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Attitudes Toward Active Minorities: The Effect of Rights-Claiming Efforts by Immigrants on the Intergroup Attitudes of Majority Group Members

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ABSTRACT

Evidence has shown that rights-claiming initiatives by disadvantaged groups can elicit negative (reactionary) responses from the advantaged. The present work analyzes the effect of rights-claiming initiatives of a disadvantaged minority group (Moroccan immigrants) on the stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions manifested by the advantaged majority group (Spaniards) toward them. Following a mixed-methods sequential exploratory design, one qualitative (Study 1) and two experimental studies (Study 2 and 3) were conducted. Furthermore, we examine the differential effect of rights-claiming initiatives and upward social mobility (Study 2; $N = 683$) and the influence of group membership and different levels of vindication on attitudes toward the rights-claiming group (Study 3; $N = 402$). The main results show that: (1) Moroccans were perceived as an active minority but also as a group engaged in upward mobility; (2) Perceiving Moroccans as an active minority compared to upwardly mobile led to less positive affective reactions and behavioral intentions due to perceiving Moroccans as more immoral and less sociable; (3) Only when both Spaniards and Moroccans were presented as active did Spanish participants perceive Moroccans compared to Spaniards as more immoral and, in turn, manifest less positive affective reactions and behavioral intentions toward the target group. Although the rights initiatives by the disadvantaged did not seem to undermine the attitudes of the advantaged group toward them, the findings suggest that these initiatives have a more negative impact on intergroup attitudes than other social change strategies and have the potential to induce intergroup bias.

1 | Introduction

In contemporary societies where groups with different statuses, powers, and privileges coexist, intergroup relations are sometimes marked by the struggle of the disadvantaged to improve their situation and prompt social change to achieve equality. Echoing those efforts, the psychosocial literature has thoroughly examined the behaviors endorsed by minorities to drive

social change and the factors influencing them. However, the understanding of the phenomenon of social change could benefit from a broader perspective by examining how the advantaged respond to efforts by the disadvantaged to improve their circumstances (e.g., Teixeira et al. 2020). Such an approach would allow for the bridging and integration of two major strands of research: the literature on social change and the literature on social perception and intergroup attitudes.

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Summary

- Using a mixed-methods approach, the present work shows that rights-claiming initiatives by Moroccan immigrants affect Spaniards' attitudes toward this disadvantaged group.
- While the studies did not consistently confirm that rights initiatives worsen the attitudes of the majority group, they suggest that such initiatives may have more negative effects than other social change strategies (i.e., upward social mobility) and can elicit intergroup bias under certain conditions.
- The perception of immorality emerged as a central mechanism explaining how rights-claiming initiatives by the disadvantaged group influence the emotional and behavioral responses of the advantaged group.

Accordingly, the overarching goal of this work is to enhance our understanding of the dynamics that shape the responses of the advantaged groups to the actions of the disadvantaged groups aimed at promoting social change, in particular, engaging in rights initiatives. To this end, our contribution is twofold. First, we examined the differential effects of rights initiatives compared to another strategy (i.e., social mobility) on the stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions of the advantaged group toward the disadvantaged minority. Notably, unlike prior work (e.g., Richard and Wright 2010; see also Ellemers and Van Laar 2010), we framed upward social mobility as a group-defining strategy rather than an individual one driven by self-interest. This allows for a more accurate comparison of the effect of the two strategies on the advantaged group's attitudes (stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions), since both are framed comparably as group-level strategies. We also explored the mediating role of stereotypes in shaping both emotional and behavioral responses from the majority group in this process. Second, we examined whether the group membership of the plaintiffs (advantaged vs. disadvantaged) and the level of vindication—the extent to which rights initiatives appeared to reflect high versus low group engagement—influence the attitudes of the advantaged toward the group to which the plaintiffs belong. This contributes to a deeper understanding of the factors that condition when rights initiatives elicit more or less favorable attitudes toward the plaintiffs' group.

To address the central aim of our work, we followed a mixed-methods exploratory sequential design. First, a qualitative study (Study 1) was conducted in which key Spanish informants (members of the majority/advantaged group) were interviewed about the situation of Moroccan immigrants (the minority/disadvantaged group) in the workplace and their claims for work-related rights. Next, based on the findings of Study 1, two quantitative experimental studies were conducted to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the primary phenomenon under study—rights initiatives. Study 2 compared the effect of the rights initiatives of the Moroccans versus other strategies (upward social mobility) on Spaniards' attitudes toward them. Study 3 examined whether and how the membership of the rights-claiming group (Spaniards vs. Moroccans) and its

vindication level (high vs. low) affected Spaniards' attitudes toward the claimant group.

1.1 | Active Minorities and Intergroup Attitudes

Research has shown that disadvantaged minorities can attract the support or collaboration of the advantaged to fight inequality and prompt social change (e.g., Kutluca et al. 2020). However, a growing body of research reveals that the initiatives of the disadvantaged can also elicit negative (reactionary) responses from the advantaged (Shuman et al. 2024; Selvanathan et al. 2021; Shnabel et al. 2016; Teixeira et al. 2020). For instance, research by Shnabel et al. (2016) showed that framing a minority group's disadvantage in terms of rights infringement led the advantaged to withhold support for empowering policies due to the perceived structural implications (i.e., zero-sum perceptions) of this framing. Similarly, the advantaged manifested less support for collective actions on behalf of an active minority due to the perceived threat to their group's image (Teixeira et al. 2020). As these authors argue, active minorities (Moscovici and Pérez 2007) (minorities raising demands and claiming their rights) expose socio-structural inequality and contest current social arrangements. By questioning not only the privileged position of the advantaged but also the legitimacy of this position, the demands of the disadvantaged threaten the advantaged status and moral image. Because people are motivated to maintain a positive view of their in-group (Tajfel and Turner 1979), threats to the values of their in-group (i.e., status, morality) can be met with defensive reactions (Branscombe et al. 1999; Knowles et al. 2014; Täuber and van Zomeren 2013) aimed at protecting and restoring the group's values (Shnabel and Ullrich 2013). While these studies provide insight into the negative impact of the rights-claiming initiatives of the disadvantaged on the policy preferences of the advantaged and their support for collective actions on behalf of the disadvantaged, less is known about the potential effect of such initiatives on the perception (i.e., stereotypes) held by the advantaged toward the disadvantaged. In this regard, early work (Moscovici and Pérez 2007) found that members of a majority group (Spaniards) thought about conflict, confrontation, and struggle more frequently when exposed to a minority (Gypsies) described as active (vs. victimized). Likewise, the findings of Bashir et al. (2013) revealed that typical activists were assigned negative stereotypical traits (e.g., militant, eccentric, and less personable), which in turn reduced the desire of the participants for affiliation and pro-change behavior intentions. Furthermore, the status of the group to which activists belong (high-status/advantaged vs. low-status/disadvantaged) influenced the attribution of stereotypes; while advantaged group activists were stereotyped as altruistic and superficial, disadvantaged group activists were stereotyped as strong and aggressive (Burrows, Selvanathan, et al. 2023).

This work aims to extend these findings by examining whether the stereotype content (Fiske et al. 2002) held by the advantaged group about the disadvantaged group will be affected by the efforts of the latter to improve their situation. Traditional models of social perception have concentrated on the Big Two (e.g., Fiske et al. 2002): warmth and competence. However, recent theoretical frameworks, such as the moral primacy model (Brambilla et al. 2021), challenge the traditional two-dimensional

perspective and point out the need to differentiate between sociability and morality in the warmth dimension, as they represent distinct psychological constructs. Based on prior evidence and their own empirical findings, these authors propose and illustrate the centrality and higher diagnostic value of morality (over sociability and competence) across all stages of the process of impression development and in predicting people's behavioral responses toward social targets. Such a primacy is mainly driven by its negative traits—immorality (Rusconi et al. 2020; Sayans-Jiménez et al. 2017). Considering the multifaceted nature of stereotype content (morality, immorality, sociability, and competence) allows for a more fine-grained evaluation and a more profound understanding of how groups are perceived.

The disadvantaged (vs. the advantaged) are perceived by the advantaged as more committed to social justice, as well as more fit for justice-related roles and duties (Saguy et al. 2020). Thus, it can be argued that the advantaged could perceive them as morally superior. Furthermore, to the extent that their rights initiatives are perceived as highlighting existent power asymmetries, these initiatives could be considered an act of confrontation and a moral reproach directed at the advantaged. Research regarding social comparison in the moral domain has shown that people feel threatened by superior moral others or when they expect a moral reproach (Monin 2007). To disengage from these threats, individuals can try to contest the virtue of the other's behavior (Monin 2007) or incur their derogation (Minson and Monin 2012). Consequently, we expect that the rights initiatives of a disadvantaged group will worsen the perception held by the advantaged group about the disadvantaged group to a greater extent for the (im)moral dimension (vs. competence and sociability). By denying the virtue of the disadvantaged group, the advantaged could question the righteousness of their intentions and the legitimacy of their claims.

We extend our contribution by exploring the impact of rights initiatives by the disadvantaged on the emotions, the behavioral intentions of active and passive facilitation (Cuddy et al. 2007), and the support for collective actions of the advantaged toward them. Active facilitation explicitly aims to benefit a group (e.g., helping), and passive facilitation implies convenient cooperation with a group (e.g., acting with the group for one's own purposes) (Cuddy et al. 2007). The impact of stereotypes on emotions (Fiske et al. 2002) and behavior (e.g., Cuddy et al. 2007) is well documented, so if the actions of the disadvantaged worsen the stereotypes of the advantaged group members about the disadvantaged, it can be expected that this will further affect the emotions and behavioral intentions expressed toward the disadvantaged. In particular, we expect that the negative evaluation received by the minority on the (im)morality dimension will be associated with a more negative affective response, less facilitation of behavioral intentions (i.e., helping, associating with), and less support for collective actions.

Thus, we contribute to the current literature addressing the effects of the efforts undertaken by the minorities to prompt social change on the majority's perception about the disadvantaged in three ways: first, we examine the impact of rights initiatives by a disadvantaged group on the attitudes of the advantaged group toward them; second, we consider the cognitive, emotional, and conative attitudinal components (stereotypes, emotions,

behavioral intentions of facilitation, and support for collective actions); third, within the cognitive component, we focus on the main dimensions of the stereotype content: morality, immorality, sociability, and competence.

1.2 | Rights Initiatives and Social Mobility

To cope with prejudice and discrimination, disadvantaged groups can adopt a range of behaviors that can be motivated either by personal interests (e.g., upward social mobility) or group interests (e.g., engagement in collective action). Traditionally, the two types of behaviors have been conceptualized as opposite, but current views argue that any action in response to prejudice and discrimination undertaken on behalf of or as a representative of a group can be considered a case of collective action (see Becker et al. 2015). Although social mobility can be conceptualized as an individual strategy driven by self-interest with little impact on social change (Ellemers and Van Laar 2010) due to its potential to reinforce meritocratic beliefs, less is known about whether and how a shift in social mobility from an individual to a group strategy might affect intergroup attitudes and whether this effect would be comparable with the effect of rights initiatives. In this regard, research has shown that similarly to rights initiatives, the progress of the disadvantaged may signal the instability of the social hierarchy otherwise perceived as legitimate, circumstances that may elicit negative reactions from the advantaged (Mosso and Russo 2019) due to the perceived status threat (Wilkins and Kaiser 2014). Thus, from this standpoint, the effect of both strategies on the advantaged group's stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions toward the disadvantaged group could be negative and comparable. However, in certain instances, such as the particular case of immigration, the socioeconomic progress of immigrants could lead to positive reactions from the majority to the extent that it is perceived as an effort to adopt the host majority culture (Matera et al. 2012; Zagefka and Brown 2002; Ziller 2022) or as an economic opportunity for the host country (López-Rodríguez et al. 2020). If this is the case, undertaking rights initiatives would have a more positive impact on the advantaged group's stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions than engaging in social mobility. To further advance our understanding of how different strategies carried out by disadvantaged groups aimed at improving their circumstances affect the stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions of the advantaged toward them, we will examine the differential effects of rights initiatives and social mobility within the framework of the intergroup relations between the host majority (advantaged group) and immigrant minority (disadvantaged group).

1.3 | Rights Initiatives in the Work Context

The main research question (RQ) of the present work is whether and how rights-claiming initiatives by members of a disadvantaged group affect the attitudes (stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions) of the advantaged group toward them. A recent report on discrimination in Europe (European Commission 2019) highlights the persistence of ethnic-based discrimination, the increased sensitivity

and awareness of members of minority ethnic groups regarding discrimination, as well as the importance of the employment context as a space in which discrimination occurs. Therefore, the RQ was addressed considering work settings.

To the extent that rights-claiming initiatives have the potential to enhance conditions for everyone, as is the case when enforcing labor rights compliance, objective assessment implies that the group membership of the claimants should have no significance. That is, the disadvantaged and the advantaged labor rights claimants should not elicit different reactions, as their claims have the potential to improve conditions for all workers regardless of their group membership. However, evidence from the literature on intergroup critique suggests the opposite. In particular, several studies documenting the intergroup sensitivity effect (e.g., Adelman and Verkuyten 2020; Reiman and Killoran 2023; Rösler et al. 2021) have revealed that in-group criticism from an outgroup (vs. in-group) critic led to more negative reactions toward the critique (e.g., rejection of the message) and toward the outgroup critic (e.g., lower likeability). This may be due to ascribing different motives depending on the group to which the critic belongs. For example, White et al.'s (2023) findings have shown that criticism from a racial outgroup (vs. in-group) resulted in more negative reactions, an effect driven by the perceived legitimacy and constructiveness of the criticism.

Rights-claiming initiatives involve criticism of the current situation; therefore, considering the intergroup sensitivity effect, we expect rights-claiming initiatives to provoke more negative attitudes (stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions) of the advantaged toward the rights-claiming group when undertaken by members of the disadvantaged immigrant outgroup than when undertaken by members of the advantaged majority.

1.4 | The Present Work

This work aimed to broaden the understanding of the phenomena of social change in two ways: first, we examined the differential effects of rights initiatives compared to other strategies (i.e., social mobility) on the stereotypes, emotions, behavioral facilitation intentions, and support for collective actions of the advantaged group toward the disadvantaged minority; second, we examined whether the group membership of the plaintiffs (advantaged vs. disadvantaged) has a differential effect on the attitudes of the advantaged toward the group to which the plaintiffs belong. To explore these dynamics, we focused specifically on intergroup relations between a host majority advantaged group (Spaniards) and an immigrant disadvantaged minority (Moroccans) in work settings. Moroccan immigrants represent the main immigrant community in Spain (Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE] 2022), yet several national reports (e.g., Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas [CIS] 2017) and empirical studies reveal a more negative perception of Moroccans compared to other groups in Spanish society (Constantin and Cuadrado 2020; Cuadrado et al. 2016; López-Rodríguez et al. 2013). Furthermore, Moroccans are aware of this negative image and report having experienced discrimination at work, both in the initial stages of job search and recruitment and as employees (Consejo para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial o Étnica

[CEDRE] 2020). Additionally, Moroccans are among the main immigrant groups that formally denounce unfair or discriminatory treatment, although perceived discrimination on ethnic grounds is still under-reported in Spain (CEDRE 2020). Overall, these data not only show that Moroccans are discriminated against in the work context but also that, to some extent, they are an active minority (engaging in rights-claiming initiatives; Moscovici and Pérez 2007).

To achieve our aim, three studies were conducted following a mixed-methods exploratory sequential design. In Study 1, key Spanish respondents (members of the majority/advantaged group) were interviewed about the situation of Moroccan immigrants (the minority/disadvantaged group) in the workplace and their claims for work-related rights. Study 2 compared the effect of the rights initiatives of the Moroccans versus other strategies (upward social mobility) on Spaniards' attitudes (stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions) toward them. Study 3 examined whether and how the membership of the rights-claiming group (Spaniards vs. Moroccans) and its vindication level (high vs. low) affected Spaniards' stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions manifested toward the claimant group.

The studies conducted have received favorable ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the authors' university and were not pre-registered. All studies, measures, manipulations, and data/participant exclusions are reported in the manuscript or its [Supporting Information \(SI\)](#). The materials used for each study, as well as the databases and codebooks of Studies 2 and 3, are available at: https://osf.io/jcwa7/?view_only=f2316cebde384ec826a181d8841e7d1.

2 | Study 1

This study aimed to address the following RQs: (1) What situations do Moroccan immigrants face in the workplace? (2) How do they react to these situations? and (3) How do locals interpret and react to the responses of Moroccan immigrants to the situations faced at work? To achieve this purpose, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with nine Spanish key informants who had relevant knowledge of the reality under study.

2.1 | Method

2.1.1 | Participants and Procedure

Key informants were approached through the snowball method among the researchers' contacts. We focused on informants from the following three domains: business sector, trade unions, and NGOs. To be eligible, the interviewees within these domains had to have or have had direct contact with Moroccan employees due to their occupation. Five interviewees belonged to the agricultural business sector, two represented the trade union domain, and two represented the NGO domain (see Table 1). The interviewees worked in a southern region of Spain where intensive agriculture is an important economic sector in which Moroccan immigrants are the main workforce (Junta de

TABLE 1 | Profiles of the key informants (Study 1).

Key informant identifying label	Domain/sector	Job position	Sex
BSO1	Business sector	Business owner	Male
BSO2	Business sector	Business owner	Male
BSCEO	Business sector	CEO of an agricultural cooperative	Male
BSQM	Business sector	Quality manager of an agricultural cooperative	Male
BSCR	Business sector	Chief representative of a business owners' association	Male
TU1	Trade union	Chief representative	Male
TU2	Trade union	Representative of the secretaries of immigration and gender issues	Female
NGO1	NGOs	Psychologist	Female
NGO2	NGOs	Labour counselor	Female

Andalucía 2023). The interviews were conducted by one of the researchers in face-to-face settings or, at the request of the interviewee, through an online platform.

2.1.2 | Instrument

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted based on a script designed specifically for this study by the authors and organized into the following thematic blocks: sociodemographic profile of Moroccan workers, portrait of Moroccan immigrants as employees, quality of their relations with their bosses (vertical labor relationships) and their colleagues (horizontal labor relationships), factors related to the quality of their relations within the work settings and good practice recommendations, and examples of how to improve the situation of Moroccan immigrants and their relations within the work settings (see Materials). Cross-sex and cross-ethnic comparisons were considered.

2.1.3 | Data Analysis

Denaturalized transcription (Bucholtz 2000) was performed. All interviews were analyzed using the NVivo software. The discourses were analyzed using a deductive approach, taking into account pre-established thematic blocks from the script. However, other information emerging directly from the discourses that had not originally been considered was also taken into account.

2.2 | Results and Discussion

2.2.1 | Spaniards' Perception of Moroccan Immigrants at Work

The discourse of the interviewees about the situation of Moroccan workers draws a nuanced picture in which attitudinal and structural elements interact and influence the daily work routine and relationships of Moroccans. Business sector

representatives generally manifest positive attitudes toward immigration, which they consider fundamental for the survival of the sector: “We need those workers, [...] we need them to integrate [...] otherwise work will not go ahead” (BSCEO). Employers also perceive Moroccan immigrants as efficient, “quite strong, quite tough, and well-adapted workers” who endure well in hard-working conditions (BSCEO). Besides acknowledging Moroccans' competence (e.g., López-Rodríguez et al. 2013), some of the employers interviewed even report having or having had close friendships based on mutual trust with some of their long-term Moroccan workers (Quote 1, Appendix A), supporting findings about the role of prolonged intergroup contact in stimulating positive attitudes and intergroup friendship (e.g., Turner et al. 2008). Positive attitudes toward Moroccan workers are further reflected in the tolerance and respect of employers for the cultural and religious traditions and customs of Moroccans and the flexibility and adaptations made by companies so that workers could practice them (Quote 2, Appendix A).

Regarding the formal aspects of the employment relationship (e.g., contractual stipulation, working conditions), the representatives of the business sector firmly state that, in general, in their companies, the labor regulations are “fully complied with” (BSCEO). As illustrated in Quote 3 (Appendix A), the contractual stipulations and working conditions (e.g., wages, types of contracts, working hours) of Moroccan immigrants are the same as those of other autochthonous or immigrant workers. However, exceptional cases of exploitative situations are also acknowledged, especially among undocumented migrants. As one of the interviewees put it: “[...] I know there are bad employers who take advantage, pay low wages, [...], watch them, beat them, [...]” (BSO1).

In this regard, the discourses coming from the NGOs and trade union representatives contrast sharply with the perspective of the business representatives. According to them, what representatives of the business sector consider an exception contingent on the legal status of migrants is more likely the rule because the agricultural sector in the region is characterized not only by harsh working conditions but also by a “systematic violation of workers' rights” that facilitates exploitative labor situations.

Although the structural disadvantage that characterizes the sector affects all workers, the working conditions are “not better for nationals or for those who come from abroad” (TU1). Furthermore, as TU2 explains (Quote 4, Appendix A), this situation mainly affects migrants of Moroccan origin, regardless of their legal status, since Moroccan workers represent the main workforce in the sector (Ministerio de Seguridad Social y Migraciones 2022).

Unlike the other discourses, the narratives of the NGO representatives indicate that differences in the treatment of labor issues are related to ethnic origin. They highlight that, in addition to the structural irregularities characterizing the sector, negative attitudes toward Moroccans associated with the Muslim faith or the attribution of certain negative stereotypical traits (e.g., “troublemakers”) also affect Moroccans in work settings. Consistent with national reports showing that Moroccans suffer discrimination in the employment environment (CEDRE 2020), the discourses reveal that some companies explicitly refuse to hire Moroccan workers in Ramadan because “are jobs that require a strong physical effort ... Employers [...] tell you that they prefer other ‘types of people’, profiles or nationalities...” (NGO2). Employers also express a preference for hiring sub-Saharan workers, who are perceived as more “docile and submissive” while “there is a belief that Moroccan men are more conflictive [...] they are troublemakers.” (NGO1).

In summary, the discourse of the respondents draws a picture of polarized contrasts. Depending on the informant (employer, trade union, or third sector), a positive perception of Moroccan workers and the flexibility and tolerance toward their group dynamics, traditions, and customs are observed. However, situations of labor exploitation and discrimination are also described. The literature has shown that to cope with circumstances of unfair treatment, members of disadvantaged minorities may adopt a passive attitude, may confront the problem directly by engaging in legal action (Makkonen 2002), or may try to avoid discrimination through upward socioeconomic mobility (e.g., Stroebe et al. 2015). Accordingly, the reactions of Moroccan workers in response to situations experienced in the work environment will be examined next through the lens of the interviewees.

2.2.2 | Spaniards' Perception of Moroccan Migrants' Reactions to Their Work Situation

The narratives revealed that the experiences of Moroccan immigrants at work were perceived by the interviewees as both positive, marked by respect and tolerance, and negative, marked by exploitation and discrimination. When the latter occurs, according to the interviewees, Moroccan workers are either passive (NGO1) or act on it. As TU1 explains, when faced with exploitation, they “are left with two options, [...] either to fight here or to emigrate [...]” In fact, along with their competence, being vocal about the infringement of their labor rights is another characteristic perceived to differentiate Moroccan workers from colleagues of other ethnic origins. Moroccans are perceived by the informants as one of the most demanding groups, “the most claim-driven of all. By far!” (BSCEO) and even as the main

group in the region promoting the fight for workers' rights in the agricultural sector (Quote 5, Appendix A).

However, the immigrants' engagement in rights-claiming actions depends on a myriad of factors (see Mora et al. 2018). In this sense, one of the main factors identified by the informants is the Moroccans' knowledge of labor law. They unanimously coincide in considering Moroccans as one of the best-informed immigrant groups concerning the current labor legislation in the context of the study. This is reflected in their discourse: “(they know the law) sometimes better than the Spaniards” (BSO1); “[...] in some cases [...] than farmers themselves” (BSCR). In addition to the knowledge of labor rights, the interviewees mention other aspects that might stimulate or inhibit undertaking rights initiatives, such as those related to sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., place of origin in the country of origin, gender, age, legal status) and the work environment (e.g., the quality of working conditions and labor relations).

Regarding the second option mentioned by TU1, the discourse reveals that Moroccans are perceived by the informants as a group with aspirations to improve and evolve that they try to achieve through either geographic and/or upward socioeconomic mobility, as explained in Quote 6 (Appendix A).

In sum, the discourses reveal, on the one hand, that to change their current situation, Moroccan workers denounce unfair treatment, albeit mostly through individual complaints, or engage in (upward) social mobility through self-employment (Zhou 2004), actions akin to the common strategies of social change, such as collective action and individual mobility, respectively (Stroebe et al. 2015). On the other hand, it reveals that the advantaged are aware of the strategies endorsed by the disadvantaged. As will be discussed next, awareness of the actions of minority groups can trigger negative reactions.

2.2.3 | Spaniards' Response to Actions Taken by Moroccan Immigrants to Change Their Situation

Regarding the response of Spaniards to Moroccan efforts to change their situation, once again the discourse presents contrasting perspectives depending on the informant (employer, trade union, or third sector). While trade union and NGO representatives maintain a straightforward favorable position and support the fight of the migrants and their demands given “that there are systematic breaches of labor regulations that apply to them” (TU2), the discourse of the representatives from the business sector reflects more nuanced and diverse viewpoints. On the one hand, the BSCR's point of view aligns with the point of view of the union representatives and considers it normal for Moroccan immigrants to demand their rights when their situation is unfavorable, and even more so if one considers that “their documentation depends on how they are in the labor market”. This interviewee mentions that labor conflict normally arises when employers do not comply with their legal obligations and stresses that in small family businesses, a more direct and interpersonal approach to conflict resolution is more common.

On the other hand, some of the interviewees from the business sector consider that labor conflict and protest actions could be

justified in the case of undocumented workers. However, as BSCEO argues, in the case of documented workers of Moroccan origin, labor conflict and protest actions could have less to do with employers' failure to comply with labor regulations and more to do with excessive and abusive use of labor rights. The interviewees expressing this view describe episodes in which a Moroccan worker presumably acted in a questionable or immoral manner (e.g., requesting payment in advance to later denounce the business owner for non-payment, BSO1; reporting the company for a health problem due to allegedly inadequate working conditions and afterwards admitting that the motivation for the report was, in fact, economic, BSCEO; blackmailing the business owner to terminate the contract so that the worker could collect unemployment benefits, BSO2). Although they admit that the described instances are rare, they consider the situation unfair and denounce the treatment received by the employers from the labor inspectorate. They also criticize the support provided to Moroccan workers by some trade unions and law firms that "seek unnecessary conflict" (BSQM) "to profit from it" (BSCEO) without taking into account the consequences of such "unjustified" actions (i.e., denouncing the employer) for companies and even for intergroup relations, as suggested in Quote 7 (Appendix A).

The discourse highlights that the demands of Moroccans are perceived to be motivated by self-interest rather than group interest, as, according to BSCEO, they could be associated with the aspirations of upward mobility of Moroccan workers. As in the case of labor complaints, the geographical or labor mobility of the workers also seems to generate a degree of distrust (BSQM), unease, confusion, and a sense of betrayal and of "being used" among some employers, as attested in Quote 8 (Appendix A).

Overall, the narratives reveal some interesting points about the process that members of the majority undergo when confronted with an active minority member. First, it appears that the legal status acquired by immigrants could paradoxically become a liability, as, to some extent, it seems to delegitimize their claims (i.e., their claims are perceived as less justified). Second, although the trade union representatives framed the actions of the Moroccans as collective initiatives, when business owners recalled instances of Moroccan rights claims, they mainly referred to isolated individual initiatives rather than collective (large-scale) initiatives. Furthermore, the potential of these actions to worsen attitudes toward Moroccans as a group was suggested. Currently, collective actions are conceptualized as "any action taken by individuals or psychological group members to achieve personal or group goals in a political context" (van Zomeren 2016, 105).

The impact of immigration on the Spanish society and its labor market is a highly politicized issue, and this holds particularly true for Moroccan immigration within the agricultural sector in the region where this study was conducted. In addition, Moroccans are considered to be aware of the labor regulations. This not only enables them to detect instances of injustice and bias but also to remedy them by upholding rights compliance, thereby highlighting their politicized social identity. Thus, despite immigrants pursuing rights individually and, as some respondents note, being motivated by self-interest, these actions

could have acquired a politicized/collective character. Third, the members of the majority group seem to engage in two well-documented responses to perceived moral threat. On the one hand, they attribute negative traits to the confronters (e.g., Czopp and Monteith 2003; Kaiser and Miller 2001) and even deny the virtue of the claimants (Monin 2007). On the other hand, they seem to engage in competitive victimhood (Kahalon et al. 2019; see Young and Sullivan 2016, for a review) and manifest feeling wrongly accused not only by claimants (Saguy et al. 2013) but also by other in-group actors.

In summary, on the one hand, the discourses of the business sector representatives present a reality characterized by positive labor relations, where labor regulations are strictly complied with, and where significant efforts are made by employers to make the necessary adaptations to respect the cultural and religious customs of Moroccan/Muslim immigrant workers. From this perspective, labor exploitation and discrimination are rather an exception. On the other hand, the discourses from trade unions and NGOs reveal a very different labor reality characterized by precariousness and exploitation. Although this situation is mainly determined by systemic-structural factors, the attitudinal component also contributes greatly, since, despite being considered competent workers, the negative stereotypes held about Moroccan immigrants and the intolerance toward their cultural and religious customs constitute a barrier to their incorporation into the labor market and give rise to discriminatory behavior. Discourses further revealed that Moroccans are perceived to engage in different strategies to improve their situation, such as actively denouncing rights infringement and ascending the socioeconomic ladder through self-employment. Notably, these actions had the potential to provoke negative reactions in the locals.

Despite the informative relevance of these exploratory findings, several aspects, such as the narrow focus on a specific labor sector (i.e., agriculture) from a specific region of Spain and the qualitative nature of the data, impede their generalization. Studies 2 and 3 were developed to follow up and extend the findings of this study while addressing these issues.

3 | Study 2

This study aimed to address the limitations of Study 1 in three ways: by experimentally testing whether the disadvantaged rights-claiming initiatives can affect the stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions of the advantaged toward them; by testing this effect in a sample of the Spanish general population; and by considering the labor sector in general instead of focusing only on the agricultural sector. Study 1 found that, in addition to their claimant character, Moroccans are perceived as driven by and actively achieving socioeconomic advancement. Although social mobility is conceptualized as an individual strategy driven by self-interest with little impact on social change (Ellemers and Van Laar 2010), Study 1 revealed that this type of behavior is perceived as a group-defining characteristic for Moroccans. Accordingly, in this study, we examined the differential effects of rights initiatives versus other strategies (social mobility) on the stereotypes,

emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions of Spaniards toward Moroccans.

3.1 | Method

3.1.1 | Participants

Data were recorded from 701¹ participants, of whom 18 were excluded for nationality/ethnic origin or age-related reasons.² The final sample consisted of 683³ participants with ages between 18 and 65 years ($M=45.38$, $SD=11.86$; 49.8% women). Most of the participants had Spanish nationality (97.8%), were active workers (77.2%), and 51.5% had completed university studies. The participants self-located around the mean of a five-point scale of political orientations ranging from 1 (*extreme left*) to 5 (*extreme right*) ($M=2.71$, $SD=0.78$). Participation was voluntary and anonymous, and recruitment was from a national panel of a survey firm.

3.1.2 | Design and Procedure

Upon access to the online questionnaire designed on the Qualtrics platform, participants were informed that they were going to participate in a study on people's beliefs about different social issues. They were asked for their consent and randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions: rights initiatives (describing Moroccan immigrants as demanding in terms of compliance with their labor rights) versus social mobility (describing Moroccan immigrants as people who have professional aspirations and who strive for progress and upward social mobility) versus control (describing the effects of new technologies). The text provided for each condition is presented in Appendix B. Then, they answered a reading check question about the content of the manipulation and the measures of interest and were finally thanked and debriefed.

3.1.3 | Measures⁴

Unless otherwise stated, all variables were measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Means and standard deviations for all measures are presented in Table S1.

3.1.3.1 | Manipulation Check. Participants indicated their level of agreement from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) with two statements. One statement assessed the extent to which Moroccan workers were perceived to be claim-driven ("The Moroccan immigrant workers are claim-driven and denounce the nonfulfillment of their labor rights"), and one statement assessed the perceived tendency toward social mobility ("*The Moroccan migrant workers have professional aspirations and strive for advancement and social mobility*").

3.1.3.2 | Stereotype Content. Participants indicated to what extent they considered that the workers of the target group were honest, sincere, and trustworthy (morality, $\alpha=0.91$), likeable, warm, and friendly (sociability, $\alpha=0.87$), competent, intelligent, and skillful (competence, $\alpha=0.80$), and treacherous,

false, and malicious (immorality, $\alpha=0.90$) (adapted from Leach et al. 2007; López-Rodríguez et al. 2013; Sayans-Jiménez et al. 2017).

3.1.3.3 | Emotions. Participants indicated to what extent they felt toward the workers of the target group admiration and respect (admiration, $r [681]=0.51$, $p<0.001$), pity and compassion (compassion, $r [681]=0.56$, $p<0.001$), contempt and discomfort (contempt, $r [681]=0.62$, $p<0.001$), and envy and jealousy (envy, $r [681]=0.75$, $p<0.001$) (Fiske et al. 2002).

3.1.3.4 | Facilitation Behavioral Intentions. The scale developed by Cuadrado et al. (2023) based on the work of Cuddy et al. (2007) was applied to assess active facilitation intentions (4 items, for example, "*Recommend them for a job*"; $\alpha=0.93$) and passive facilitation intentions (4 items, for example, "*Cooperate with them at work*"; $\alpha=0.92$) toward the workers of the target group.

3.1.3.5 | Support for Collective Actions on Behalf of the Rights-Claiming Group. Based on Duncan (1999), we evaluated the degree to which participants were willing to carry out six actions to defend the rights and improve the situation of the workers from the target group (e.g., "To actively participate in an organization that defends the rights of Moroccan immigrants," $\alpha=0.94$).

3.1.3.6 | Sociodemographic Variables. Participants were asked to provide information about their sex, age, level of education, main occupation, nationality, their birth country and their parents, and political orientation.

3.1.3.7 | Attention Check. An item asking participants to select a specific number was hidden among the previous items as an attention check measure.

3.1.4 | Data Analysis

The effect of manipulation on the outcome variables was examined with univariate analysis of variance. To test the effect of the manipulation on affective and behavioral responses toward Moroccans through stereotypes, mediation analyses were conducted using the macro PROCESS for SPSS, model 4 (Hayes 2022), considering the condition of the rights initiative as the reference group. To make inferences about the effects, 5000 bootstrap samples were used to estimate 95% percentile confidence intervals. The effects are significant when the 95% CI does not include zero.

3.2 | Results

3.2.1 | Manipulation Check

The ANOVA revealed a main effect of the manipulation on both the item assessing the perceived level of Moroccan workers' vindication, $F(2, 680)=49.89$, $p<0.001$, $\eta^2=0.128$, and the item assessing the perceived tendency to social mobility, $F(2, 680)=7.59$, $p<0.001$, $\eta^2=0.02$. The participants perceived Moroccan workers as more demanding in the rights

initiatives condition ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 0.95$) than in the social mobility ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.08$) and the control condition ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.16$; $p < 0.001$ in both cases). Likewise, the participants perceived Moroccans as having a higher tendency toward social mobility in the social mobility condition ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.19$) than in the rights initiatives ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.14$, $p = 0.002$) and the control condition ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.25$, $p = 0.003$).

3.2.2 | Stereotypes

The ANOVAs revealed a main effect of the manipulation on the stereotype dimensions of sociability, $F(2, 680) = 3.14$, $p = 0.044$, $\eta^2 = 0.009$, and immorality, $F(2, 680) = 3.22$, $p = 0.040$, $\eta^2 = 0.009$. The participants perceived Moroccan workers as less immoral in the social mobility ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 0.85$) than in the control condition ($M = 2.93$, $SD = 0.97$, $p = 0.047$), and as more sociable in the social mobility ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 0.81$) than in the rights initiatives ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 0.79$) and control conditions ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 0.87$, $ps > 0.065$).

3.2.3 | Emotions, Facilitation Behavioral Intentions, and Support for Collective Actions

The manipulation did not have a significant effect on the emotions expressed toward the Moroccan workers, support for collective actions, or active facilitation behavioral intentions ($ps > 0.074$). However, a significant effect was found on passive facilitation intentions, $F(2, 680) = 3.68$, $p = 0.026$, $\eta^2 = 0.008$, with participants manifesting more passive facilitation intentions (e.g., cooperation) in the social mobility ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 0.96$) than in the rights initiatives condition ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.07$, $p = 0.028$).

3.2.4 | Mediation Analyses

As shown in Table 2, the social mobility compared to the rights initiatives condition was indirectly associated with emotions and behavioral intentions toward Moroccans via perceived immorality and sociability. Social mobility compared to the rights initiatives condition decreased the perceived immorality and increased the perceived sociability of Moroccan immigrants and, in turn, led to more admiration, less contempt, more active and passive facilitation, and more support for collective actions. The decrease in the perceived immorality of the Moroccan immigrant workers was also associated with less envy and more compassion (Figure 1). The indirect effects of the rights initiatives relative to the control condition were not significant (Table 2).

3.3 | Discussion

This study aimed to compare the effect of the rights-claiming initiatives and social mobility of the disadvantaged group on the attitudes (stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions) of the advantaged toward them. The findings showed that perceiving Moroccans as demanding compared to engaging in upward mobility led to less positive affective reactions and behavioral intentions due to a more negative

perception of Moroccans as more immoral and less sociable. This could be due to their differential impact on the dimensions of the social structure (stability, legitimacy, and boundary permeability) and their interaction. Both strategies similarly increased the perceived status of Moroccans (see [Supporting Information](#)), suggesting that Spaniards perceived the social system as unstable with permeable boundaries. However, rights initiatives question the legitimacy of a system otherwise considered legitimate. Related evidence has shown that white Australians manifested more anti-Asian prejudice when boundaries were seen as permeable and White's position was seen to be unstable and legitimate or of high status (Johnson et al. 2005). Unlike rights initiatives, social mobility could legitimize the system by validating meritocratic beliefs and, consequently, could reduce the perceived moral threat. Put simply, if Moroccans have advanced, then group inequalities no longer exist or if inequalities persist, the advantaged are absolved of blame since there are Moroccans who have progressed socio-economically. In both ways, the system would be viewed as fair and legitimate, and the moral image of the advantaged would be secure. Moreover, permeable boundaries (i.e., immigrants' socioeconomic progress) could prompt the perception that immigrants adopt the host majority culture or diminish the perception of immigrants as a burden (e.g., Florack et al. 2003; Ziller 2022), leading to more positive attitudes (López-Rodríguez et al. 2020; Matera et al. 2012; Zagefka and Brown 2002). Future studies could benefit from examining the influence of perceived change in social structure dimensions on the responses of the advantaged to the social change strategies of the disadvantaged (see Knowles et al. 2014) as well as whether and how these responses are influenced by the acculturation perceptions of the advantaged.

Furthermore, contrary to expectations, the initiatives of Moroccan immigrants to claim their rights did not seem to worsen the attitudes of Spaniards toward them. Therefore, although Spaniards displayed more negative attitudes when they perceived Moroccan immigrants as an active minority than when they perceived them as having achieved socioeconomic progress, perceiving Moroccans as an active minority did not actually change Spaniards' attitudes toward them. This result is encouraging, as the disadvantaged right-claiming efforts do not seem to be overshadowed by the worsening of the attitudes held by the advantaged toward them. However, evidence suggests (e.g., Hornsey and Esposito 2009) that the effectiveness of these initiatives may depend on the group membership or status of the advocating group. If this is true, and undertaking the same type of rights initiatives has a more negative impact on the disadvantaged group than on the advantaged group, it cannot be concluded that advocacy actions do not harm the disadvantaged. The third study aimed to investigate this matter further.

4 | Study 3

The findings of Study 1 showed that systemic structural irregularities can also affect those belonging to the advantaged group. The interviewees specifically noted the breaching of labor rights, which disproportionately impacted Moroccans due to their over-representation in the specific labor sector. However, this non-compliance exemplified a systemic failure, putting all workers in that sector at risk. On the one hand, in this particular

TABLE 2 | Relative total, direct and indirect effects of the conditions on the dependent variables through immorality and sociability (Study 2).

Focal predictor	Effects	Admiration		Compassion		Contempt		Envy		Active facilitation		Passive facilitation		Support for collective actions				
		<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]						
X1: Social mobility (1) vs. Rights initiatives (0)	Total effect	0.14 (0.08) [-0.03, 0.30]	0.08 (0.08) [-0.09, 0.24]	-0.16 (0.09) [-0.33, 0.02]	-0.05 (0.07) [-0.18, 0.08]	0.18 (0.09) [0.002, 0.36]	0.25 (0.10) [0.05, 0.44]	0.25 (0.10) [0.05, 0.44]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.10 (0.03) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.03 (0.10) [-0.17, 0.23]	0.01 (0.07) [-0.12, 0.15]	-0.02 (0.04) [-0.05, 0.10]	-0.01 (0.04) [-0.09, 0.08]	
	Direct effect	0.002 (0.06) [-0.12, 0.13]	0.03 (0.08) [-0.13, 0.19]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.04 (0.07) [-0.16, 0.09]	0.03 (0.07) [-0.11, 0.16]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]	0.07 (0.07) [-0.07, 0.21]
	Indirect effects via Immorality	0.06 (0.03) [0.01, 0.12]	0.03 (0.02) [0.002, 0.07]	-0.11 (0.05) [-0.20, -0.02]	-0.03 (0.02) [-0.07, -0.01]	0.08 (0.03) [0.02, 0.15]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]	0.09 (0.04) [0.02, 0.17]
	Indirect effects via Sociability	0.07 (0.04) [0.004, 0.15]	0.03 (0.02) [-0.00, 0.03]	-0.04 (0.02) [-0.08, -0.002]	0.02 (0.01) [-0.001, 0.05]	0.08 (0.04) [0.004, 0.16]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]	0.08 (0.04) [0.01, 0.17]
X2: Control (1) vs. Rights initiatives (0)	Total effect	0.04 (0.08) [-0.12, 0.20]	0.05 (0.08) [-0.11, 0.21]	-0.04 (0.09) [-0.22, 0.14]	-0.08 (0.06) [-0.21, 0.05]	0.003 (0.09) [-0.18, 0.19]	0.03 (0.10) [-0.17, 0.23]	0.03 (0.10) [-0.17, 0.23]	0.03 (0.09) [-0.18, 0.19]	0.03 (0.09) [-0.18, 0.19]	0.03 (0.09) [-0.18, 0.19]	0.03 (0.10) [-0.17, 0.23]	0.03 (0.10) [-0.17, 0.23]	0.03 (0.10) [-0.17, 0.23]	0.01 (0.07) [-0.12, 0.15]	-0.02 (0.04) [-0.05, 0.10]	-0.01 (0.04) [-0.08, 0.08]	
	Direct effect	0.03 (0.06) [-0.09, 0.15]	-0.04 (0.08) [-0.11, 0.20]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.15, 0.12]	-0.07 (0.07) [-0.20, 0.06]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]	-0.01 (0.07) [-0.14, 0.12]
	Indirect effects via Immorality	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.07]	0.01 (0.01) [-0.02, 0.04]	-0.03 (0.04) [-0.11, 0.06]	-0.01 (0.01) [-0.04, 0.02]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]	0.02 (0.03) [-0.04, 0.08]
	Indirect effects via Sociability	-0.01 (0.04) [-0.07, 0.06]	-0.002 (0.01) [-0.03, 0.03]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	-0.002 (0.01) [-0.02, 0.02]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]	0.003 (0.02) [-0.03, 0.04]

Note: Unstandardized coefficients are presented, and the bolded ones are significant.

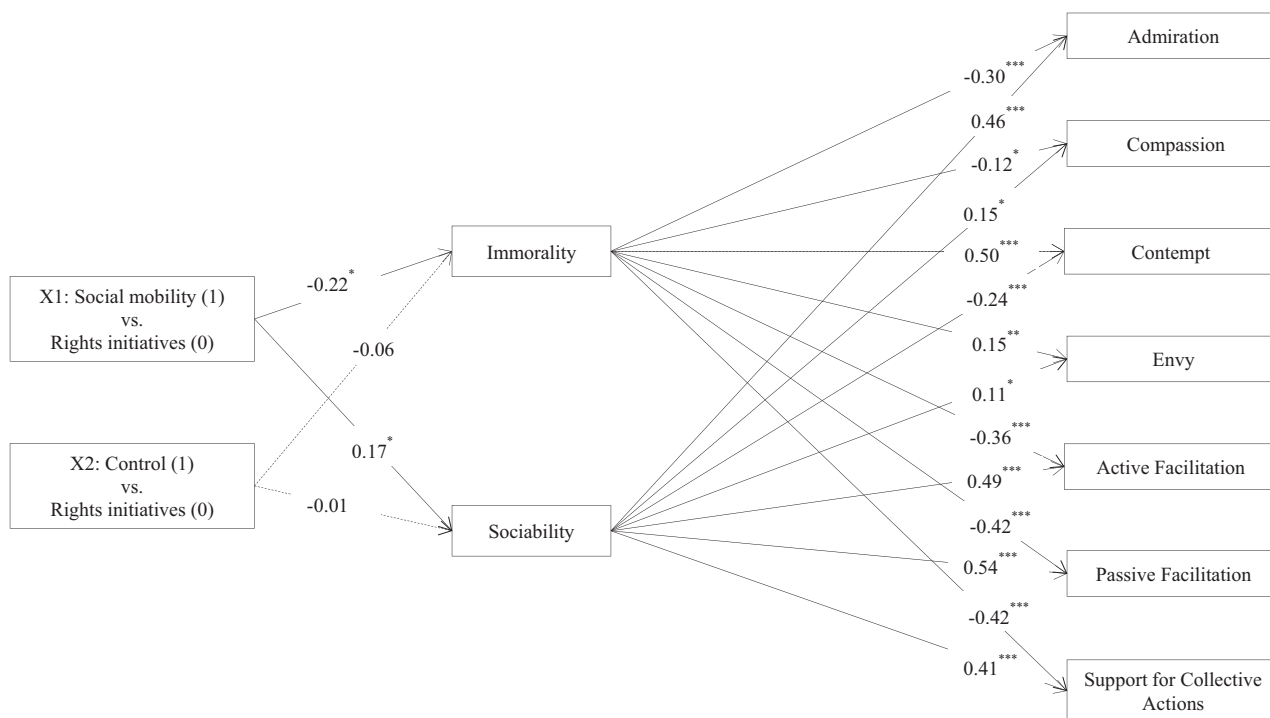


FIGURE 1 | Relative indirect effects via immorality and sociability (Study 2). Unstandardized coefficients are presented. Dashed lines represent non-significant paths. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

case, rights-claiming initiatives by the minority have the potential to enhance conditions for everyone and therefore the group membership of the plaintiffs should not elicit differential effects on attitudes toward the group to which the plaintiffs belong. However, concomitantly, these actions can be perceived by the majority as a criticism from the outgroup minority and generate negative reactions (White et al. 2023). Accordingly, rights-claiming initiatives could provoke more negative attitudes (stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions) toward the rights-claiming group when undertaken by outgroup members (the Moroccans) than when undertaken by in-group members (the Spaniards).

Study 1 also suggested that even actions taken individually by members of the disadvantaged group have the potential to worsen the attitudes of the advantaged toward the group as a whole. However, some have found that only collective initiatives have the power to impact reactions toward demanding groups (e.g., Becker et al. 2015). Thus, to test whether the actions of a few could have the same impact as those of many, we also manipulated the extent to which the group was perceived to be active (filing a high vs. a low percentage of labor rights complaints).

4.1 | Method

4.1.1 | Participants

The sample included 402 participants⁵ aged 18 to 65 years ($M_{\text{age}} = 42.02$, $SD = 12.39$; 51.2% women; 99% born in Spain; 98.5% Spanish nationality). Most were active workers (81%) and had completed university studies (60.2%). Regarding their political orientation, the participants self-classified as center-left

($M = 2.57$, $SD = 0.77$) on a scale of political orientation ranging from 1 (*extreme left*) to 5 (*extreme right*). Participation was voluntary and anonymous, and recruitment was from a national panel of a survey firm.

4.1.2 | Design and Procedure

The participants accessed the questionnaire designed on the Qualtrics platform, were informed that they were going to participate in a study about different social issues, and had their consent asked for. Subsequently, they were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions of a 2 (ethnic origin: Spanish vs. Moroccan) \times 2 (rights demands: low vs. high) between-subjects design. Depending on the condition, participants read a text indicating that Spanish (or Moroccan) workers file a high (or a low) percentage of labor rights complaints. The text provided for each condition is presented in Appendix B. Then, they answered a reading check question about the content of the manipulation and the measures of interest, and were finally thanked and debriefed.

4.1.3 | Measures

Unless otherwise stated, all variables were measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*).

4.1.3.1 | Manipulation Check. Participants indicated their level of agreement from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) with the following statement regarding the evaluated target group: *The Moroccans/Spaniards are protesting and denouncing the non-fulfillment of their labor rights.*

4.1.3.2 | Outcome Variables. We used the same measure as in Study 1 to assess stereotypes held toward target group workers (morality, $\alpha=0.88$, sociability, $\alpha=0.89$, competence, $\alpha=0.83$, and immorality, $\alpha=0.87$), emotions (admiration, $r [400]=0.51$, $p<0.001$, compassion, $r [400]=0.53$, $p<0.001$, contempt, $r [400]=0.64$, $p<0.001$, and envy, $r [400]=0.81$, $p<0.001$), facilitation behavioral tendencies (active facilitation, $\alpha=0.92$, passive facilitation, $\alpha=0.89$) and support for collective actions to defend workers' labor rights and improve their situation ($\alpha=0.93$). Sociodemographic variables and attention check were also the same as in Study 1.

4.1.4 | Data Analysis

The effect of the manipulation on the outcome variables was examined with univariate analysis of variance. Moderated mediation analyses were conducted using Model 7 (Hayes 2022) to test whether the effect of the manipulation on affective and behavioral responses toward the targets through stereotypes was moderated by the level of vindication. To make inferences about the effects, the same criteria were used as in Study 2.

4.2 | Results

4.2.1 | Manipulation Check

The factorial ANOVA revealed a main effect of the level of rights demands, $F(1, 398)=304.52$, $p<0.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.433$, showing that regardless of the ethnic origin of the target group, participants perceived the evaluated group as more demanding in the condition of high rights demands ($M=3.75$, $SD=1.07$) than in the condition of low rights demands ($M=1.93$, $SD=1.02$). No other significant main or interaction effects were found ($ps > 0.196$).

4.2.2 | Stereotypes

The factorial ANOVAs revealed that Moroccans were perceived as less moral, sociable, and competent than Spaniards regardless of the level of rights demands. However, Moroccans were perceived as more immoral than Spaniards when the level of rights demands was high ($p=0.004$) and equally immoral when the level of rights demands was low ($p=0.937$). No other main or interaction effects were significant ($ps > 0.208$). The effects and the descriptive statistics are presented in Table 3.

4.2.3 | Emotions, Facilitation Behavioral Intentions, and Support for Collective Actions

The analyses revealed that, regardless of the level of rights demands, Moroccans compared to Spaniards elicited less admiration and envy and more contempt, less active and passive facilitation intention, and less support for collective actions aimed at defending Moroccan versus Spanish workers' rights.⁶ Participants also felt more compassion and envy⁷ toward the target group when the level of rights demands was low versus high regardless of the ethnic origin of the target group (Table 3). No other main or interaction effects were significant ($ps > 0.064$).

4.2.4 | Conditional Process Analysis

Moderated mediation analyses tested whether the indirect effect of the ethnic origin of the target group on the affective and behavioral responses of participants toward the target group through immorality depends on the level of rights demands. The significant index of mediated moderation (Table 4) indicates that the indirect effects of the target group origin on emotions, facilitation of behavioral intention, and support for collective actions on behalf of the target group workers through its perceived immorality were contingent on the perceived level of rights demands. As shown in Figure 2, when both groups were presented as demanding (high percentage of rights demands), the participants perceived Moroccans compared to Spaniards as more immoral (see also Figure S1). In turn, higher immorality was associated with less admiration, more contempt and envy, and less active and passive facilitation intentions, as well as less support for collective actions on behalf of the workers of the target group.

4.3 | Discussion

This study aimed to experimentally test in a sample of the Spanish general population whether the rights-claiming initiatives of Moroccan immigrants could negatively affect the attitudes of Spaniards toward this minority group. Based on the findings of Study 1 and evidence from the intergroup critique literature, this objective was extended to address potential differences depending on the group membership of the rights claimants (i.e., in-group/advantaged Spaniards vs. outgroup/disadvantaged Moroccans), as well as the degree to which the group is perceived to be active (filing a high vs. a low percentage of labor rights complaints).

The findings showed that the rights-claiming initiatives had a differential effect on attitudes toward the rights-claiming groups, but only when the groups were portrayed as being active (filing a high percentage of labor rights complaints). Consistent with the intergroup sensitivity effect (Hornsey and Esposo 2009), when both the in-group (Spaniards) and the outgroup (Moroccans) actively criticized the current situation in the labor sector through their complaints, Moroccans were perceived as more immoral relative to Spaniards. In turn, the perceived immorality negatively affected emotions, helping and cooperation intentions, and support for collective actions on behalf of the group. These findings align with prior expectations and the findings of Study 1 regarding the negative impact of the rights-claiming initiatives of the disadvantaged on the attitudes of the advantaged toward them. However, contrasting the findings of Study 1, the fact that this effect only occurred when the level of vindication was high suggests that since initiatives are perceived to acquire a certain collective nature, they could have the power to impact reactions toward demanding groups (e.g., Becker et al. 2015).

The fact that each group was evaluated similarly under conditions of high and low levels of vindication indicates that the level of vindication does not seem to influence the change in attitude toward the target groups. However, an elevated level of advocacy had a significant impact on intergroup differences, as attitudes toward the in-group and the outgroup tended to move in opposite directions: those toward the disadvantage worsened and those

TABLE 3 | Effects of the manipulation on the stereotype dimensions, emotions and behavioral intentions: means and standard deviations (Study 3).

Outcomes	F1: Ethnic origin	F2: Level of vindication			Effects
		Low	High	Total	
Morality	Spaniards	3.29 (0.67)	3.37 (0.67)	3.33 (0.67) ₂	F1: $F(1, 398) = 35.81$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.083$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 0.07$, $p = 0.798$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.083$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 0.63$, $p = 0.428$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.002$
	Moroccans	2.88 (0.88)	2.84 (0.86)	2.86 (0.87) ₁	
	Total	3.09 (0.80)	3.09 (0.82)		
Sociability	Spaniards	3.72 (0.67)	3.78 (0.70)	3.75 (0.69) ₂	F1: $F(1, 398) = 92.57$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.189$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 0.21$ $p = 0.647$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.001$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 1.62$, $p = 0.204$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.004$
	Moroccans	3.08 (0.85)	2.95 (0.83)	3.01 (0.84) ₁	
	Total	3.40 (0.83)	3.34 (0.87)		
Competence	Spaniards	3.72 (0.66)	3.68 (0.60)	3.70 (0.63) ₂	F1: $F(1, 398) = 15.81$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.038$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 0.50$, $p = 0.481$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.001$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 0.01$, $p = 0.914$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.000$
	Moroccans	3.46 (0.77)	3.40 (0.71)	3.43 (0.74) ₁	
	Total	3.59 (0.73)	3.53 (0.67)		
Immorality	Spaniards	2.75 (0.73) _{1,a}	2.55 (0.77) _{1,a}	2.65 (0.76) ₁	F1: $F(1, 398) = 4.10$, $p = 0.044$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.010$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 0.16$, $p = 0.687$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.000$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 4.56$, $p = 0.033$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.011$
	Moroccans	2.74 (0.89) _{1,a}	2.88 (0.86) _{2,a}	2.81 (0.87) ₂	
	Total	2.75 (0.81)	2.73 (0.83)		
Admiration	Spaniards	3.53 (0.82)	3.55 (0.91)	3.54 (0.86)	F1: $F(1, 398) = 30.82$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.072$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 0.97$ $p = 0.326$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.002$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 1.31$, $p = 0.253$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.003$
	Moroccans	3.15 (0.90)	2.96 (0.88)	3.05 (0.89)	
	Total	3.34 (0.88)	3.24 (0.94)		
Compassion	Spaniards	2.56 (0.93)	2.34 (0.93)	2.46 (0.93)	F1: $F(1, 398) = 0.41$, $p = 0.524$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.001$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 6.46$, $p = 0.011$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.016$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 0.02$, $p = 0.882$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.000$
	Moroccans	2.51 (0.89)	2.27 (0.84)	2.39 (0.87)	
	Total	2.54 (0.91) _b	2.31 (0.88) _a		
Contempt	Spaniards	1.87 (0.82)	1.65 (0.77)	1.76 (0.80) ₁	F1: $F(1, 398) = 7.19$, $p = 0.008$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.018$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 1.12$, $p = 0.291$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.003$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 2.52$, $p = 0.114$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.006$
	Moroccans	1.96 (0.87)	2.00 (0.90)	1.98 (0.88) ₂	
	Total	1.91 (0.85)	1.84 (0.86)		
Envy	Spaniards	1.99 (1.02)	1.66 (0.91)	1.83 (0.99) ₂	F1: $F(1, 398) = 22.25$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.053$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 4.68$, $p = 0.031$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.012$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 3.46$, $p = 0.064$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.009$
	Moroccans	1.44 (0.66)	1.42 (0.73)	1.43 (0.69) ₁	
	Total	1.72 (0.91) _b	1.53 (0.82) _a		

(Continues)

TABLE 3 | (Continued)

Outcomes	F1: Ethnic origin	F2: Level of vindication			Effects
		Low	High	Total	
Active facilitation	Spaniards	4.10 (0.73)	3.98 (0.73)	4.04 (0.73) ₂	F1: $F(1, 398) = 60.15$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.131$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 0.31$, $p = 0.577$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.001$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 0.58$, $p = 0.445$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.001$
	Moroccans	3.38 (0.97)	3.40 (0.90)	3.39 (0.93) ₁	
	Total	3.74 (0.92)	3.68 (0.87)		
Passive facilitation	Spaniards	3.98 (0.71)	3.93 (0.71)	3.95 (0.71) ₂	F1: $F(1, 398) = 47.49$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.107$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 0.21$ $p = 0.644$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.001$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) = 0.003$, $p = 0.958$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.001$
	Moroccans	3.36 (1.02)	3.32 (1.01)	3.34 (1.01) ₁	
	Total	3.67 (0.92)	3.61 (0.93)		
Support for collective actions	Spaniards	3.60 (0.93)	3.45 (1.01)	3.53 (0.97) ₂	F1: $F(1, 398) = 97.934$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.197$ F2: $F(1, 398) = 2.26$ $p = 0.133$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.006$ Interaction: $F(1, 398) < 0.00$, $p = 0.988$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.000$
	Moroccans	2.61 (1.14)	2.45 (0.95)	2.53 (1.05) ₁	
	Total	3.11 (1.15)	2.92 (1.09)		

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses. For the significant effects, means with different subscripts indicate significant differences. Numerical subscripts are used for comparisons between Moroccan and Spanish targets and alphabetical subscripts for comparisons between high and low levels of vindication. F1: Factor 1, F2: Factor 2.

toward the advantaged improved. Thus, it could be argued that when the disadvantaged become more active, rights-claiming initiatives have a detrimental effect on attitudes toward them.

5 | General Discussion

The current work has addressed the potential negative effect of the rights-claiming initiatives of a disadvantaged minority group (Moroccan immigrants) on the attitudes (stereotypes, emotions, behavioral intentions, and support for collective actions) manifested by the advantaged majority group (Spaniards) toward them. Considering research on identity management strategies (e.g., Knowles et al. 2014; Shuman et al. 2024), moral exemplars (e.g., Monin 2007), prejudice confrontation (e.g., Gulker et al. 2013), and the intergroup sensitivity effect (Hornsey and Esposo 2009), we expected that the rights-claiming initiatives of the Moroccans would have a negative impact mainly on the (im)morality of the Moroccans as perceived by Spaniards and, in turn, on their emotions and behaviors toward the Moroccans. One qualitative study (Study 1) and two experimental studies (Studies 2 and 3) tested this assumption and further extended the contributions of this work by examining the differential effects of rights-claiming initiatives and upward social mobility (Study 2) and the influence of group membership and different levels of vindication on attitudes toward the rights-claiming group (Study 3).

The main findings of Study 1 confirmed that Spaniards perceived Moroccans as an active minority but also as a group that engages in upward mobility. Furthermore, those directly targeted by the Moroccan rights-claiming initiatives portrayed the Moroccan confronter negatively as immoral and, as hypothesized, suggested the possibility of a spillover effect on the image of the

Moroccan group in general, but neither of the follow-up experimental studies confirmed this effect. Instead, Study 2 showed that Spaniards' attitudes were more negatively impacted by perceiving Moroccans as an active minority than by perceiving their upward mobility. Study 3 revealed that engaging in rights initiatives could have an adverse impact on the disadvantaged compared to the advantaged; however, for this to occur, the group had to be perceived as frequently and actively engaging in rights initiatives. Furthermore, as hypothesized, the perceived immorality of Moroccans consistently emerged as a key mechanism linking social change strategies of the disadvantaged minority to the affective and behavioral responses of the advantaged majority toward them, supporting previous work on the higher diagnostic role of (im)morality (e.g., Sayans-Jiménez et al. 2017).

The aggregate findings of the three studies suggest that rights initiatives do not worsen the attitudes of the advantaged groups toward the disadvantaged groups who undertake them. However, this assertion could be challenged to some extent, given that rights initiatives have a more negative impact than other social change strategies and have the potential to induce intergroup bias. We contend that some of the design characteristics could have contributed to the unexpected lack of effect of the rights initiatives on attitude change by undermining their perceived collective nature. First, the actions were framed as individual complaints, which could have been perceived as individual behaviors motivated by self rather than group interest. Second, the groups were presented as active by referring to the rate of plaintiffs relative to the total number of plaintiffs, rather than the participation rate relative to the total number of group members. Thus, there was no clear indication that the group as a whole suffered from labor discrimination, nor was there any indication of group mobilization. This lack of evidence may

TABLE 4 | Indirect effects of the ethnic origin via immorality at low and high levels of vindication (Study 3).

	Focal predictor			
	Ethnic origin: Spaniard (0) versus Moroccan (1)			
	Direct effect	Moderator	Indirect effect via immorality at low and high levels of vindication	Index of moderated mediation
<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>B</i> (SE) [95% CI]			
Admiration	-0.40 (0.07) [-0.55, -0.25]	Low vindication	0.01 (0.06) [-0.12, 0.12]	-0.19 (0.9) [-0.37, -0.02]
		High vindication	-0.18 (0.07) [-0.32, -0.06]	
Contempt	0.14 (0.07) [-0.004, 0.29]	Low vindication	-0.01 (0.06) [-0.12, 0.11]	0.17 (0.08) [0.02, 0.35]
		High vindication	0.17 (0.06) [0.05, 0.30]	
Envy	-0.44 (0.09) [-0.61, -0.27]	Low vindication	-0.002 (0.02) [-0.05, 0.04]	0.07 (0.04) [0.004, 0.16]
		High vindication	0.07 (0.03) [0.02, 0.13]	
Active facilitation	-0.57 (0.07) [-0.72, -0.43]	Low vindication	0.01 (0.06) [-0.11, 0.12]	-0.17 (0.08) [-0.34, -0.02]
		High vindication	-0.17 (0.06) [-0.29, -0.06]	
Passive facilitation	-0.53 (0.08) [-0.68, -0.37]	Low vindication	0.01 (0.06) [-0.12, 0.12]	-0.18 (0.09) [-0.35, -0.01]
		High vindication	-0.17 (0.06) [-0.30, -0.05]	
Support for collective actions	-0.94 (0.10) [-1.14, -0.75]	Low vindication	0.003 (0.04) [-0.08, 0.09]	-0.13 (0.07) [-0.27, -0.01]
		High vindication	-0.13 (0.05) [-0.23, -0.04]	

Note: Unstandardized coefficients are presented. Bolded coefficients are significant.

have diminished the perceived collective and politicized nature of the actions, limiting their impact. However, the finding from the third study showing that even these less explicitly collective initiatives induced intergroup bias not only reinforces the importance of the collective nature of these initiatives in triggering an effect (e.g., Becker et al. 2015) but also suggests that examining the effects of the extent to which disadvantaged minorities are perceived as more or less actively engaged in efforts to change and improve their situation could be an interesting avenue to pursue in future studies addressing how the advantaged groups respond to these efforts. Additionally, assessing the perceived motives underlying such rights-claiming initiatives could prove valuable. Recent research on confrontation of discrimination has shown that people perceive and respond differently to the same behaviors depending on whether they are attributed to group-benefitting or individual motives (e.g., Munder et al. 2020). Considering a similar approach could be highly relevant in this context, as it may help to better explain

the reactions of advantaged group members to such initiatives. Likewise, given the well-documented influence of contact on intergroup attitudes, assessing participants' prior contact with Moroccan immigrants could help to better contextualize attitudinal outcomes. Future studies should further attempt to examine and replicate these effects in other intergroup contexts and also consider including a preliminary assessment of the manipulation to strengthen its validity.

Notwithstanding these limitations, from a theoretical standpoint, this work contributes to the current literature on social actions and, more broadly, social change strategies by highlighting the key role of social perception—and particularly the perception of immorality—in the process linking disadvantaged social change strategies to the affective and behavioral responses of the advantaged. Furthermore, the findings have several implications for intergroup relations. On the one hand, the findings suggest that upward mobility could produce more

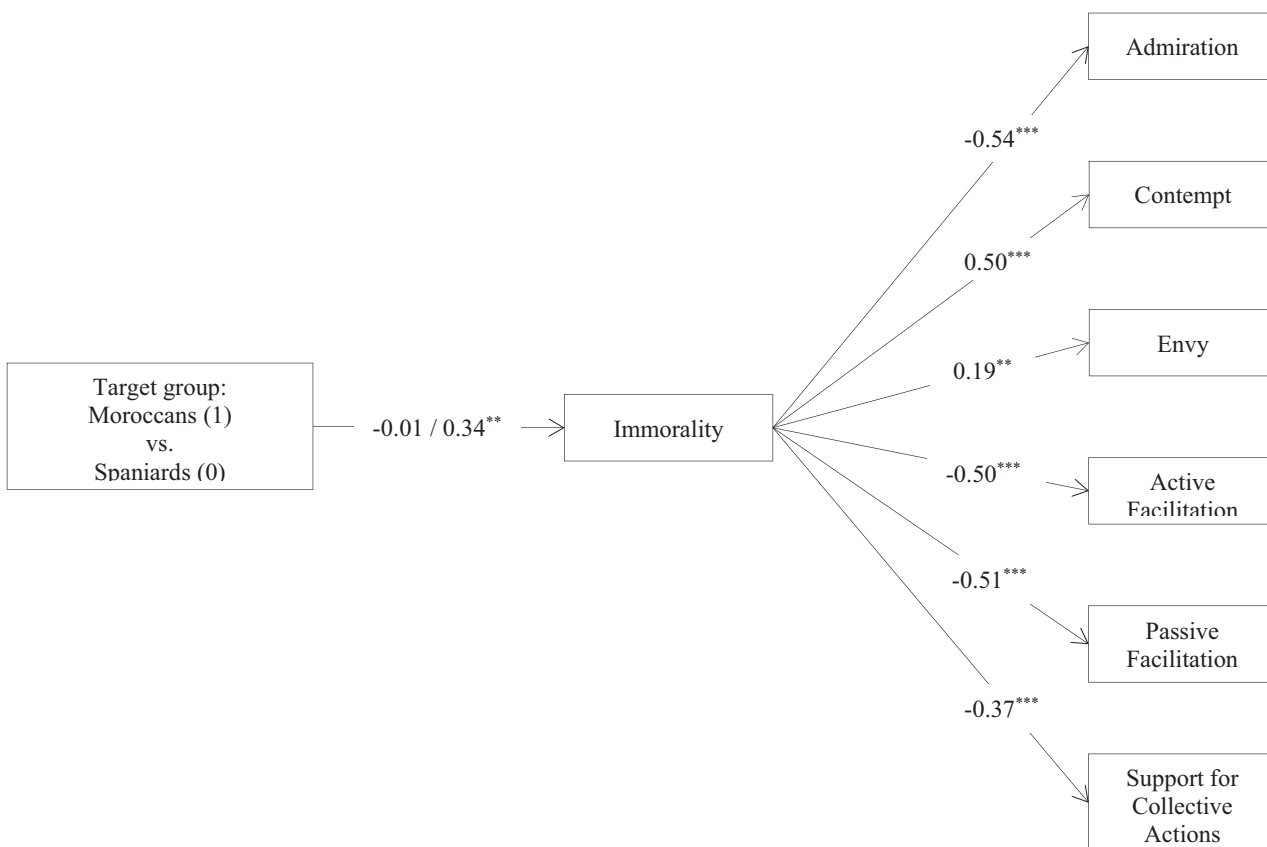


FIGURE 2 | Effect of the target's group ethnic origin via immorality at low and high levels of vindication (Study 3). Low vindication level/High vindication level. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

favorable outcomes than rights initiatives, at least for intergroup attitudes. However, this assertion should be considered with caution, as social mobility can have unintended consequences, such as reinforcing meritocratic beliefs and conveying a false impression of achieved intergroup equality, thereby obscuring its structural nature. Consequently, it could downplay the need to drive systemic change, for which rights initiatives play a pivotal role. On the other hand, the fact that the rights initiatives of the disadvantaged did not undermine the attitudes of the advantaged group toward them is reassuring, yet the additional findings of the two experiments suggest that these initiatives have the potential to affect attitudes to some extent. Given the higher sensitivity and ability of the disadvantaged to detect discrimination, even these small variations could be interpreted as a potential cost of direct confrontation and inhibit future attempts of the disadvantaged to confront prejudice and discrimination (Shelton and Stewart 2004) and to further engage in large-scale collective actions (Burrows, Uluğ, et al. 2023).

From a practical perspective, these results highlight the relevance of how rights initiatives are framed and perceived. They suggest that, to foster more positive intergroup dynamics and enhance support for social change, social movements and advocacy efforts should address these perceptions and mitigate defensive reactions. In addition, they underscore the importance of the more or less active nature of a group and suggest that even subtle cues about a group's degree of activism can shape intergroup attitudes. Emphasizing the inclusive and constructive

nature of rights initiatives, while remaining attentive to the social context in which they are deployed, may further contribute to more favorable intergroup outcomes.

To conclude, this work allows for a deeper understanding of the nuanced implications of the efforts of the disadvantaged to change their circumstances for majority-minority dynamics and highlights the benefits of considering a broader view on social strategies to fully understand their potential impact on majority-minority relations.

Author Contributions

All authors contributed to the conceptualization and design of Study 1. Andreea A. Constantin collected and analyzed the data for Study 1. Andreea A. Constantin, Isabel Cuadrado, and Lucia López-Rodríguez contributed to the conceptualization and design of Studies 2 and 3, and Andreea A. Constantin analyzed the data for these studies. All authors contributed equally to the interpretation of results, preparation of the original draft, and review and editing of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final version of the manuscript.

Ethics Statement

The studies conducted in this research have received favorable ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the authors' university. Informed consent was obtained from the participants.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

Materials, quantitative data, and codebooks that support the findings of this work are available in OSF at: https://osf.io/jcwa7/?view_only=f2316cebd384ece826a181d8841e7d1. Qualitative data are available from the corresponding author upon request. The studies were not preregistered.

Endnotes

- ¹An a priori power analysis carried out with G*Power (Faul et al. 2007) indicated a minimum sample size required of 675 participants to detect a small-medium effect, $f=0.12$ ($\eta^2=0.022$) in a one-way ANOVA with three groups, with a 0.05 alpha criterion and $1-\beta$ (power)=0.80. A total of 845 panelists intended to participate, but 109 were automatically excluded for failing reading checks and 35 for failing attention checks.
- ²One case was over 65 years old, two cases had Spanish nationality but had Moroccan heritage backgrounds, and 15 cases did not have Spanish or double nationality or Spanish heritage backgrounds.
- ³A sensitivity analysis with the sample of 683 participants informed us that we could detect a minimum effect size of $f=0.119$ ($\eta^2=0.014$) with a one-way ANOVA with three groups, with a 0.05 alpha criterion and $1-\beta$ (power) of 0.80.
- ⁴In both Study 2 and 3, we assessed some additional outcomes in addition to the main outcomes of interest (i.e., stereotypes, emotions, and behavioral intentions). The description and the results for these additional outcomes are presented in [Supporting Information](#).
- ⁵An a priori power analysis carried out with G*Power (Faul et al. 2007) indicated a minimum sample size required of 351 participants to detect a small-medium effect, $f=0.15$ ($\eta^2=0.022$), in a factorial ANOVA with four groups, with a 0.05 alpha criterion and $1-\beta$ (power)=0.80. A total of 502 panelists initiated the study, but 82 were automatically excluded for failing the reading check and 18 for failing attention checks. A sensitivity analysis with the final sample of 402 participants informed us that we could detect a minimum effect size of $f=0.140$ ($\eta_p^2=0.019$) with a factorial ANOVA with four groups, with a 0.05 alpha criterion and $1-\beta$ (power) of 0.80.
- ⁶When age, sex, and political orientation were considered as covariates, the main effect of the level of rights demands also became significant, $F(1, 395)=4.03$, $p=0.045$, $\eta_p^2=0.010$. Participants in the high rights demands level condition manifested less disposition to support collective actions ($M=2.92$, $SD=1.09$) than in the low rights demands level condition ($M=3.11$, $SD=1.15$).
- ⁷When age, sex and political orientation were considered as covariates, the interaction effect on envy also became significant, $F(1, 395)=4.10$, $p=0.044$, $\eta_p^2=0.010$. Participants manifested more envy toward Spaniards in the low rights demands ($M=1.99$, $SD=1.04$) than in the high rights demands condition ($M=1.66$, $SD=0.91$, $p=0.005$). The participants in the low rights demands condition also manifested more envy toward Spaniards ($M=1.99$, $SD=1.04$) than toward Moroccans ($M=1.44$, $SD=0.65$, $p<0.001$). A similar pattern was found for the high rights demands condition: Spaniards: $M=1.65$, $SD=0.91$; Moroccans: $M=1.42$, $SD=0.73$ ($p=0.045$).

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section. **Data S1:** sjop70010-sup-0001-supinfo.pdf.

Appendix A

Study 1: Quotes From the Discourses of the Key Informants

Results section	Quote	Quote text
Spaniards' perception of Moroccan immigrants at work	Quote 1	...when you have people who have been with you for 10–12 or more than 20 years, it is because they feel comfortable because they feel well treated and that also satisfies us, I have people, trustworthy people who have been with me for a long time [...]. (BSO2)
	Quote 2	If there is a holiday in Spain that does not interest them, they work and then, when they have their own, they don't work, in other words, they are the ones who organize themselves and they always do it from their point of view [...], we respect the holidays that each one has, the religious issues. (BSO2)
	Quote 3	In our case, on the whole farm, the IMW (Interprofessional Minimum Wage) is scrupulously fulfilled with every time it has gone up, the working hours, the 40-h week, absolutely, the breaks, everything is respected and complied with. (BSCEO)
	Quote 4	[...] The workforce is mainly made up of immigrants and many of these people are Moroccan [...]. This sector, which is fundamentally agriculture and (food) handling, is a sector which, despite being a fundamental pillar of the economy in (this region) with some very commendable figures, has been and continues to be a sector that is miserly regarding the economic and working conditions of the people who make up its workforce [...]. (TU2)
Spaniards' perception of Moroccan migrants' reactions to their work situation	Quote 5	The biggest fights for labour rights in the agricultural sector in this province have been made by the Moroccan collective. (TU1)
	Quote 6	They always recognize that they would like to improve [...], that they would not like to spend many years working in the greenhouses, that going to the north of Spain or even to the north of Europe is their aim, their goal, perhaps...this has meant that every day we have another origin in the management of the farm. This has also happened, there are many workers who have evolved, who are renting farms, who are managing the farms of farmers who have no generational replacement [...]. (BSCEO)
Spaniards' response to actions taken by Moroccans immigrants to change their situation	Quote 7	Because they do a lot of damage to co-existence [...] that (small) percentage that does not want to work and wants to live on benefits [...] the one who speaks badly, the one who denounces [...] does a lot of damage to our society and its society, to its 90% of people who are fulfilling their duties and who we need for Spain to move forward. (BSCEO)
	Quote 8	They use agriculture as a bridge to enter [...]. Sometimes you feel used, but of course, it is the dynamic that exists, you know? You say, well, they used me to come and now they are leaving [...]. (BSO2)

Appendix B

Manipulation Text Used in Study 2 and in Study 3

Study 2

Rights Initiatives Condition

In the *rights initiatives condition*, the participants read the following text:

Data from various official agencies, such as the ITSS and the ILO, reveal that Moroccan immigrants are quite demanding in terms of compliance with their labor rights. Specifically, the figures show that 75% of the complaints registered in Spain have been filed by Moroccan immigrants, mainly for reasons related to non-compliance with labor regulations regarding contracts, remuneration, working hours, health, and safety at work.

Social Mobility Condition

In the *social mobility condition*, participants read the following text:

Studies carried out by various official agencies, such as the INE and OPI, show that Moroccan immigrant workers in Spain are people who have professional aspirations and who strive for progress and upward social mobility. For example, the data reveal a significant annual increase in the number of Moroccan immigrants opening their businesses, taking up management jobs, or working in well-paying sectors.

Control Condition

In the *control condition*, participants read the following text:

Data from various official agencies, such as the INE and the ILO, reveal that new technologies have different effects on the economic environment. Specifically, they can expand production capacities, since automation complements the work performed by people; contribute to the improvement of product quality and the creation of new products; and favor the creation of new companies and jobs.

Study 3

Depending on the condition, the participants read the following text:

Data from various official agencies, such as the ITSS and the ILO, reveal that *Spaniards (Moroccan immigrants) are quite (not very) demanding* in terms of compliance with their labor rights. Specifically, the figures show that *75% (3%) of the complaints* registered in Spain have been filed by *Spaniards (Moroccan immigrants)*, mainly for reasons related to non-compliance with labor regulations regarding contracts, remuneration, working hours, health, and safety at work.