conducted two new studies with the aim of testing whether the secondary victimization of an aggression victim is related to prejudice and the belief in a just world (BJW). In Study 1 (N = 102), we manipulated the hints about the sexual orientation of a man who was a victim of violence and we found that the most prejudiced participants minimized the victim's suffering and blamed them more once they realized this victim was a homosexual. Study 2 (N = 205) replicated the role of prejudice in this secondary victimization and revealed that, in participants with a high BJW, prejudice motivates the minimization of the victim's suffering when they are perceived as a homosexual. We discussed the set of results in the context of the Justified Discrimination Model, highlighting the role of prejudice, BJW and secondary victimization in the process of legitimizing violence against minority groups.

Keywords: Prejudice; Violence; Belief in a Just World; Secondary Victimization; Legitimation.

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Introduction

The present thesis proposes to test the hypothesis that social support for violence against black people, women and homosexuals goes through a process of legitimation that involves different perceptions of justice. We specifically address the phenomenon of secondary victimization against minority groups and place it within the context of a more general legitimation problem of social violence against these groups, mainly concerning aggression towards homosexuals. The hypotheses proposed in this thesis were based on theories of Social Psychology that explain the legitimation processes of social inequalities (see Pereira et al., 2019). We mainly focus on the Just World Theory (Lerner, 1980; Hafer & Bègue, 2005), the System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) and the Justified Discrimination Model (Pereira et al., 2010). Although each of these approaches has its own characteristics, they share a fundamental idea: contemporary societies, which assume egalitarian social norms and even have international agreements to tackle social inequality and to promote human rights, use different ways to legitimize the discrimination against minority groups. Thus, the discrimination is perceived as non-prejudiced since, apparently, it would not violate the anti-prejudice norm.

The phenomenon of violence against social minorities is theoretically relevant for testing social psychology theoretical models for legitimizing social inequalities, however it is also socially relevant for proposing public policies to confront their causal factors and minimize their consequences. In fact, members of minority groups suffer the consequences of discrimination on a daily basis. For example, violence against black people, women and homosexuals is much more frequent compared to the violence against the general population (for example: Atlas of violence, 2018; Carroll, 2016; Brazilian Yearbook on Public Security, 2018; Gay Group of Bahia [GGB], 2018; Global Violent Deaths; 2017; World Health Organization [WHO], 2018,). Furthermore, the Social Psychology literature on this phenomenon has indicated that, in this context of violence, the

victims still suffer a secondary victimization (for example, Correia et al, 2015; Herek, 1990; Ryan, 1971/1976). They are often perceived as guilty or held accountable for the violence they have endured, having their suffering minimized, and they still may to be excluded from social life.

The presence of this violence in everyday social relations indicates that it is supported by a certain legitimization process. In this perspective, we will address the phenomenon of secondary victimization once it has been described as crucial in the legitimization of this violence (see Jost, 2019). The idea that we propose here is that prejudice motivates the secondary victimization of minority group members. Since it encounters social acceptance and is normative when the victim is perceived as not innocent (Alves & Correia, 2013), this victimization can work as a justification for people to support discrimination against black people, women and homosexuals in situations of violence.

Studies of secondary victimization have received significant prominence in theories about the motivation to do justice (see Ellard et al., 2016), especially in the Just World Theory (Hafer & Bègue, 2005)). For these theories, the motivation to do justice is part of the normal social and personal development, which is necessary for life in society. One way of remarking this is to look at the many ways people act to demonstrate their need for believing in a just world (Ellard et al., 2016; Lerner, 1977). The belief in a just world is a metaphor used by Lerner (1980) to represent people's motivation to act as if they believed that the world is a just place to live in, where events are perceived as stable and disciplined. Consequently, the BJW allows individuals to commit to the pursuit of long-term goals, engaging in normative behaviours of everyday life (Lerner & Miller, 1978). The theory predicts that individuals need to believe that people get what they deserve and deserve what they get.

The relationship between the events (positive vs. negative) that occur with a person and the inference that individuals make about that person's value (good vs. bad person) started to receive empirical attention in Social Psychology in the mid-1960s (Lerner & Miller, 1978). At the time, the

first studies which later supported the BJW theory were published. The main question answered in these initial studies was how individuals interpreted other people's fates. One of the questions raised addressed what motivates individuals to feel compassion and selflessness in the face of one person's suffering, but, at other times, these same individuals react with indifference towards the other's suffering. Lerner (1977) indicates that the answer to this question depends on whether the person in question is perceived by individuals as deserving or not of their own destiny. According to the BJW theory, individuals have a tendency to interpret the negative events that occur with a person as not due to the contingencies of life, but as a consequence of the victim's "bad character", i.e., as the fair outcome of their bad acts (Lerner & Miller, 1978). The theory also predicts that what motivates people's reactions towards victims is individuals' commitment to justice, which was pointed out by Lerner (1980) as the central aspect that guides their behaviour in their interpersonal relationships.

If a person's suffering is perceived as undeserved, individuals react with compassion, interaction, and a helping behaviour. Otherwise, that is, if the other's suffering is seen as deserved, these same individuals react with indifference, detachment, and dissatisfaction. When something bad happens to a person perceived as good individual, according to Lerner and Simmons (1966), there is a threat to the belief that the world is a just place. In this situation, typically, individuals are motivated to restore justice (Lerner & Miller, 1978). In a first moment, the restoration of justice is sought through motivation to help the victim if it is possible and sufficient to solve the victim's suffering. However, in a second moment, when the restoration of justice is not possible or insufficient, individuals are motivated to promote secondary victimization.

It is important to highlight that the defense of the BJW is not exactly the defense of justice for all and everyone. Lerner and Miller (1978) indicate that the fate of other people has implications for the future of the individual's own destiny. The perceived interdependence between one's own destiny and the destiny of others in their environment implies that, if others can suffer unjustly, the individual must admit the disturbing perspective that they can also suffer injustice. For these

authors, people would be especially concerned with their own world, that is, with the environment in which they must live and function. Thus, witnessing and admitting injustice in other settings does not threaten the belief in a just world as much because these events have little relevance to one's own destiny. However, when events turn out to be close to their environment, the concern about injustice increases, making it necessary to explain or make sense of these events.

In the scope of intergroup relations, it has been noticed that the category or social group to which the victim and the aggressor belong also exert a decisive influence (e.g., Modesto & Pilatti, 2017), especially in promoting secondary victimization. Depending on the threatening factors to the BJW, sometimes the ingroup is the most victimized secondarily, other times it is the outgroup (see Aguiar et al., 2008). For example, Correia et al. (2018) found that the Portuguese people with a high BJW and with stronger national identification were the ones who blamed the Portuguese themselves for the suffering imposed by the Troika during the economic crisis that started in 2008. Albuquerque et al. (2019) also identified that the victim belonging to the ingroup predicts secondary victimization in women victims of rape, although in a different way in which this association occurred, above all, among people with a low BJW and with more binding moral values.

Other studies suggest the victim's innocence, permanence, and high level of suffering (Aguiar et al., 2008; Lerner & Simons, 1966; Walster, 1966) also threaten the BJW, which incite secondary victimization. A research conducted by Jones and Aronson (1973), for example, found that people tend to blame more an innocent victim when they are considered more respectable than others. These authors tested the hypothesis that a married woman, or a virgin woman, would be perceived as more respectable than a divorced woman. Accordingly, a situation of sexual violence (i.e., a negative event) where the victim is a woman perceived as more respectable (i.e., a supposedly good person), this condition would threaten the BJW, causing this woman to be seen as more guilty for the violence she has suffered. In fact, the results confirmed the hypothesis: virgin and married women were perceived as more respectable than divorced ones. Consequently, women

seen as more respectable were more blamed for the sexual violence they had suffered, probably because the perceived respect would be associated with the victim's idea of innocence, which would threaten the BJW.

In the case of victims recognized as not innocent, the judgement can be motivated by the perception of deserviness, so that non-innocence acts as a validation of such belief instead of threatening the BJW. When situating this possibility in the context of intergroup relations it is likely that prejudice can influence secondary victimization. In fact, the Social Identity Theory (see Tajfel et al., 1971) predicts that individuals organize their social world according to two fundamental categories: people who are members of the ingroup and others who belong to the outgroup. The theory goes further by indicating that individuals are motivated to positively differentiate the ingroup from the outgroup, because they need to maintain a positive social identity. This implies that analogous to the perception that one has of the social world, individuals perceive good people as those who belong to the ingroup, and bad people as those who are members of the outgroup. Transporting this reasoning into the context of Just World Theory, individuals expect positive events to happen to people belonging to the ingroup, while negative events occur to people from the outgroup. For this reason, a situation of victimization (i.e., the fact that a person is a victim of violence) should be more threatening to a person in the ingroup, but not when that person is a member of the outgroup. In the first case, victimization threatens the BJW. In the second, it validates this belief. Thus, in the first case, people's reaction will be to reestablish their BJW, which occurs through secondary victimization. In the second case, people can be motivated by prejudice, using secondary victimization to justify the devaluation that they make of members of outgroup and, thus, legitimize the social system that devalues social minorities.

We assume that the victim's perception of innocence, worthiness and level of suffering is related to their group belonging, i.e., victims of socially devalued outgroup are perceived as "not innocent" and, thus, their suffering does not threaten the BJW, rather it validates the Belief. In

addition to highlighting the role of the threat to BJW in the use of secondary victimization, we emphasize that, in the absence of this threat, prejudice should play a central role in secondary victimization (see Aguiar et al., 2008; Pereira & Vala, 2010; Shaver, 1970). For example, there is evidence that black people, women and homosexuals, when victims of violence, undergo secondary victimization under the pretext that they deserved their fate because they are responsible for their bad behaviour, which are inferred from the victim's group belonging (see Canto et al., 2017; Herek, 1990; Ryan, 1971/1976). This indicates that secondary victimization, when motivated by prejudice, seems to reinforce the social system that prioritizes the value of a person according to the social value of their group of belonging.

The defense of the belief that the world is just, or the justification of such a world can be considered mechanisms that legitimize existing social inequalities (Costa-Lopes et al., 2013; Smith, 1985). In fact, similarly to the BJW's defense, the System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) also points out that people tend to justify the system, maintaining the *status quo*, so that it is seen as fair, legitimate, and necessary. Studies carried out on the grounds of this theory have even demonstrated that people, in general, may secondarily victimize members of the ingroup and, consequently, defend the system (for a review, see Jost, 2019; Napier et al., 2006; Ståhl et al., 2010).

Secondary victimization against minority and majority groups seems to occur through different mechanisms. Members of social majority groups tend to perceive the misfortune that occurred with a member of a minority out-group as fair because they are motivated to disadvantage the outgroup (e.g., by blaming the victim) as a mechanism to ensure self-esteem through positive distinctiveness (see Jost & Banaji, 1994), that is, they can be motivated by prejudice. Modesto and Pilati (2017) also found that people attributed more responsibility to an outgroup victim for being hit by a stray bullet than to an ingroup person. They also found that the greater the perceived BJW, the greater the attribution of responsibility to the outgroup victim. On the other hand, a misfortune

that occurred with a member of the majority ingroup threatens the BJW, which motivates people to devalue the victim being motivated not by prejudice, but by the need to defend their BJW which has been threatened by the misfortune suffered by the member of the ingroup. For example, a study conducted by Aguiar et. al. (2008) demonstrated that when the victim was not perceived as innocent, observers judged more the victim belonging to the outgroup than one from the ingroup. In this case, secondary victimization legitimizes injustice, but its meaning is different from that which occurs when the victim is from the out-group.

Taken altogether, these results may indicate that there are different ways of legitimizing the current social organization. However, a question still seems to remain unanswered: would prejudice motivate individuals for secondary victimization towards social minorities? How can prejudice be associated with secondary victimization in justifying discrimination against social minorities and, more specifically, in legitimizing violence against these minorities?

To answer these questions, we consider it important to highlight the Justified Discrimination Model (JDM), since it indicates the relevance of studying the factors that justify discrimination, which, in turn, contribute to the maintenance of an exclusionary and perverse social system. The JDM suggests that people use prejudice-based justifications to discriminate against social minorities when the anti-prejudice norm is active. Studies based on this model have pointed out some factors that legitimize discrimination (Pereira & Vala, 2010; Sousa et al., 2016; Lima-Nunes et al., 2013) but have not yet tested the possibility of secondary victimization being one of these factors. Thus, the present research outlines the results of four studies which have tested the hypothesis that different forms of secondary victimization can legitimize violence against minority groups and that such victimization is related to the prejudice towards these groups.

Overview of the current thesis ¹

The four studies presented here have originated two articles. The first one examines whether people spontaneously develop justifications for violence which, in some way, reflect their motivations for justifying this violence. Among the literature on the legitimization processes of social inequalities, it has not yet been verified how people explain violence against black people, women, and homosexuals in a comparative way. To help overcome this limitation, we conducted two separate studies in which we analyzed whether the way people explain this violence varies according to the target group of such a brutality. In the first study, we manipulated the target group of violence (black people vs. women vs. homosexuals vs. control group) and asked people's opinions on the reasons why these groups are the target of violence in the Brazilian society. In the second study, we replicated the first one and manipulated the locus of the participants' opinions. In one condition the participants responded according to their personal opinion, while in the other situation they responded according to society's opinion, that is, what they believed the society thinks about such issues. The tested hypotheses were that people explain violence against minority groups in such a way that evokes reasons that legitimize this violence. Precisely, we tested the hypothesis that people spontaneously evoke three types of explanations for violence (blaming the victim, blaming the system, and blaming the aggressor) and such evocations vary according to the victim's group of belonging.

In the second article, we conducted two more studies to test the hypothesis that secondary victimization is related to prejudice. In Study 1 of this second article, we applied a measure of prejudice, a measure of secondary victimization and manipulated some hints about the sexual

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orientation of a victim of physical aggression. The objective was to demonstrate that more prejudiced people secondarily victimize more the victim when situational hints allow them to infer that such a victim is a homosexual. In the second study, we added a BJW measure, using a situation in which the clues did not clearly report the victim's sexual orientation and asked the participants to spontaneously indicate that orientation. The objective was to test the hypothesis that prejudiced people secondarily victimize the victim more when they are perceived as homosexual, this effect being stronger among people with a high BJW.

In summary, these studies primarily present a set of correlational and experimental evidence of the legitimate role of secondary victimization and its relationship with prejudice, especially when the victim is homosexual. Thus, we hope to contribute to the Social Psychology of Justice, namely to the theories of Belief in a Just World, of System Justification and, especially, to the development of the Justified Discrimination Model.

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System Justification in the Social Explanation of the Violence against Minority Groups

Abstract

Violence against minority groups continues to be pervasive despite social norms prescribing nonviolence because it is legitimised in democratic societies. We propose that it occurs spontaneously by individuals when they are faced with violence within their social environment because they are motivated to perceive and defend social events as just, legitimate and necessary. We tested this hypothesis in two experimental studies on violence against minority groups (black vs. women vs. homosexuals). In Study 1 (N= 104), participants blamed more women for their own victimisation; blamed the perpetrator less when the victim was black, and depicted homophobic violence as a social issues similar to general violence in society. Study 2 (N = 217) went further by showing that these effects occur especially when participants were asked to respond as thought by society. We discuss explanations for violence as examples of individuals' motivation to justify the social system and provide new insights for the secondary victimisation research.

Keywords: Violence; System Justification; Racism; Sexism; Homophobia

System Justification in the Social Explanation of Violence against Minority Groups

Violence does not victimise the population randomly. Black people, women and homosexuals are the most often victimised social groups (e.g., Carroll, 2016; Global Violent Deaths; 2017). The widespread violence against minority groups is a pervasive social drama with strong negative consequences for the quality of the life in society, since it reflects and perpetuates the hierarchisation of social groups (see Kunst, Fischer, Sidanius & Thomsena, 2017). Despite the pressure of social norms prescribing nonviolence and anti-prejudiced values as an organising principle of social life in democratic societies (e.g., WHO, 2009; Bans & Crandall, 2013; Banhs & Branscombe, 2011), the high frequency of aggression towards social minorities seems to be descriptively normative, suggesting a degree of social legitimacy.

A consolidated line of research in social psychology of legitimacy (e.g., Jost & Major, 2001) has shown that people use apparently unprejudiced justifications to perceive social inequalities as legitimate (for reviews, see Costa-Lopes, Dovidio, Pereira & Jost, 2013; Abad-Merino, Dovidio, Tabernero & González, 2018). Research carried out within the framework of system justification theory (SJT), for example, has shown that people in general, whether from advantaged or disadvantaged groups, are motivated to justify the social system in such a way that it is perceived as fair, legitimate and necessary (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, 2019). Although the legitimization of violence is not the direct focused of SJT, violence against these social minorities is likely being justified in individuals' explanations of why these minorities are the most frequent targets of violence.

Accordingly, analysing the legitimization of violence within the framework of SJT can illuminate the social psychological processes underlying individuals' motivation to justify the social system that promotes, accepts and maintains violence, especially against minority groups. As far we know, research on the social psychology of violence has not yet directly addressed the problem of

legitimation of violence against minority groups from a system justification approach. To fill this gap, we propose that, because “people exhibit system-justifying tendencies to defend and rationalise existing social, economic, and political arrangements” (Jost, 2019, p. 1), it is likely they also are motivated to spontaneously explain violence against minority groups in a way that justifies why this happens. In this article, we present two studies formulated to address this possibility.

The Explanations for Violence and System Justification Beliefs

Most Western societies assume core values of justice and equality. At the same time, the unfair distribution of wealth has increased in almost every region of the world, including the most democratised ones (World Inequality, 2018), in which hierarchical relationships between social groups are still perceived as legitimate. To understand the seeming paradox, the social psychology of legitimacy has proposed some analytical models and theories highlighting the central role of legitimation of social inequalities. For example, on the basis of a review of the theory of aversive racism, theory of social dominance, and the system justification, Cost-Lopes et al. (2013) refer to legitimisation as the psychological and social processes by which social attitudes, behaviors and arrangements are justified according to normative standards. They highlighted legitimation as involving at least three levels of analysis: individual (by defence of self-image), group (by maintaining the hierarchy) and system (by justification of the system as a whole). Tyler (2006) pointed out that a set of beliefs can explain and make sense of a social system in order to justify the differences of power, authority, wealth or status present in society. Accordingly, people can be encouraged voluntarily to accept and defend the social rules, decisions or arrangements that are considered legitimate.

In the context of violence and its relation to perceptions of the justice, this phenomenon can also be presented as a process by which the occurrence of the violence and aggressive behavior are

justified. For example, violence can be perceived as natural, fair and necessary. In this sense, the way violence is perceived and socially explained may be related to the category of belonging of the victim, especially when he/she is a member of a minority group. Due to the fact that people act towards social minorities in a way that legitimises their social disadvantage (see Pereira, Vala & Costa-Lopes, 2010; Jost & Banaji, 1994), it is likely that violence against members of minority groups will be equally legitimised.

While on the one hand violence is socially condemned, on the other hand it can be legitimised under certain conditions. Like legitimisation of social inequality and exclusion, violence can also be legitimised through system justification motivations for maintenance of the status quo. This tendency to defend the system and consequently maintain the status quo has been adequately explained during more than 25 years of research into the system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, 2019). This theory states that individuals are motivated to defend, support and justify prevailing social, economic and political arrangements, thereby legitimising the social system on which they depend (Jost & van der Toorn, 2012; van der Toorn & Jost, 2014). The theory predicts that even members of socially disadvantaged groups in certain contexts are motivated to justify the system, perceiving it as good, fair and legitimate (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Toorn, 2012). Examples of actions that justify the system are stereotyping, the use of some ideologies to explain social facts, and blaming victims for their misfortune. In this sense, justifications may be beliefs, attitudes, or actions that implicitly or explicitly legitimise events that occur in all aspects of social life and contribute to the preservation of social hierarchies and inequalities (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Burgess & Mosso, 2001). The question we ask here is: When prompted to justify the way of society is organised, what are the justifying factors in the system that individuals spontaneously use to explain the reasons for violence against minority groups?

It is possible that the reasons people use to explain violence involve at least three different types of justifications: aspects that blame the victims for their own situation; minimisation of the

aggressors' responsibility for their behaviour; and personal disclaimer by perceiving violence as the result of social malfunction. It is likely that using these types of explanations for violence is in accordance with individuals' motivation to defend and justify the system. Our rationale is that the way people perceive and justify violence may be the result of their motivation to justify the system.

One example of such justification occurs when individuals blame the victims for their own suffering (see Campbell & Raja, 1999). This phenomenon has been studied especially on the basis in the belief just world theory (BJW, Lerner, 1980), which predicts that people behave as if they believe they live in a just world, where they deserve what they have and have what they deserve. According to this theory, when people are confronted with situations of injustice that threaten their BJW, they are motivated to defend their belief in a just world (e.g., Dalbert, 2009, Jolley, Douglas & Sutton, 2018). For example, when confronted with victims of violence, people try to defend their belief in a just world by blaming the victims for their misfortune. Thus, it is likely that one of the factors that legitimises violence is the attribution of blame to the victims for what occurred to them. This phenomenon occurs when individuals are confronted with victimisation of minority groups. This happens, for example, when individuals perceive that black people themselves are racists (Ryan, 1971/ 1976), or woman are guilty for being raped (Howard, 1984), or even when they blame homosexuals for the violence they suffer (see Ford, Liwag-McLamb & Foley, 1998; Wakelin & Long, 2003). Accordingly, victim-blaming can be readily invoked by people to explain the reasons for violence in society.

Another way to justify violence is when people minimize the perpetrators' responsibility for their behaviour, as has been shown in research on police violence against black people. Indeed, the denial of the aggressors' responsibility has been seen in a set of recent studies that have shown that when victims of police aggression are black, police officers are given lower penalties and victims lower compensation (Johnson & Lecci, 2020; Lima, Araújo & Poderoso 2018; Correll, Hudson,

Guillermo & Ma, 2014). This suggests there is a motivation in people to avoid directly blaming the victims of aggression. This blaming seems to be expressed in the acquittal of the aggressors.

Finally, a third way to justify violence occurs when people deny their responsibility for the occurrence of the facts (see Camino, Silva, Machado & Pereira, 2001; Abad-Merino et al., 2018). These situations can occur when people claim that society is prejudiced (fomenting violent acts), or claim to be unprejudiced but deny support for measures to combat prejudice and discrimination (see Costa-Junior, 2013). For example, in a study on cultural stereotypes, Devine (1989) showed that participants denied having negative stereotypes about black people, but expressed these stereotypes when asked to indicate “not what they think” but what “they think society thinks about blacks”. Similarly, Camino et al. (2001) found that white participants recognised that racism in Brazil occurs because Brazilian society is very racist, but they themselves are not racist. This idea that prejudice against minority groups is a problem of the social system was experimentally shown by Lima, Pereira, Souza, Torres and Albuquerque (2019), when participants supported discrimination against black people after being asked to respond according to what society thinks, separating themselves from the prejudiced meaning of their actions.

Summing up, because people are motivated to justify the way society is organised and the events that occur within it (Jost, 2019), they are likely to appeal to justifying factors that help them explain the causes of the violence. Our proposal is that these people spontaneously evoke at least three types of motives for violence: blaming the victims, blaming the perpetrators and blaming the system. Our idea is that the incidence of each of these types of justification may depend on the victims’ membership group. This proposal follows the empirical evidence that the perception of justice does not depend solely on the act itself, but significantly on the actors involved in the situation, i.e., the social belonging of the victims and their aggressors (see Aguiar, Correia & Pereira, 2008; Lima-Nunes, Pereira & Correia, 2013; Oliveira, 2013).

Overview of Studies

Based on the assumption that individuals are motivated to perceive social arrangements as fair, legitimate and necessary (see Jost, 2019; Pereira et al., 2010), we conducted two studies to test the hypothesis that individuals explain violence against minority groups by spontaneously evoking reasons that legitimise this violence. To test this hypothesis, we conducted two experimental studies. In Study 1, we presented participants with the description of a hypothetical violent situation varying the victimised target group (i.e., blacks vs. women vs. homosexuals vs. control) in an inter-participant design. The participants' task was to write down the reasons they believed could explain the occurrence of the violence described in that situation. In Study 2, we aimed to replicate Study 1's results and went further by asking the participants to indicate not their personal opinion, but the reasons they thought society attributes to the occurrence of the violence.

We asked the participants spontaneously to evoke at least three types of justifications for violence: blaming the social system; blaming the victims and blaming the perpetrators. They could voluntarily evoke more than one type of explanation simultaneously, and it could vary according to the social category of the victims. For example, blaming the victims is likely to be more easily evoked when the victims are women than other social minorities. In this respect, several studies have shown that people tend to blame women for their misfortunes (see Felson & Palmore, 2018; Bothamley & Tully, 2018; Canto, Perles & Martín, 2017), but also that individuals can recognise they live in a traditionally sexist society and so also consider the social system as a whole to be responsible for violence.

When violence is directed at black people, the anti-racism norm acts to inhibit behaviours that can be interpreted as racist (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). In this case, blaming the victims may contrast with blaming the perpetrators. If on the one hand people feel inhibited by the social

norm to blame the black people for violence against themselves (i.e., victim blaming), on the other hand they may also attenuate the offenders' guilt (i.e., the inhibition of the aggressors' responsibility). In fact, recent research has shown that people are tolerant of police violence against black people (Santos & Pereira 2020; Johnson & Lecci, 2020; Lima et al., 2018; Silva, Torres, Estramiana, Luque & Linhares, 2018; Oliveira, 2013). This indicates the presence of a legitimisation of violence against black people, which can be manifested both in victim blaming and the inhibition of blaming the aggressor.

In the case of violence against homosexuals, the predictions are less clear. Although evidence that they are among the most frequent victims of all kinds of violence (Cerqueira et al., 2018; 2019), and the rare condemnation of aggressors indicates this violence is perceived as legitimate even in the most liberal countries (NGO report, 2018), the existence is surprising of previous research investigating how individuals spontaneously engage in a legitimising process of violence against homosexuals. It is likely that the legitimisation of this violence is based on ideologies that deny the causes of violence and endorse the hierarchisation between heterosexuals and homosexuals (see Bahns & Crandall, 2013), as well as by the perception that homosexuals violate what is considered to be normal and desirable sexual behaviour (Buijs, Hekma & Duyvendak, 2012). This encompasses sexism and the hegemonic pattern of the heteronormativity. Accordingly, individuals may evoke more reasons related to victim blaming for violence because they can infer that the anti-normative sexual behaviour is the *prima causa* of violence. However, it is equally likely for people to recognise that society is strongly homophobic and intolerant against those who deviate from the standards of heteronormativity, and thus evoke reasons that blame society for the violence against homosexuals. Investigating these possibilities is timely and pivotal to understand the ubiquity of legitimisation of violence in contemporary society. All procedures used in the studies were approved by the Research Ethics Committee of Federal University of Paraiba,

Brazil. We have made been publicly available data of all studies on the Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/wmrzs/>).

Study 1

The aim of this study was to analyse whether individuals' spontaneously evoke reasons that can legitimise violence against minority groups. Because individuals are motivated to justify society as it is (e.g., Jost, 2018), we predicted that individuals would use at least three types of explanation to justify violence: blaming society, blaming the victim, and blaming the aggressor. We also predicted that the types of blame would vary according to the target group of violence, which would allow us to characterise the specificity of legitimation for each target-group.

Method

Participants. A total of 104 university students participated, from various degree programs of a public university in the city of João Pessoa, Brazil, with ages ranging from 18 to 53 years ($M = 22.58$; $SD = 6.44$; 54.8% male). Participants were randomly allocated to one of four conditions consonant with the target group of violence: black ($n = 26$), female ($n = 26$), homosexual ($n = 26$), control ($n = 26$). Post-hoc sensitivity analysis for main effects and interactions in ANOVA, using Webpower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018) with $\alpha = 0.05$ and four groups showed that we have 80% power of detecting an effect at least of $f = 0.36$.

Procedures and manipulation of the target group. Participants were informed that their collaboration was voluntary. They were assured of the anonymity of their opinions and advised that they could discontinue their participation at any time. We applied questionnaires collectively in classrooms and asked them to collaborate in an opinion survey regarding violence in Brazil. Each participant individually answered only one of the four conditions: a control condition, in which we questioned them about general violence without specifying any specific target group; and three experimental conditions, each with specific target group (black vs. women vs. homosexual). Specifically, in the control condition, participants read: "In Brazil, many people experience violent

situations. In your personal opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute to these people being the target of violence? ”. In the black-target condition, they read: “In Brazil, we witness many cases of homicide. Statistics show that blacks are disproportionately murdered. What do you think are the main reasons why blacks are targeted by this type of violence?”. In the female condition, participants read: "We see cases in Brazil where women are the target of domestic violence (e.g., they are beaten by their partners), with serious consequences for their physical and psychological integrity. But not all women go through this situation. In your personal opinion, what are the main reasons why some women are affected by this situation?". In the homosexual target condition, they read: “We witness in Brazil situations of violence with great cruelty. When you look at the history of these cases, it turns out that in many instances the victims were homosexuals. What do you think are the main reasons why some homosexuals are subjected to this type of violence?”

Dependent variable measure. We used a qualitative procedure to observe individuals’ explanation for violence. We asked them to write on a blank sheet the reasons why that kind of violence occurs in Brazil.

Data analysis. Data were analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. In the qualitative analysis, we carried out a thematic content analysis (Bardin, 1977). This analysis was performed in three phases. In the first, two researchers expert in intergroup violence read all the participants’ evocations. In the second phase, we tried to categorise the answers using as prior framework the three predicted categories (system blaming; blaming the victim; blaming the aggressor). Because the participants wrote several phrases with different contents within the same paragraph, it was possible to see one type of category most often evoked by the same participant. This allowed us to know the intensity of each content present in the participants' evocation for each type of violence. To address this possibility, we quantified the extent to which the contents were categorised as elements of each type of explanation, so we calculated the strength of evocation for each type of justification frequently evoked by participants. For this quantification, four independent experts in

intergroup relations, who did not know the research hypotheses, were asked to indicate the number of times each participant evoked elements blaming the victim, the aggressor and the system in their responses. Specifically, each judge read each participant's responses and for each of them indicated how many responses referred to elements that blamed the victim, the perpetrator, and the system. This allowed us to calculate the degree and internal consistency in judges' assessments. This consistency was high for the three types of guilt evoked: victim blaming, $\alpha = 0.87$; system blaming, $\alpha = 0.83$; and perpetrator blaming, $\alpha = 0.71$. This high consistency allowed us to calculate an index that measures the intensity of the type of guilt attributed to violence. This measure indicated the intensity with which participants evoked each type of explanation for violence.

Results

The qualitative analysis showed strong consistency of the three types of explanations for violence present in the four contexts analysed: system blaming, victim blaming and aggressor blaming. The contents of the system blaming category indicated blaming of society and the government for violence (e.g., “a hierarchical society, where class, race and gender differences still predominate”; “this is because there is still a social and political hegemony that praises the White race”); the victim blaming content tended to blame the victims for the violence they suffers (e.g., “they accept verbal violence as something normal”; “victims go through issues related to fear of dying, fear for the family and it also happens because they believe in love and end up accepting violence.”); and the perpetrator blaming referred mainly to the attribution of guilt for the violence to the person who commits the violence (e.g., “the aggressors who still have a colonised mentality”; “blame must be placed on the aggressor”). The complete list of evocations of these categories in each target group analysed can be found in the online materials (<https://osf.io/wmrzs/>).

We applied a factorial ANOVA with design 3 (types of blame: victim blame, system blame and aggressor blame) X 4 (target of violence: general population, blacks, women and homosexuals) with the first factor varying within-subject the second between-subject. The main effect of the target was not significant, $F(3, 100) = 2.13$, $p = .10$, $\eta^2 = .06$, which means that participants evoked the same average number of reasons for violence in each experimental condition. However, the main effect of the type of blame was significant, $F(2, 200) = 47.99$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .32$. Participants tended to blame the system significantly more than the aggressor ($b = 0.92$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .001$; $d = 1.15$), and than the victim ($b = 1.04$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .001$; $d = 1.24$), but did not differentiate between blaming the victim and the perpetrator ($b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .16$; $d = -0.21$). Most importantly, this effect was qualified by an interaction between the target and the type of blame, $F(6, 200) = 2.47$, $p = .025$, $\eta^2 = .07$, indicating that the type of blame evoked was influenced by the manipulation of the target group. We broke down this interaction by analysing the differences in the types of blame in each target group (see Table 1).

Table 1.

Estimated marginal means and standard errors (in parenthesis) of the reasons for the violence according to the target group and the type of guilt evoked

Target groups	Victim Blaming	System Blaming	Aggressor Blaming	Total
Control	0.35 _c (0.12)	1.62 ^a (0.21)	0.66 _{bc} (0.11)	0.88 ^a (0.07)
Black people	0.16 _{cd} (0.12)	1.43 ^a (0.21)	0.34 ^d (0.11)	0.64 ^b (0.07)
Women	0.84 ^{ab} (0.12)	1.11 ^a (0.21)	0.52 ^{bd} (0.11)	0.82 ^{ab} (0.07)
Homosexuals	0.22 _c (0.21)	1.57 ^a (0.21)	0.54 _{cd} (0.11)	0.78 ^{ab} (0.07)
Total	0.39 ^b (0.06)	1.43 ^a (0.10)	0.51 ^b (0.05)	0.78 (0.03)

Note. Within each section of line or column, means with distinct letters are significantly different at $p < .05$ (Least Significant Difference).

Multiple comparisons showed that in the context of general violence, the social system was blamed more than the aggressor ($b = 0.96$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.14$), and the victim ($b = 1.28$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.48$). The difference between blaming the victim and the aggressor was only marginally significant ($b = -0.32$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .07$, $d = -0.54$). In the condition of black target, participants also blamed the social system more than the aggressor ($b = 1.10$, $SE = 0.26$; $p = .001$, $d = 1.30$), and the victim ($b = 1.27$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.48$). The differences were not significant between blaming the aggressor and blaming the victim ($b = 0.17$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = 0.32$). In the condition of homosexual target, participants also blamed the social system more than the aggressor ($b = 1.03$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.23$), and than the victim ($b = 1.35$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.58$). They marginally blamed the aggressor more than the victim ($b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .07$, $d = 0.56$). In the context in which women were the targets of violence, there was a different pattern of results. In

fact, participants blamed the social system more than the aggressor ($b = 0.60$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.70$), but they equally blamed the social system and the victim ($b = 0.23$, $SE = 0.26$, $p = .29$, $d = 0.31$). The difference between blaming the victim and the aggressor was only marginally significant ($b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .07$, $d = 0.56$).

This interaction can also be analysed from another perspective. Participants marginally blamed the social system less for violence against women than in the control condition ($b = -0.51$, $SE = 0.29$, $p = .08$, $d = -0.50$). They also blamed women more than homosexuals ($b = 0.61$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.44$), blacks ($b = 0.67$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .04$, $d = -0.30$), and than in the control condition ($b = 0.49$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.49$). Blaming the aggressor was less evoked for black victims than in the control situation ($b = 0.33$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .03$, $d = -0.58$).

Discussion

The results allowed us to classify the participants' evocations in three types of reasons for the violence: system blaming; victim blaming; aggressor blaming. The hypothesis that there would be these three types of blame and that their intensity would vary according to the target group of violence was confirmed. Indeed, the participants tended to blame society more than the other two types social agents. In general, participants emphasised that the problem of violence is a social problem, but we consider that such a statement does not imply that it is everyone's responsibility. Many of the answers that blamed society might have been an abstract way of pointing to prejudice as merely society's fault and thus shedding personal responsibility to combat it (e.g., Camino et al., 2001, for the Brazilian case).

The evocation of victim blaming was stronger among women than the other target victims (i.e., control, black and homosexual). This effect corroborates various studies in which women were blamed for the violence suffered in various settings (see Canto et al., 2017; Shaw, Campbell, Cain & Feeney, 2017; Bothamley & Tully, 2018; Albuquerque, 2015; Baldry, Pacilli, and Pagliaro,

2015). These results are important to understanding a Brazilian social norm stating that "no one should poke their nose into a domestic fight". This type of popular saying weakens society's responsibility for violence and can contribute to the strengthening of the idea that violence against women is primarily a victim problem (see Dias & Cotrim, 2015).

In contrast, blaming the perpetrator was much weaker when the victims were black people than in the other three contexts. Indeed, several studies have pointed out that violence against black people is socially tolerated, from hate speech (Roussos & Dovidio, 2018; White & Crandall, 2017) to firearm attacks, whether by ordinary citizens or police (Santos & Pereira, 2020; Johnson & Lecci, 2020; Lima et al., 2018; Silva, et al., 2018; Oliveira, 2013). Attributing less blame to the perpetrator may indicate a mode of legitimising violence characterised by the acquittal of the perpetrator.

When the victims were homosexuals, there was substantial difference from the other situations. That is, participants perceived homophobic violence as they did general violence (i.e., such as in the control situation), which can suggest that individuals do not yet see specifics of aggression towards homosexuals, as they do for blacks and women. For instance, Souza, Silva and Santos (2015) found that teachers in elementary schools perceived homophobia as a mere example of prejudice in society. Despite having witnessed situations of prejudice and psychological aggression directed at homosexuals, some teachers did not realize the gravity of the insults and pejorative nicknames, reflecting mitigation of the severity of aggression by those professionals.

Taken together, the results of this study indicate that people tended to assign blame according to the victim membership group. However, because of the anti-prejudice norm in Western societies prescribing that "good people are not prejudiced and demonstrate a positive view of minorities", it is possible that the content of the answers may have been inhibited by the participants' desire to present themselves as more sensitive to the suffering of minorities (see Abad-Merino et al., 2018). To address this limitation, we conducted a second study in which half of

respondents were asked to report their personal opinion about the reasons for the occurrence of violence, while the other half described society's opinion about this phenomenon.

Study 2

The purpose of this study was to replicate Study 1 and analyse how people attribute society's perception of the violence against minority groups. Similar to study 1, we aimed to test the influence of the social category of the target victim of violence in the content of justifications that individuals evoke not only as personal opinions, but also regarding what society thinks about the occurrence of this violence. Our hypotheses were similar to those in Study 1: individuals would explain violence by evoking elements that justify the system, so that the content of evocations would vary in accordance with the target group of the violence (blaming the system, victim or aggressor). However, we considered that the intensity of responses to the types of blame would vary not only in relation to the target group of violence, but also in relation to the type of opinion (personal vs. societal opinion). The hypothesis was that people responding as society are not pressured by the anti-prejudice norm to suppress negative opinions, and as a result, would be more prone to blame the victims.

Method

Participants and experimental design. Sample is composed by 220 university students from the city of João Pessoa, Brazil. Three participants were excluded because they did not answered the dependent variable (i.e., missing value), which reduced the sample to 217 participants. Post-hoc sensitivity analysis for interaction effects in ANOVA showed that we have 80% power of detecting an effect at least of $f = 0.25$. Participants were randomly allocated to one of eight conditions according to a 2 (opinion focus: personal opinion vs. society opinion) X 4 (target of violence: control vs. black people vs. women vs. homosexuals) between-subject factorial design.

Procedures. As in Study 1, the participants received a questionnaire containing a vignette addressing the problem of violence in Brazil. Depending on the experimental condition, the vignette addressed violence without specifying a target group (control condition) or addressing this problem in relation to blacks, women or homosexuals. The difference from the first study was the manipulation of the role played by the participants. We asked half of them to respond according to "their personal opinion". For the other half, we asked them to express not their personal opinion, but the opinion of society in light of the presented case of violence.

Measures. The main measure was the participants' answers regarding the open question about the reasons for violence. As in Study 1, we performed content analysis of responses that could be classified into three categories: system blaming (e.g., "Brazilian society uses it as a pretext mainly as something cultural, as a sexist society and with a failed political system"; "There is still a lot of prejudice on the part of society in general"); victim blaming (e.g., "the reason these homicides are mainly of blacks is because they are more involved with drug trafficking than whites) and offender blaming ("There are many aggressive people, in some cases these people commit such atrocities"; "aggressive partner, very jealous partner to the point of assaulting his partner"). The complete list of evocations of these categories in each target group can be found in the online materials (<https://osf.io/wmrzs/>). We also asked four judges who had no knowledge of the hypotheses to categorize the evocations according the three predicted categories. As in Study 1, they indicated how many category descriptors were evoked by each participant. The analyses had high inter-judge consistency. We found the following inter-raters internal consistencies: victim blaming ($\alpha = 0.87$); system blaming ($\alpha = 0.77$); perpetrator blaming ($\alpha = 0.71$). We aggregated the responses to obtain a general measure for each type of blame.

Results

Descriptive statistics are presented on Table 2. The results revealed a significant main effect of type of blame, $F(2, 418) = 121.13, p = .001, \eta^2 = .37$. As in Study 1, participants tended to blame the social system more than the victim ($b = 0.82, SE = 0.09, p = .001, d = 1.00$), and than the aggressor ($b = 1.07, SE = 0.06, p = .001, d = 1.54$). They blamed the aggressor less than the victim ($b = 0.25, SE = 0.09, p = .001, d = -0.43$). The main effect of the participants' focus was significant, $F(1, 209) = 5.01, p = .03, \eta^2 = 0.02$. Participants who were instructed to respond according to their own opinion emitted more evocations than those who responded according to society's opinion. The main effect of the target was also significant, $F(3, 209) = 3.01, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$. Evocations were lower in the condition of violence against blacks than in the control ($b = 1.17, SE = 0.06, p = .01, d = -0.58$); violence against women ($b = 0.14, SE = 0.06, p = .02, d = -0.51$); and violence against homosexuals ($b = 0.13, SE = 0.06, p = .03, d = -0.48$). There were no significant differences between the other targets of violence.

Table 2.

Estimated marginal means and standard errors (in parenthesis) of the reasons for the violence in each experimental condition

	Victim Blaming		System Blaming		Aggressor Blaming		Total	
	Personal	Society	Personal	Society	Personal	Society	Personal	Society
Control	0.29 ^{bc} (0.14)	0.48 ^b (0.14)	1.78 ^a (0.15)	1.44 ^a (0.16)	0.79 ^b (0.09)	0.16 ^c (0.09)	0.95 ^a (0.06)	0.69 ^b (0.06)
Black	0.40 ^{bc} (0.14)	0.37 ^b (0.14)	1.49 ^a (0.15)	1.46 ^a (0.16)	0.08 ^c (0.09)	0.11 ^c (0.09)	0.66 ^b 0.06	0.65 ^b (0.06)
Women	1.24 ^a (0.14)	1.22 ^a (0.14)	0.79 ^b (0.15)	0.87 ^b (0.15)	0.44 ^b (0.09)	0.20 ^c (0.09)	0.82 ^a 0.06	0.76 ^{ab} (0.06)
Homosexual	0.18 ^c (0.14)	0.41 ^{bc} (0.14)	1.67 ^a (0.15)	1.64 ^a (0.16)	0.64 ^b (0.09)	0.19 ^c (0.09)	0.83 ^a 0.06	0.75 ^{ab} (0.06)
Subtotal	0.53 ^b (0.07)	0.62 ^b (0.07)	1.43 ^a (0.08)	1.35 ^a (0.08)	0.49 ^b (0.04)	0.17 ^c (0.05)	0.82 ^a (0.03)	0.72 ^b (0.03)
Total	0.58 ^b (0.05)		1.40 ^a (0.06)		0.33 ^c (0.03)		0.77 (0.02)	

Note. Within each section of line or column, means with distinct letters are significantly different at $p < .05$ (Least Significant Difference).

The interaction between type of blame and participants' focus was significant, $F(2, 418) = 4.46, p = .01, \eta^2 = 0.02$). Participants who responded according to personal opinion attributed more blame to the system than to the victim ($b = 0.90, SE = 0.12, p = .001, d = 1.14$) and than to the aggressor ($b = 0.94, SE = 0.09, p = .001, d = 1.41$). In the condition in which participants responded about society's opinion, the system was also blamed more than the victim ($b = 0.73, SE = 0.12, p = .001, d = 0.94$) and than the aggressor ($b = 1.18, SE = 0.09, p = .001, d = 1.74$). Comparison between experimental conditions indicated that the difference was significant only in attributing blame to the aggressor, with participants in the society condition blaming the aggressor less than those in personal condition ($b = 0.33, SE = 0.06, p = .001, d = -0.70$).

The interaction between type of blame and target was also significant, $F(6, 418) = 16.76, p = .001, \eta^2 = .19$). In the control condition, participants blamed the social system more than the

aggressor ($b = 1.14$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.75$) and the victim ($b = 1.23$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.59$). In the context of violence against black people, blaming the system was greater than the blaming the victim ($b = 1.08$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.44$), and than blaming the aggressor ($b = 1.38$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .001$, $d = 2.14$). In the context of violence against women, participants blamed the victim more than the system ($b = 0.41$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .017$, $d = 0.53$), and than the aggressor ($b = 0.91$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.54$). In the context of violence against homosexuals, participants blamed the social system more than the aggressor ($b = 1.24$, $SE = .13$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.89$), and than the victim ($b = 1.36$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.76$).

Analysing this interaction from another perspective, we observed that blaming victims in the condition of violence against women was greater than in the other situations. More blame was attributed when the target of violence was females than in the control condition ($b = 0.85$, $SE = 0.14$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.15$), than in the black condition ($b = 0.84$, $SE = 0.14$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.14$) and than homosexual condition ($b = 0.10$, $SE = 0.14$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.27$). Conversely, participants attributed less blame to the social system when the victim was a woman than in the control condition ($b = -0.78$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.96$), in the black ($b = -0.65$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.39$) and homosexual conditions ($b = -0.83$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .001$, $d = -1.00$). Blaming the aggressor was significantly lower in the black condition than in the control ($b = 0.37$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.84$), homosexual ($b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.73$) and female conditions ($b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .001$, $d = -0.50$). Blaming the aggressor was marginally lower when the target was women than in the control condition ($b = -0.15$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .09$, $d = 0.34$). Finally, the three-way interaction between type of blame, target and focus of participants' opinion was not significant, $F(6, 418) = 1.17$, $p = .32$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$.

Discussion

Taken together, the results here corroborate those of Study 1. Participants blamed the social system more than the victim; and blamed the victim more than the perpetrator of violence. In addition, Study 2 went further by showing that participants explain violence in accordance with the target group of the violence and with the focus of their opinion (personal vs. societal). They blamed the women more for their victimisation than aggressors, and tended to deny the perpetrators' responsibility in violence towards black people. It was precisely this last aspect that the manipulation of opinion to be expressed sought to analyse. When participants responded to what society thinks, they blamed the perpetrator of violence against black individuals less.

General Discussion

In two studies we manipulated the target group of violence and asked Brazilian participants to indicate the reasons responsible for violence in Brazil. The results were consistent between the two experiments, as the participants spontaneously evoked elements assigning to the social system responsibility for violence, followed by blaming victims and, finally blaming aggressors. The attribution of responsibility to the system appeared as a general standard and was therefore the most strongly evoked to explain violence against each victim category. That is, the participants mainly believed that violence is due to the general malfunctioning of society. Moreover, as we predicted, participants evoked the reasons for the violence according to the victim group. Specifically, they gave women more responsibility for the violence they suffer and blamed the aggressor less when the victim was a black person, while they did not distinguish a specific pattern of explanation when the victim was a homosexual. This trend occurred most intensely in Study 2, especially when the participants were asked to respond as society thought. In summary, the participants mainly considered that violence in Brazil is the responsibility of society. In the specific situation of women,

they blamed the victim herself. When it was against blacks, the responsibility was not attributed to the aggressors.

Our interpretation is that violence is not directed at individuals at random, but at specific targets, usually perceived as minorities. This interpretation follows the literature describing violence as a dramatic form of discrimination (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). In fact, in addition to the high rate of violence directed at black people, women and homosexuals, the way society perceives and treats this violence may favour its perpetuation. The results of the two studies suggest that one of these forms of perpetuation may be reflected in the participants' evocations of the reasons for violence, which can be understood as different ways of justifying the system and maintaining the status quo (see Jost & Banaji, 1994). Accordingly, the justifications of violence can also be understood as examples of legitimisation of domination. Kunst et al. (2017), for instance, found in several countries that social dominance orientation has a central role in the relationship between social inequality and violence against social minorities.

Theoretical Implications

Our findings have several interesting theoretical and practical implications for studies about the factors that legitimise social inequalities, especially the research and theorisation about people's motivation to legitimise the way society is organised (e.g., Jost & Banaji, 1994). Here we introduce an innovation in this field of study by analysing the legitimisation of violence as an example of people's motivation to justify the system. Our results serve as initial experimental evidence that people spontaneously evoke elements that justify violence.

The results also provide new insight into the secondary victimisation research. In fact, besides suffering objective violence against themselves, some social groups are visibly blamed for their own suffering. This paper shows that people do this openly, especially against women. In fact,

although the phenomenon of victim blaming is present in all contexts studied, in the context in which the victims were women, this phenomenon proved to be stronger than in the other situations. This trend has already been observed in other studies that have shown that people perceive women as guilty for their own suffering (e.g., Felson & Palmore, 2018; Bothamley & Tully, 2018; Canto et al., 2017). This greater tendency to perceive women as responsible for their situation may be related to the sexist ideologies that permeate the representations that people have about women, which are reflected in the culture of honour (i.e., Canto et al., 2017), rape myths (i.e., Shaw et al., 2017), gender roles (i.e., Bothamley & Tully, 2018) and rupture of established patriarchal patterns (i.e., Albuquerque, 2015; Baldry et al., 2015). Our results can also contribute to the understanding of the social impact of these representations by focusing on the need to take into account people's motivation to legitimise women's social situation in situations of violence, blaming them for their victimisation.

Perhaps the most dramatic result is the lower blame of the offender when the victim was black. As highlighted in Study 1, this result corroborates studies that have indicated that when the victim is black, the tolerance for police violence is pervasive and widely tolerated across several cultural contexts (Santos & Pereira, 2020; Johnson & Lecci, 2020; Lima, et al., 2018; Silva et. al., 2018; Oliveira, 2013). Although we did not manipulate the aggressors' group, this study elucidated this phenomenon by showing that the legitimization of violence against blacks can go beyond police contexts, reflecting a general motivation in people to minimize the aggressors' responsibility for their abuse behaviour. This motivation has already been described in studies of police violence against black people (e.g., Johnson & Lecci, 2020; Oliveira, 2013), but here we document for the first time the presence of an inhibition in spontaneous evocation that leads people to absolve the perpetrators of aggressive acts against black individuals. This may indicate not only tolerance of violence against black people, but also acceptance of the acquittal of aggressors.

Another contribution regarding these studies refers to the levels of analysis of social behaviour (see Doise, 1980). Previous research has focused only on one specific aspect of violence and its consequences for the victim (intra-individual level, Meyer, 2015), the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator (interpersonal or intergroup level, Aguiar et al., 2008; Droogendyk & Wright, 2014), or only on the structural contingents (societal level, Correia, Pereira & Vala, 2018). As far as we know, research in this area has not given sufficient attention to explanations of violence in such a way that the several levels of explanation can be spontaneously identified in individuals' conception in explaining violence. That is, we found societal level (i.e., blaming the social system), victim level (blaming the victim) and intergroup level explanation (i.e., denial of the perpetrators' responsibility). We also went further by showing that evocation is influenced by the three main target groups.

Although we could not verify any specific pattern of justification for violence against homosexuals, we found that people tend to explain this type of violence by evoking the same pattern of motives attributed to violence in general. As shown by Banhs and Branscombe (2011), the legitimacy of discrimination against homosexuals increases the likelihood of heterosexual men engaging in verbal attacks, and the effect of legitimising "gay bashing" is mediated by lower collective guilt. Furthermore, Bahns and Crandall (2013) questioned whether heterosexuals who endorse social inequality present greater discrimination against homosexuals when they perceive them as a threat to the social hierarchy. They found that the ideologies that legitimise the prevalence of the hierarchy of status, in which heterosexuals are at an advantage over gay people, allow the persistence of prejudice and discrimination against homosexuals. Furthermore, beliefs about social inequality were used by heterosexual participants to legitimise discrimination against homosexuals when status positions between heterosexuals and homosexuals are threatened.

Limitations and Further Research Avenues

Despite the diverse contributions of these two studies, they have some limitations and suggest some future directions for further research. They are subject to the usual limitations inherent in research among university students, which may be a less pressing concern in the present case because of the social relevance of studying violence against minority groups. However, it would be pertinent to broaden the range of the target population by surveying the frequency of the three types of justifications identified here for violence against social minorities in a representative sample, relating them to individual, intergroup and ideological explanatory factors.

As regards the method and technique of data analysis, we used a qualitative data collection procedure and deepened the analysis by employing a quantitative approach. Nevertheless, further research should apply other qualitative methods (e.g., discourse analysis) in combination with the application of instruments subjected to a construct validity process using the usual quantitative methods. In addition, we focused on responses to the victims' group without examining whether the aggressors' or participants' group plays a relevant role in legitimising violence. It is likely that the group in these situations constitutes an important variable for individuals' conceptions of violence and the ways they legitimise it.

Although the three types of blame are frequent in the condition in which the target of violence is homosexuals, we were unable to identify the most distinctive contents of the explanations of violence in this condition. Hence, this is an aspect that deserves to be better studied in the future, perhaps focusing specifically on homophobic violence. We were also unable to identify the factors that facilitate or inhibit the blaming of women instead of their aggressors in the case of violence against black people. It will be important to consider these possible factors in the future so that a sufficiently robust explanation can be provided for the emergence of justifications for violence. As Jost (2019) has highlighted, the reasons that motivate minority groups to defend

their oppressing social system need to be clarified so that the social and economic suffering these minorities experience can be overcome. However, although we have not filled this gap, we hope to have contributed to elucidate at least one of its aspects .

Finally, despite these limitations, the present research allows us to offer a first analysis in the field of social psychology about the legitimization of violence in Brazil, a context in which this subject is one of the biggest current social problems, with drastic repercussions for the quality of democracy and life of minority group members. The results we found shed light on the processes of legitimization of social inequalities, showing that people spontaneously evoke elements that allow them to blame the social system and the victim for the aggression suffered, especially in the case of violence against women, and blame the offender when the target is black people.

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The Prejudice-Based Secondary Victimization of Violence against Homosexuals

Abstract

Homosexuals are constant targets of violence and are secondarily victimized in these situations. Homophobic prejudice and just-world belief (JWB) can motivate this victimization, but research has not yet elucidated the specific roles played by these two variables. To illuminate this issue, we conducted two studies aiming to test whether the secondary victimization of an aggression victim is related to prejudice over and above the JWB. In Study 1 ($N = 102$), we manipulated the clues of the sexual orientation of a male victim of violence and found that more prejudiced participants minimized the victim's suffering and blamed a homosexual victim to a greater extent than non-prejudiced participants. Study 2 ($N = 205$) replicated these results and went further by showing that, in participants with stronger JWB, prejudice predicted more minimization of victim suffering when they perceived the victim as homosexual. These results shed light on the relationships between prejudice secondary victimization.

Keywords: secondary victimization; homophobia; prejudice; belief in a just world; legitimacy.

The Prejudice-Based Secondary Victimization of Violence against Homosexuals

Homosexuals, men or women, have long been targets of hate crimes in multiple settings. They are one of the social groups that suffer the greatest violence in the world (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2018; Gitari & Waters, 2020) and are often blamed for their own suffering (Berril & Herek, 1990). All of these facts are related to how society legitimates the violence against sexual minority groups. Usually, violence against homosexuals as a severe social issue is denied because this violence is not always visible. There are many cases in which, for no apparent reason, a gay person is assaulted, hurt, injured, even lynched. Still, individuals often deny that homosexuals suffer violence for being who they are. Historically, in the US Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, homosexuals were not included as a group protected against discrimination, but a recent Supreme Court decision interpreted the Act's reference to sex as including homosexuals, bisexuals and transgender persons. Violence against homosexuals is a ubiquitous and pervasive phenomenon, as evidenced by the fact there are still many countries imposing the death penalty for homosexual behaviour (International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association [ILGA], 2019). Furthermore, ultraconservative groups continue to diffuse hate feelings against homosexuals, even in countries where the legal system promotes egalitarian social norms (ILGA, 2019). This is reflected in everyday life, as exemplified by aggressive acts against homosexuals (Bachmann & Gooch, 2017) being classified as general aggression rather than homophobic hate crime.

Attitudes and behaviours that blame the victims, minimize their suffering and deny social support to their demands are examples of secondary victimization of homosexuals, who are often said to be responsible for their misfortunes. This phenomenon occurs when individuals seek information that allows them to identify the victim's group belonging. Indeed, several studies have shown that individuals think they can recognize homosexuals based on little or minimal contextual cues (Rule, 2017; Johnson & Ghavami, 2011). These studies have shown that cues about group

membership of a target person can influence the social behaviour of perceivers (Lick et al., 2014). Concerning homosexuals, these cues are expressed by adornment, tone of speech, actions, and appearance (Rule, 2017), which can bring prejudice against homosexuals. For instance, Lick et al. (2014) found that cues about homosexuality are associated with negative reaction to gay men. Using movable (e.g., body motions) and static (e.g., static facial images) gender-atypical cues, they verified that these cues were associated with the perception that targets were intentionally trying to communicate their sexual identity, and consequently they were negatively evaluated. This occurs because cues can be interpreted as homosexuals' intention to flaunt their sexuality and consequently can trigger antigay prejudice.

It is also possible that cues about the group membership of victims of violence are related with their secondary victimization because these cues can activate prejudiced attitudes. For example, some studies have shown the influence of prejudice in blaming victims (one of the dimensions of secondary victimization) in cases of the anti-gay hate crime (Plumm et al., 2010; Rayburn et al., 2003). However, it is not sufficiently elucidated yet how secondary victimization is related with legitimization of violence against homosexuals. Specifically, it is now known how prejudice relates with the secondary victimization in situations of the violence and what the role of cues is in this context. Knowledge is also lacking about the specific role of the justice motivations, such as implied in the just world belief (JWB) hypothesis, in the relation between prejudice against homosexuals and secondary victimization in a situation of violence.

In this study, we argue that secondary victimization is a way individuals legitimize violence against homosexuals and this is supported by homophobic prejudice. According to our rationale, individuals who are more prejudiced against homosexuals are very sensitive to information about the sexual orientation of a victim of aggression, which allows them to establish some inference about the victim's suffering and his\her homosexual behaviour. In other words, the more prejudiced individuals are, the more they will be prone to minimize the victim's suffering, blame him\her for

the situation and deny his\her social support. We carried out two surveys to test the hypothesis that prejudiced individuals would secondarily victimize a person violently assaulted in a situation with cues about the sexual orientation of this person. In addition, we explored whether this effect would be stronger in the people who are JWB supporters.

The Legitimizing Role of Secondary Victimization of Homosexuals

The pervasiveness of violence across contemporary societies suggests that some legitimating process supports and promotes it. Legitimacy is the “belief that authorities, institutions, and social arrangements are appropriate, proper, and just” (Tyler, 2006, p. 376). Legitimation focuses on the social and psychological process in which attitudes, behaviours and social arrangements are justified according to normative standards (Costa-Lopes et al., 2013). Several research lines have already shown that individuals legitimize social exclusions and intergroup inequalities. For instance, research based on the system justification theory (SJT; Jost & Banaji, 1994), social dominance theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), the justification-suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), aversive racism theory (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) and the justified discrimination model (JDM; Pereira et al., 2010) have highlighted the central role played by legitimation to understand individuals’ motivation to discriminate against minority groups. The presence of legitimation can be seen when individuals accept social inequalities and support the current social structure that maintains privileges of some groups over others. This can also occur when individuals justify social violence.

One of the ways of legitimization of violence occurs when individuals secondarily punish the victim of injustice for his\her situation. Secondary victimization is “a second deprivation of a disadvantaged person that is inflicted by other persons or by institutions” (Montada, 1991, p.18). It is a kind of second or double damage that the victim can suffer because of the first victimization.

This phenomenon has been studied widely by justice motive theories, mainly the belief in a just world theory (Lerner, 1980). According to this theory, individuals need to believe that the world is a fair place to live; a place where good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people. This is either because people are perceived to be intrinsically good or bad, or because their behaviour causes good or bad results. Thus, in situations with negative consequences, individuals can be motivated to victimize a person secondarily by judging him\her as deserving his\her misfortune on the basis of inferences about his\her intrinsic characteristics, concluding that the victim is not innocent. However, a dilemma arises when the victim is undoubtedly innocent. In this situation, research has also shown that the JWB can motivate secondary victimization because individuals are motivated to maintain the belief that the world is a just place (Lerner & Simmons, 1966). This belief can motivate individuals to perceive a victim of violence as being guilty for their own suffering, i.e., the JWB can motivate the secondary victimization of a person who has suffered violence. It occurs because a negative event (i.e., being targeted for aggression) that harms an innocent victim threatens the JWB, and since individuals need to defend their JWB (Lerner & Simons, 1966; Dalbert & Donat, 2015), they actively reframe the situation in order to perceive it as fair. For this reason, secondary victimization can be understood as a way of defending the cultural, inevitable and universal expression that the world is just (see Ellard et al., 2016).

More recently, secondary victimization has been studied through three main ways of expression: denial or minimization of suffering, blaming the victim, and avoidance of the victim (Tavares et al., 2020). This victimization depends on the specific social situations and victim features (De Keersmaecker, 2016), such as the innocence of a victim, the persistence of his\her suffering and the victim ingroup membership (Correia et al., 2008; Dalbert & Donat, 2015; Correia et al., 2018; Modesto & Pilati, 2017). Under these conditions, individuals with high JWB are more motivated to victimize the victim again than individuals with low JWB (Correia et al., 2012; Correia et al., 2010; Aguiar et al., 2008; Correia et al. (2007). Although this effect indicates that

JWB is a central factor for understanding secondary victimization, little attention has been given to the role played by prejudice in this victimization when the target is a homosexual.

Given that violence against homosexuals is often tolerated despite being discouraged by social norms and prohibited by law in most democratic societies (Herek, 1990; Herek & McLomore, 2013), its expression needs to be justified and secondary victimization can serve this purpose. In fact, even prejudiced individuals need to use justifications to conceal their discriminatory intentions (Abad-Merino, et al., 2018; Hodson et al., 2002). For instance, the legitimization of discrimination against homosexuals can provoke less collective blame and thus raise the possibility of heterosexual men engaging in “gay bashing” (Banhs & Branscombe, 2011). Accordingly, it is possible that prejudiced individuals need to elaborate justifications for their discriminating behaviour towards minority groups in such way that their actions are perceived as fair, legitimate and necessary. Non-prejudiced individuals, on the contrary, do not feel the need to discriminate against homosexuals, and for this reason are less motivated to legitimize this discrimination, avoiding secondary victimization strategies. This issue has been analyzed more systematically in the ambit of the justified discrimination model (Pereira et al., 2010), which addresses more directly the role played by legitimization in the relationship between prejudice and discrimination.

According to the JDM, prejudice causes discrimination against minority groups, but this is mitigated by anti-prejudice social norms against discriminating behaviour based on prejudice. For this reason, individuals need to use justifications for discrimination so that they are not accused of being prejudiced. The JDM predicts that in contexts where anti-prejudice social norms are salient, prejudiced individuals formulate justifications for discrimination to make it seem fair and egalitarian (Pereira et al., 2010). This implies that that relationship between prejudice and discrimination is mediated by justifications and moderated by the anti-prejudice social norms.

An important legitimating factor is justice perception. For example, Lima-Nunes et al., (2013) showed that the scope of justice, i.e., the perception that principles of justice apply only to ingroup members, mediated the relationship between prejudice and discrimination against Brazilian immigrants in Portugal, and this occurred because the scope of justice is a legitimizing myth of discrimination. In addition, this mediation was moderated by the JWB, so that mediation was needed only when the JWB was salient. According to Lima-Nunes et al. (2013), individuals' restriction of the scope of justice to contemplate only ingroup members allows them to discriminate without threatening the perception that they are just and not prejudiced individuals. This phenomenon occurs mainly in individuals who are most motivated by justice principles, i.e., individuals who most believe that the world is just.

In summary, previous research suggests that prejudice motivates individuals to perceive situations of injustice as being just, and they act in this way by developing justifications for their actions. However, this research has not given enough attention yet to the legitimating role played by secondary victimization in prejudiced-based aggression against homosexuals. This study aims to shed light on this issue by proposing that prejudice correlates positively with the secondary victimization of a victim when he is perceived as homosexual. Moreover, we go further by analyzing whether the role of prejudice in secondary victimization depends on individuals' JWB.

Overview of Studies

We carried out two studies to test the hypothesis that prejudiced individuals are more prone to secondarily victimize homosexuals than non-homosexuals in situations of violence. Specifically, we hypothesized that when faced with a cue about the sexual orientation of a victim, the more prejudiced participants would infer the victim's sexual orientation as being homosexual, and consequently, minimize the victim's suffering, or blame and avoid contact with the victim. In

addition, we analyzed whether this effect occurs in individuals who more strongly endorse the JWB.

In both studies, we used a situation of violence supposedly published in an electronic newspaper reporting an event occurring in Brazil. In this situation, a man was hospitalized in serious condition with wounds caused by aggression from another man who said the victim was staring him. In Study 1, we manipulated the cue about the victim's sexual orientation in the situation of violence and tested the hypothesis that prejudice against homosexuals is positively related with secondary victimization of the victim. We used cues on the basis of previous studies that have shown homosexuals can be assaulted for apparently flirting with heterosexuals (Buijs et al., 2011; De keersmaecker, 2016; Rule, 2017; Stern et al., 2013). We predicted that a simple stare of a homosexual at a heterosexual can be perceived as flirting by more prejudiced individuals, and since that these individuals recognize the sexual orientation of the victim, they blame a homosexual victim more than a non-homosexual one. In Study 2, we used a vignette without cues about homosexuality and directly measured participants' perception of sexual orientation of the victim (heterosexual vs. gay man). We predicted that more prejudiced individuals and those with stronger JWB would blame this victim more when he is perceived as gay. We followed the APA ethical principles and our national ethical guidelines were followed in the conception of this research and writing of the paper. The studies presented were approved by the Ethics Committee at the Universidade Federal da Paraíba (Federal University of Paraíba, Brazil). We have made been publicly available data of all studies on the Open Science Framework.

Study 1

In this study, we presented to participants a news item supposedly published in a widely circulated newspaper. The report described a man who had been the victim of physical aggression. We manipulated the cues on the sexual orientation of this victim so that half the participants were

led to think that he was gay, while the other half of them received no cues about the victim's sexual orientation. According to our rationale, if prejudice indeed motivates individuals to legitimize adverse events suffered by minority group members, this prejudice should be associated with secondary victimization of the victim of aggression in the condition with cues of homosexuality, but not in the control condition.

Methods

Participants

One hundred and four college students that self-declared as heterosexuals took part in this study. However, two were excluded from the analyses because they provided missing data on the dependent variables. Thus, the final sample consisted of 102 university students (63% men; ages varying from 18 to 40 years, $M = 22.82$; $SD = 6.00$). The participants were randomly allocated to one of the two conditions in a unifactorial between-subject experimental design: gay cues (with cues that indicate the victim's homosexuality) or control (without cues about sexual orientation). A post-hoc sensitivity analysis for fixed main and interaction effects in ANOVA using WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018), specifying $\alpha = .05$, showed that we had an 80% chance of detecting a median effect of $f = 0.28$ or higher.

Procedures

The participants received news about a man that had been assaulted. We used a fictional scenario in an electronic newspaper that reported violence where the victim was hospitalized in serious condition. The newspaper article presented the headline "Man rendered unconscious by violent attack hospitalized in serious condition." The story stated "the hospital stated that the patient is in serious condition, and that the police identified some messages in the victim's cellphone, but with little other information. The policeman responsible for this case stated that the investigation is

focused on identifying the possible cause of the aggression.” The newspaper also presented a copy of a WhatsApp conversation in which the victim stated to another person (without identification) that “a man beat me saying that I was staring to him”. The report said that the police had little other information and the investigation will continue to verify the cause of the aggression and its perpetrator. We manipulated the cues about the sexual orientation of the victim. To assure that participants would recognize the victim as homosexual, we printed the message with a gay-themed wallpaper picture in the treatment condition. In the control condition, there was a simple green screen without image that could indicate the victim’s sexual orientation.

Afterward, the participants were asked to answer questions for a secondary victimization scale, and a prejudice scale. We collected the data at some universities during class hours in the city of João Pessoa, Brazil. The participants were informed about the objectives of the research and that it was individual, voluntary, confidential and that they could withdraw at any time without onus. Afterwards, they answered a questionnaire that took about 20 minutes.

Measures

Secondary Victimization. We used a scale that measures three dimensions of secondary victimization (Linhares et al., 2020): *blaming the victim* ($\alpha = .86$, e.g. “The person has a share of guilt for what is going on”; “Somehow the person may have deserved it”; “It is likely that the person has some degree of responsibility for what happened”); *minimization of suffering* ($\alpha = .44$, e.g. “The person reported in the news suffered a lot”, reversed wording item; “The person in question is taking advantage of the situation”; “The situation the person is very painful”, reversed wording item); and *avoidance of victim* ($\alpha = .80$, e.g. “I want to meet this person”; “I would like to hug this person”; “I would like to be that person's close friend”). For each item, participants had to indicate the level of agreement on a Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Measure of prejudice. We measured prejudice against homosexuals with a scale developed by Lacerda et al. (2002). This scale consists of 10 items (such as: “receiving a homosexual couple at home”; “having a homosexual child”; “seeing a homosexual couple dating”), to which participants indicated the extent to which they would feel uncomfortable with each situation described in the items (1 = totally comfortable to 5 = strongly uncomfortable). This measure had excellent internal consistency ($\alpha=.89$).

Results

Minimization of victim suffering

We conducted an ANCOVA using the cues as a between-subject factor and prejudice as covariates. The results indicated no reliable main effect of prejudice, $F(1, 98) = 2.03, p = .16, \eta^2_p = .02$ and victim cues, $F(1, 98) = 0.00, p = .98, \eta^2_p = .00$. However, the interaction between prejudice and cues was significant, $F(1, 98) = 5.69, p = .02, \eta^2_p = .05$. We decomposed this interaction to analyze the relation between prejudice and minimization of suffering in each condition (Figure 1A). In the condition where participants received cues describing the victim as gay, prejudice predicted marginally less victim suffering ($b = -0.37, SE = 0.13, t = -2.90, p = .005$), while there was no significant association between prejudice and victim suffering in the control condition ($b = 0.09, SE = 0.14, t = 0.64, p = 0.53$). Analyzing the interaction from another perspective, we found a marginally significant effect of cues on participants with high prejudice ($b = -0.36, SE = .22, t = -1.68, p = .09$), since those in the gay condition perceived less victim suffering ($M = 3.30, SE = 0.15$) than those in the control condition ($M = 3.66, SE = 0.16$). In contrast, participants with low prejudice perceived marginally more victim suffering in the gay condition ($M = 3.88, SE = 0.15$) than in the control condition ($M = 3.51, SE = 0.16$), $b = 0.37, SE = .21, t = 1.72, p = .09$.

Victim blaming

Concerning participants' perceptions of victim blaming, we found a significant main effect of prejudice, $F(1, 98) = 7.59, p = .007, \eta^2_p = .07$. Estimated parameters indicated that higher prejudice was associated with more blaming of the victim (see Figure 1B). The main effect of cues ($F(1, 98) = 0.30, p = .59, \eta^2_p = .00$) and its interaction with prejudice was not significant ($F(1, 98) = 0.01, p = .93, \eta^2_p = .00$). Although this interaction was not significant, prejudice was related with victim blaming in the gay condition ($b = 0.38, SE = 0.17, t = 2.16, p = .04$), while this relation was only marginal in the control condition ($b = 0.36, SE = 0.20, t = 1.77, p = 0.08$).

Victim avoidance

We found a significant main effect of cues, $F(1, 98) = 4.63, \eta^2_p = .05, p = .03$. This effect indicates that participants in the control condition ($M = 4.06; SE = 0.17$) expressed stronger avoidance of the victim than participants in the gay cue condition ($M = 3.56; SE = 0.16$). Nevertheless, the main effect of prejudice, $F(1, 98) = 0.01, p = .91, \eta^2_p = .00$, and the interaction between prejudice and cues, $F(1, 98) = 0.90, p = .34, \eta^2_p = .01$, were non-significant (Figure 1C).

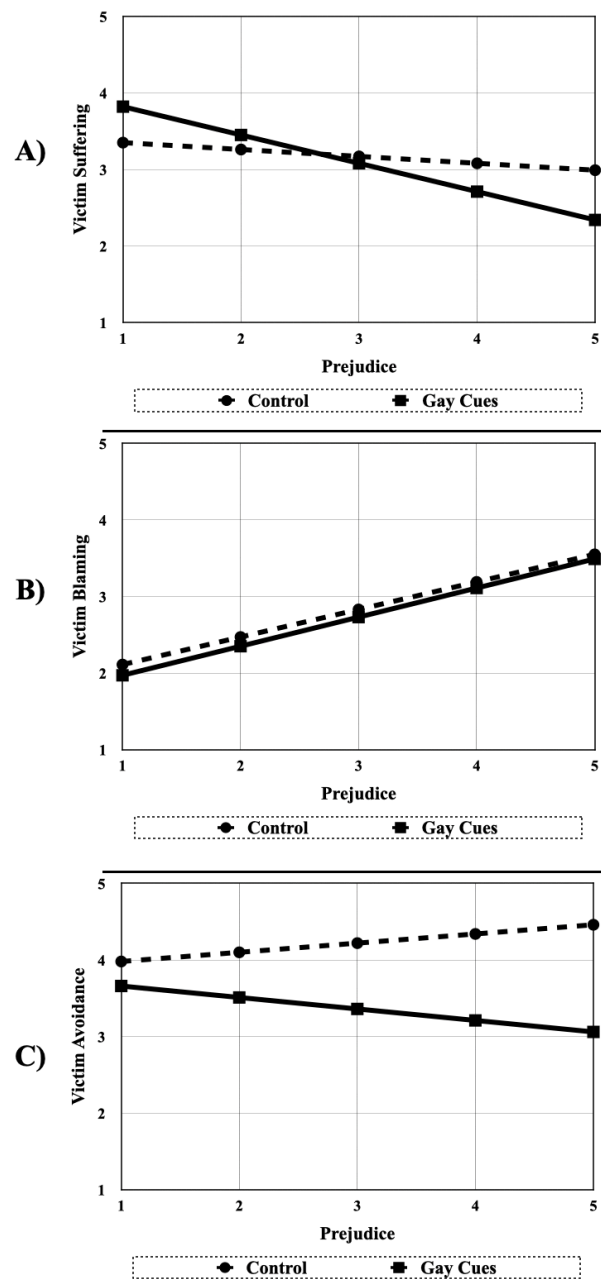


Figure 1. Relationship between prejudice and each dimension of secondary victimization in each condition

Discussion

This study reinforces the evidence that prejudice may positively predict secondary victimization of a victim of violence (Plumm et al., 2010; Rayburn et al., 2003; Rayburn & Davison, 2002) by showing for the first time that prejudice predicts secondary victimization when the homosexuality of a victim of violence was experimentally revealed. More prejudiced individuals blamed the victim to a greater extent than less prejudiced individuals. Indeed, prejudice-based victimization occurred according to the victim's group membership as indicated by the cues. When participants believed that the victim was a homosexual, prejudice was significantly related to minimizing and blaming the victim, but not avoiding of contact with him. A different pattern of results emerged in the control condition: prejudice was not related with minimizing or avoiding the victim, and was marginally related with his blame. Third, the cues about sexual orientating influenced secondary victimization only in more prejudiced individuals, unlike the effect in less prejudiced individuals. In fact, more prejudiced participants in the homosexual condition minimized the victim's suffering more than participants in the control condition, while less prejudiced individuals minimized this suffering in the control more than in the homosexual victim condition.

In sum, these results demonstrated that the prejudice-based secondary victimization depended on the victim's group membership, but this effect did not apply to all forms of secondary victimization. This was restricted to minimization of victim suffering and blaming the victim. Taken together, it is likely that the most prejudiced individuals were motivated by the dynamics of intergroup relationships and their conditioning, i.e., expressing their negative attitudes towards homosexuals through secondary victimization. The least prejudiced individuals, in turn, may have been motivated by factors more related to their concerns with justice in interpersonal relationships. In this case, belief in the just world is likely to play a role in this phenomenon, motivating the avoidance of the victim in less prejudiced individuals. Thus, we conducted a second study aiming at

clarifying the effect of prejudice on secondary victimization by also taking into account individual differences in JWB.

Study 2

This study aimed to replicate and go beyond the previous one by analyzing the role of the JWB in the relation between prejudice against homosexuals and secondary victimization. Specifically, we analyzed whether prejudice predicts this victimization while controlling for the effect of individual differences in JWB. Several studies have shown that JWB motivates secondary victimization of innocent victims (Correia et. al., 2007; 2012). However, it is still unclear how this belief interacts with prejudice in predicting this victimization when a homosexual is assaulted. To overcome this gap, we proposed the hypothesis that the relationship between prejudice and secondary victimization is tempered by the JWB. That is, we predicted a prejudice-based secondary victimization only in individuals with high JWB, especially if they interpreted the situational cues as indicating the victim's homosexuality.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and five university students that self-declared as heterosexuals took part in this study in the city of João Pessoa (Brazil) participated voluntarily (46% men; 54% women; with age varying from 18 to 59, $M = 21.95$; $SD = 5.20$). Sensitivity analysis for fixed main and interaction effects conducted via ANOVA using WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018), specifying $\alpha = .05$, showed that this sample had sufficient powered (power = .80) to detect even a small effect of $f = 0.20$ or higher.

Scenario

The scenario was similar to the undefined context of Study 1.

Measures

Secondary victimization. We used the same version of secondary victimization of Study 1. In the current study, we found adequate internal consistency for the three dimension of this victimization: suffering minimization $\alpha = .66$; victim blaming $\alpha = .79$ and victim avoidance $\alpha = .86$.

Just world belief. We used the General Just World Scale (GeJWS) originally developed by Dalbert et al. (1987) and adapted to the Brazilian context by Pimentel et al. (2010). We instructed participants to indicate the extent to which they agreed with each sentence on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 "strongly disagree" and 5 "strongly agree". We aggregated the items to form a general measure of JWB ($\alpha = .67$).

Prejudice against homosexuals. We used the same scale of Study 1. The participants' scores showed strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .87$).

Perception of sexual orientation of the victim. A key variable in the current study is participants' perception of sexual orientation of the victim. We presented to the participants a sentence asking them to indicate, according to their intuition, the victim's sexual orientation, and to mark one of two possible options: homosexual or heterosexual. Most participants indicated the victim as homosexual (80.49%), and only 19.51% perceiving him as heterosexual.

Results

Victim suffering

We submitted the scores to ANCOVA taking participants' perception of victim's sexual orientation as a between-subject factor (homosexual vs. heterosexual) and the JWB and prejudice as covariates. The results showed an interaction between prejudice and sexual orientation ($F(1, 197) = 7.40, p = .007, \eta^2_p = .037$, which is consistent with Study 1 pattern of results (see Figure 2A): for participants who perceived the victim as homosexual, prejudice predicted less victim suffering ($b = -0.16, SE = 0.06, t = -2.36, p = .02$), while there was a marginal positive association between

prejudice and victim suffering in the participants who perceived the victim as heterosexual ($b = 0.25$, $SE = 0.14$, $t = 1.87$, $p = .063$). This interaction was qualified by a marginally significant three-way interaction of sexual orientation, prejudice and JWB ($F(1, 197) = 3.54$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2_p = .018$). We decomposed this interaction to analyze the relation between prejudice and victim suffering in participants with high (+1SD) and low JWB (-1SD) who perceived this victim as homosexual or heterosexual (Figure 3). In the participants with high JWB (Figure 3A), more prejudice was related with lesser perception of victim suffering when the participants perceived the victim as homosexual ($b = -0.14$; $SE = .07$, $t = -1.96$, $p = .05$), but not when they perceived the victim as heterosexual ($b = -0.03$; $SE = .17$, $t = -0.14$, $p = .88$). We found a different picture in participants with low JWB (Figure 3B). In this case, the relationship between prejudice and victim suffering was not significant when the participants perceived the victim as homosexual ($b = -0.15$; $SE = .10$, $t = -1.62$, $p = .11$), while there was a positive association between prejudice and victim suffering in participants who perceived the victim as heterosexual ($b = 0.53$; $SE = .22$, $t = 2.42$, $p = .016$).

Victim blaming

We found a reliable main effect of prejudice ($F(1, 197) = 7.34$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2_p = .036$), whereby more prejudice was associated with greater blaming of the victim for his suffering (Figure 2B), $b = 0.24$; $SE = .09$, $t = 2.71$, $p = .007$. We found no reliable main or interaction effect involving participants' perception of the victim's sexual orientation.

Victim avoidance

Results showed a reliable main effect of prejudice ($F(1, 197) = 10.18$, $p = 0.005$, $\eta^2_p = 0.04$), where the more prejudiced individuals expressed more avoidance of the victim (Figure 2C), $b = 0.33$; $SE = .12$, $t = 2.86$, $p = .005$. We also found a significant main effect of JWB, ($F(1, 197) = 4.96$,

$p = 0.035$, $\eta^2_p = 0.022$), in that higher JWB was associated with lesser victim avoidance ($b = -0.20$; $SE = .10$, $t = -2.12$, $p = .035$). In addition, there were no other main or interaction effects.

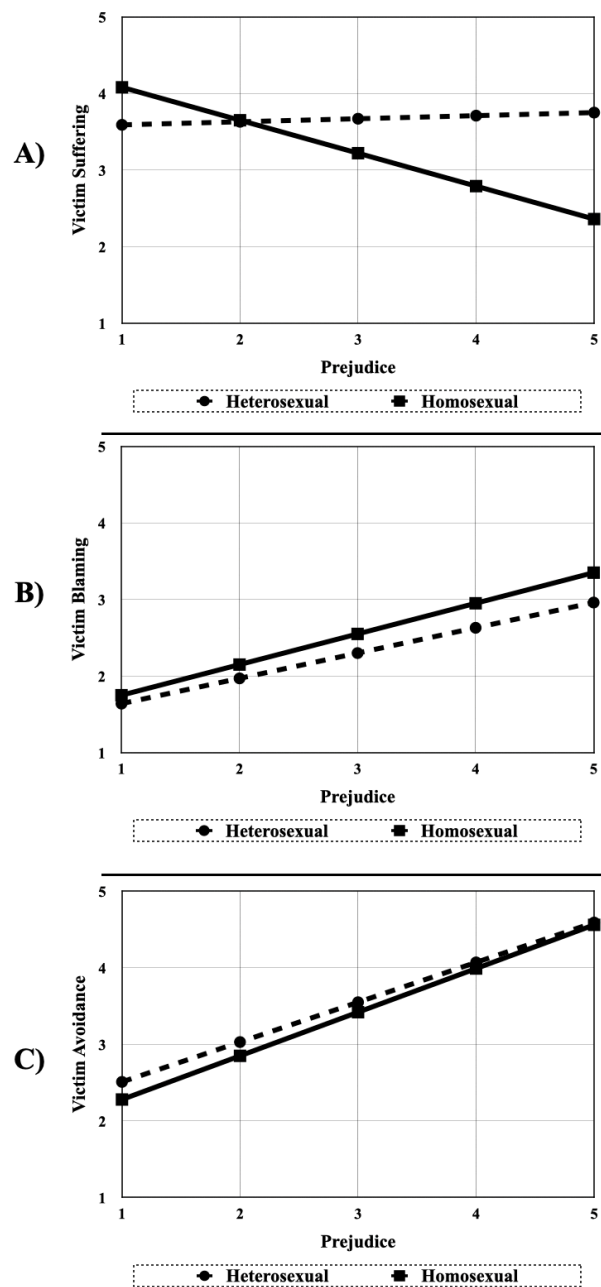


Figure 2. Relationship between prejudice and each dimension of secondary victimization for each perceived victim

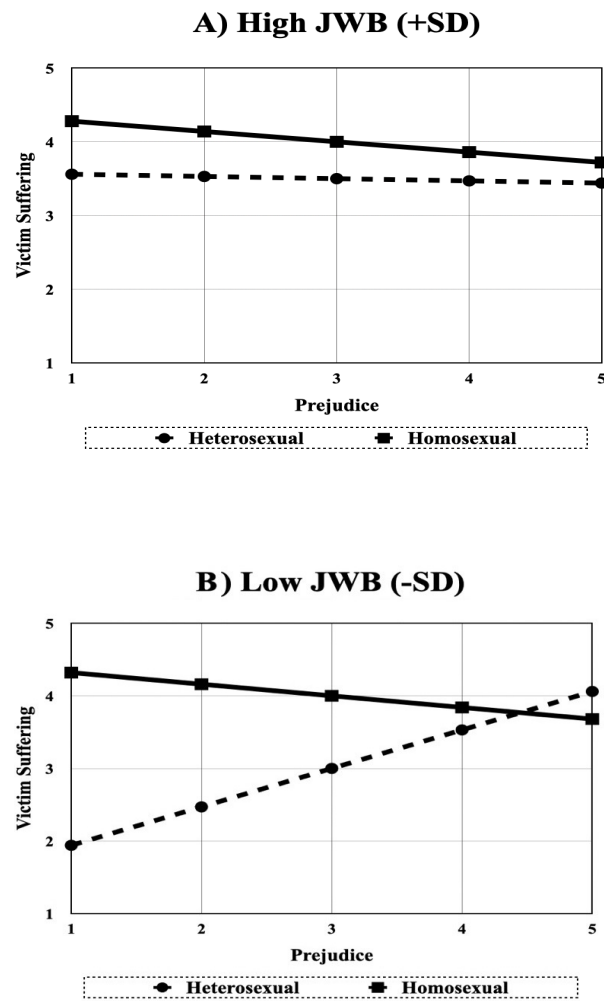


Figure 3. Relationship between prejudice and each dimension of secondary victimization for each perceived victim in participants with high and low JWB

Discussion

The results of this study replicated those of previous one by showing that prejudice is positively related with the secondary victimization of a victim of aggression. The findings also reinforced the previous study, showing that this effect occurred even when controlling for individual differences in JWB. In fact, after taking into account the JWB, more prejudiced individuals minimized the victim's suffering, blamed and avoided him more strongly. Importantly, this prejudice-based victimization depended on both participants' belief in a just world and their perception of the victim's sexual orientation, especially in the case of the suffering minimization dimension of secondary victimization. That is, in participants with stronger JWB, prejudice was positively related to suffering minimization when they perceived the victim as homosexual. This effect means that prejudice-based secondary victimization was jointly driven by two motivational forces: prejudice toward homosexuals; and individuals' justice motivation as implied by the JWB. This phenomenon did not apply to all dimensions of secondary victimization. It was restricted to minimizing the victim's suffering, not applying to his blame or avoidance. For these last two dimensions, both prejudice and JWB contributed independently to victimization, so that the effect of prejudice occurred over and above the JWB, and the effect of JWB occurred over and above prejudice.

The pattern of these results represents a step forward in the understanding of the relationship between prejudice and justice perceptions in intergroup relations by showing that prejudice predicted secondary victimization of a victim of aggression on the basis of minimal cues about the sexual orientation of this victim. Prejudiced individuals, who interpreted these cues as indicating homosexuality, were more prone to minimize the victim's suffering, an effect motivated by the JWB. Importantly, participants also exhibited prejudice-based secondary victimization when blaming and avoiding the victim. This phenomenon was not confused with individuals' justice

motivation, since the prejudice-based secondary victimization remained significant even when we took into account individual differences in belief in a just world.

General Discussion

In two studies we tested the hypothesis that prejudiced individuals are more sensitive to cues about a sexual orientation and so secondarily victimize to a greater extent a victim of aggression when he is perceived as homosexual. Study 1 experimentally showed that more prejudiced participants were more sensitive to cues about the homosexuality of a victim of aggression and thus secondarily victimized this victim more: they blame this victim more and tended to minimize his suffering. Study 2 went further by demonstrating that the prejudice-based secondary victimization is driven by individuals' justice motivation, since prejudice predicted minimization of victim suffering in individuals with strong JWB. In fact, prejudiced individuals, who more strongly believed in a just world, minimized the victim's suffering more, especially when perceiving him as homosexual. Moreover, the participants also expressed a prejudice-based secondary victimization by blaming and avoiding the victim. This effect was not confused with individuals' JWB.

The most important results were the significant two-way interaction between prejudice and cues in Study 1, and the three-way interaction involving prejudice, JWB and perceived victim group membership in Study 2. The findings of both studies bring relevant information to understand the relationship between prejudice and secondary victimization. First, the results showed that individuals perceived less victim suffering of homosexuals, as also found in other studies (White et al., 2009). Second, prejudiced individuals also tended to minimize the suffering of a victim when interpreting the situational cues as indicating the victim's homosexuality. Third, and in line with previous research (Keersmaecker, 2016; Keersmaecker & Roets, 2017), the prejudiced-based

minimization of the victim's suffering was justice motivated because only prejudiced participants with high JWB perceived lesser suffering of the homosexual victim.

Our findings have several interesting theoretical implications to understand the social psychological processes of legitimizing prejudice-based intergroup attitudes and behaviours (Costa-Lopes et al., 2013). The results are consistent with previous studies that have found secondary victimization as a legitimating factor for the social system because it is motivated by JWB (Lerner, 1977; Lerner, 1980) or by the need to defend the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2005), allowing the social system to be seen as fair, legitimate and necessary (Jost, 2019). In fact, studies within the framework of JWB theory (Aguiar et al., 2008), and of system justification theory (Jost, 2019; Jost & Hunyady, 2005) have shown that individuals are motivated to blame and derogate members of both ingroups and outgroups (Aguiar et al., 2008; Jost, 2019) to defend the prevalence of the social system.

Our results shed light on this issue by showing that violence directed at social minorities, especially homosexuals, is prompted by some legitimating process that allows prejudice to be expressed without violating the egalitarian and justice social norm. This is an example of a justified-discrimination effect (Pereira et al., 2018) underlying individuals' perception of an unfair hierarchy between social groups as being just and necessary, but who reframe the situation to be consistent with valuable justice principles (Lima-Nunes & Farias, 2019), legitimizing social inequalities.

In this regard, the present research also contributes to the literature on the model of justified discrimination (Pereira et al., 2010). Although other studies have already shown that the relationship between prejudice and discrimination is justified by legitimization myths (Souza et al., 2016), demonstration of the legitimization role played by secondary victimization is an innovative aspect of our studies. In fact, our findings provide new insight not only to understanding the ways that secondary victimization can legitimize social disparities, but also contribute to elucidate the

role played by prejudice in intergroup aggression, disentangling its effect from that of belief in a just world.

These surveys suffer from the typical limitations of experimental studies in a university context. The fact that the questionnaires were applied only to university students makes it impossible to generalize the results to the population at large. Despite this, the number of participants was sufficient to detect the phenomenon studied, but not to represent a significant sample of the population. Another limitation concerns the correlational design of Study 2. Prejudice and JWB were only measured, not manipulated, which undermines any inference of causation from prejudice to secondary victimization. Furthermore, we did not manipulate the normative context, an important aspect for the JDM test. That is, it was not possible to emphasize the anti-prejudice norm, which could motivate individuals to justify actions and attitudes, probably an important factor in prejudice expression by increasing individuals' tendency to victimize the victim secondarily.

Moreover, we did not consider as eligible to participate individuals who declared themselves to be homosexuals. The presence of homosexuals in the sample might indicate that the study was carried out in a context of high intergroup contact between heterosexuals and homosexuals. The high-contact environment, which can improve the relationship between them (Herek & Mc Lemoji, 2013) by controlling the effect of prejudice on the victim's devaluation, may not have been effective in this respect, but may also have worsened the relationship between these two social groups (Zotti et al., 2019). Due to these limitations, we believe it is necessary to develop further experimental studies to elucidate the effect of the anti-prejudice norm and the role of intergroup contact in these effects (Madeira et al., 2018). Despite these limitations, the results provide relevant empirical evidence to clarify a problem that had not yet been answered in previous research, namely the role of prejudice and JWB in the secondary victimization of homosexual victims of violence.

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General Thesis Discussion

Since 1996 the World Health Organization, through resolution WHA49.25, has identified violence as a public health problem, and has also designated that it is the responsibility of States to implement measures to prevent and tackle the various forms of its manifestation. Although violence is prohibited by law, the high occurrence rates of this phenomenon over time suggest that it is descriptively normative, however it does not affect the population randomly. Black people, women and homosexuals are some of the social groups that suffer the most violence in the world, in which Brazil occupies a prominent position (Atlas of violence, 2018; Brazilian Yearbook on Public Security, 2018; Gay Group of Bahia, 2018; Map of violence, 2019; IPEA, 2013; WHO, 2018). The persistence of violence indicates that it is socially legitimized. The way in which people perceive this type of injustice towards these social minorities can contribute to the perpetuation of different types of social exclusion. Thereby, the present thesis addressed the legitimation of violence within the scope of the Social Psychology of Justice, more specifically, in studies on the legitimation processes of social inequality.

Researches on social inequalities have pointed out that people tend to use justifications to maintain the *status quo*, preserving the various injustices inherent to them. These people, for example, use strategies that secondarily victimize the victim for their suffering (e.g., blaming the victim), to justify the system and to legitimate it (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Likewise, we believe that people also justify violence and, consequently, legitimize it. Hence, we propose that secondary victimization directed at minority groups victims of violence, is based on prejudice towards these groups.

Some studies have already indicated that the victim's group of belonging is important in the secondary victimization process (Albuquerque et al., 2019; Modesto & Pilatti, 2018; Correia et. al., 2008). Others have revealed that, in fact, people tend to hold accountable or blame disadvantaged

social groups for their own suffering (Ryan, 1971/1976; Lerner, 1980). However, in view of the complexity of social phenomena involving secondary victimization, such as the expression of prejudice in democratic societies, as far as we know the relationship between prejudice and secondary victimization of violence victims has not yet been empirically demonstrated. We then prepared four studies and organized those into two different articles, which aimed at testing the general hypothesis that people explain violence in order to justify its occurrence and these justifications involve secondary victimization, which, in turn, is motivated by prejudice.

Based on the System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994), the Just World Theory (Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Simons, 1966) and the Justified Discrimination Model (Pereira et al., 2010), we propose that secondary victimization is an example of how people legitimize violence towards minority groups and, hence, it is related to prejudice against those groups. More specifically, we raise the hypothesis that, in contexts where the anti-prejudice social norm is active, people, motivated by prejudice, tend to secondarily victimize the victim who belongs to the minority group, and such victimization works as a justification for discrimination against these groups in situations of violence. To justify the system or defend the belief that the world is just, people have different perceptions of justice, which vary according to the group to which the analyzed target belongs. Consequently, the dimensions of secondary victimization (attributing blame or responsibility to the victim, minimizing their suffering and avoiding the victim) also vary according to this association. In other words, secondary victimization does not occur regardless of the victim's social categories. Socially disadvantaged groups are often blamed for their own misfortune.

In the first article, we demonstrate that people evoke three types of explanations for the violence which blame the victim, the system and the aggressor; that such explanations vary according to the target group of the violence (Black people, Women and Homosexuals) and the

locus of opinion (personal opinion x public opinion). The three types of explanations were verified in all conditions of violence and varied according to the target group of such violence, however not according to the type of opinion. In general, most evocations indicated that violence was a problem of the social system, which is composed of inequalities. However, many of these evocations can represent an abstract way of punctuating the issue, insofar as they can remove the personal responsibility of the subject, a member of society, for tackling this issue.

Secondary victimization, through victim blaming and excusing the aggressor, was prominent in the conditions in which the victim was a woman or a black person, respectively. The fact that there is no significant difference between the types of opinion (personal opinion or society's opinion) shows us that such victimization may be related to some process of naturalization of violence, since people were not inhibited when expressing their personal opinions. Blaming the victim and "excusing" the aggressor, under these conditions, seems to be something normative and can represent a strong obstacle in tackling violence against these groups.

When the victim was described as homosexual, we observed the culpability of the system, the aggressor, and the victim, just like in other conditions, but without any specific prominence of a certain type of culpability. These results were similar to the condition of violence in general and may indicate that violence against homosexuals is not being discussed in proportion to the high rates of violence occurring in this group in comparison to the general population. In Brazil, for example, key violence indicators do not inform the levels of violence against these groups (see Atlas of Violence, 2018). Furthermore, when suffering violence, it is common for homosexuals to also endure a secondary institutional victimization, which inhibits the reporting of many other cases (see Rollé et al., 2018).

Similar to violence towards homosexuals, the phenomenon of secondary victimization against this sexual minority has been scarcely addressed in the literature, being a gap to be

overcome in this field of research. To contribute to bridging this gap and promoting the visibility of such a recurrent issue, we conducted two studies with the objective of testing the main hypothesis of this thesis according to which prejudice is related to the secondary victimization of victims of violence when they are members of minority groups. We focused our analysis on the specific case of violence against homosexuals because it is the target group that is the object of our analysis for which the study of secondary victimization is still under development. In fact, most studies on secondary victimization, mainly on the dimension of victim blaming are directed at women. In several situations, this group is blamed for the violence it endures (see Felson & Palmore, 2018; Bothamley & Tully, 2017; Canto et al., 2017) and many of these researches have identified the presence of sexist and patriarchal beliefs as a motivator of secondary victimization directed at women (see Shaw et al., 2017; Pacilli and Pagliaro, 2015), which indicates the possibility that prejudice, in fact, motivates this type of victimization. Similarly, several studies also have pointed out that there is a greater tolerance for violence against black people (see Johnson & Lecci, 2019; Lima et al., 2018; Santos & Pereira, 2019; Silva et al., 2018). Although they do not specify excusing the aggressor as a form of indirect secondary victimization, these studies clearly show the influence of racism in this process (see Oliveira, 2013). We do not rule out the need for verifying the relationship between prejudice and secondary victimization among women and black people, but - at the moment - we consider it urgent to prioritize the search for this relationship among homosexuals due to the invisibility or low visibility of the phenomena here studied in this social group.

We conducted two studies to verify the relationship between prejudice and secondary victimization directed at homosexuals and tested the hypotheses that more prejudiced people perform a greater secondary victimization when they perceived the victim as a homosexual, and that such victimization is stronger among people who have a greater BJW. The results of the first study

revealed that more prejudiced people tend to minimize the victim's suffering when they are clearly a homosexual. This result did not repeat itself in a situation where people were unaware of the victim's sexual orientation. In the dimension of victim blaming, we found that the greater the prejudice, the greater the victim blaming, regardless of whether the victim's sexual orientation was homosexual or undefined. In addition, in the dimension regarding avoiding the victim, this result was different from what we had hypothesized. More prejudiced people tended to avoid the victim more only in the control situation. The results for blaming and avoiding the victim in the control condition suggest that the participants in this condition may have perceived the victim as a homosexual, even though the description we used in the manipulation did not explicitly indicate this sexual orientation. It may be that implicit hints, such as the possibility of staring at each other, have been perceived as a possible flirt and thus have led the participants to infer the victim's sexual orientation (see Lick et al., 2014; Rule et al., 2017), which may have been more prominent among more prejudiced people. In fact, the attempt to seduce homosexuals is seen as something that causes resentment among potential homosexual aggressors (see Buijs et al., 2011).

We are not sure whether the motivation for these last responses would be related to the defense of the BJW or if the fact that the victim's orientation was very apparent was something that activated the anti-prejudice social norm. To solve these questions, we conducted the second study which also helped to clarify the problem of hints in the control condition of Study 1. Using only neutral hints, we asked the victim's sexual orientation, which was also important for verifying the direction of the relationship between prejudice and victimization. The results were similar to those of Study 1 in the dimensions of minimizing suffering and blaming the victim. However, in the dimension of avoiding the victim, the results reflected significant differences. More prejudiced people tended to avoid the victim, but it occurred similarly to the dimension of victim blaming, that is, regardless of the perception of the victim's sexual orientation. Regarding the BJW, we found that

it acted as a moderator of the relationship between prejudice and minimizing the victim's suffering. We observed that among people with a high BJW, the greater the prejudice against homosexuals, the lower the perception of suffering when the victim was perceived as a homosexual. In contrast, in people who had a lower BJW, the greater the prejudice against homosexuals, the greater the perception of the victim's suffering when they were perceived as being heterosexual. Finally, the BJW revealed the classic effect predicted in studies on secondary victimization: the stronger the BJW, the more people tend to avoid contact with innocent victims. The hypothesis that more prejudiced people and with a greater BJW would perform a greater secondary victimization towards the victim was partially corroborated, being observed exclusively in the dimension of minimizing their suffering.

Theoretical and Practical Contributions

This thesis presents a set of studies that may represent an important contribution to the understanding of legitimation processes regarding discrimination and social inequalities, in particular concerning violence against minority groups. In a primary way, we compared the people's justification for violence against three social groups that suffer strongly from violence in the world, and we discussed the possibility of this violence being socially legitimized. Theories that discuss the legitimation of social inequalities do not specifically address the justifications for violence as an important means of legitimizing the system and the inequalities that permeate social groups (see Jost, 2019; van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014). In this perspective, this work highlights the importance of further investigating the underlying processes of violence directed at these groups, since this phenomenon can be understood as a more perverse means of reinforcing social hierarchies and, since this violence is legitimate, how can we tackle other forms of prejudice and discrimination?

This thesis points to the possibility of secondary victimization against minority groups being a legitimizing factor for discrimination against these groups in situations of violence. The application of the JDM has been effective in highlighting the various factors that justify discrimination (Lima-Nunes et., 2013; Pereira & Vala, 2010; Souza et. Al., 2016). However, until now, secondary victimization had not yet been tested as one of such justifying factors. Although we have not tested the complete model, this study contributes to the development of such model by highlighting its first part, which shows the positive relationship between prejudice and secondary victimization and indicates the possibility of the second part of the model, related to victimization secondary, to be used as a justification for discrimination against minority groups in situations of violence. Most studies on secondary victimization use only one type of dimension: blaming the victim. This thesis also advances in this instance since we consider three dimensions of this phenomenon for broadening the understanding of the issues addressed here. In general, we consider that this thesis also contributes to studies in the field of Social Psychology of Justice. We point to the perception of violence against minority groups as one of the legitimizing factors of the system's justification, and we indicate the relationship between prejudice and the perception of justice, especially in secondary victimization. Many studies have already indicated the importance of categorizing the victim in the processes of secondary victimization, however we did not find in the current literature empirical studies that presented the role of prejudice in this process.

Limitations and future directions

Despite the empirical evidence showing that people explain violence by evoking justifications that blame the system and secondarily victimize the victim, and also the demonstration that this victimization is related to prejudice, the studies that we present in this thesis have some important limitations. Firstly, our samples were composed only by university students,

which prevents us from making generalizations for the general population. This limitation, however, is mitigated by the fact that three out of the four researchers we conducted are randomized experiments, which allowed us to obtain a greater internal validity for the inferences about the psychosocial processes we study here. The second study in the last article, however, was correlational, which did not contribute to mitigate the problems of internal validity and generalization of the effects obtained.

Secondly, the internal consistency of minimizing the victim's suffering in the measure of secondary victimization was not satisfactory, which introduces an issue in the statistical inference concerning the effects obtained, especially those that are not significant. In addition, we wonder about the complexity of this dimension and other related factors. Do people perceive the victim's suffering really to a lesser extent or do they strategically reduce the suffering to restore their BJW? Does minimizing the victim's suffering have an impact on restoring the perception of justice so to reduce the victim blaming? Does this dimension also have an impact on the avoiding the victim dimension? We believe that these issues need to be addressed in future studies.

Thirdly, the ambiguity of the control situation in the second article, used in both studies, may have activated a social category other than homosexuals, although it is also considered as a social minority, such as someone who deviates from the social norm and/or a person considered dangerous. For example, the message we posted as a stimulus that indicated that “*a man hit me, affirming that I was staring at him*” may have activated, in some participants, the perception that the victim was not well intentioned, since, in the Brazilian context in situations of violence, common sense usually points out people as “dubious”, that is, a person capable of doing something bad. In this context, staring at someone is usually attributed to flirting or some inappropriate observation that may have an underlying negative purpose. Since Brazil is a country with a high

rate of violence, it is possible that someone interprets an observer as someone capable of committing a crime.

In addition to these limitations and others already listed in the articles described above, we consider as a shortcoming the fact that we have not tested the second part of the Justified Discrimination Model. We hoped to verify the relationship of prejudice in the three dimensions of secondary victimization and the impact of this victimization on discriminatory behaviour, thus testing the complete model. However, we consider that to overcome these limitations, it is necessary to develop new studies that surmount the limitations highlighted here, which may contribute not only to the empirical testing of the model, but also to the empirical evidence necessary to support public policies that tackle prejudice and discrimination.

Conclusion

These four studies have demonstrated that individuals explain violence by evoking arguments that secondarily victimize the victim when they are perceived as members of a minority group. This victimization can be indirect, through excusing the aggressor, or direct, through the minimization of suffering, blaming, or holding the victim accountable, and by avoiding the victim. Moreover, this thesis revealed that the role of prejudice in victimization is moderated by the BJW, although this has been observed only in the dimension of minimizing the victim's suffering.

In general, secondary victimization is present in the explanations that people give for the causes of violence; that this victimization is related to prejudice and may be used to legitimize discrimination against social minorities in situations of violence. Although this last information has not yet been empirically tested, the arbitrariness in violence between social groups, that is, the intentions underlying the aggressions against these groups and, paradoxically, the different perceptions of justice based on the group belonging of the violence target in societies that assume

egalitarian values, indicate that discrimination needs to be addressed in light of their legitimization processes. Minimizing suffering, blaming or holding accountable and avoiding the victim due to their group belonging are actions which, in some way, mitigate discrimination and cover up their impacts. In fact, this thesis contributed to broaden our understanding of the legitimacy of violence against minority groups.

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Anexos

Este estudo faz parte de uma tese de doutorado que está sendo desenvolvida no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social da UFPB.

O nosso objetivo é conhecer a opinião das pessoas sobre aspectos da vida em sociedade.

A sua colaboração, que desde já agradecemos, é voluntária e pode ser interrompida quando quiser.

Necessitamos do seu consentimento para participar da pesquisa. Caso esteja de acordo, responda a todas as questões que se seguem da maneira mais completa possível.

Caso não conceda a sua participação, devolva o questionário ao pesquisador responsável pela aplicação.

Quaisquer dúvidas ou questões adicionais sobre o estudo podem ser enviadas para: karlasmateus@gmail.com

No Brasil, muitas pessoas passam por situações violentas. Na sua opinião pessoal, quais são as principais razões que contribuem para que estas pessoas sejam alvo de violência?

1. Idade: _____ anos

☐ Alta ☐ Média ☐ Média baixa ☐ Baixa

() Masculino () Feminino

☐ Heterossexual ☐ Homossexual ☐ Bissexual

6. O quanto você se acha religioso

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Muito

--

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

1

2

3

4

5

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Muito

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Muito

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Muito

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Caso não conceda a sua participação, devolva o questionário ao pesquisador responsável pela aplicação.

Quaisquer dúvidas ou questões adicionais sobre o estudo podem ser enviadas para: karlasmateus@gmail.com

No Brasil, temos testemunhado muitos casos de homicídios. Ao verificar tais casos, percebe-se que muitos negros são assassinados. Na sua opinião pessoal, quais são as principais razões que contribuem para que os negros sejam alvo desse tipo de violência?

Questões sociodemográficas

1. Idade: _____ anos

2. De acordo com o que sua família ganha e o que ela possui, você diria que ela é da classe:

() Alta () Média () Média baixa () Baixa

3. Sexo

() Masculino () Feminino

4. Orientação sexual

() Heterossexual () Homossexual () Bissexual

5. Religião: _____

6. O quanto você se acha religioso

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

7. Indique, numa escala de 1 a 7, sendo 1 **nenhuma identificação** e 7 **maior identificação**, a forma que melhor descreva a sua identificação com os grupos descritos abaixo.

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor branca

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor negra

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

O quanto você se acha parecido com os índios brasileiros

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Este estudo faz parte de uma tese de doutorado que está sendo desenvolvida no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social da UFPB.

O nosso objetivo é conhecer a opinião das pessoas sobre aspectos da vida em sociedade.

A sua colaboração, que desde já agradecemos, é voluntária e pode ser interrompida quando quiser.

Necessitamos do seu consentimento para participar da pesquisa. Caso esteja de acordo, responda a todas as questões que se seguem da maneira mais completa possível.

Caso não conceda a sua participação, devolva o questionário ao pesquisador responsável pela aplicação.

Quaisquer dúvidas ou questões adicionais sobre o estudo podem ser enviadas para: karlasmateus@gmail.com

Temos assistido no Brasil casos em que as mulheres são alvo de violência doméstica (e.x., apanham do parceiro) com consequências graves para a sua integridade física e psicológica. Mas nem todas as mulheres passam por essa situação. Por que será que algumas mulheres estão mais vulneráveis a esta situação? Na sua opinião pessoal, quais são as principais razões que contribuem para que algumas mulheres sejam alvo desta situação?

Questões sociodemográficas

1. Idade: _____ anos

2. De acordo com o que sua família ganha e o que ela possui, você diria que ela é da classe:

() Alta () Média () Média baixa () Baixa

3. Sexo

() Masculino () Feminino

4. Orientação sexual

() Heterossexual () Homossexual () Bissexual

5. Religião: _____

6. O quanto você se acha religioso

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Indique, numa escala de 1 a 7, sendo 1 **nenhuma identificação** e 7 **maior identificação**, a forma que melhor descreva a sua identificação com os grupos descritos abaixo.

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor branca

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor negra

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com os índios brasileiros

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Este estudo faz parte de uma tese de doutorado que está sendo desenvolvida no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social da UFPB.

O nosso objetivo é conhecer a opinião das pessoas sobre aspectos da vida em sociedade.

A sua colaboração, que desde já agradecemos, é voluntária e pode ser interrompida quando quiser.

Necessitamos do seu consentimento para participar da pesquisa. Caso esteja de acordo, responda a todas as questões que se seguem da maneira mais completa possível.

Caso não conceda a sua participação, devolva o questionário ao pesquisador responsável pela aplicação.

Quaisquer dúvidas ou questões adicionais sobre o estudo podem ser enviadas para: karlasmateus@gmail.com

Temos testemunhado no Brasil situações de violência com requintes de crueldade. Quando analisa-se a história do caso, verifica-se que, em muitas ocorrências, se tratava de homossexuais. Na sua opinião pessoal, quais são as principais razões que contribuem para que alguns homossexuais sejam alvo desse tipo de violência?

Questões sociodemográficas

1. Idade: _____ anos

2. De acordo com o que sua família ganha e o que ela possui, você diria que ela é da classe:

() Alta () Média () Média baixa () Baixa

3. Sexo

() Masculino () Feminino

4. Orientação sexual

() Heterossexual () Homossexual () Bissexual

5. Religião: _____

6. O quanto você se acha religioso

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

7. Indique, numa escala de 1 a 7, sendo 1 **nenhuma identificação** e 7 **maior identificação**, a forma que melhor descreva a sua identificação com os grupos descritos abaixo.

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor branca

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor negra

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

O quanto você se acha parecido com os índios brasileiros

Pouco							Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Este estudo faz parte de uma tese de doutorado que está sendo desenvolvida no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social da UFPB.

O nosso objetivo é conhecer a opinião das pessoas sobre aspectos da vida em sociedade.

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No Brasil, muitas pessoas passam por situações violentas. Gostaríamos de saber o que você pensa sobre como a sociedade brasileira entende este assunto. Isto é, quais são as principais razões que a sociedade brasileira atribui para explicar por que algumas pessoas são alvos desta violência? Não queremos saber o que você pessoalmente pensa, mas sim o que você acha que a sociedade brasileira pensa sobre esta situação.

Questões sociodemográficas

1. Idade: _____ anos

2. De acordo com o que sua família ganha e o que ela possui, você diria que ela é da classe:

() Alta () Média () Média baixa () Baixa

3. Sexo

() Masculino () Feminino

4. Orientação sexual

() Heterossexual () Homossexual () Bissexual

5. Religião: _____

8. Indique, numa escala de 1 a 7, sendo 1 **nenhuma identificação** e 7 **maior identificação**, a forma que melhor descreva a sua identificação com os grupos descritos abaixo.

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor branca

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor negra

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com os índios brasileiros

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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No Brasil, temos testemunhado muitos casos de homicídios. Ao verificar tais casos, percebe-se que muitos negros são assassinados. Gostaríamos de saber o que você pensa sobre como a sociedade brasileira entende este assunto. Isto é, quais são as principais razões que a sociedade brasileira atribui para explicar por que alguns negros são alvos desta violência? Não queremos saber o que você pessoalmente pensa, mas sim o que acha que a sociedade brasileira pensa sobre esta situação.

Questões sociodemográficas

1. Idade: _____ anos

2. De acordo com o que sua família ganha e o que ela possui, você diria que ela é da classe:

() Alta () Média () Média baixa () Baixa

3. Sexo

() Masculino () Feminino

4. Orientação sexual

() Heterossexual () Homossexual () Bissexual

5. Religião: _____

6. O quanto você se acha religioso

Pouco

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Muito

7. Indique, numa escala de 1 a 7, sendo 1 **nenhuma identificação** e 7 **maior identificação**, a forma que melhor descreva a sua identificação com os grupos descritos abaixo.

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

Pouco

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Muito

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor branca

Pouco

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Muito

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor negra

Pouco

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Muito

O quanto você se acha parecido com os índios brasileiros

Pouco

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Muito

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Temos assistido no Brasil casos em que as mulheres são alvo de violência doméstica (e.x., apanham do parceiro) com consequências graves para a sua integridade física e psicológica. Mas nem todas as mulheres passam por essa situação. Por que será que algumas mulheres estão mais vulneráveis a esta situação? Gostaríamos de saber o que você pensa sobre como a sociedade brasileira entende este assunto. Isto é, quais são as principais razões que a sociedade brasileira atribui para explicar por que algumas mulheres são alvos desta violência? Não queremos saber o que você pessoalmente pensa, mas sim o que a sociedade brasileira pensa sobre esta situação.

Questões sociodemográficas

1. Idade: _____ anos

2. De acordo com o que sua família ganha e o que ela possui, você diria que ela é da classe:

() Alta () Média () Média baixa () Baixa

3. Sexo

() Masculino () Feminino

4. Orientação sexual

() Heterossexual () Homossexual () Bissexual

5. Religião: _____

6. O quanto você se acha religioso

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Indique, numa escala de 1 a 7, sendo 1 **nenhuma identificação** e 7 **maior identificação**, a forma que melhor descreva a sua identificação com os grupos descritos abaixo.

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor branca

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor negra

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com os índios brasileiros

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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Temos testemunhado no Brasil situações de violência com requintes de crueldade. Quando analisa-se a história do caso, verifica-se que, em muitas ocorrências, se tratava de homossexuais. Gostaríamos de saber o que você pensa sobre como a sociedade brasileira entende este assunto. Isto é, quais são as principais razões que a sociedade brasileira atribui para explicar por que alguns homossexuais são alvos desta violência? Não queremos saber o que você pessoalmente pensa, mas sim o que você acha o que a sociedade brasileira pensa sobre esta situação.

Questões sociodemográficas

1. Idade: _____ anos

2. De acordo com o que sua família ganha e o que ela possui, você diria que ela é da classe:

() Alta () Média () Média baixa () Baixa

3. Sexo

() Masculino () Feminino

4. Orientação sexual

() Heterossexual () Homossexual () Bissexual

5. Religião: _____

6. O quanto você se acha religioso

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Indique, numa escala de 1 a 7, sendo 1 **nenhuma identificação** e 7 **maior identificação**, a forma que melhor descreva a sua identificação com os grupos descritos abaixo.

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor morena

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor branca

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com brasileiros de cor negra

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

O quanto você se acha parecido com os índios brasileiros

Pouco						Muito
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido

O nosso objetivo é estudar algumas opiniões sociais relacionadas às novas tecnologias. Não há questões certas ou erradas. Queremos saber apenas a sua opinião sobre as questões a seguir.

A sua colaboração, que desde já agradecemos, é voluntária e pode ser interrompida quando quiser.

Necessitamos do seu consentimento para participar da pesquisa. Caso esteja de acordo, responda a todas as questões que se seguem da maneira mais completa possível.

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Por favor, leia a notícia abaixo retirada da edição digital de um jornal de grande circulação.

Notícias

Paciente chegou ao hospital com machucões, dores fortes e sem consciência.



O hospital informou que o quadro permanece grave. A polícia identificou uma mensagem no celular, mas havia poucas informações. O delegado responsável pelo caso afirmou que as investigações seguem para descobrir a possível causa da agressão.



Baseando-se na situação jornalística apresentada anteriormente, assinale o número que melhor representa a sua opinião. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, mais forte será a indicação de que concorda com a afirmação.

1. A pessoa relatada na notícia tem sofrido muito.	1	2	3	4	5
2. A pessoa em questão está se aproveitando da situação.	1	2	3	4	5
3. A situação em que a pessoa está passando é muito dolorosa.	1	2	3	4	5
4. A pessoa tem uma parcela de culpa pelo que está passando.	1	2	3	4	5
5. De alguma maneira a pessoa pode ter feito por merecer.	1	2	3	4	5
6. É provável que a pessoa tenha algum grau de responsabilidade pelo que aconteceu.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Desejo conhecer esta pessoa.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Gostaria de dar um abraço nesta pessoa.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Gostaria de ser amigo íntimo dessa pessoa.	1	2	4	4	5

Indique em que medida você se sentiria incomodado(a) em cada uma das seguintes situações. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, maior será o seu incômodo.

	Incomoda Pouco ----- Incomoda Muito				
01. Ter no seu grupo de trabalho da Faculdade uma pessoa homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
02 . Receber em sua casa um casal homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
03 . Ter amigos que sejam homossexuais assumidos	1	2	3	4	5
04 . Ver casais homossexuais a namorar	1	2	3	4	5
05 . Ter um(a) filho(a) homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
06 . Saber que um familiar próximo é homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
07 . Ter um(a) professor(a) homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
08 . Conversar com homossexuais	1	2	3	4	5
09 . Se um (a) filho(a) seu (sua) tivesse amizades com homossexuais	1	2	3	4	5
10 . Morar com homossexuais assumidos	1	2	3	4	5

Questões sociodemográficas

Idade: _____ anos

Sexo: () Masculino () Feminino

Obrigada pela sua participação!

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Notícias

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1. A pessoa relatada na notícia tem sofrido muito.	1	2	3	4	5
2. A pessoa em questão está se aproveitando da situação.	1	2	3	4	5
3. A situação em que a pessoa está passando é muito dolorosa.	1	2	3	4	5
4. A pessoa tem uma parcela de culpa pelo que está passando.	1	2	3	4	5
5. De alguma maneira a pessoa pode ter feito por merecer.	1	2	3	4	5
6. É provável que a pessoa tenha algum grau de responsabilidade pelo que aconteceu.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Desejo conhecer esta pessoa.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Gostaria de dar um abraço nesta pessoa.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Gostaria de ser amigo íntimo dessa pessoa.	1	2	4	4	5

Indique em que medida você se sentiria incomodado(a) em cada uma das seguintes situações. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, maior será o seu incômodo.

	Incomoda Pouco ----- Incomoda Muito				
01. Ter no seu grupo de trabalho da Faculdade uma pessoa homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
02 . Receber em sua casa um casal homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
03 . Ter amigos que sejam homossexuais assumidos	1	2	3	4	5
04 . Ver casais homossexuais a namorar	1	2	3	4	5
05 . Ter um(a) filho(a) homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
06 . Saber que um familiar próximo é homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
07 . Ter um(a) professor(a) homossexual	1	2	3	4	5
08 . Conversar com homossexuais	1	2	3	4	5
09 . Se um (a) filho(a) seu (sua) tivesse amizades com homossexuais	1	2	3	4	5
10 . Morar com homossexuais assumidos	1	2	3	4	5

Questões sociodemográficas

Idade: _____ anos

Sexo: () Masculino () Feminino

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Notícias

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Baseando-se na situação jornalística apresentada anteriormente, assinale o número que melhor representa a sua opinião. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, mais forte será a indicação de que concorda com a afirmação.

	Discordo Muito - - - - - Concordo Muito				
1. A pessoa relatada na notícia tem sofrido muito.	1	2	3	4	5
2. A pessoa em questão está se aproveitando da situação.	1	2	3	4	5
3. A situação em que a pessoa está passando é muito dolorosa.	1	2	3	4	5
4. A pessoa tem uma parcela de culpa pelo que está passando.	1	2	3	4	5
5. De alguma maneira a pessoa pode ter feito por merecer.	1	2	3	4	5
6. É provável que a pessoa tenha algum grau de responsabilidade pelo que aconteceu.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Desejo conhecer esta pessoa.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Gostaria de dar um abraço nesta pessoa.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Gostaria de ser amigo íntimo dessa pessoa.	1	2	4	4	5

Se você tivesse que indicar, segundo a sua intuição, diria que a pessoa é:

() Heterossexual

() Homossexual

Indique em que medida você se sentiria incomodado (a) em cada uma das seguintes situações. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, maior será o seu incômodo.

	Incomoda Pouco - - - - - Incomoda Muito				
01. Ter no seu grupo de trabalho da Faculdade uma pessoa homossexual.	1	2	3	4	5
02. Receber em sua casa um casal homossexual.	1	2	3	4	5
03. Ter amigos que sejam homossexuais assumidos.	1	2	3	4	5
04. Ver casais homossexuais a namorar.	1	2	3	4	5
05. Ter um (a) filho (a) homossexual.	1	2	3	4	5
06. Saber que um familiar próximo é homossexual.	1	2	3	4	5
07. Ter um (a) professor (a) homossexual.	1	2	3	4	5
08. Conversar com homossexuais.	1	2	3	4	5
09. Se um (a) filho (a) seu (sua) tivesse amizade com homossexuais.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Morar com homossexuais assumidos.	1	2	3	4	5

Indique, por favor, o seu grau de concordância com cada afirmação abaixo, marcando com um “X” a alternativa que mais se aproxima de sua opinião. Quanto maior for o número, mais forte será sua concordância.

Discordo Muito ----- Concordo

Muito

1. Basicamente, o mundo em que vivemos é justo.	1	2	3	4	5
2. De uma maneira geral, as pessoas merecem aquilo que lhes acontece.	1	2	3	4	5
3. As injustiças em todas as áreas da vida constituem uma exceção à regra.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Ao longo da vida as pessoas acabam por ser compensadas pelas injustiças sofridas.	1	2	3	4	5
5. As pessoas tentam ser justas quando tomam decisões importantes.	1	2	3	4	5
6. A justiça vence sempre a injustiça.	1	2	3	4	5

Questões sociodemográficas

1. A sua idade: _____ anos

2. O seu sexo: () Masculino () Feminino

Obrigada pela sua participação!