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Silence Gives Consent:

The Construction of a Model for Collusion

Laura Novaes Andrade

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The Construction of a Model for Collusion[1]

Laura Novaes Andrade

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Para os que virão

Como sei pouco, e sou pouco,
faço o pouco que me cabe
me dando inteiro.
Sabendo que não vou ver
o homem que quero ser.
Já sofri o suficiente
para não enganar a ninguém:
principalmente aos que sofrem,
na própria vida a garra
da opressão, e nem sabem.
Não tenho o sol escondido
no meu bolso de palavras.
Sou simplesmente um homem
para quem já a primeira
e desolada pessoa
do singular - foi deixando,
devagar, sofridamente
de ser, para transformar-se
- muito mais sofridamente –
na primeira e profunda pessoa
do plural.
[...]
(Thiago de Mello)

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Em primeiro lugar, como sempre, quero dedicar esta tese (e esta trajetória) aos meus pais e ao meu irmão. Eu não sabia que chegaria tão longe, não sabia que conseguiria escrever uma tese numa língua que não é a nossa – e, para falar a verdade, não fazia ideia de que algum dia conseguiria falar uma língua que não fosse o português. Obrigado por todo o amor e apoio! Conseguimos juntos. Nós. No plural.

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Obrigada a todos!

I love you!

(Que significa morena. Em francês.)

Summary

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Resumo

O preconceito por omissão é essencial para a manutenção dos sistemas de opressão. Uma forma de omissão que tem sido negligenciada ao longo dos anos é chamada de Colusão – a tendência das pessoas de não fazer nada diante de situações de discriminação. A presente tese tem por objetivo propor um modelo explicativo para o fenômeno de colusão. Para isso, foram realizados três estudos: o primeiro estudo foi realizado com sete grupos focais para definir Colusão a partir da perspectiva das pessoas que a vivenciam – o Estudo 1 forneceu a definição e estrutura teórica iniciais para Colusão. O Estudo 2 concentrou-se no desenvolvimento de uma medida quantitativa que pudesse avaliar Colusão em amostras maiores. A medida foi baseada nos resultados do Estudo 1 e resultou em 47 itens distribuídos em quatro fatores (Confronto Público, Características do Contexto, Confronto Privado e Normas Sociais). Por fim, o Estudo 3 teve como objetivo propor um modelo empírico de Colusão baseado na estrutura fatorial definida no Estudo 2. Os resultados mostram que Colusão é um fenômeno social vivenciado tanto em situações Racistas, quanto em Sexistas e Homofóbicas, sendo influenciado principalmente pelas normas do contexto. Para além das questões conformidade, sugere-se que outras variáveis sejam consideradas na compreensão do fenômeno em pesquisas futuras, como medidas individuais de preconceito, autoeficácia e preferência por estratégias específicas para lidar com o preconceito.

Palavras-chave: preconceito, discriminação, permissividade, colusão

Abstract

Omission is an important part in the maintenance of oppression systems. One form of omission that has been neglected over the years is called collusion – people's tendency to do nothing in face of discrimination. The present dissertation aims to propose a model to explain the phenomenon of collusion. To do so, there were conducted three studies. The first study was conducted with seven focus groups aimed at defining collusion from the perspective of people who experience it. A first definition for collusion was provided, as well as its theoretical structure. Based on the previous finding, Study 2 focused on developing a quantitative measure that could assess collusion in larger samples. The measure presented 47 items distributed across four factors (Public Confrontation, Context Features, Private Confrontation, and Social Norms). Finally, Study 3 aimed to propose an empirical model for collusion based in the factorial structure defined in Study 2. Results show that Collusion is a social phenomenon experienced in Racist, Sexist, and Homophobic situations, and it's mainly influenced by contextual norms. Apart from conformity, it is suggested that other variables should be considered in future research, such as individual measures of prejudice, self-efficacy, and preference for specific strategies to cope with prejudice.

Keywords: prejudice, discrimination, permissiveness, collusion

Introduction

> Este problema central, que se impõe a toda geração, portanto também à nossa, é a necessidade de responder à pergunta tão simples e, ao mesmo tempo, tão imperiosa: como conseguir em nosso mundo uma convivência pacífica entre as pessoas apesar da diversidade de raças, classes, cores, religiões e convicções?
>
> Zweig, S. (2006, pp. 7 – 8).

As a country marked by its cultural heterogeneity (Torres & Paz, 2009), Brazil appears in the international literature as one of the main examples of societies in which diverse cultural groups live and interact, at first sight, in harmony (Torres & Pérez-Nebra, 2014). The country has been represented all over the world as this cultural-racial-ethnical melting-pot, and the idea that Brazil was constituted, from its beginning as country, as a social democracy was defended throughout history.

This idea derives from Gilberto Freyre's (2003) theory that the Portuguese intervention was needed in the tropical world – the African continent and Brazil – in order to create a highly developed civilization. In that perspective, the new tropical civilization was based on cultural and physical miscegenation, and that miscegenation created a social paradise in which there would be no room for prejudice and discrimination between social groups (Nascimento, 2016). The image of a Brazilian paradise, built on complete equality between human beings made Brazil 'the country of the future' (Granatiere, 2021). Still, there remains the question: if the Portuguese were successful in creating that new social paradise, why do we still need to talk about prejudice in Brazil?

The answer is quite simple, there was never a social paradise. Indeed, there was miscegenation in Brazil, and the three ethnical groups that met there, Indigenous People, Portuguese, and Africans, mutually influenced each other. However, that never changed the social hierarchy established among them (Fernandes, 2013), and the perceived harmony between social groups is, in fact, an illusion. It was the dominance of one group over the others, especially through slavery, that determined the quality of the social relations established in this country (Nascimento, 2016). Hence, it is necessary to understand this history to go beyond appearances and truly comprehend what is behind Brazilian identities.

Discovering the Land: Brazil's Social Constitution

It is important to discuss Brazil's social constitution because its historical patterns of intergroup relations, from the beginning of its consolidation as a country, set the understanding of hierarchical social relations that are still in rule nowadays, 522 years later, for all three oppression systems discussed in this dissertation, namely Racism, Sexism, and Homophobia (Arruda, 2000; Mott, 2001; Nascimento, 2016; Silva & Castilho, 2014). Despite its undeniable plurality, the country is still one of the most unequal societies on the planet (Ethos, 2016), anchored in privilege of some groups over others (Presotti, 2011). The structure of Brazilian society since its foundation was strongly marked by the power relations between the different social groups, and those relations history is addressed in the next sections.

The Masters and the Slaves: Racial Relations in the Colony

If we aim to understand the prejudiced structures that base Brazilian culture, we might as well go back to the first moments of the new country, when the Portuguese invaded the land. When the first caravels arrived in Brazil, the Indigenous population found on the Northeast coast was nearly as numerous as Portugal's entire population (Ribeiro, 1995). The

coexistence with and among these peoples was troubled: the Indigenous tribes lived in constant war among them, never adapting to hierarchical structures within their groups – the social structure adopted by Native Brazilians was equalitarian and would not acknowledge any hierarchy, State, or Crown (Ribeiro, 1995).

Such social system was not compatible with the newcomers' practices. Portugal was characterized as an urban and classist civilization, strongly influenced by the Catholic Church, whose main goal was to plunder all the wealth, products, and productive capacity of the people from the new territory (Ribeiro, 1995). The shock between Native and Portuguese realities resulted in what Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (2004, p. 59) described as "the confrontation of two diverse humanities, so heterogeneous, so truly ignorant about each other, that an inevitable mortal intolerance imposed itself over them". With the support of the Church, the colonizers tried to impose slavery over Natives, especially over Women (Ribeiro, 1995). Originally, the force used to build what would become later a sugar cane business for Portugal was mainly constituted by Native Brazilians, most of those enslaved (Marquese, 2006).

The colonizers' desire to extract the maximum resources and workforce from the recently discovered land resulted in years of exploitation and slavery in Brazil. The attempt to dominate Natives, however, was hampered by both the resistance of these peoples, and the enactment of the Gentile Freedom Act of 1570, which prohibited their enslavement (Carvalho, 2008; Ribeiro, 1995). From that moment on, the importation of Black Africans as slaves into the sugar cane mills increased, and the economic structure of the country was built on Black slaves' work, their life and death - it is estimated that at the time of the slavery abolition, in 1888, over 60% of the population in Brazil was composed of enslaved Black people (Carvalho, 2008).

The colonization process is central for the understanding of the structural racism in Brazilian society. Colonialism is centred on the domination of people from non-European identities (Quijano, 2009), based on the illuminist idea that to free those people and enlighten the world, the conquerors should take their (European) model of civilization to the entire globe (Almeida, 2019). This structure evolved to coloniality, an ingrained consequence of colonialism that moulded intersubjective relations based on domination and Eurocentric (or simply White) hegemony, essential to shape the capitalistic society we live in today (Quijano, 2009). Hence, we can suggest that Brazil is a racist country from its beginning, considering it was an exploitation colony, as opposed to a settler colony, based on the submission to a White European Christian nation.

The relational pattern of dominance between White people and People of Colour (POC), especially Black people, was kept and reinforced over the years. Not even the abolition of slavery granted freedom to those peoples, to whom were not secured the protection and social rights needed for a dignified existence (Nascimento & Gomes, 2020). If anything, abolition imprisoned the Black population as social scum, with no means of subsistence, doomed to failure, while slaveholders were spared any responsibility for the people whose lives they had destroyed (Nascimento, 2018). In fact, post-abolitionist policies supported those old social practices, and Black people were relegated to live on the margin of the society, with broken families, in slums, with no access to work nor education (Lima, 2021; Nascimento & Gomes, 2020). Moreover, after abolition public policies derived from White supremacist scientific theories aimed to whitewash the population (Schwarcz, 2018) and erase our miscegenation history.

The racial cleansing project lingers, and, fifty years after abolition, Brazilian laws were still focused on eugenics, as established in the article 138 – B of the Constitution (1934): the federative entities of Brazil were responsible for stimulating eugenics education.

On several occasions along the 20th century, the congress discussed laws to prohibit the entry of Black immigrants into Brazil (Nascimento, 2018). In 1945, Getúlio Vargas signed the Decree-Law n. 7,967, which regulated the entry of immigrants to attend the "need to preserve and develop, in the ethnic composition of the population, the most convenient characteristics of its European ancestry" (Translation by the author). These ancient domination and hierarchic relations define the (prejudiced) intergroup relations that linger in Brazil to the 21st century (Lima, 2021; Nascimento, 2016; Nascimento & Gomes, 2020). Former enslaved people and their offspring were denied citizenship in this country, and they still struggle with racial inequality in a society that systematically attempts to erase its history of White dominance and racial cleansing with a racial democracy tale (Nunes, 2006).

The attempt to whitewash the population walked side by side with the racial democracy myth. In 1951, UNESCO funded projects to study the racial relations in the country that aimed to prove the democratic coexistence between White people and People of Colour in Brazil (Fernandes, 2013). Instead, Fernandes (2013) affirmed that there was no such thing as a racial democracy in Brazil, and there shall never be one while such myth of its existence remains. The miscegenation process in the country is wrongly perceived as the absence of discrimination (Schwarcz, 2018), and, to this day, social demographic data consistently evidence the marginalization and vulnerability of Black people. Since the 1980s, the racial bias in violence indicators is alarming (Cerqueira et al., 2021). In 2019, the lethal violence index among Black people was 162% higher than among other members of society, while the homicide rate reduction was 50% lower for Black people.

Beautiful and Modest Housewives: Gender Relations

The patterns of dominance of one group over the other go beyond racial and ethnic structures. Sexism, as racism, is another characteristic of the Brazilian society, deeply rooted

on a patriarchal system in which Men are the mighty authority both at home and in their land (Souza, 2019).

Once again, this oppression goes back to the origins of the country, present in the subjection of Brazilian Indigenous Women to the colonizers who subjugated them for sex, work, and offspring for the colony (Ribeiro, 1995). The very characteristics of the colonization process made Brazil develop its own complex system of structural sexism. The settlement of the conquered Portuguese empire did not bring along European Women (Del Priore, 2020), and the Men expatriated to Brazil were those whose sexual life was considered excessive (Arruda, 2000). So, the personal and political needs of dominance of Portuguese Men were imposed onto Natives, and Black Women, leading to a population born as the result of various rapes (Carvalho, 2008; Silva & Castilho, 2014). Contrary to what Freyre (2003) proposed, intercourse between Black/Native Females and Male colonizers was not a demonstration of their love for those ladies, but much more an expression of domination they felt entitled to perpetrate (Silva & Castilho, 2014). The mere existence of such a large amount of Brown (or Mixed race) people is the final result of the rapes of those Women (Nascimento, 2016).

Beyond the blatant violence described, Women in Brazil, regardless their race/ethnicity, were under a subtle social control reinforced by the Catholic church and contemporary medicine that would find so-called scientific reasoning to exert their oppression (Silva & Castilho, 2014). During the 17th century, while the rest of the European continent was investing in science and medical studies, the biological sciences in Portugal remained strongly attached to obscurantist arguments. For years, Portuguese physicians neglected the female body and associated it to diseases that should only be God's punishment to Women unvirtuous existence (Del Priore, 2018).

That understanding was, of course, coherent with religious arguments, and the Catholic church played an important part in establishing Women's oppression. If on the one hand racism was (and still is) a practice dissonant from the Christian morality, degrading for both the victims and the perpetrators (Fernandes, 2013), sexism was essential for that morality maintenance (Fávero, 2010). Despite being an important figure to the constitution of Brazil, Women, either Black, Native, or White, were mostly associated with their sexual attributes (Arruda, 2000). Doctors defended that female bodies were meant for procreation only and their life should be limited to the domestic environment (Fávero, 2010). In that perspective, it was hard to argue for the submission of Men by Men in slavery, but it was much easier to find and accept divine arguments for Women's oppression as part of Godly mission on Earth (Del Priore, 2020).

Brazil inherited and perpetuated patriarchal gender relations from Portugal in such a way that Women were doomed to be repressed, and to have their will controlled by Men (Silva & Castilho, 2014), so that the female body would always be in male service (Arruda, 2000). That is evidenced in the history of the country's legal system that evolved from completely ignoring Women's civil rights during the 19th century (Garcia, 2020) to actively demeaning female identities throughout the 20th century. The country's first civil code (1916), for example, established, amongst other legally supported violations of Women's rights, that: a) married Women should be considered legally incompetent in certain matters, so that the husband is responsible for decisions concerning his wife; b) Women should not be allowed to work or accept inheritance due without the husband's consent; c) Women could not manage the family's patrimony, nor should dispose of their own assets without the husband's permission; and d) Women could not file civil or commercial lawsuits without the husband's consent, with few exceptions.

Furthermore, the 1916 Civil Code also reinforced Christian morality. Among its articles, it determined that the husband should be the head of the marital communion, frequently limiting Women's dignity to maidenhood. Likewise, the Penal Code of 1940 was concerned with chastity, and only described punishment for rape crime specifically when the victim was *honest* – a subtle way to talk about female decency and morality. The adjective *honest* would only be removed from the Penal Code in 2005, so that rape would be considered a crime when practiced against any Woman, and not only the ones society considered decent.

Those laws were gradually modified along the century, and in 2002 a completely new Civil Code was enacted (2002). Additionally, in 2006, *Maria da Penha* Law was enacted (2006) to define the crime of domestic violence against Women and establish strategies to face the problem; and in 2015, the crime of femicide was specified in the Brazilian Penal Code – i.e., murder of women committed on grounds of gender. In 2022, the Penal Code does not, nor do other legal documents, include any references to Women's honesty, chastity, or maidenhood. Still, Brazilian society endorses a strong culture that not only makes it natural the power differences between those two groups but also accepts violence against Women (Garcia, 2020). In 2021, 1,319 Women died victims of femicide, and there were 56,098 registered rape occurrences – in other words, there one femicide every seven hours, and one rape every ten minutes during the year (Bueno et al., 2022).

New Land Debauchery: Morality and Homophobia

Finally, we are about to discuss one social identity that not only was discriminated against since the beginning of Brazil´s history but was in fact denied existence until recently. It took centuries until Brazilian society, as other societies, acknowledged homosexuality as a healthy expression of human sexuality.

As previously discussed, the Christian patriarchal structure in the country forced onto the country imposed a series of norms regarding social morality. Among other things, this means that any sexuality expression that was not Heterosexual and focused on Men was repressed. Homophobia, as Racism and Sexism, was not considered as a natural feature of Indigenous Brazilian societies among which non-heteronormative relations were widely accepted, and perceived as natural at the time of the caravels arrival (Mott, 2005; Silva & Barbosa, 2015).

The Portuguese travellers and invaders were shocked by how naturally Indigenous Brazilians expressed their sexual desires, specially engaging in what they called *the nefarious sin*: homosexual relations (Trevisan, 2018). Meanwhile, the Portuguese Crown, once again influenced by the Church, could not accept Homosexuality in their lands (Mott, 1992, 2005; Mott, 2001) – this prudish cultural and religious tradition would not accept, it actually actively condemned, any kind of sexual intimacy that was not focused on reproduction (Jesus, 2017). Over the years, the Judeo-Christian tradition inserted Homophobia as one of the main values in Brazilian society (Jesus, 2013).

Besides being useless for reproduction, homosexuality was considered a threat to a society functioning based on gender roles (Mott, 2001). The presence of Portuguese power in Brazil kept Homosexuality illegal, and liable to trial by the Holy Inquisition as a deathly sin (Mott, 1992) until 1830, with the enactment of the Empire Penal Code (1830). The new Penal Code no longer characterized the crime of sodomy, as long as the Homosexual relations happened consensually between adults in a private space (Freire & Cardinali, 2012).

From that moment on, Homosexuals were no longer perceived as criminals and are treated as sick people. Once judged as a mortal sin, homosexuality acquired then clinical definitions that described either a sexual psychopathology, a failure in glandular

development, or a side effect of a life filled with addiction and destructive behaviours (Trevisan, 2018). With the strengthening of psychiatric arguments during the 19th century (Trevisan, 2018), *homosexualism* came to be understood as a degenerative disease dangerous for society (Freire & Cardinali, 2012). After that, Brazil invested on various eugenics and hygienist policies to approach homosexuality as a public health issue, proposing ways to prevent or even cure the disease (Freire & Cardinali, 2012).

Perceived as a crime, a sin or a pathology, Homosexuality was repelled, and punished through history (Trevisan, 2018). However, there were some achievements and small improvements in the last hundred years. The failure to reconsider homosexuality in the 1940 Penal Code (Freire & Cardinali, 2012), the exclusion of homosexuality from the International Code of Diseases by the World Health Organization in 1990, and the resolution of the Federal Council of Psychology to treat homosexuality as a healthy identity (CFP, 1999), and, finally, the criminalization of homophobia (ADO 26/2019) weakened the homophobic agenda. Still, the archaic homophobic influences, as well as the racist and sexist systems, are still alive and are an important part of Brazil's cultural background, and in 2021, there were registered 316 violent deaths of LGBTI+ people in Brazil, with 285 murders, and 26 suicides (Gastáldi et al., 2022).

Brazil in Perspective: A Social Psychological Analysis

Despite the country being framed as a democracy (Freyre, 2003), open to different social groups, so far it is clear that those groups have never had the same power in Brazilian society. It's wrong to assume that those differences went unnoticed. From a Social Psychological perspective, the differences between those groups and their consequences can be understood in terms of social identity and intergroup relations theories.

The Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that individuals understand the social world by categorizing their surroundings based on psychological distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1974). Three processes are crucial to understand SIT: social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. First, social categorization describes the organization of social objects in specific classes or groups as a way to make sense of the social environment (McGarty, 2018). This is essential to navigate the social world since the organization of things according to its similarities or differences provides people the ability to generalize previously acquired information and to reason the best behavioural option when facing new experiences (Rhodes & Baron, 2019).

When talking about social relations and interaction, it is suggested that individuals easily categorize people in groups according to characteristics they observe on other individuals (Rhodes & Baron, 2019). Appearances and behaviours, for example, are spontaneously used to categorize people according to race or gender (Karnadewi & Lipp, 2011) – from the moment individuals identify the characteristics that make people belong to a group or another (e.g., Men or Women), different possibilities of social categorization emerge.

Combined with individual´s tendency to be organized into social groups (Brewer, 2010), the categorization process is followed by the second process described by SIT: Social Identity. Social identity can be understood as the part of the self-concept derived from identification and belonging to a particular social group (Tajfel, 1978) and, therefore, not belonging to other groups. As a consequence of the human natural desire for simplicity (Stangor, 2016), people come to identify themselves in group categories of *us* versus *them* (Ferguson & Porter, 2013).

Once individuals have categorized the groups around them and identified themselves as members of a certain group, the process of social comparison comes into play (Hogg & Abrams, 1998; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social comparison is the individual's tendency to gather information about themselves and others by comparing their abilities, achievements, opinions etc. (Verduyn et al., 2020). This tendency leads to group differentiation, stereotyping, ingroup favouritism, and perception of intergroups hierarchy (Chen & Mengel, 2016; David & Derthick, 2018; Hogg & Abrams, 1998; McGarty, 2018; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019; Rhodes & Baron. 2019), and may finally lead to prejudice and discrimination (Chen & Mengel, 2016; Corradi & Alfinito, 2011).

Our approach to social organization based on the Social Identity Theory assumes that social groups will organize themselves mainly based on their intergroup differences rather than on their interindividual similarities, reinforcing social status differentiation (Hogg & Abrams, 1998). Further, we assume that the intergroup relation among diverse social identities in a given context must consider the social and historical characteristics that culminate in differences of power and social privilege (David & Derthick, 2018; Torres & Hanashiro, 2017; Torres & Pérez-Nebra, 2014), and that the conflict underlying those relations is overt by *status quo* (Hogg & Abrams, 1998), as extensively described in the previous sections of this dissertation. That means Brazil's historical social inequality would push categorization and identification based on social power and status as default for interactions way before the individuals are born (Hogg & Abrams, 1998), thus Brazilian people would engage in social comparison and power relations (Jetten & Peters, 2019) that ultimately result in prejudice and discrimination within the country.

Even though SIT is often used by social psychologists to discuss prejudice and discrimination, it is not a prejudice theory per se (Brown, 2019). It's necessary to advance in social psychological theories to understand prejudice and discrimination. For over 70 years,

practitioners and scholar have dedicated their studies to develop numerous explanations for the phenomena. Such theories are addressed in the following section.

Prejudice and Discrimination

The major academic mark of social psychology's interest in prejudice as a research topic is the publication of The Nature of Prejudice by Gordon Allport (1954). In the book, Allport defined prejudice as a negative attitude towards a specific identifiable group based exclusively on this group membership. Over the years, many researchers tried to postulate models to explain how prejudice and discrimination work. There will be presented next some of the main theories proposed and their evolution.

Classic Theories on Prejudice.

Authoritarian personality

The authoritarian personality theory proposed by Adorno et al. (1950) is based on the idea that the social convictions the individuals carry are underlined by personality traits, suggesting that some individuals would be predisposed to prejudiced and fascist behaviour. Relying on the frustration-aggression theory (Dollard et al., 1939), Adorno et al. (1950) defended that the authoritarian personality is connected to repression in early socialization years, and a rigorously punitive education. The book presenting this theory was published a little after the World War II was over, in 1950. Initially, the researchers aimed to identify potentially fascistic features to explain anti-Semitism behaviours guided by two main hypothesis: anti-Semitism is most likely a part of a more complex prejudiced background; and the extent to which the individuals are willing to adopt this ideology depends on their own psychological needs (Adorno et al., 1950). This line of research was the basis for the proposition of the F (for Fascism) scale, describing nine characteristics of an authoritarian personality (i.e.: conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-

intraception, superstition and stereotypy, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity, sex), which scores were correlated to anti-Semitism, political extremism, and to a broader range of prejudices against minorities.

Even though the propositions of Adorno et al. (1950) were important to the understanding of prejudice as an specific tendency of the individual, some flaws in the measures led psychologists to new theoretical proposals (Duckitt, 2005). The F scale did not evidence the psychodynamic explanation originally proposed, and it was also criticized for using unbalanced items and for its psychometric problems (Duckitt, 2015).

Intending to solve the psychometrical problems of the F scale, Rokeach (1954) proposed Dogmatism as the construct to explain the origins of prejudice in a more assertive way. Dogmatism describes a cognitive style that includes authoritarianism, and intolerance that is not necessarily connected to fascism, as implied by Adorno et al. (1950) and their F scale. Rather, Dogmatism would be present in different – and even opposite – ideological frames (Duckitt, 2005; Rokeach, 1954). Research on Dogmatism suggests that rigid cognitive styles are indeed associated with authoritarianism, but it was not possible to assure the link between authoritarianism and prejudice. More than that, the D (for Dogmatism) scale did not achieve evidences of discriminant validity when compared to the F scale (Duckitt, 2005).

Also trying to solve the F scale problems, and explain the functioning of the authoritarian personality, the concept of Conservatism was proposed (Duckitt, 2015; Wilson & Patterson, 1968). In line with the concepts presented before, Conservatism describes conforming, authoritarian, and punitive tendencies of the personality (Wilson, et al., 1973; Wilson & Patterson, 1968). Although this was the second theoretical and psychometrical attempt to correct the problems in the authoritarian personality theory, the C scale (for

Conservatism) was not successful in its mission, and it still held low internal consistency (Duckitt, 2015).

After many frustrated efforts to achieve psychometrical evidence for Adorno's theory, the authoritarian personality theory was set aside by most social scientists in the 1970s (Duckitt, 2015). A successful and alternative proposition came with the studies of Bob Altemeyer published in the 1981 (Duckitt, 2005, 2015). The new perspective reviewed Adorno's and colleagues F scale factors, and argued that only three of the nine traits proposed (namely: conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression) were assertive enough to describe the authoritarian personality in a reliable way (Altemeyer, 1981). Altemeyer named the authoritarian personality as Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), as to describe people that would promptly conform and defend the established social authority, maybe even attacking those who would not adopt the same behaviour (Altemeyer, 1981). The author came up with a psychometrically consistent measure for the three traits proposed for that personality, which achieved better results than the previous proposals (Duckitt, 2015), and overcame the original psychodynamic explanation of repressed and displaced aggression as a source of authoritarianism (Adorno et al., 1950) by adopting social learning explanations (Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt, 2005).

To date, RWA is still used to study prejudice and other social phenomena. In recent years, this approach, as well as the Authoritarian Personality Theory, has been more prominent after major changes in the world's political scenario. Some of those studies focused on political matters (Conway & Mcfarland, 2019; Pucci, 2020), conspiracy theory and beliefs (Richey, 2017; Wood & Gray, 2019), and even public policies to approach the COVID-19 pandemic (Manson, 2020).

Social Dominance Orientation

Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius et al., 1994) differentiates itself from the early theories because it includes not only personality traits, but also sociological and evolutionary processes to help explain prejudice (Brown, 2010). It posits that social groups tend to be organized in terms of hierarchy or caste systems, in a way that social inequalities and group conflict are a natural characteristic of our society (Pratto et al., 1994). In that perspective, the hierarchical system would be endorsed at the same time by the advantaged and disadvantaged groups, in a way that individuals from different groups would maintain their roles in the community, which would be more functional than egalitarian societies considering evolutionary survival (Brown, 2010). For the theory, the (in)equalities amongst people can be founded by either one of two legitimizing myths: the hierarchy-enhancing myth – that promotes superiority of one group over the others, legitimizing discrimination –, and the hierarchy-attenuating myths – that promotes social equality. The acceptance and support for the hierarchy-enhancing myth is highly influenced by what is called Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), the individual's desire to dominate other groups, and a natural orientation towards the establishment of hierarchical social relations (Pratto et al., 1994). SDO is related to negative stereotyping, negative attributions, discrimination, and potential violence against members of the outgroup (Sidanius et al., 1994).

The extent to which the SDO could be empirically found was tested by Pratto et al. (1994) in several studies, designed to verify predictive, and discriminatory validities of the construct. As the field developed, the stability of SDO – as the personality trait it is – was questioned in different studies over time (Brown, 2010) that put more weight on the socialization and other contextual processes as possible explanations for prejudice/discrimination phenomena. Still, SDO continues to be an important theory, and has

reached significant results in numerous studies over the years (Austin & Jackson, 2019; Vezzali et al., 2018; Visintin & Rullo, 2020).

Modern Theories on Prejudice.

Even though the classic theories on prejudice were largely disseminated, and got considerably strong evidence of its accuracy, some questions still lacked explanation. First, prejudiced attitudes would not always be connected to specific individual characteristics, such as personality or dominance orientation, especially when intergroups – and not interindividual – relations are being discussed. Hence, aspects of the individual level of analysis as explanations for intergroup relations could not be observed (Brown, 2010). More than that, it is not reasonable to expect that every single prejudiced individual will present the same personality/individual characteristics, and, even if that was the case, the expected stability of personality traits fail to explain how prejudiced tendencies in society rise and fall faster than the actual prejudiced generations go away (Brown, 2010), it also fails to explain why there is prejudice against some groups but not others (Siegman, 1961). Further, throughout the years, it became harder to find individuals that would openly exhibit prejudiced traits despite of the prejudiced behaviours and discrimination continuously happening in society. The modern theories on prejudice and discrimination are an attempt to explain how this controversy happens.

One of the early discussions on the new forms of prejudice was presented by Crosby et al. (1980) in the description of subtle forms of discrimination. Their research used unobtrusive measures to suggest that subtle negative racial attitudes against Black people were operating on people's minds and would result in practical consequences for its targets. The findings suggest that even people who will not engage in blatant racial discrimination,

given the opportunity to choose between a White or a Black person, tend to favour the White person and jeopardize the Black person.

A different proposition was presented by McConahay et al. (1981), who developed the Theory of Modern Racism. The authors observed that after civil rights movements took place in the USA people were not willing to convey their prejudiced racial attitudes. But, at the same time as public opinion expressed more acceptance towards Black people, they were openly against affirmative actions of desegregation and equal opportunities promotion for Black people. For the authors, the modern racist would not recognize their own prejudice, since they know Racism is now a socially undesirable feature. Thus, people would justify racial discrimination with any other variable but race. Ultimately, White people would argue that Black people demands are unjustified considering that Racism does not exist anymore (McConahay et al., 1981).

Other authors discussed this shift in public opinion regarding racial attitudes. In 1988, Katz and Hass presented the theory of ambivalent racism positing that White people hold, at the same time, favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards Black people. This ambivalence stems from White and Black people historical interaction: White people acknowledge that the exploitation of that population was harmful, and it must be offset. Yet, on the other hand, White people would still perceive Black people as deviant, owners of disqualifying attributes. Accordingly to this perspective, this ambivalence would be kept unaware to White people, as a strategy to maintain a positive self-concept and avoid negative mood shifts (Hass et al., 1992).

A similar proposition was made by Dovidio and Gaertner´s (2004) perspective on aversive racism. These authors argued that White people are aware of the current social norms against racism, and they do embrace it, but at the same time they are not fully aware of

the prejudiced attitudes derived from the cultural historical background they hold. Hence, they would build a positive self-concept as an unprejudiced person, but they would still experience aversive emotions like fear, disgust, and discomfort when around Black people. Consequently, Black people are perceived as aversive themselves, because they threaten White people self-concept by provoking all those unjustified negative feelings. For that reason, White people will often avoid Black people to keep their own racism unacknowledged, maintaining their prejudiced beliefs through rationalization, justification, and denial (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004).

And It Keeps Going: Systemic Oppression and Conformity

Over the years, scholars and practitioners have proposed interventions and strategies to keep people from adopting prejudiced attitudes, or at least to avoid discriminatory behaviours. Still, the fact is that prejudice is a consequence of a natural process of human cognition (Brown, 2010; Crandall & Stangor, 2005; Fiske, 2005; Kramer et al., 2011; Stangor, 2016; Turner et al., 1987), which makes it especially hard to keep from happening. Actually, one could say that social categorization occurs so spontaneously in our everyday perception, that stereotypes represent an important form of social knowledge (Rhodes & Baron, 2019), even if the use of stereotypes (which hold a reliable relation with prejudice) can be unfair (Stangor, 2016).

This understanding of prejudice as natural has been discussed since Allport's publication (1954). One of the main problems of this default structure is inertia (Stangor, 2016): when holding prejudiced and stereotyped beliefs individuals tend to keep their previous knowledge even if new (contradictory) pieces of information are presented. This is what has been named *the prejudice habit*: the idea that it is simply easier to keep doing what society has been doing for years (Foster & Devine, 2014). Over time, prejudice came to be

more than an individual attitude, but also a part of our cultural and historical background (Freire, 2018), founding a systematically oppressive society (David & Derthick, 2018; Freire, 2018; Jetten & Peters, 2019).

This systemic oppression is based on the power relation established between social groups over time (David & Derthick, 2018; Freire, 2018). Moreover, oppression is associated with social norms (Cialdini, 2007) that indicate how to interact with ingroup and outgroup members (Smith et al., 2015). The usage and reinforcement of those norms throughout history can lead to a legal validation of prejudiced beliefs and discriminatory behaviours (e.g., racial segregation; criminalization of homosexuality; prohibition of female work and suffrage). In this sense, the oppression system encourages, expects and regulates discriminatory behaviours through the normalization of prejudice and discrimination in intergroup relations (Barros, 2012; David & Derthick, 2018; Murphy et al., 2018; Pereira & Vala, 2007; Smith et al., 2015), and imposes institutionalized oppression by force and deprivation (e.g., division of labour in society, limited social mobility, legal restrictions to access social resources, the glass ceiling phenomenon) (David & Derthick, 2018; Torino et al., 2019).

Once the oppression is established, the system keeps reproducing itself through the socialization of its newcomers (Freire, 2018), forming a vicious circle. Socialization describes the process wherein individuals learn the social expectations for the different social identities and how they should interact with others (Laible et al., 2015). This is the key to transfer systemic oppression through generations: oppressor and oppressed groups are socialized to play their roles and to ensure the continuity of social oppression (Freire, 2018; Major & O'Brien, 2005), in a way that the prejudiced environment continues to shape prejudiced people (Allport, 1954; David & Derthick, 2018; Murphy et al., 2018). With the condition of oppression fully established, individual displays of prejudice are no longer

needed, and the system maintains social oppression as part of its daily life relying on people's conformity, so that the prejudiced environment keeps shaping prejudiced people (Allport, 1954; Crandall et al., 2018; Duckitt, 1994; Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Zhirkov et al., 2021).

Collusion: What are we (not) doing?

As the years passed by, diversity and prejudice became a deeply discussed topic in social psychology. The 21st century did not reveal a more inclusive world, but instead it showed society new forms of prejudice. It is true that prejudice might have changed its presentation into a more subtle form (Crosby et al., 1980; Fetz & Kroh, 2021) – or it might have taken ambivalent (Katz & Hass, 1988; Brooks et al., 2019), modern (McConahay et al., 1981; Perry et al., 2015), aversive (Pearson et al., 2009), or benevolent (Glick & Fiske, 2012) features – but the fact remains that prejudice is still occurring in society. Actually, it might be too soon to even say that the old-fashioned, blatant forms of prejudice have disappeared (Bodenhausen & Richeson, 2010). So, where did we go wrong for Racism, Sexism, and Homophobia to be hot topics for social psychology still?

One of the contributing factors for continuity of prejudice and systemic oppression in society is that people who may not hold prejudiced beliefs tend to be reluctant to speak up against prejudice (Sue et al., 2019). In a situation where an individual observes a racist/sexist/homophobic behaviour, there are some possible reactions: the individual may a) endorse the prejudice, approve it and reproduce it; b) veto it, being clearly against the prejudice presented; or c) remain neutral without actively validating or rejecting the prejudice. The latter has been previously described in the literature as discrimination by omission (Braun, 2000). Omission is usually perceived as less problematic since it does not involve a deliberate action from the individual (Ritov & Baron, 1992; Spranca et al., 1991). Still, the omission bias plays an important part in the maintenance of oppression systems

(Doyle, 1997) since the only way to change status quo would be challenging it, while the failure to do so allows oppression to persist (Ritov & Baron, 1992, Sue et al., 2019).

This dissertation focuses on a specific form of omission: collusion – the cooperation with the dominant group, consciously or not, to reinforce that group's stereotypical attitudes, behaviours, and norms of dominance (Allyn, 2011). The concept of collusion is described to evidence not only the exemption of liability of the bystanders (Latané & Rodin, 1969) in a discriminatory situation, but also their connivance with the oppression system and the important role they play in its maintenance. Collusion is the tendency of people to do nothing in face of discrimination (Vogelsang et al., 2013). It is the fulfilment of the conditions implicitly required by the social context that imply the naturalization of the hierarchy between the groups that comprise society.

For the study of prejudice, the idea of collusion refers to being conniving, becoming complicit, being permissive. It is suggested that there are basically three types of collusion: a) silence - when the person perceives discriminatory behaviour, but does not acknowledge it publicly; b) denial - when the person refuses to acknowledge the behaviour as discriminatory, denying its occurrence; and c) compliance and agreement - when the person is permissive towards discrimination, acknowledging its occurrence although not actively perpetuating or even agreeing with it (Cross, 2000). A very clear example of collusion occurs when prejudiced jokes are being shared (Thomas et al. 2020): often enough individuals who do not agree with the ideas expressed by the interlocutor choose to stay quiet, ignore or even laugh at what is said, and consequently strengthen and perpetuate prejudice and discrimination against the targeted group.

There are some reasons that lead people to collude, chief among them is self-protection. When the individuals find themselves in a hostile environment where the norm

provides for and facilitates discrimination against certain groups, it is only reasonable for these individuals collude expecting that the oppressive group will not turn against them (Krane & Waldron, 2020). In addition, to collude is also to seek group acceptance, and maintain relationships and social status (Cross, 2000).

… and Academia?

Although collusion might be easily observed when studying prejudice, it is a concept that has been neglected in the literature over the years. Previous research has addressed other phenomena related to omission (i.e., Anderson, 2003; Fryberg & Eason, 2017; Gearhart & Zhang, 2013) and confrontation (i.e., Sue et al., 2019; Thomas et al., 2020). So far, the (lack of) reaction in face of discrimination seems to be related to variables such as the sense of belonging to the targeted group (Wang & Dovidio, 2016), the situation in which discrimination occurs (Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020), the relationship with the aggressor (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014), the perceived impact of confrontation (Rattan & Dweck, 2010), and the social (Elizer & Major, 2012; Good et al., 2012; Nicole & Stewart, 2004) and personal (Rasinski et al., 2013) costs of confronting.

To date, the term collusion is circumscribed in an ill-defined conceptual cloud of phenomena associated with diversity and prejudice, but only minor academic efforts to delimit the concept, its implications, and situations of occurrence have been identified (Ferdman, 2003). Considering this, the present dissertation aims to propose a model to explain the phenomenon of collusion in the face of discriminatory situations. As specific objectives, it is intended to: a) delimit and characterize the concept of collusion for different social identity groups; b) construct and seek for validity evidence for an instrument to assess collusion; and c) identify facilitating and inhibiting variables of the collusion phenomenon.

In order to fulfil the objectives proposed herein, this dissertation includes three distinct studies. The first one is a qualitative study, aiming to evidence people's perceptions of the phenomenon. It included the conduction of seven focus groups and collective interviews with members of minority and majority groups representing three of the five primary categories of diversity– namely: Race (Black/White), Gender (Men/Women), and Sexual Orientation (Homosexuals/Heterosexuals). The choice to work with such dimensions is due to its social relevance, since they are immutable, more evident and more influential in producing of prejudice in society (Roberson, 2019). Group sessions were recorded after consent decree of all participants was obtained. Recorded data was transcribed and submitted to a textual analysis.

The second study refers to the construction of a quantitative measure for collusion based on the exploratory data obtained in Study 1. The items were elaborated based on the categories extracted from the participants' verbalizations, and on associated literature. The final version of the scale was administered to a sample of the general population members, and the data was submitted to statistical analysis that proved the measure's adequacy.

Finally, in the last study it is proposed an explanatory model for collusion. The model is based on the findings of the previous studies and aim to describe the relations between the variables related to the phenomenon. All the studies and their results are presented in the following sections.

Study 1: "They can fight their own fights"

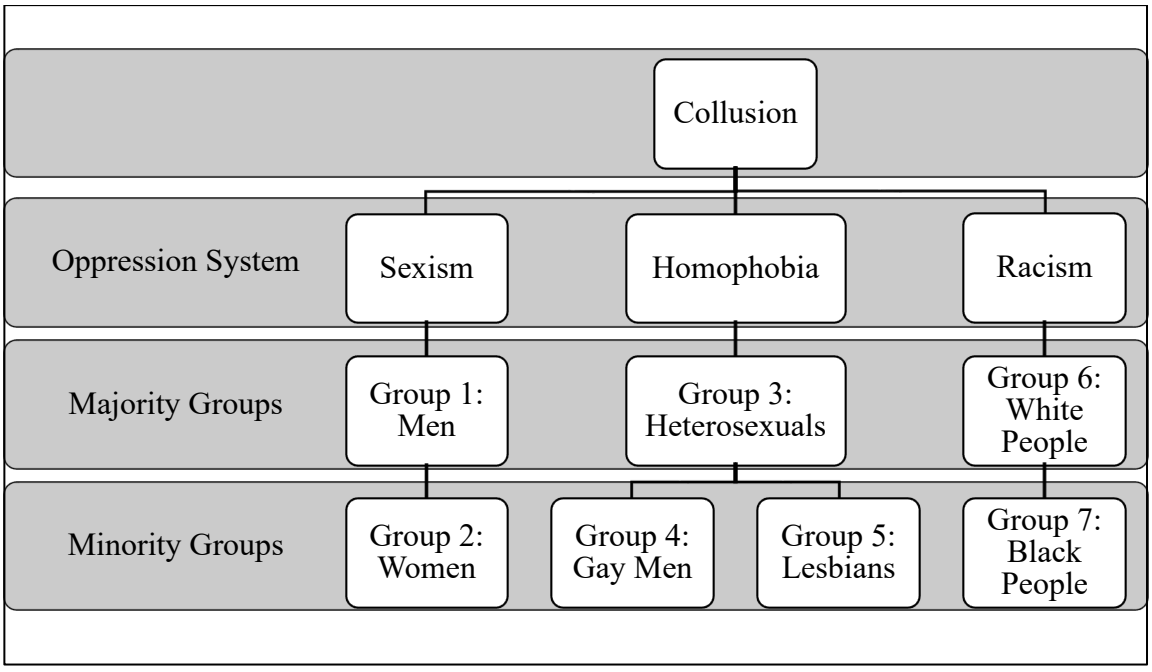
Method

Participants

Participants were 31 individuals, 17 Men, with an average age of 24.38 years (SD = 7.07 years). Considering the three oppression systems studied, each participant was assigned to one focus group according to self-identification provided by them. This study was based on seven groups, as follows: two groups to discuss sexism (Males x Females), three groups to discuss homophobia (Heterosexuals x Gay Men x Lesbians), and two groups to discuss racism (White people x Black people). The graphic representation of such distribution can be found on Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Distribution of Participants in the Groups According to Oppression System



Instruments

A semi-structured interview script was used to present the discussion to the participants and direct the main points (Appendix 1). All sessions were recorded in audio after consent decree of all participants was obtained.

Procedures

Initially, participants in this study completed a small registration questionnaire with demographic questions, and indicated their availability to participate in the interviews, which were scheduled later accordingly to individuals' preferences (Appendix 2). The sessions lasted an average of 86 minutes (ranging from 76 to 109 minutes). They started with an explanation about the study´s objective, followed by questions about the individuals' experience in relation to the investigated phenomenon. At the end of each interview, the researcher presented a summarized version of the content discussed by the participants, who provided their feedback on it.

Data Analysis

Recorded data was transcribed and submitted to a textual analysis performed with the IRAMuTeQ (*Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires*) software. This software was developed by Ratinaud (2009), originally in French, to provide qualitative analysis that goes from basic lexicography to multivariable analysis (Ramos et al., 2019). IRAMuTeQ has been used in Brazil to analyse qualitative data since 2013 (Camargo & Justo, 2013).

For the analysis proposed here, the transcriptions corpuses were standardized, and the groups were analysed both independently and jointly in five grouping strategies. The software was programmed to perform a Descending Hierarchical Classification (DHC), which aims to obtain classes of text segments that, at the same time, present similar

vocabulary to each other and different vocabulary from the text segments of other classes (Camargo & Justo, 2013). In this analysis, it considered nouns, verbs and adjectives identified in the transcriptions. Based on the results obtained from IRAMuTeQ, it was then performed a content analysis of the categories presented so to name and describe the content of each class.

Results

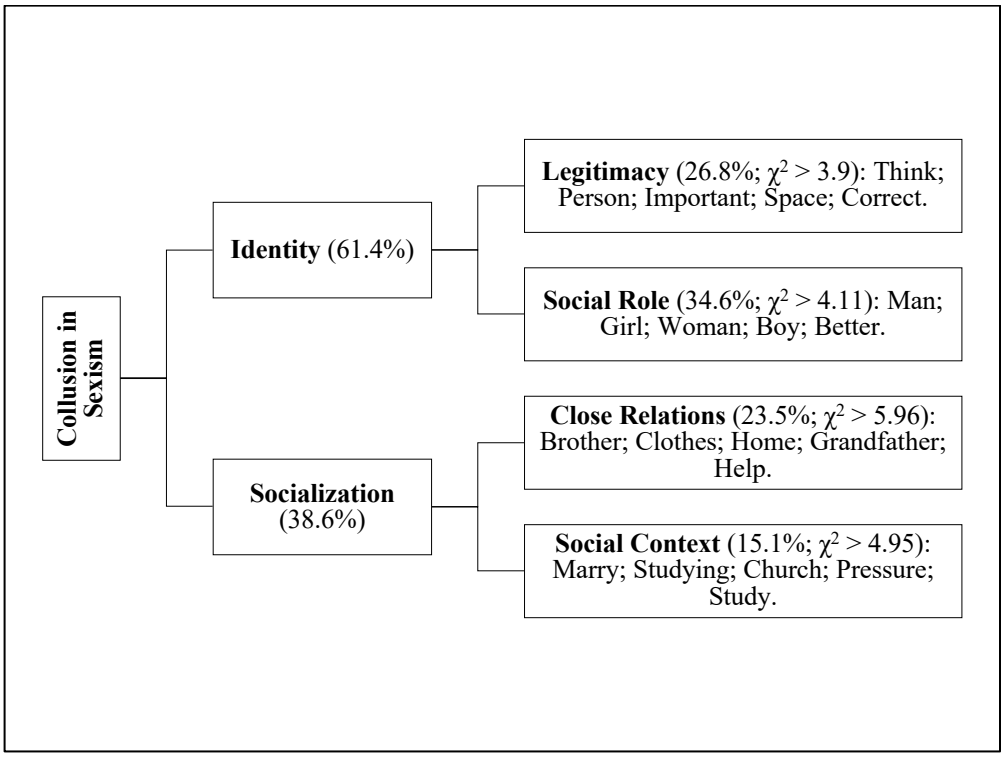
In order to provide a definition of collusion and identify the specificities of it, it is presented next the analysis for each oppression system discussed, as well as the joint analysis of the data in a single corpus, followed by the summary collusion definitions provided by the groups.

Collusion in Sexism

For the Male and Female cisgender groups, there were 17,865-word occurrences, the software analysed 1,443 lemmatized forms (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and identified 501 text segments. There were classified 370 text segments in two categories and four sub-categories named according to the content presented by each of them (Figure 2).

Figure 2.

Collusion in Sexism



Note. The words were classified by IRAMuTeQ considering the chi-square test results ($p < .05$).

The first category, Identity, talks about the definition of Male and Female identities, what is expected of each of them, and how those identities are perceived in society. That includes two lower categories: Legitimacy (26.8% of the classified segments), that describes the need to defend and acknowledge Female identities as important parts of society –

> (Female Participant): "We need to speak up too, because we… the context does not give us a saying, but we have to impose our voice and show that we are there. I think it is very important that we don't stay quiet – even though we often do, because you are afraid, because you have this feeling that you are wrong [by confronting] – but it

> is important. Especially when you are in a group, it is much easier. So, it's very important… I think it's very important to have a group organization";

and Social Role (34.6% of the classified segments), describing specific social identities based on gender and the relations stablished between them –

> (Female Participant): "There is this notion of the Woman's place. My mother also has that. Because she is a Woman, she has to take care of her husband… she is a Woman… and despite her job and everything, when she comes home, she does everything and my father will say "Ah, food… I need food, I want to eat…", and she goes there and makes dinner. Then I say 'Mom, you don't have to, he's the only one hungry'".

> (Female Participant): "I keep thinking there is a pressure from society, that we have to be perfect, the Woman has to get married, the Woman has to get pregnant, she has to have a wonderful body again".

The second major category, Socialization, refers to social interaction that might influence social behaviour, either related to early life socialization or current interaction. That includes the lower categories of Close Relations (23.5% of the classified segments), related to valuable intimate interaction, especially early in life, through which individuals learn behavioural patterns –

> (Female Participant): "Since you had an education [that taught you that] and everything that you learnt all your life […], you end up having that kind of [prejudiced] attitude".

> (Male Participant): "I grew up in a 'straight world', most of my friends are straight, and for them the funny one is the one who makes the best joke, no matter if you are a *faggot*, if you are Black, if you are a Woman. And it's kind of a complicated game

> because not everyone can take part on these disrespectful jokes. And I'm starting to see myself as a sexist just for getting in the game, for trying to have a circle of friends that I thought was necessary at that moment. And just from being there you're already considered perhaps part of the group. It is hard to tell until what extent just being in the place where they are doing that... when it is good to correct your friends, or when it is good to perceive this behaviour and leave";

and Social Context (15.1% of the classified segments), describing how specific contexts features can influence one's behaviour –

> (Male Participant): "People quickly identify their groups, like 'oh, I think these people will support me' or 'I think these people don't think like me'. I think the decision derives from 'Wait, who is the majority here? Which group is the majority? Are these people in favour or against me?'. If they are against me, I'll be silent. I think this is something that plays an important part. Over time, you kind of deconstruct this view, but I think it's a default view. People think 'I will not have support here. I don't want to be the obnoxious one, I'll just stay quiet and wait for it to go away'".

For the groups that discussed collusion in Sexism, the phenomenon is justified as a social tradition, so that sexist behaviours are authorized by social norms and do not need to be stopped. These social norms, however, vary within groups, defining how permissive environments are.

> (Male Participant): "It has always been this way and people have always done it – that's the excuse that people use to perpetuate that. And then you see… I have never seen in my life any behaviour of this kind happening, for example, in a conversation in which people are… how do you say that? That people do not feel allowed to say those [discriminative] things… That is really a social issue".

It was also pointed out that collusion is related to misogyny and acceptance of the historical social roles of Men and Women in society. Particularly, permissiveness towards discrimination is related to conformity, in other words, people believe and defend that discriminatory behaviour is the standard functioning of society.

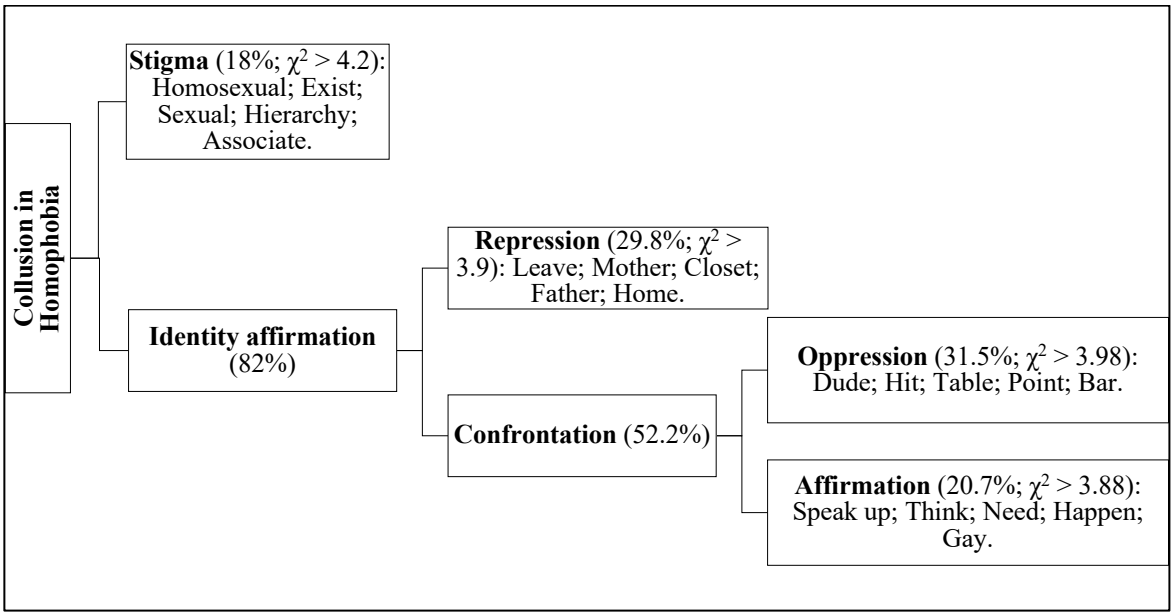
> (Female Participant): “For a long time I went to church, and I had a Christian background, and I had nothing to say about it [prejudice and discrimination] because it is based on the fact that the wife has to be submissive to her husband. It always bothered me, and I left church because I was always told that if I wanted to be a businesswoman, to be a successful woman, I had to marry a man who was a businessman, a successful man, for me to be that with him and it bothered me a lot because I kept thinking ‘I won't base all my life on a man, I want be myself’. It's just something you think, but you can't put it out, you can't expose it, because you would be wrong. It's like everyone is thinking like that and you're the only one who is not. You get tired, you just don't say anything, and for a long time, I even believed that, you know?! That I should take my position as a woman: beautiful, demure, and a housewife. I even used to say that I only wanted to be a mother for the rest of my life”.

Collusion in Homophobia

For the Lesbians’, Gays’, and Heterosexuals’ groups, there were 36,798-word occurrences, the software analysed 2,214 lemmatized forms (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and identified 1049 text segments. There were classified 739 text segments in two categories and four sub-categories (Figure 3).

Figure 3.

Collusion in Homophobia



Note. The words were classified by IRAMuTeQ considering the chi-square test results ($p < .05$).

The first category, Stigma (18% of the classified segments), talks about the social status of Homosexuals –

> (Male/Homosexual Participant): "Homosexuals are perceived as people that everything they do has a sexual intention. Everything is sexualized, 'Wow, look, he's Homosexual, look how he touches that kid', 'Wow, but he's Homosexual', so sexuality always comes first, you're never seen as a person. There are a lot of other stereotypes, and it all comes up ever since you're a child and you don't really understand what sexuality is. Sometimes you don't even understand what you are.".

The second category, Identity Affirmation, describes social interaction related to Homosexual identities' recognition. This upper category includes Repression (29.8% of the

classified segments), referring to repression of Homosexual identity, especially in family interaction, so it will not be publicly spotted –

> (Male/Heterosexual Participant): “You see… the first time I went to a psychologist I was around 10 years old and the problem that my mother described to the psychologist, as a reason for my visit there, was that I had a feminine manner, and she wanted me to introduce myself like a Man, because she believed I was very Gay”;
>
> (Female/Homosexual Participant): “My parents always said it, like, ‘Oh, you dyke’ as a more derogatory term, ‘Get out of here, dyke ... stop doing shit, dyke’ and after a while my mom started to react and push me ‘back into the closet’ and every time I would try to come out, she would say ‘Now this is it, you want to become a Man too, is that it? Are you going this way?’”;

and the lower category of Confrontation, describing general social interaction based on sexuality acknowledgement. This confrontation can be described either as Oppression (31.5% of the classified segments), confrontations that result in aggression and general negative outcomes –

> (Male/Homosexual Participant): “But the fear… So, one day my boyfriend and I went to try this kind of thing, to go out [together in public] ... and some people driving by started to insult us a lot and it was horrible and I ... So, I was never like that, a reactive person, to reply, to make a scene, but if it was hurting me personally, I’d answer. That day hurt me personally, but I had no voice to speak, because I was afraid of being beaten, because I was in an environment that was really… I did not feel protected.”;
>
> (Female/Homosexual Participant): “I don't know, besides being beaten… because being beaten is actually the extreme [consequence] and it doesn’t happen that much to us. It's much easier for us to suffer verbal violence, harassment… These are things

> that happen every day, just by walking holding hands or having your hair cut… our physical violence is being raped, and there are people who legitimize it because we are lesbians, so it will fix us, you know? It's pretty bizarre, you know? The story of corrective rape. It's very hard to think about, but it can happen, in addition to touching us, which is also physical violence… That kind of thing.";

or as Affirmation (52.2% of the classified segments), confrontation that results in positive outcomes and Homosexual identity acknowledgement –

> (Female/Heterosexual Participant): "If I see someone being discriminated against, I also speak up, I help. I know all the possible legal procedures, I have friends that work *pro bono*, so I try to help the best I can, in a less traumatic, harm reduction way, with everything I can afford. I will confront, I will be a witness if needed, I'll fight, I will not shut up anymore.";
>
> (Male/Heterosexual Participant): "This social support ... that's it. I think ... I've had some situations in which groups of friends noticed some prejudice and intervened, even actually fighting, but ... a group of friends with the same mindset... when everyone is… The social group, right?".

Collusion regarding Homophobia was perceived by the groups as related to the exemption of liability for homophobic behaviour - the justifications used may be based on the unintentionality of the discrimination agent or the extreme sensitivity of the target of discrimination. Socially, they believe that collusion in the face of Homophobia is associated with a cultural argument in which Homosexuals must accept discrimination as part of their identity.

> (Male/Homosexual Participant): "I was systematically harassed, mainly for being an effeminate child. For example, once we were playing in school, and the boys got

> together, threw me on the floor, they spat in my face, they cursed me over and over, and they said that I belonged in the floor […]. The school knew, the teacher knew, everyone knew. My mother knew. And nobody did anything. Nothing.".

Participants link part of the collusion phenomenon to heteronormativity (or heterocentrism; Jesus, 2013)— the social idea that Heterosexual relationships are normative and superior to other forms of relations — that subjects Homosexual individuals to daily punishment for their moral transgression. In general, discriminatory behaviour is seen as impossible to change and so people end up colluding, even if they do not agree with what is expressed.

> (Female/Homosexual Participant): "We have to come out of the closet all the time, because heteronormativity says everyone is straight, and you coming out of the closet sometimes is a political act and sometimes is 'I'm going to protect myself here because I don't know what's coming…', so sometimes we stay inside the closet to really defend ourselves, because there's no other option.".

When discussing collusion in Homophobia, participants perceive the phenomenon as closely related to the variables of the group in which it occurs. In this sense, they stated that collusion is more likely to occur when the group supports prejudice and discrimination in a normative manner - thus, when the individuals realize that they will not have support from the group or even that they may be retaliated for curbing discriminatory behaviour, they tend to collude. Moreover, collusion is also related to one's perception of the agent of discrimination: when it is believed that the agent is not open to dialogue, that his behaviour and opinion cannot be changed, people usually choose not to intervene in the situation.

> (Male/Heterosexual Participant): "It depends a lot on the group, and my affection towards this group. I try to analyse the potential for change, if I am in danger making

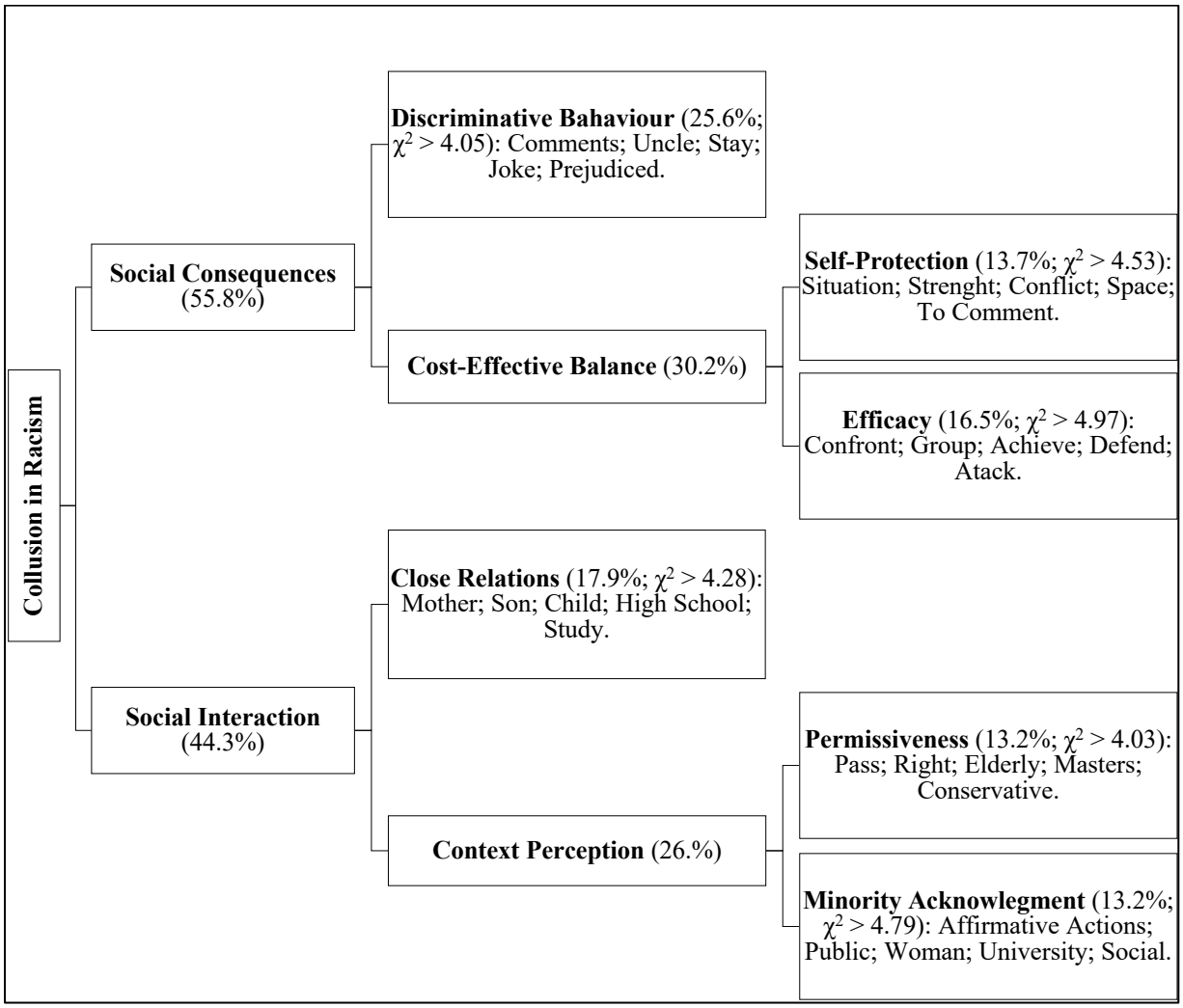
> this kind of argumentation. For example, at parties it's common to notice some homophobic behaviours, but that's one of the situations that I clearly realize it's dangerous for me to say anything. So, in situations like that I definitely let it go, unless there is danger the prejudice target. Like, the man is holding hard on the girl's arm, then I know I'm exposing myself to something dangerous, but I do it anyways. But if it is only raising voices or something like that, I get scared, and […] I try not to expose myself.".

Collusion in Racism

In the Black and White people groups' transcriptions, there were 18,293-word occurrences, the software analysed 1,499 lemmatized forms (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and identified 514 text segments. There were classified 425 text segments in two categories and six sub-categories (Figure 4).

Figure 4.

Collusion in Racism



Note. The words were classified by IRAMuTeQ considering the chi-square test results ($p < .05$).

The first category, Social Consequences, describes how the discrimination observed can impact one's life. Social interaction includes Discriminative Behaviour (25.6% of the classified segments), describing characteristics of the discrimination observed –

(White Participant): "Of course, the punishment is in accordance with the transgression. A speech, a comment, a joke, the punishment will be a wake-up call.

> But when it comes to a more serious discrimination, it has to be punished in an exemplary way.";

and Cost-Effective Balance, which describes the balance between positive and negative outcomes of confrontational behaviour. Cost-effective Balance unfolds into Self-Protection (13.7% of the classified segments), related to the individuals' concern about their integrity, defence mechanisms and threat avoidance –

> (White Participant): "It's that famous sentence 'oh, they will never change', and then you end up forgiving it. But most of the time that's it 'they won't change', 'they meant no harm, they're only saying that because their father used to say it, it's just a joke'. When the person is close to you it usually goes like 'they will not change, they are too old', and when it's a stranger you avoid conflict, because usually people are aggressive, if you say something, you already expect this aggressiveness in return.";

and Efficacy (16.5% of the classified segments), the perception the individuals have that they can achieve positive outcomes through confrontation –

> (Black Participant): "'Bro, I'm not going to talk about this… with that kind of thinking, it's not going to be worth it', honestly, you clearly know that no change will happen, I can't see it happening. I won't waste my time, because it will not be possible to build any argument that will get to the person. So basically, you lose your strength… It's not worth wasting my energy… No, it's not… you know you won't even have the strength to talk, you know that you will discuss the same point again and again, because the person will not understand it… Such a basic racist situation.".
>
> (White Participant): "I started working with 20-year-olds, and there was only one Black student in Law school, and I would say 'hey, how is it going?' and he would say "Oh, prejudice every day, just the jokes and everything. People hug me to pretend

> not to be prejudiced, but...'. It happens a lot, I try to talk about it nowadays, but it is hard."

The second upper category is Social Interaction, that points to previous and current social aspects that might influence behaviour. That category includes Close Relations (17.9% of the classified segments) related to valuable intimate interaction, especially early in life, through which individuals learn behavioural patterns –

> (Black Participant): "I've been through some situations in my family, and I didn't have the courage to speak up. They would talk about the colour of my skin and my hair, for example, they said 'Ah, nappy hair [ironically] is now fashionable', because I used my hair curled… I used to straighten it, so as I saw in my family. My mother for example, always straightened her hair, she has always had straight hair, so she was an example to me since I was a child, so I had curly hair, but I didn't want curly hair, I wanted it straight. And my mother too. I don't think she liked my hair very much, she always tried to keep it down. And when I got older, I started using hair chemistry to straighten it.";

and Context Perception, regarding group characteristics towards acceptance or rejection of discriminative behaviour. These contexts can be evaluated in terms of Permissiveness (13.2% of the classified segments), that expresses the tendency to accept discrimination, and maintain social dominance structures –

> (Black Participant): "It turns out to be one against many, because if you confront the person who said that [discriminative speech], other people will defend them, and then there are several people attacking you […]. With several people together they will defend each other, they will belittle what you are saying, what you are feeling because, as it's said, "Oh, this is a crying baby generation thing".

or in terms of Minority Acknowledgement (13.2% of the classified segments), that expresses the tendency to acknowledge Black identities as a worthy part of society –

> (White Participant): “I think the affirmative action policy so far, in my view, has worked, and when someone asks me, I say exactly that. I defend the affirmative action, I say ‘Oh, I just find it wrong that in Brazil politicians use public policies as propaganda, and not to satisfy the technical necessity of that’. The technical need for affirmative action I see is mainly not because Black people cannot grow [by themselves], or, for example, that Women cannot be president of a company. […] The goal is to make it more common, to make it common for Black people to be here at the university. This has happened after affirmative action policy.”.

Participants described collusion in Racism as a contextual phenomenon related to group characteristics in which discrimination occurs. In this sense, groups perceived as more open to dialogue enable more confrontation in situations of discrimination. On the other hand, in groups in which prejudice and discrimination are normative, when there is an implicit authorization for this type of behaviour, there is also more collusion.

> (Black Participant): “And sometimes there are obvious situations of Racism and using words in a way… they were used naturally, in quotes, like ‘nappy hair’, things like that. And people can't correct themselves, they can't stop themselves. And when I realize that I'm in a group that there are a lot of people older than me, I don't have… until now I haven't had the courage, or the ability to intervene […]. There is this question if they are open to dialogue, to listen to you. They will say ‘Oh, you want to defend this group, but they are like this. You want to defend the bad guys’ – we often hear these arguments when we want to discuss the topic”.

Also, the perception of discrimination as a tradition was indicated as an important factor for collusion.

> (Black Participant): “White people have always been allowed to say what they wanted. It’s a dominance relation. So, I think it bothers them when someone says, ‘You can't occupy these spaces and talk that way!’. I don't know, I think there's a bit of that too... All these historical questions”.

Participants included consequences as an important variable to collusion, in the sense that confronting discrimination can be harmful, with aftereffects ranging from legal damages to family and social problems, psychological distress and physical aggression.

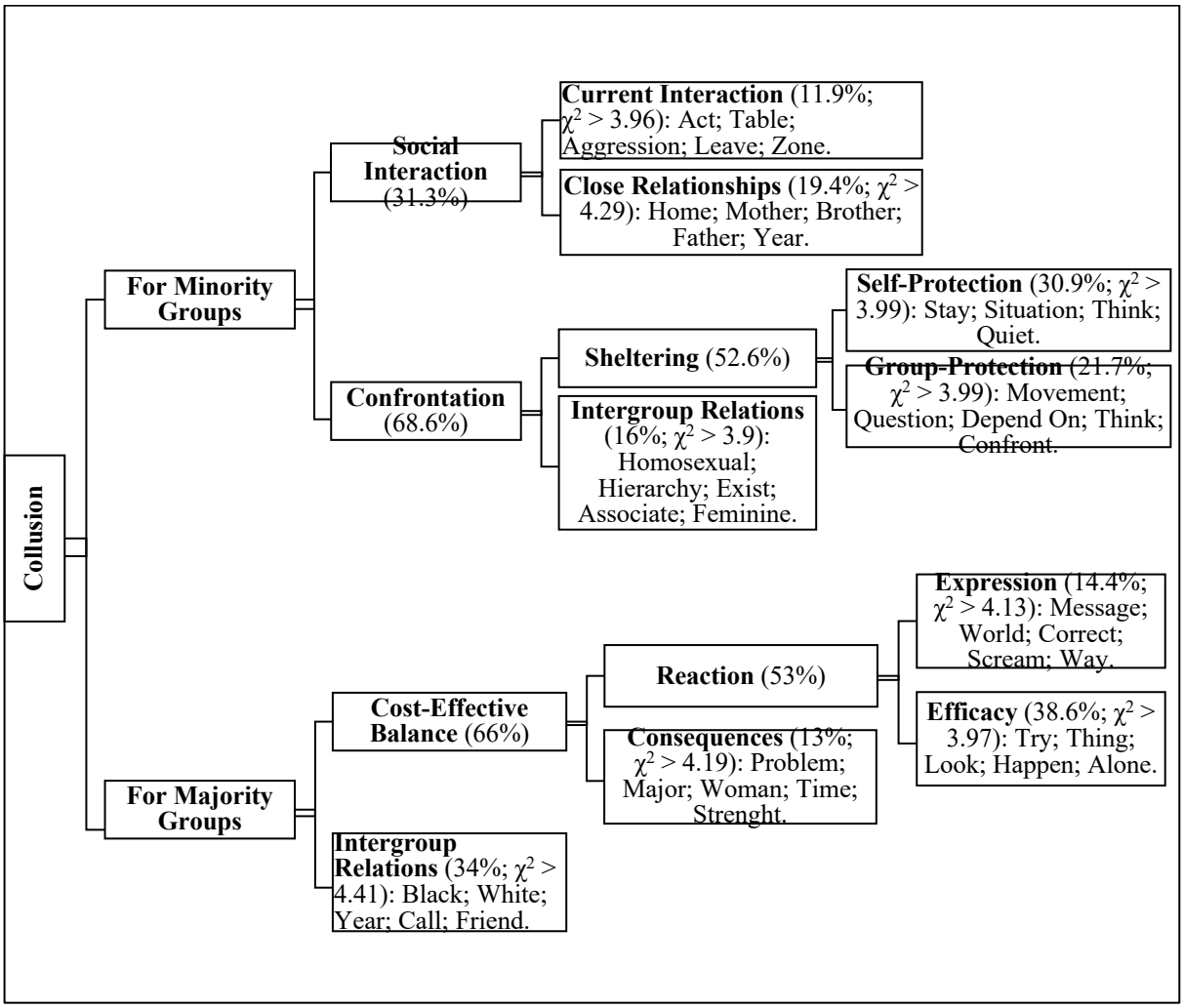
> (White Participant): “I think that Brazilians don't want that trouble. I give my example of technicality, ‘oh man, I'm going to get into a discussion, and I will suffer the consequences. What is in there for me?’ I think we are very afraid of getting involved with the situation. Like, ‘oh, there will be consequences for that’ or ‘I will waste my time.’. We don’t want to feel uncomfortable.”.

Minority versus Majority Groups.

When analysing all the minority groups together (Women, Homosexuals, and Black people), there were 44,395-word occurrences, the software analysed 2,333 lemmatized forms (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and identified 1,263 text segments. There were classified 1,132 text segments in two categories and five sub-categories (Figure 5).

Figure 5.

Definition of Collusion per Group



Note. The words were classified by IRAMuTeQ considering the chi-square test results ($p < .05$).

First, Social Interaction, describing previous, and current interactions that might influence one's behaviour. Social Interaction is divided into Current Interaction (11.9% of the classified segments), that describes the characteristics of the ongoing interaction when the discrimination is observed–

> (Homophobia group – Lesbian Participant): “I think it depends a lot on the context too. How are we picking this fight? In which context? Because there are contexts that if you pick the fight, you are at risk, you might get beaten. Other people might be at risk too, so we always have to be in this, man… trying to protect our own.”

and Close Relations (19.4% of the classified segments) related to valuable intimate interaction, especially early in life, through which individuals learn behavioural patterns –

> (Homophobia group – Gay Participant): “The family ends up reproducing a lot of ancient [prejudiced] behaviours, but the school, besides the family, is another institution that can insert something there in the person's head, through education.”

The second category is called Confrontation, it talks about the actual identity (majority/minority) interaction. This category includes a lower category of Sheltering, that describes different ways in which the individual can find protection over confrontation. Sheltering is still divided between Self-Protection (30.9% of the classified segments), referring to one’s desire to preserve its identity avoiding confrontation –

> (Homophobia group – Lesbian Participant): “Sometimes we give up and just leave, ‘Let's go home? Enough of a headache’. And it's like, you fear that if you react… is the parameter you have to have ‘Okay, if I react, will I die here, or will I just get slapped?’”.

and Group-Protection (21.7% of the classified segments) referring to one’s desire to preserve its identity seeking group protection –

> (Racism group – Black Participant): “And I think another fact that […] influences is also the social support, if there is someone who supports us, who helps us, we can often stand up […] for example, when we go to the university, there are some people from the same group as us. […] Hence this support is very important when we try to

> approach these matters, because it gives us suggestions, guides us, helps us a lot. You don't feel helpless".

The second lower category in Confrontation is Intergroup Relations (16% of the classified segments), describing how different identities are organized in the social context, and how they interact with each other –

> (Homophobia group – Gay Participant): "I don't think people want to change the hierarchy that exists, because for most people the hierarchy is comfortable, even if it is not the numerical majority... the social majority, people who have the power to change it, they are fine the way things are, they will not want to bring awareness to the people that this can change, so the people are used to it too. Even the person who is marginalized, they don't feel entitled to speak and it's okay, because they don't have that right. There is always a caveat. Because there is the hierarchy and who's up there forces it into who's in the bottom [of the structure]."

For majority groups (Men, Heterosexuals, and White people), there were 28,561-word occurrences, the software analysed 2,079 lemmatized forms (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and identified 801 text segments. There were classified 617 text segments in two categories and three sub-categories (Figure 5). First, Cost-Effective Balance, describes the potential for reaction, and its consequences. Reaction talks about the behaviour to be performed in the situation, and it includes Expression (14.4% of the classified segments), describing the message the individuals convey through their behaviour and ways in which they can do it –

> (Sexism group – Male Participant): "So how can we… because maybe that's the point: how to raise awareness? I don't know an example. Because there's no point in beating people up, because then you're out of reason. You want to do a lot worse, but when

> you lose your mind, it is not helpful. People will go 'You see? He is crazy' which is the easiest way to disregard the whole point of the discussion."

and Efficacy (38.6% of the classified segments), referring to the perception the individuals have that they can impact the context through confrontation –

> (Sexism group – Male Participant): "That's why I have to see myself more as a sexist, perhaps, and try to limit my actions more than acting on others, because in the end the only person we're going to change is ourselves. We can't interfere in others' relationships, but we can change how we see the world and how we act and how we perpetuate situations that may be sexist."

On the other hand, Cost-Effective Balance also includes the category Consequences (13% of the classified segments), that describes the possible outcomes reacting might have upon the individual –

> (Homophobia group – Heterosexual Participant): "The consequences of reacting are dramatic... At the very least, people will talk poorly about you. They'll talk badly about you to everyone or say you're gay too. That is what I consider the least that can happen, in case the person does not agree with you. I think there are people who will tease, try and stimulate physical and moral violence, there are possibilities that are really... [bad]"

The second main category for Majority groups is Intergroup Relations (34% of the classified segments), it describes how individuals perceive different social identities, and how they interact with each other –

> (Racism group – White Participant): "You notice the strangeness when you see a Black Man with a White Woman or a Black Woman with a White Man. Even us, who are all used to it. The first time you will look and there will come a [racist] thought,

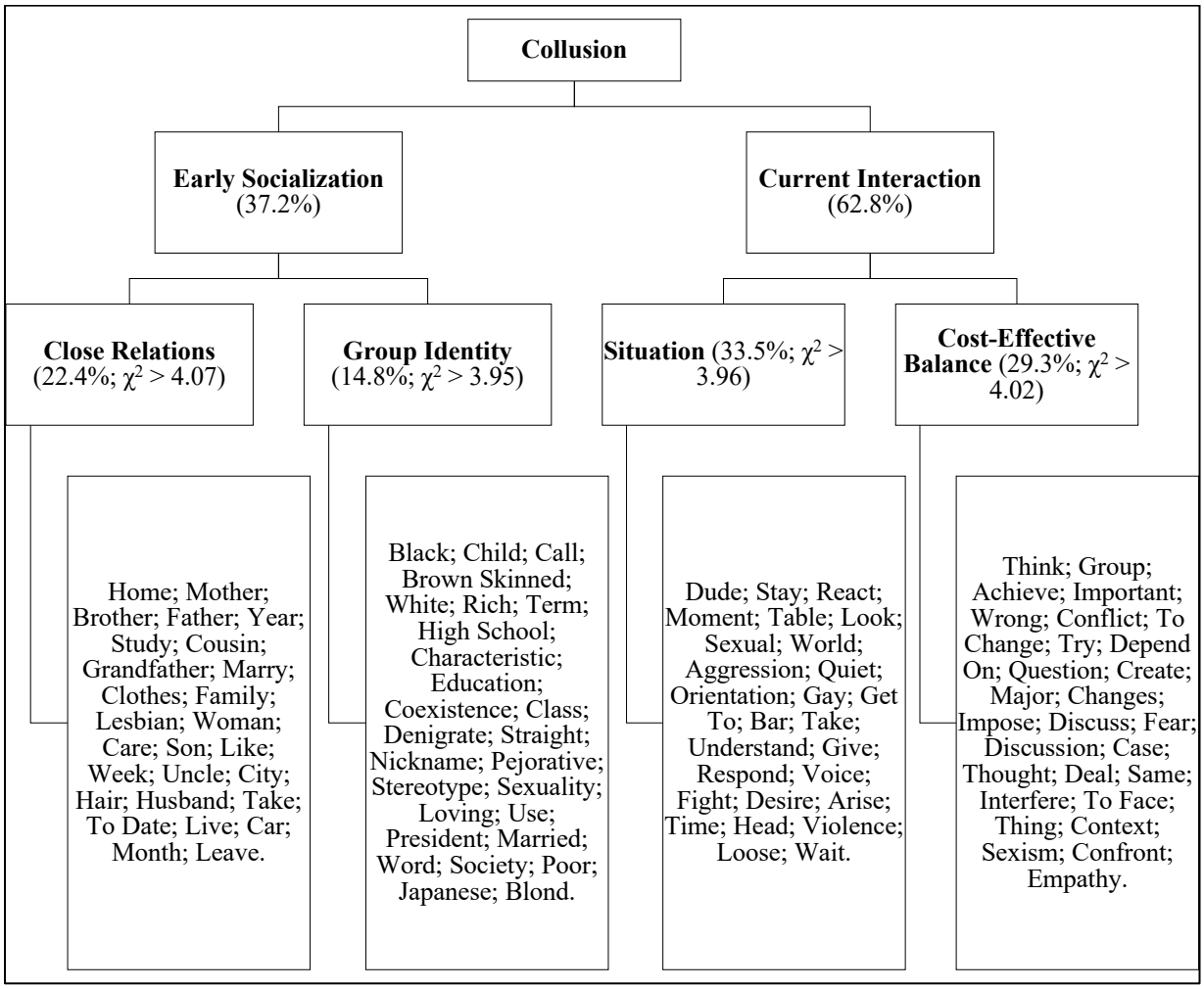
> and you'll go 'wow, why did this thought come up?', even if it was for a second, it has come. And there are still a lot of things mixed up. I read a while ago about Black Sexism, that Black Women suffer the most because they are Women and Black. So, you still have the sensuality stereotype that Men put on them. It is much worse. I've read a lot of texts about it. Sexism is worse for the Black Woman."

General Definition of Collusion.

In order to provide a broader definition of collusion, the data collected from all the focus groups was analysed together. From the 72,956-word occurrences, the software analysed 3,175 lemmatized active forms (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) and identified 2,064 text segments. There were classified 1,834 text segments in two main categories (Figure 6).

Figure 6.

General Definition of Collusion



Note. The words were classified by IRAMuTeQ considering the chi-square test results ($p < .05$).

The first category, Early Socialization, describes the behavioural patterns learned by the individuals as they were inserted in society. Those patterns are consolidated through Close Relations (22.4% of the classified segments) related to valuable intimate interaction, especially early in life, through which individuals learn behavioural patterns –

> (Homophobia Group – Heterosexual Participant): “Regarding my adoptive family, this is a very big deal, it happens very often, some comments, both political and all kinds of prejudiced comments, Homophobia, Racism. This usually happens”;
>
> (Sexism Group – Male Participant): “How many times did my dad say, ‘there's no point in fighting’? Fighting at the health centre, at home, at school… how is it pointless, guys? Pointless for what? It is a passivity towards things.”;

and Group Identity (14.8% of the classified segments), that describes the social identities the individual might develop, how those identities are perceived in society, and how they interact with each other –

> (Homophobia Group – Gay Participant): “When we talk about it, we talk a lot about social hierarchy, because ... for example, when you see a Black Man discriminating against a Gay one, he is already much more rejected than a White Man discriminating against a Gay one. If you see a Woman discriminating against a Gay Man, she's a lot more rejected than a Heterosexual Man discriminating against a Gay Man… I think the whole social hierarchy makes us think about it, like ... if you see a Gay being sexist, he's much more rejected than a Straight person. It is as if the people who are higher in the social hierarchy, they have the right to do it, and people will not take that right from them, because we [...] accept that that person has this right.”.

The second category, Current Interaction, talks about immediate aspects of the interaction that influence collusion behaviour. That includes Situation (33.5% of the classified segments), referring to the characteristics of the situation where discrimination is observed that impact collusion –

> (Homophobia group – Lesbian Participant): “I've done this observation in my life, so… I've rationalized it, what I'm willing to confront, and the first thing I always think

> is "is it about me?", if it is, it goes to a different reasoning, it's another decision. But if it's about someone else it's an immediate reaction... who knows me knows when I see a problem, I want to go there and solve it. I am like this, but this is a selection of course, it will depend on where I am. I always scan the environment where I am ... oh, I'm in a bar that is mostly Straight Men, am I going to start a fight? Or I'll just say, 'excuse me…'?";

and Cost-Effective Balance (29.3% of the classified segments), referring to the perception the individuals have that they can impact the context through confrontation with minimum personal cost attached –

> (Racism group – White Participant): "The person won't change, I will get tired, I will get stressed. Most discussions are passional. You'll explain why Racism is here, where it came from, and why making that kind of comment is bad, but the person doesn't want to hear it. Then you think the person will not change and you will stress out for nothing, so you don't even try.";
>
> (Sexism group – Female Participant): "He is very sexist, and I know it won't change, I know that's how he thinks and period. There's no use in talking and talking and talking… I don't even try because I know it won't do anything".

Discussion: What is in fact collusion?

Even though prejudice is a topic of interest for Social Psychology for years now (Stangor, 2016), researchers usually focus on the origins of prejudice and the active perpetuation of it in discriminatory behaviours. In this study, the focus was not on prejudiced behaviour, but on the absence of behaviour when facing discrimination, and the permissiveness that this represents, which was called collusion.

The data described above shows that collusion is a phenomenon socially experienced and recognized in all identities and oppression systems approached. All systems have described collusion as a similar event, regardless the kind of discrimination observed. Considering the summary definitions proposed by each group, collusion is here defined as the exemption of liability when observing a discriminatory situation. This exemption derives from compliance with historical-cultural patterns of discrimination, conformity to group norms, lack of empathy for the discriminated group, perception of low self-efficacy to stop discrimination from happening and/or to change the discriminator's mind, and fear of possible consequences.

Thus, collusion can be understood as a self-protection mechanism that leads individuals to (not) engage in behaviours in order to avoid harmful interactions, or to avoid becoming targets of social punishment for breaking historically established rules (Krane & Waldron, 2020). Colluding would then be a way to save social, physical and psychological resources and to maintain the observer's integrity – people collude to seek for group acceptance, to maintain social relations and status, and to prevent ostracism (Cross, 2000).

Furthermore, the textual analysis indicated similar results in the speech patterns through the transcriptions. The categories Social Role (Figure 2), and Stigma (Figure 3) trace back to the social expectations for the different social identities studied, including how they

should be treated, especially when talking about stigma (Major & O'Brien, 2005). That interpretation matches Social Identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) propositions, and its processes of categorization, identification, and comparison (Jetten & Peters, 2019). In that sense, those categories also refer to the implicit hierarchical interactions established between those groups overtime (Hogg & Abrams, 1998; Jetten & Peters, 2019; Torres & Hanashiro, 2017).

All the specificities of this social interaction are learnt by the individual through socialization (Laible et al., 2015). The socialization process is represented in the analysis by the categories Close Relations (Figures 2 and 4), and Repression (Figure 3), that describe the influence of valuable relationships throughout a person's life. It is through this intimate contact with other members of the ingroup that the individual learns what it means to be one of them, and what it means to be different (Sim et al., 2014; Tajfel, 1978). It is also through socialization that individuals get the social norms which will help them navigate the social environment, and engage in adequate behaviours (Cialdini, 2007; Murphy et al., 2018; Pereira & Vala, 2007; Smith et al., 2015; Torres & Macedo, 2022).

Beyond those early learnt patterns, the current interaction also seems to influence one's behaviour (Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020; Wang & Dovidio, 2016). In the results, this variable is represented by the categories Social Context (Figure 2), and Context Perception and Discriminative Behaviour (Figure 4). The influence exerted by the context includes here descriptive, prescriptive and subjective social norms (Smith et al., 2015; Torres & Macedo, 2022) that will guide behaviour – meaning that collusion depends on the specific context where discrimination is happening, that might have more permissive/egalitarian or discriminatory/meritocratic norms (Murphy et al., 2018; Pereira & Vala, 2007; Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020). Equally, the categories Legitimacy (Figure 2), and Oppression and

Affirmation (Figure 3), that indicate how much minorities are valued or despised in the group, also describe how tolerant the context is towards discrimination.

Additionally, another context feature to be considered are the consequences previously experienced and/or expected for confronting discrimination. The evaluation of consequences is presented in both the definition of collusion and in the text analysis, in the category Cost-Effective Balance (Figures 4).

The similarities between the three systems are reproduced in the majority and minority groups analysis (Figure 5). In either case, the social component plays a strong part in the definition of collusion, expressed in the categories of Social Interaction: Current Interaction and Close Relationships; Intergroup Relations for minority groups (47,3% of the classified segments); and Intergroup Relations for majority groups (34% of the classified segments). The concern about consequences is also reproduced in the categories Sheltering, for minorities, and Cost-Effective Balance, for majorities. It seems that the individual may or may not collude depending on how actually hostile the context can be, that says not only about the social norms and its strength, but also about the penalties applied to the transgressions.

The main difference here is that for majority groups the upper category of Cost-Effective Balance depends on the evaluation of how the behaviour might be perceived by others (Expression), how much impact it will have over the context (Efficacy); and the possible social consequences of behaving in the situation (Consequences). That means that, when facing discrimination, majority groups adopt an economical approach in which the potential reaction is also seen as a latent threat to their social status.

On the other hand, minority groups talk about a need of sheltering. Their choice is not related to maintaining social status, but to lessening the negative outcomes by behaving in a

more passive way (Self-Protection), or by joining the group so that its strength can keep them safe (Group Protection). Either way, majority and minority groups are concerned about self-protection and affiliation (Cross, 2000), even if they have different motivations.

Finally, aligned to all the analysis discussed, Figure 6 provides the analysis of all the groups put together to offer a holistic comprehension of collusion. The broader analysis indicates that the four categories identified by the software are related to two upper categories, which were named Early Socialization and Current Interaction. The first variable comprehends the individuals Close Relations, described by family-related terms (i.e. Mother, Brother, Father, Cousin, Grandfather) and Group Identity, which includes terms used to describe social groups (i.e. Black, Child, White; Rich, Straight). The Early Socialization variable was hence named because it in includes terms related to family and cultural patterns transferred through generations. This early socialization can be described as the individual learning process of the default interaction rules (Laible et al., 2015) - for its family (Odenweller & Harris, 2018) or for its major social group (Crandall et al., 2018).

The second variable found, Current Interaction, describes the actual context where discrimination happens. In this context, individuals evaluate characteristics of the Situation, defined by words as Moment, Aggression, Bar, Fight, and Violence. Also, the individuals tend to analyse the costs and the potential outcomes of their behaviour (Cost-Effective Balance) – this variable includes the terms Achieve, Depend On, Create, Major, Changes, Fear.

The features of the interaction instruct the individuals about the social norms of the specific context where discrimination is happening, what allows them to evaluate the best behavioural answer to the social stimuli (Murphy et al., 2018; Pereira & Vala, 2007). Thus, it is possible to imagine that different contexts establish specific norms regarding

discriminatory behaviour - some discrimination might be endorsed while others might be completely rejected. Over the last few years, studies have shown that the existence/disclosure of egalitarian norms, associated with the promotion of equality and justice, elicits anti-discriminatory behaviours, while meritocratic norms, associated with competitiveness, effort, merit and hierarchy, support discriminatory behaviours (Barros, 2012; Murphy et al., 2018; Pereira & Vala, 2007); for collusion, the contextual support for discrimination seems to be important in deciding when to conform or not.

It is important to notice that the analysis shows that Current Interaction (62.8% of the classified segments) explains a larger portion of collusion behaviour than Early Socialization (37.2% of the classified segments). That reinforces the comprehension of collusion as a contextualized phenomenon, determined and predicted by social variables more than by personal history, subjective interpretations, beliefs, or attitudes. When the individual is inserted in a hostile environment where the norm provides and facilitates discrimination, it is only reasonable to assume that the person will collude (Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020; Wang & Dovidio, 2016) in an attempt to avoid that the oppressor turns against them (Krane & Waldron, 2020). That interpretation is in line with the idea that collusion is a self-protection mechanism (Cross, 2000).

Considering the analysis presented here, and all the similarities identified throughout the approaches, it is concluded that collusion can be explained by four main variables: socialization, context features, cost-effective balance, and consequences. This proposition contemplates the core aspects that permeate the definitions provided by the groups and the text analysis presented, especially the final version that grouped all the data (Figure 6).

The Socialization variable involves social interaction, particularly childhood interaction, as a context for human development that shapes behaviour based on cultural

expectations and standards (Laible et al., 2015). This variable is proposed based on the idea that it is through the socialization process that individuals become aware of who they are, which group they belong to, and how the outgroup members should be treated. Hence, that process involves cultural learning (Freire, 2018), family traditions (Odenweller & Harris, 2018), and group identity characteristics that influence one's understanding of the social world (Tajfel, 1978).

The Context Features, alternatively, describe what about the current situation can influence the individual decision to collude or not (Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020), for example, the importance of the group for the individual, and the kind of relationship stablished with the perpetrator and/or with the target of discrimination. That also includes social norms, implicit or explicit, that express descriptive and injunctive aspects of the most appropriate behaviour in the face of different social situations (Torres & Macedo, 2022).

The third variable proposed, Cost-Effective Balance, talks about the belief the individual has that he or she has the requirements to perform the behaviour and to produce the desired outcomes, reducing the subjective costs of it. It seems that the individual may or may not collude depending on how many resources one must invest (Rasinski et al., 2013) in order to achieve (if possible) a positive outcome (Rattan & Dweck, 2010) and how hostile the context can be (Good et al., 2012; Nicole & Stewart, 2004). This variable includes the perception that the behaviour is feasible, the necessary effort to perform it and the perception that it is going to have a positive impact in the social environment.

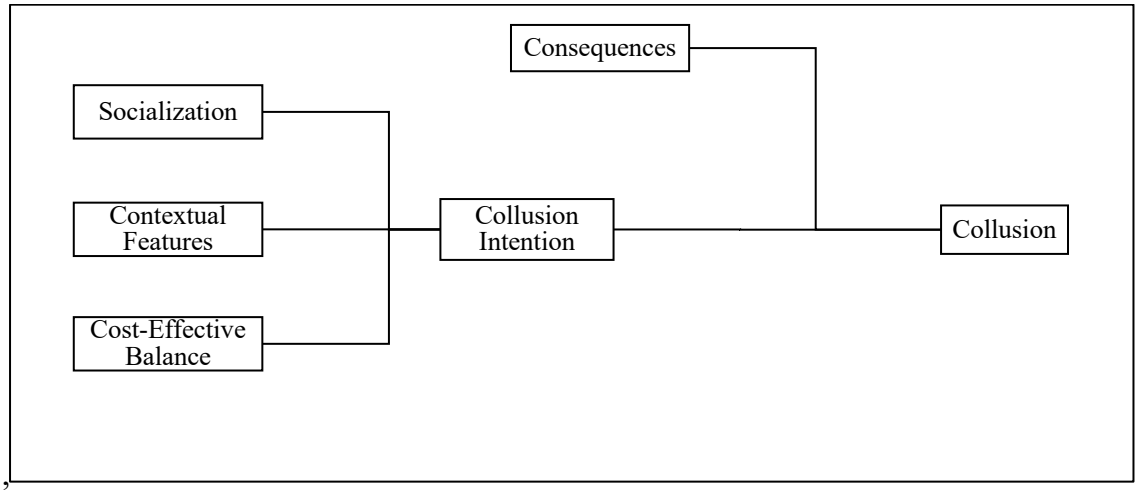
Last, the variable Consequences, even though it did not show on Figure 6, was included because it pervades the results as a whole. It appears in the participants speeches, and it is intrinsically connected to other context variables – especially concerning social norms and its respective punishments. Consequences considers not only the social norms and

its strength, but also the penalties applied to the transgressions (Eliezer & Major, 2012; Nicole & Stewart, 2004).

Based on these variables, it is presented below the proposition of a theoretical model to explain the behaviour of collusion (Figure 7). In this proposition, it is believed that the collusion intention is related to: a) Socialization: the beliefs and attitudes learned/endorsed by the individual; b) Context Features: how tolerant the environment is towards discrimination, and the relations the individual establishes in that specific context; and c) Cost-Effective Balance: how capable the person believes to be to stop the discrimination with minimum subjective cost attached. Once the collusion intention is consolidated, the relation between the intention and the behaviour will depend on the potential Consequences (expected or previously experienced) of confrontation, in a way that the relation between collusion intention and actual collusion would be moderated by this variable.

Figure 7.

Proposition of the Theoretical Model of Collusion



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Study 2: A Measure for Collusion

In order to empirically test the model previously proposed, it was necessary to develop a quantitative measure for collusion. Considering the results obtained in the qualitative study, the second study of this dissertation aimed to propose an instrument to assess the variables described in Figure 7. The first study provided the constitutive definitions of the attributes to be assessed in the measure (i.e., Socialization, Context Features, Cost-Effective Balance, Consequences, Collusion/Collusion Intention). To transform those attributes into an empirically measurable instrument, it was necessary to operationalize them. The operational definitions of the attributes describe behaviours that imply the psychological expression of those traits (Pasquali, 2013a) – the items development followed such definitions. The summary description of the constitutive and operational definitions for each factor that compose the measure can be found in Table 1.

Table 1.

Factors' Definitions

	Constitutive Definition	Operational Definition
Socialization	Social learning that shapes prejudiced behaviour based on cultural expectations and social standards.	To learn: to treat members from specific social groups in a discriminatory way; to treat people differently based on social identities; to avoid social conflict. To acknowledge: social hierarchy as a part of one's society; social roles based on gender, race and/or sexual orientation.
Context Features	The context characteristics that might encourage discriminatory behaviour.	To be more permissive depending on the relationship established with de discrimination perpetrator. To be more permissive depending on the discriminatory behaviour displayed.
Cost-Effective Balance	The perception the individual has of having the requirements to speak up against discrimination and produce the desired outcomes with minimum cost attached.	To believe one's behaviour can change a discriminatory situation. To feel capable of intervening on a discriminatory situation. To believe speaking up against discrimination is worth it. To believe stopping discrimination is feasible.
Consequences	Potential negative outcomes of intervening in a discriminatory situation.	To have one's physical, psychological, or social integrity damaged or endangered.
Collusion Intention	The individual's expectation to intervene in a discriminatory situation.	To intent to stop a discriminatory behaviour.
Collusion	The absence of confrontational behaviours in face of discrimination.	Not to confront discrimination.

The results found in the qualitative research, aligned with the Social Psychology literature, were used in the development of 162 items to approach the categories presented. Those items were reviewed by three Social Psychology scholars and a Social Psychology

research assistant, who were all familiar with the qualitative analysis, and are hereby considered specialists for the items' revision. After that, the measure was submitted to a two-step analysis before the we proceeded with the data collection.

Step 1: Experts' Analysis

The first step consisted of an experts' analysis, in which the items of the instrument were shared with four specialists with expertise in social psychology, prejudice, and/or psychometry. They were requested to evaluate if the items reflected the proposed factors. Items were excluded from the instrument when 20% or more of the experts disagreed on the factor represented (Pasquali, 2013b). This analysis suggested 23 items were inconsistent, and those were excluded.

Step 2: Semantic Analysis

After the experts' analysis, the remaining items of the instrument were submitted to a semantic analysis (Pasquali, 2013b). The judges of this analysis were members of the general population, seven Men and five Women aged between 18 and 59 years old. Volunteers were asked to analyse the first version of the instrument in two aspects: a) the adequacy of the response scale proposed; and b) the intelligibility of the items. The criteria for this analysis were: a) items perceived as understandable by all judges would be maintained; b) items perceived as not understandable by the minority of judges (19% or less) would be adjusted; and c) items perceived as not understandable by most judges (20% or more) would be excluded. No items were excluded during this analysis.

Pilot Study

The data collection started with a pilot study aimed at reassuring the intelligibility of the measure. Participants were 45 Women and 34 Men, with average age 36.93 years old (SD = 13.4 years). All participants were asked if they had any problem understanding the study.

Results show that 73.68% of the participants reported no problems answering the items presented. The rest of the sample reported the following comments:

a) 10.5% had complaints about the extension of the questionnaire.

b) 7.9% reported difficulties imagining the hypothetical situations described in some of the items.

c) 1.3% exposed their political beliefs about the study subject.

d) 6.6% did not specified their difficulties.

We concluded that most participants were able to understand the items (92.1%), and there were only minor difficulties picturing the situations described in the items (7.9%). Those results led to the continuation of the data collection.

Method

Data treatment

The measure validation study initially counted on 503 volunteer participants. First, we used plots to identify univariate outliers and the Mahalanobis Distance test for multivariate outliers ($p<.01$). Those procedures for data exploration and adjustment led to the exclusion of eight respondents, which provided us a sample of 495 participants.

Second, in order to proceed with an Exploratory Factor Analysis, the data were tested for statistical assumptions. The normality tests indicated that the sample did not deviate significantly from the normal distribution ($D(495) = 0.995$, $p > .1$). The homogeneity test indicated that the variances were equal across the sample ($F(10, 482) = .673$, $p > .75$).

Parallel Analysis

A parallel analysis was conducted to identify the number of factors to be extracted (Franklin et al., 1995). This analysis estimates the eigenvalues obtained in random samples with the same dimensionality and compares it to the eigenvalues present in the original sample, so that spurious components are identified. This method suggested up to nine factors could be extracted in the measure.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Considering the results of the parallel analysis, the Principal Axis Factor (PAF) analysis was conducted on the 139 items with oblique rotation (*Oblimin*). We ran the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) for the indicated number of factors that could be extracted and lowered it down until we found the best and most parsimonious factorial solution. A 4-Factor solution proved to be more accurate for the measure considering both the statistical assumptions and the theoretical consistency. This analysis adopted three criteria for items exclusion. There were excluded: a) items with a score lower than .3 in the EFA (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007); b) items that loaded scores in three or more factors (Gorsuch, 1983); and c) items that loaded scores in two factors with a factor loading difference smaller than .1 between factors (Gorsuch, 1983).

The EFA was performed repeatedly after the items' exclusion until all items attended the established criteria. The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin test (KMO) indicated the sampling adequacy for the analysis (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), KMO = .95, and all KMO values for individual items were greater than .745. All factors had high reliability scores ($\alpha > .89$), and the four factors combined explained 50.15% of the variance.

Factors Definition

The initial proposition of the model included, besides Collusion per se, five other variables of interest: Socialization, Context Features, Cost-Effective Balance, Collusion Intention, and Consequences, as described in Figure 7. However, the statistical analysis has shown only four factors could be extracted from the data.

The factors maintained after the EFA were originally described in the qualitative analysis and remained consistent throughout the studies. All items of each factor were reanalysed in order name the construct that would better reflect its content. The content analysis of the remaining items suggested the following factors: a) Public Confrontation; b) Context Features; c) Private Confrontation; and d) Social Norms. The definitions of each of these constructs, as well as the items that compose them, are described below.

Public Confrontation.

The first factor is a measure of collusion intention for specific social settings. This factor's items assess how likely respondents think they are to confront a discriminatory situation when they have no personal relation with the aggressor – in a situation where the aggressor is either someone they do not know or an authority. This factor included part of the original Collusion Intention items and one item that remained from the Cost-Effective Balance factor. This factor reached a reliability index of .979, and it explained 22.2% of the variance.

Table 2.

EFA – Public Confrontation

Item	Factor loadings
Intervir numa situação de discriminação me parece muito difícil	-0.406
Eu interfiro...	
Quando uma autoridade grita com um negro que eu não conheço	0.885
Quando uma autoridade discrimina um negro que eu não conheço	0.881
Quando uma autoridade discrimina uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.88
Quando uma autoridade discrimina um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.87
Quando uma autoridade grita com um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.864
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.862
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre um negro que eu não conheço	0.859
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.852
Quando uma autoridade grita com uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.845
Quando uma autoridade bate em um negro que eu não conheço	0.792
Quando uma autoridade bate em uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.766
Quando uma autoridade bate em um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.759
Quando alguém grita com um negro que eu não conheço	0.754
Quando uma autoridade discrimina um homossexual que eu conheço	0.746
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre um negro que eu conheço	0.742
Quando alguém grita com uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.737
Quando uma autoridade discrimina um negro que eu conheço	0.735
Quando alguém bate em um negro que eu não conheço	0.727
Quando alguém grita com um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.727
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu conheço	0.719
Quando uma autoridade grita com um negro que eu conheço	0.718
Quando uma autoridade discrimina uma mulher que eu conheço	0.715
Quando uma autoridade grita com um homossexual que eu conheço	0.712
Quando alguém discrimina um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.712
Quando alguém discrimina um negro que eu não conheço	0.706
Quando alguém discrimina uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.700
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre uma mulher que eu conheço	0.696
Quando alguém bate em um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.691
Quando uma autoridade grita com uma mulher que eu conheço	0.684
Quando alguém bate em uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.664
Quando alguém faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.652
Quando alguém faz piadas sobre uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.622
Quando uma autoridade bate em um negro que eu conheço	0.609
Quando alguém faz piadas sobre um negro que eu não conheço	0.558
Quando uma autoridade bate em um homossexual que eu conheço	0.547
Quando uma autoridade bate em uma mulher que eu conheço	0.523
Quando alguém grita com um homossexual que eu conheço	0.477

Contextual Features.

The second factor, Contextual Features, remained as described in the first version of the instrument and its items describe how permissive the ingroup is perceived to be. It also reflects the category Current Interaction identified in the qualitative analysis (33.5% of the classified segments). This factor reached a reliability index of .966, and it explained 12.52% of the variance.

Table 3.

EFA – Contextual Features

Item	Factor loadings
Como as pessoas a sua volta percebem este comportamento?	
Quando uma autoridade assedia homossexuais	0.795
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre homossexuais	0.786
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre mulheres	0.784
Quando uma autoridade assedia negros	0.783
Quando uma pessoa do grupo assedia mulheres	0.771
Quando uma autoridade exibe comportamentos machistas	0.761
Quando uma pessoa do grupo assedia negros	0.757
Quando uma autoridade assedia mulheres	0.754
Quando uma pessoa do grupo assedia homossexuais	0.752
Quando uma autoridade agride homossexuais	0.751
Quando uma pessoa do grupo agride homossexuais	0.747
Quando uma autoridade exibe comportamentos homofóbicos	0.743
Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre negros	0.742
Quando uma autoridade agride negros	0.731
Quando uma pessoa do grupo exibe comportamentos racistas	0.729
Quando uma pessoa do grupo exibe comportamentos homofóbicos	0.729
Quando uma pessoa do grupo faz piadas sobre mulheres	0.719
Quando uma autoridade agride mulheres	0.714
Quando uma autoridade exibe comportamentos racistas	0.712
Quando uma pessoa do grupo agride negros	0.712
Quando uma pessoa do grupo agride mulheres	0.706
Quando uma pessoa do grupo exibe comportamentos machistas	0.700
Quando uma pessoa do grupo faz piadas sobre homossexuais	0.659
Quando uma pessoa do grupo faz piadas sobre negros	0.654

Private Confrontation.

The third factor specifically addresses the probability of confrontation when the aggressor is someone the respondent likes, regardless their relationship with the victim. As the first factor, this one is also a measure for collusion intention, and it is represented by the remaining items of the original Collusion Intention factor. Private Confrontation items indicate how likely respondents think they are to confront when the discrimination is performed by someone they hold dear. This factor reached a reliability index of .971, and it explained 6.75% of the variance.

Even though all the statistical indices are acceptable, two items in this factor seem misplaced – the last two items are theoretically closer to the first factor, since they describe a situation in which the aggressor is unknown. The ambiguous items also loaded in the first factor, but do not violate the exclusion criteria stablished. At this point, we have decided to keep both items and check where they should lie after the confirmatory factor analysis is processed, when it will be possible to have both theoretical and empirical information to decide about their maintenance or exclusion.

Table 4.

EFA – Private Confrontation

Item	Factor Loadings
Eu interfiro...	
Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um negro que eu conheço	0.826
Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina uma mulher que eu conheço	0.814
Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre um negro que eu conheço	0.814
Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com uma mulher que eu conheço	0.811
Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu conheço	0.785
Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um homossexual que eu conheço	0.779
Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um homossexual que eu conheço	0.776
Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre uma mulher que eu conheço	0.753
Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.729
Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um negro que eu conheço	0.714
Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.713
Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um negro que eu não conheço	0.688
Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.687
Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.684
Quando alguém que eu gosto bate em uma mulher que eu conheço	0.683
Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.681
Quando alguém que eu gosto bate em um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.681
Quando alguém que eu gosto bate em um homossexual que eu conheço	0.672
Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.66
Quando alguém que eu gosto bate em um negro que eu conheço	0.656
Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre um negro que eu não conheço	0.641
Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um negro que eu não conheço	0.623
Quando alguém que eu gosto bate em uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.619
Quando alguém que eu gosto bate em um negro que eu não conheço	0.600
Quando alguém faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu conheço	0.533
Quando alguém faz piadas sobre um negro que eu conheço	0.495

Social Norms.

The last factor includes items from the factors Socialization, and Consequences presented in the first model proposition. They are part of a superordinate factor we named Social Norms and reflect the social training for prejudice and confrontation the person has experienced through life. Those experiences influence one's acceptance of discriminatory behaviours. This factor reached a reliability index of .894, and it explained 4.67% of the variance.

The items distribution is consistent with the qualitative analysis results, which pointed the upper category of Early Socialization (37.2% of the classified segments). It was the researcher's choice to separate the factor Consequences from Socialization during the model proposition phase due to focus groups observations. Still, the statistics results suggested, both in qualitative and in quantitative analysis, that people interpret those factors as parts of a robust construct of Social Norms.

Table 5.

EFA – Social Norms

Item	Factor loadings
Na cultura brasileira...	
as pessoas são ensinadas que alguns grupos sociais são superiores a outros	0.509
as pessoas são ensinadas que alguns grupos sociais são mais importantes que outros	0.509
as pessoas são ensinadas que existe uma hierarquia entre os diferentes grupos sociais	0.496
as pessoas são ensinadas que alguns grupos são mais frágeis que outros	0.365
as pessoas são ensinadas que não se deve interferir nas brigas de outras pessoas	0.339
Quando eu era criança, eu fui ensinado que...	
alguns grupos sociais têm menos valor	0.633
Mulheres são inferiores	0.603
Mulheres e Homens não podem desempenhar as mesmas tarefas	0.586
Homossexuais são inferiores	0.586
alguns grupos sociais devem ser evitados	0.575
Negros são inferiores	0.552
alguns grupos sociais são perigosos	0.530
pessoas Negras e pessoas Brancas não podem desempenhar as mesmas tarefas	0.428
Se eu intervir numa situação de discriminação, eu posso...	
Sofrer represálias no trabalho	0.509
Ser ofendido	0.498
Prejudicar minha imagem social	0.491
Me tornar um alvo da discriminação	0.486
Perder o meu emprego	0.481
Sofrer agressão verbal	0.458
Perder meu status no grupo	0.448
Ser excluído de atividades sociais	0.438
Prejudicar minhas relações familiares	0.419
Me sentir desvalorizado	0.402
Me sentir estressado	0.396
Ser excluído do grupo	0.371
Ser gravemente ferido	0.368
Ser morto	0.348
Sofrer agressão física	0.321

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Once the initial factorial solution was defined, we submitted the data to a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), a statistical technique used to assess the structural

patterns of a proposed measure and its adequacy (Maroco, 2010). The CFA bases the psychometric evaluation of the measure and provides evidence of the construct validity (Brown, 2015). This analysis was performed using the 116 items that remained from the exploratory analysis.

In the CFA, the factor loadings (>.3) and the Modification Indices (MI) were considered for items maintenance and exclusion. The analysis of MI considers both the magnitude of the index and the theoretical sense of the modification suggested. The specific criteria for item exclusion were: a) if items loaded scores in two or more factors, those were excluded; b) if items from different factors had correlated errors, the one with smaller factor loading was excluded; c) if items from the same factor had correlated errors, those were kept only if the correlation made theoretical sense – otherwise, the one with smaller factor loading was excluded. The analysis was performed repeatedly after the items' exclusion until all items attended the established criteria. At this point, we correlated items from the same factor when their residual errors were correlated, and the MI was greater than 25. The solution presented here includes the correlation of three pairs of items.

Considering the ordinal nature of the variable, the estimation method adopted was Weighted Least Square Mean and Variance adjusted (WLSMV), suitable for categorical data (DiStefano & Morgan, 2014; Li, 2016). The model fit indices analysed were: $\chi 2$, $\chi 2/df$, Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). The indices description can be found on Table 6.

Table 6.

Model Fit Indices

$\chi 2$	1,558.430
$\chi 2$/df	1.52
CFI	.990
TLI	.990
RMSEA	.032
[90% CI]	[.029 - .036]

The indices reveal a good fit of the factorial proposition, with a $\chi 2$/df ratio smaller than 3, CFI and TLI values of .99, and RMSEA value bellow .04 (Brown, 2015). The factors' reliability was assessed through the composite reliability calculation (Valentini & Damásio, 2015; Raykov, 2007), that considers the item's factor loading, error variance, and R^2 value. All factors reached adequate reliability values (≥ 0.89).

Table 7.

Factorial Solution

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
INTCOL14	0.911			
INTCOL24	0.908			
INTCOL22	0.906			
INTCOL13	0.906			
INTCOL21	0.905			
INTCOL18	0.901			
INTCOL16	0.892			
INTCOL20	0.875			
INTCOL17	0.869			
INTCOL15	0.838			
INTCOL23	0.820			

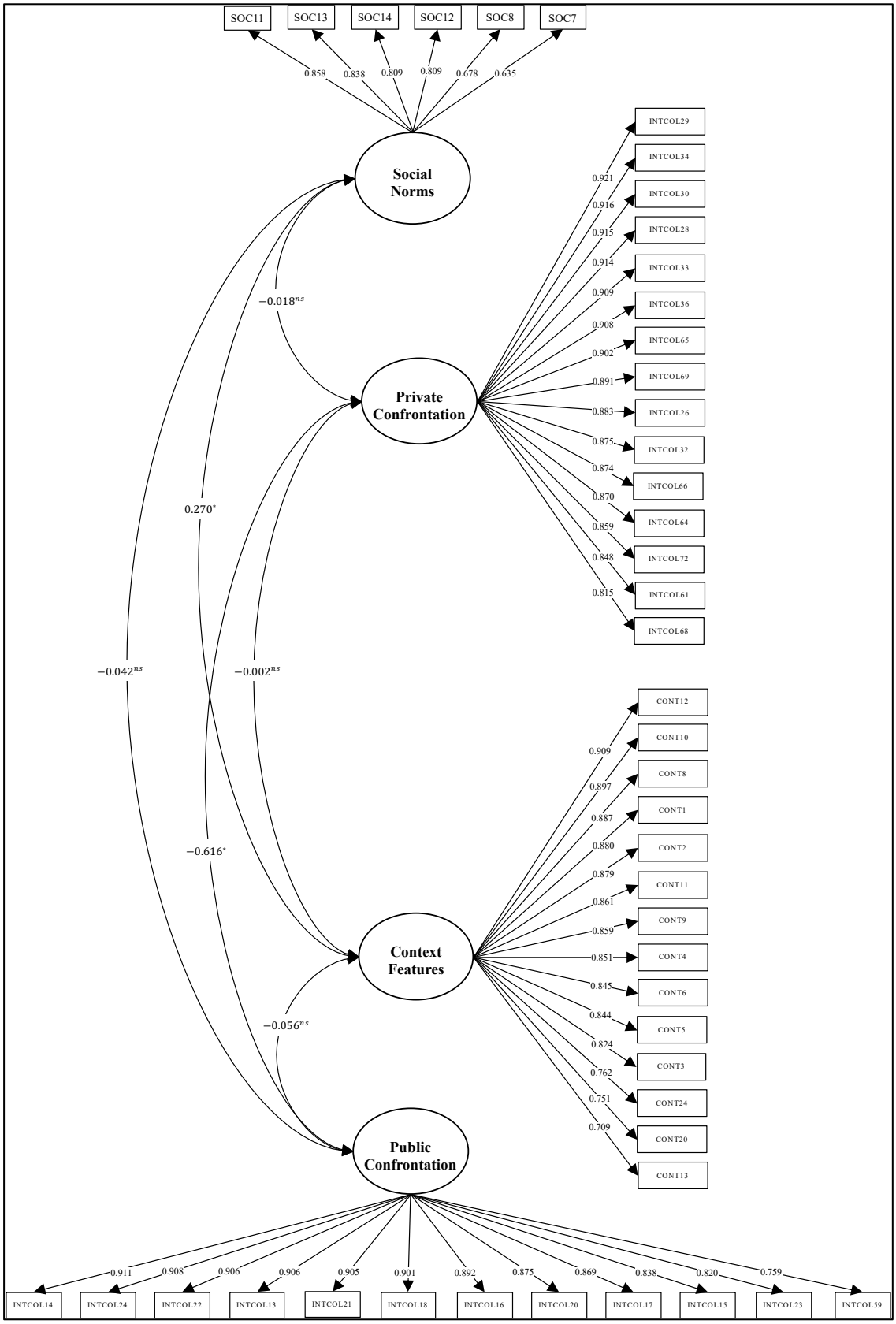
Continuation - Table 7.

Factorial Solution

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
INTCOL59	0.759			
CONT12		0.909		
CONT10		0.897		
CONT8		0.887		
CONT1		0.880		
CONT2		0.879		
CONT11		0.861		
CONT9		0.859		
CONT4		0.851		
CONT6		0.845		
CONT5		0.844		
CONT3		0.824		
CONT24		0.762		
CONT20		0.751		
CONT13		0.709		
INTCOL29			0.921	
INTCOL34			0.916	
INTCOL30			0.915	
INTCOL28			0.914	
INTCOL33			0.909	
INTCOL36			0.908	
INTCOL65			0.902	
INTCOL69			0.891	
INTCOL26			0.883	
INTCOL32			0.875	
INTCOL66			0.874	
INTCOL64			0.870	
INTCOL72			0.859	
INTCOL61			0.848	
INTCOL68			0.815	
SOC11				0.858
SOC13				0.838
SOC14				0.809
SOC12				0.715
SOC8				0.678
SOC7				0.635
Composite Reliability	0.975	0.971	0.982	0.890

Figure 8.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis



Factors Definition.

Once the CFA was completed, we proceeded with the factors' definition considering the content represented in the remaining items. This version of the measure includes 47 items divided among the factors presented below.

Public Confrontation.

The first factor in the CFA includes 12 items and represents a more concise version of the factor described on the EFA. Public confrontation in this measure is represented by the respondent's intention to confront when the aggressor is an authority figure. Most items describe the victim as someone the observer knows, with one exception (INTCOL59). All other items describing situations where the observer didn't know the victim were excluded based on the criteria previously described.

Table 8.

CFA – Public Confrontation

Item	Description	Factor loadings
	Eu interfiro...	
INTCOL14	Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre uma mulher que eu conheço	0.911
INTCOL24	Quando uma autoridade grita com um homossexual que eu conheço	0.908
INTCOL22	Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu conheço	0.906
INTCOL13	Quando uma autoridade discrimina uma mulher que eu conheço	0.906
INTCOL21	Quando uma autoridade discrimina um homossexual que eu conheço	0.905
INTCOL18	Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre um negro que eu conheço	0.901
INTCOL16	Quando uma autoridade grita com uma mulher que eu conheço	0.892
INTCOL20	Quando uma autoridade grita com um negro que eu conheço	0.875
INTCOL17	Quando uma autoridade discrimina um negro que eu conheço	0.869
INTCOL15	Quando uma autoridade bate em uma mulher que eu conheço	0.838
INTCOL23	Quando uma autoridade bate em um homossexual que eu conheço	0.820
INTCOL59	Quando uma autoridade bate em um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.759

Contextual Features.

The second factor kept its consistency between analysis. From the original 24 items proposed, 14 items were maintained after the CFA. As noticed on the first factor, the power held by the aggressor appears as a strong variable in collusion intention, since all but one of the items referring to an authority were kept. The factor still includes three items referring to situations where the aggressor is someone from the ingroup – those are the items with smaller factor loadings (CONT24, CONT20, CONT13).

Table 9.

CFA -Contextual Features

Item	Description	Factor loadings
	Como as pessoas a sua volta percebem este comportamento?	
CONT12	Quando uma autoridade assedia homossexuais	0.909
CONT10	Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre homossexuais	0.897
CONT8	Quando uma autoridade assedia negros	0.887
CONT1	Quando uma autoridade exibe comportamentos machistas	0.88
CONT2	Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre mulheres	0.879
CONT11	Quando uma autoridade agride homossexuais	0.861
CONT9	Quando uma autoridade exibe comportamentos homofóbicos	0.859
CONT4	Quando uma autoridade assedia mulheres	0.851
CONT6	Quando uma autoridade faz piadas sobre negros	0.845
CONT5	Quando uma autoridade exibe comportamentos racistas	0.844
CONT3	Quando uma autoridade agride mulheres	0.824
CONT24	Quando uma pessoa do grupo assedia homossexuais	0.762
CONT20	Quando uma pessoa do grupo assedia negros	0.751
CONT13	Quando uma pessoa do grupo exibe comportamentos machistas	0.709

Private Confrontation.

As observed in the EFA, the 15 items left after the CFA describe collusion intention when the aggressor is someone the observer holds dear, regardless their relationship with the victim. Inconsistent items INTCOL6 and INTCOL10, previously placed in this factor by the EFA, were dropped after the exclusion criteria were applied. The final solution of the factor includes eight items referring to situations where the victim is someone the observer knows, and seven items describing situations where the observer is not acquainted to the victim.

Table 10.

CFA - Private Confrontation

Item	Description	Factor loadings
	Eu interfiro...	
INTCOL29	Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um negro que eu conheço	0.921
INTCOL34	Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre um homossexual que eu conheço	0.916
INTCOL30	Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre um negro que eu conheço	0.915
INTCOL28	Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com uma mulher que eu conheço	0.914
INTCOL33	Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um homossexual que eu conheço	0.909
INTCOL36	Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um homossexual que eu conheço	0.908
INTCOL65	Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um negro que eu não conheço	0.902
INTCOL69	Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.891
INTCOL26	Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre uma mulher que eu conheço	0.883
INTCOL32	Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um negro que eu conheço	0.875
INTCOL66	Quando alguém que eu gosto faz piadas sobre um negro que eu não conheço	0.874
INTCOL64	Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.870
INTCOL72	Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um homossexual que eu não conheço	0.859
INTCOL61	Quando alguém que eu gosto discrimina uma mulher que eu não conheço	0.848
INTCOL68	Quando alguém que eu gosto grita com um negro que eu não conheço	0.815

Social Norms.

The last factor, Social Norms, includes six items about early childhood learning on social identities and prejudice. This version of the factor is consistent with the qualitative results that specifically referred to early socialization processes as important variables for

collusion intention. After the analysis, the items that evaluated consequences of confrontation were dropped, reinforcing, once again, the qualitative results.

Table 11.

CFA - Social Norms

Item	Description	Factor loadings
SOC11	Quando eu era criança, eu fui ensinado que alguns grupos sociais têm menos valor	0.858
SOC13	Quando eu era criança, eu fui ensinado que Negros são inferiores	0.838
SOC14	Quando eu era criança, eu fui ensinado que Homossexuais são inferiores	0.809
SOC12	Quando eu era criança, eu fui ensinado que alguns grupos sociais devem ser evitados	0.715
SOC8	Quando eu era criança, eu fui ensinado que Mulheres e Homens não podem desempenhar as mesmas tarefas	0.678
SOC7	Quando eu era criança, eu fui ensinado que alguns grupos sociais são perigosos	0.635

What are the Odds?

Study 2 main goal was to propose and search for validity evidence for the Collusion scale. The factorial structure described has achieved adequate fit indices, consistency, and reliability. At this moment, we will explore the results obtained in the initial quantitative investigation and revisit the model proposition considering those results. The Structural Equations Modelling of this construct will be tested in the third study, with a new data collection.

Participants

Respondents were 495 participants from the general population, aged between 18 and 67 years old (M = 28.05; SD = 11.57). The sample included 359 Women (72.5%), and 231 (46.6%) People of Colour (POC). Most participants declared to be Heterosexual (72.5%).

Regarding education, 59.8% of the participants had completed high school, 19% had finished college, and 21.2% had a postgraduate degree. Most participants (36.7%) reported monthly family income between R$ 3,135.01 and R$ 10,450.00, 32.9% reported income up to R$ 3,135.00, and 30.3% reported family income over R$ 10.450,00.

Instruments and Procedure

Data were collected with the Collusion Intention Measure (CIM), composed by 47 items regarding Public Confrontation, Context Features, Private Confrontation and Social Norms, as described in the previous session. Additionally, participants answered a short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) adapted to Brazilian samples by Gouveia et al. (2009). The instruments were available online and participants were recruited through social media and e-mails. All participants signed an Informed Consent Term before data collection.

Data collection procedures in the study were performed in accordance with the ethical standards of the Institute of Psychology of the University of Brasília – Brazil, and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

Data Analysis

The analysis was performed using MPlus version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2015) to compute factor scores, and SPSS Statistics (IBM Corp, 2012) to conduct the exploratory analysis of the results.

Results

Participants were asked if they had ever witnessed a discriminatory situation (*yes* or *no*) and, if they had witnessed discrimination before, how often they have intervened (*never*, *fewer times*, *most times,* or *every time*) – those questions were used as proxy for collusion behaviour in real life experiences. Results show that 96.4% of the participants have witnessed sexist situation, 85.7% have witnessed racist situations, and 83.6% have witnessed homophobic situations. Most participants affirm they usually interfered (*Most times* or *Every time*) in such situations (58.4%), especially in homophobic situations (62.8%).

Table 12.

Previous Collusion Experience

How often have you confronted...			
	Sexist Situations	Racist Situations	Homophobic Situations
Never	2.3%	2.8%	3.6%
Fewer times	41.5%	40.6%	33.6%
Most times	52.0%	42.7%	51.2%
Every time	4.2%	13.9%	11.6%

We checked for the correlation indices between previous experience of collusion and the scores of the four resulting factors of the measure obtained by the participants. The correlation indices suggest a moderate correlation between previous collusion experience and factor scores regarding collusion (Public Confrontation and Private Confrontation; $p < .05$). On the other hand, it seems that Context Features is not connected to previous experience of collusion in any of its forms (Sexism, Racism, Homophobia), and only experiences in sexist and racist situations correlated with Social Norms and Desirability.

Table 13.

Spearman's Rho

		Previous Collusion Experience		
		Sexism	Racism	Homophobia
Previous Collusion Experience	Sexism	-		
	Racism	.358** [.266, .457]	-	
	Homophobia	.418** [.330, .505]	.439** [.349, .527]	-
Public Confrontation		.362** [-.262, .456]	.356** [.261, .448]	.311** [.209, .403]
Context Features		-.0120 [-.107, .089]	-.0492 [-.151, .053]	-.0439 [-.156, .063]
Private Confrontation		.401** [.304, .487]	.380** [.284, .460]	.389** [0.299, .475]
Social Norms		-.109* [-.204, -.007]	-.192** [-.285, -.092]	-.059 [-.160, .036]
Social Desirability		.161** [.053, .250]	.234** [.129, .334]	.087 [-.011, .191]

Note. ** $p < .001$ (two-tailed). * $p < .05$ (two-tailed). BCa bootstrap 95% CIs reported in brackets.

Table 13 shows that previous experience of collusion in the three forms of discrimination is correlated with all others. Considering those correlations, it is important to

discuss the strategy adopted in this study: collusion behaviour was investigated in face of sexism, racism, and homophobia separately, assuming that different oppression systems could be attached to different social norms, and, for that reason, be specific in its occurrence. This was a conservative decision made to assure the behaviours approached would be considered in its specificities. Still, the findings suggest that collusion behaviour, as prejudiced beliefs, tends to be stable across oppression systems. Since Allport (1954) it is proposed that people usually hold not one, but multiple prejudiced beliefs and numerous studies have gathered empirical evidence of such interrelation among different prejudice expressions (Bergh & Akrami, 2017; Byrd, 2008), indicating prejudice is a generalized attitude. The findings suggest a similar mechanism for collusion, in such a way that collusion behaviour is consistent regardless the discrimination observed.

Further, we analysed the correlations between the four factors of the instrument, as well as their correlation with the Social Desirability Scale score. It was observed a strong correlation between Public and Private Confrontation (r_s = .648, 95% BCa CI [.579, .714], p < .000), while the other factors are only moderately or weakly correlated to each other. Detailed results are found on Table 14 bellow.

Table 14.

Pearson Correlations

	Public Confrontation	Contextual Features	Private Confrontation	Social Norms
Public Confrontation	-			
Contextual Features	-.106* [-.197, -.024]	-		
Private Confrontation	.648** [.579, .714]	-0.036 [-.122, .051]	-	
Social Norms	-.061 [-.157, .021]	.263** [.174, .350]	.008 [-.082, .099]	-
Social Desirability	.125** [.052, .200]	-.208** [-.302, -.111]	.085 [.000, .171]	-.319** [-.390, -.242]

Note. *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed). BCa bootstrap 95% CIs reported in brackets.

The variables seem to have organized themselves in two groups: the collusion factors – Public Confrontations and Private Confrontation – and the social factors – Social Norms, Contextual Features and Social Desirability. Still, Public Confrontation is weakly correlated with Contextual Features ($r_s = -.106$, 95% BCa CI [−.197, −.024], $p = .018$) and with Social Desirability. ($r_s = .125$, 95% BCa CI [−.157, .021], $p = .005$). The correlations identified among Social Desirability and other factors indicate some perspectives for the phenomenon studied. Even though the correlations are just moderate, results indicate Social Desirability might have some influence on the individuals' scores, except for Private Confrontation. Results suggest a positive correlation with Public Confrontation, which indicates that participants are most likely not underreporting their intention to collude. Still, there are negative correlations among Social Desirability and Contextual Features and Social Norms,

so that individuals with higher social desirability scores tend to describe both the ingroup and the culture as more egalitarian and less tolerant of prejudice and discrimination.

Regarding demographic characteristics, some of the investigated variables were correlated with the factors analysed. For this analysis, Gender, Race/Ethnicity and Sexual Orientation were classified and separated into Majority and Minority groups (Men x Women, White people x People of Colour, Heterosexual x Non-Heterosexual). Results show that Gender and Sexual Orientation are correlated with previous collusion experience regarding the groups' own oppression systems. Such thing was not observed for Race and Racism Confrontation.

Table 15.

Spearman's Rho

		Gender	Sexual Orientation	Race/ Ethnicity
Previous Collusion Experience	Sexism	.192** [.081, .296]	-	-
	Racism	-	-	-
	Homophobia	-	-.172** [-.274, -.075]	-
Public Confrontation		-	-	-
Context Features		-	-	-
Private Confrontation		.120* [.013, .230]	-.103 [-.195, .000]	-
Social Norms		-	-.236** [-.335, -.141]	-.102* [-.199, .000]
Social Desirability		-	.104* [-.003, .197]	-

Note. *$p < .05$ (two-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed). BCa bootstrap 95% CIs reported in brackets.

Mean Comparison

The next step was to compare intergroup mean differences. For that purpose, Factorial ANOVAs (2x2x2) were performed to verify to what extent the scores were different between Majority and Minority groups regarding the three variables of interest in the study (Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Sexual Orientation). Bootstrapping procedures were implemented to reinforce results reliability, and to reduce the impact of statistical assumptions deviations in the sample. Further, this procedure provided a 95% confidence interval for differences between means (Haukoos & Lewis, 2005).

Results show a non-significant effect of those variables interaction regarding any of the factors identified - Public Confrontation ($F(1, 481) = .249$, $p = .618$, $h^2 = .001$), Contextual Features ($F(1, 481) = .690$, $p = .406$, $h^2 = .001$), Private Confrontation ($F(1, 481) = .708$, $p = .400$, $h^2 = .001$), Social Norms ($F(1, 481) = .802$, $p = .371$, $h^2 = .002$). To better understand those results, the mean differences among groups were analysed.

The comparisons only show significant differences in Public Confrontation Means between Heterosexual White Men and Heterosexual Men of Colour, Non-Heterosexual White Women and Non-heterosexual Women of Colour, and White Heterosexual Men and Women, as described in Table 16.

Table 16.

Public Confrontation - Factorial ANOVA

	Compared Groups		Mean Difference	Confidence Interval (BCa 95%)	
				Lower	Upper
Heterosexual Men	POC	White	.372	.052	.696
Non-Heterosexual Women	POC	White	-.457	-.815	-.107
White Heterosexual	Men	Women	-.321	-.557	-.077

The scores in Contextual Features evaluation did not differ among the studied groups. More differences were observed regarding Private Confrontation. For this factor, non-Heterosexual score higher than Heterosexual participants, with a mean difference of .311 (BCa CI [.131, .494], $p = .001$). Women also score higher than Men (Mean Difference = .250, BCa CI [.069, .444], $p = .007$). Other specific groups also presented mean differences, as shown in Table 17.

Table 17.

Private Confrontation - Factorial ANOVA

	Compared Groups		Mean Difference	Confidence Interval (95% BCa)	
				Lower	Upper
White Men	Non-Heterosexual	Heterosexual	.761	.387	1.127
Heterosexual White	Men	Women	-.677	-.906	-.433
Non-Heterosexual Women	POC	White	-.357	-.637	-.080

Finally, the scores in the factor Social Norms differ for non-Heterosexual and Heterosexual participants, with higher scores among non-Heterosexual participants (Mean Difference = .499, BCa CI [.325, .664], p = .001). Social Norms presents more significant differences among groups scores, and Minority groups score higher in all three variables analysed, as described in Table 18.

Table 18.

Social Norms - Factorial ANOVA

	Compared Groups		Mean Difference	Confidence Interval (95% BCa)	
				Lower	Upper
Men of Colour	Non-Heterosexual	Heterosexual	.821	.370	1.267
Women of Colour	Non-Heterosexual	Heterosexual	.361	.138	.578
White Men	Non-Heterosexual	Heterosexual	.489	-.016	.986
White Women	Non-Heterosexual	Heterosexual	.327	.103	.546
Heterosexual POC	Men	Women	-.419	-.692	.705
Heterosexual Women	POC	White	.172	.001	.361

Looking at the specific mean differences among factors (Public Confrontation, Private Confrontation, and Social Norms) for the groups described, we notice a pattern reproduced across almost all the results: Minority groups score higher in Public Confrontation and Private Confrontation, which indicates, according to the theoretical background proposed, they are less likely to collude. These findings corroborate previous research that indicate that

Minorities are usually more willing to confront prejudice given their position as main targets of such situations (Rattan & Dweck, 2018). This confrontational behaviour produces positive results for those people, such as health outcomes, life satisfaction and growth (Chaney & Sanchez, 2021; Rattan & Dweck, 2018).

Further, the difference in the scores of Social Norms can be understood from a complementary perspective. The items in this factor mainly address early socialization for group categorization and comparison (e.g. *When I was a kid, I was taught that some social groups are less valuable; When I was a kid, I was taught that Black people are inferior*), which would be predictors for prejudiced beliefs (Chen & Mengel, 2016). The scores for this factor are lower for Majority groups, which are less likely to openly identify prejudice and discrimination, when compared to Minority groups. By not acknowledging the normativity in oppression (David & Derthick, 2018; Smith et l., 2015), Majority group members preserve their self-concept (Tajfel, 1978) and self-image (Plaut et al., 2018), and allow the maintenance of the system (Ritov & Baron, 2012; Sue et al., 2019). On the other hand, Minority groups are more sensitive perceiving prejudice and would more easily point out previous socialization for prejudice (Plaut et al., 2018).

The results in Study 2 are consistent with what was observed in the first study in which Minority groups speech was related to group and self-protection (described as need of sheltering in Study 1). For those groups, confronting prejudice is a strategy to cope with discrimination and reduce the negative consequences it has on prejudice targets (Chaney & Sanchez, 2021; Chaney et al., 2015). Meanwhile, for Majority groups this lack of concern was replaced by Contextual Features analysis, such as the perceived acceptance of confrontation by the group (Crandall et al., 2018; Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020), the efficacy (Rattan & Dweck, 2010), and the potential consequences (Eliezer & Major, 2012; Good et al., 2012; Nicole & Stewart, 2004) of confrontational behaviour. Considering the

economical approach for collusion, as described in the previous study, Majority groups are more likely to collude, while Minority groups would be more likely to confront as a way to reaffirm their identity as members of those groups. Also, Majority groups would be less available to question the *status quo* (Plaut et al., 2018; Tajfel, 1978), which justifies their collusion.

The one exception for that pattern is observed in the mean difference between Non-Heterosexual Women scores for Public Confrontation. This result reveals that Women of Colour are more likely to collude. Those numbers reflect the perspective of people affiliated with all the Minority groups currently analysed: Non-Heterosexual Women of Colour. Considering they are already vulnerable to Racist, Homophobic and Sexist discrimination, given their social status, it is understandable they would be less willing to confront in an attempt to reduce the latent threat of the social context, using disengagement (Bourguignon et al., 2020) or distancing (Nappier et al., 2020) as coping mechanisms.

Model Discussion

Even though results are consistent between studies so far, the factors grouping changed after the AFC was performed. This change demands a reorganization of the variables in the model. The main changes in the first model proposed (Figure 7) are the exclusion of variables discarded during the factorial analysis (Cost-Effective Balance and Consequences) and the division of the Collusion Intention variable in two distinct factors (Public Confrontation and Private Confrontation. The arrangement of this new proposition considers both theoretical arguments and the empirical findings of Study 2 to stablish connections among factors.

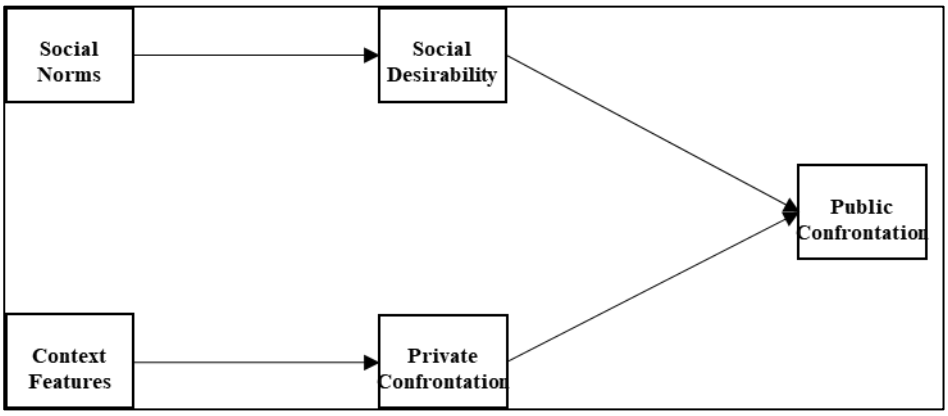
First, the division of the Collusion Intention factor in two factors suggests that the decision to collude in public or private settings might be explained by different variables. We

understand that when the discrimination happens in public spaces, which means the interaction is not happening with ingroup members, the individual chooses their behaviour based on general social norms (Crandall et al., 2018), so that the individuals' intention of confronting discrimination when the perpetrator is not part of the ingroup depends on the perceived social norms applied to general social interactions. Further, considering that Social Desirability is strongly connected to social norms biases (Grimm, 2010), and after observing the correlations between those factors in Study 2, it is suggested that the relationship between Social Norms and Public Confrontation will only be fully assessed when Social Desirability is considered as a mediator in the model. On the other hand, Private Confrontation should be connected not to broad social norms, but to specific characteristics of the ingroup. The ingroup characteristics are assessed by Context Features items, that evaluate ingroup permissiveness towards prejudice expressions. In that sense, the perceived ingroup consensus about prejudice and discrimination would directly impact the individual's behaviour of confrontation (Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Sechrist & Young, 2011).

These relations (Social Norms – Public Confrontation, Contextual Features – Private Confrontation) are connected by the relation between Public and Private Confrontation. We assume that individuals who feel more comfortable confronting an ingroup member are more likable to confront outgroups members. This would happen because the history of previous confrontation/collusion behaviour strengthens the individual's perception of group consensus and increases the chances of reproducing the behaviour in broader contexts (Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Sechrist & Young, 2011). Further, the reproduction of the behaviour across settings provides consistency and psychological comfort (Festinger, 1957; Schaumberg & Wiltermuth, 2014). The rearrangement of the variables gives us a new model proposition described in Figure 9. This model shall be tested in the third study.

Figure 9.

Model Proposition after AFC



Study 3: What Does the Silence Say?

The final study is aimed to empirically test the model proposed. The statistical strategy adopted to do that is the Structural Equations Modelling (SEM) (Hair Jr. et al., 2013). With this method, it was possible to investigate not only the measurement theory and its factors, but also the magnitude and the direction of the interactions between the variables involved in the model. For this analysis, a new data collection was made using the final version of the scale stablished after the CFA.

Participants

Participants were 223 people from the general population, 163 Women, 57 Men and three Non-Binary individuals, aged between 18 and 59 years-old (M = 29.79. SD = 12.21). The sample included 94 White people (42.2%) and 129 People of Colour (57.8%). Most participants declared to be Heterosexual (72.2%).

Regarding education, 69.5% of the participants had completed high school, 13% had finished college, and 17.5% had a postgraduate degree. Most participants (39.9%) reported monthly family income between R$ 3,135.01 and R$ 7,315.00, 30.5% reported income up to R$ 3,135.00, and 29.5% reported family income over R$ 7,315,00.

Instruments

For this study, we used the final version of the Collusion Intention Measure (CIM) (47 items) and the short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) adapted to Brazilian samples by Gouveia et al. (2009). This version of SDS counts on 20 items responded in 2-alternatives response scale (*true* or *false*). Data were collected online, in a similar procedure aforementioned.

Data Analysis

Participants' answers were computed on SPSS 21 (IBM Corp, 2012) and checked for outliers and statistical assumptions. The data was then moved to Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2015) to perform the Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). The analysis was implemented using the Weighted Least Squares Mean and Variance Adjusted (WLSMV) estimation method, suitable for categorical data (DiStefano & Morgan, 2014; Li, 2016).

The fit indices used to evaluate the global model were: $\chi 2/df$; Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). The $\chi 2/df$ ratio should be < 5 or, preferably, < 3; CFI and TLI values must be > 0.90 and preferably above 0.95; RMSEA values should be < 0.08 or, preferably < 0.06, with a confidence interval (upper limit) < 0.10 (Brown, 2015). After the model testing was complete, the factors scores were transferred to SPSS to perform complementary analysis.

Model Construction

Measures' Fit Indices

First, we checked the fit indices of both instruments used. The CIM reached good indices with no modifications required ($\chi 2 = 1.244{,}609$; $\chi 2/df = 1.21$; CFI = .992; TLI = .992; RMSEA = .031, 90% CI [.024 - .037]). The SDS did not reach adequate CFI and TLI indices in its original form, described in Table 19.

Table 19.

SDS Initial Fit Indices

$\chi 2$	242.410
$\chi 2$/df	1.42
CFI	.762
TLI	.734
RMSEA	.044
[90% CI]	[.030 - .056]

We proceeded the analysis of Modification Indices until the requirements were match. This version of the scale counts on eight items and presents the following fit indices (Table 20).

Table 20.

SDS Final Fit Indices

$\chi 2$	26.437 (p = .15)
$\chi 2$/df	1.32
CFI	.950
TLI	.930
RMSEA	.038
[90% CI]	[.000 - .073]

Table 21.

SDS Factor Loadings

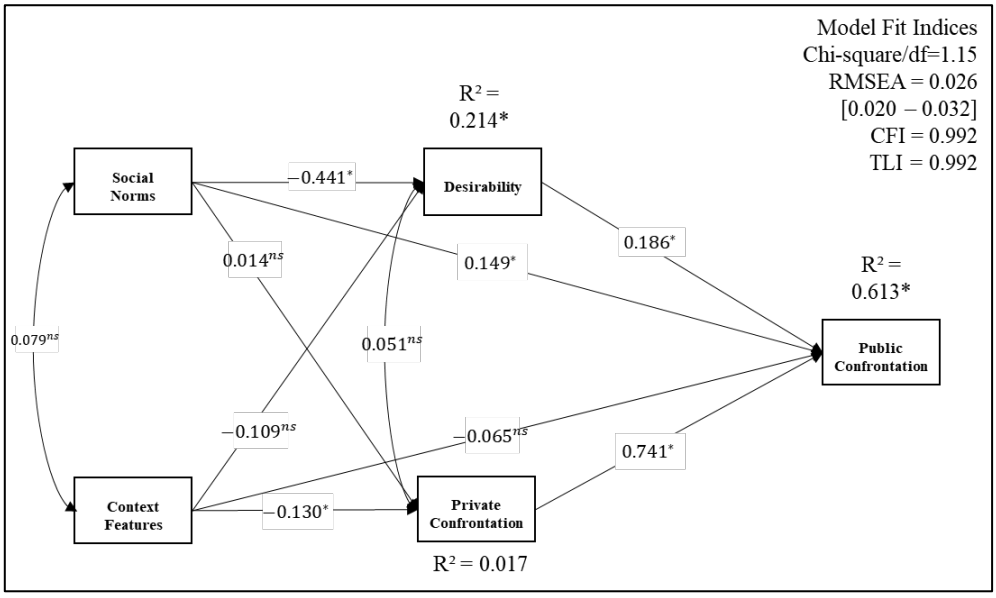
Item4	.663
Item2	.602
Item5	.573
Item9	.493
Item15	.486
Item8	.452
Item7	.382
Item6	.375

Model Testing

Once the measures were properly adjusted, the model test was performed to calculate fit indices and factor scores. The first model tested includes both direct and mediated relations among all independent and dependent variables (Figure 10).

Figure 10.

Empirical Model Test (N=223)



Note. The items for each dimension are not presented to keep the graph parsimonious.

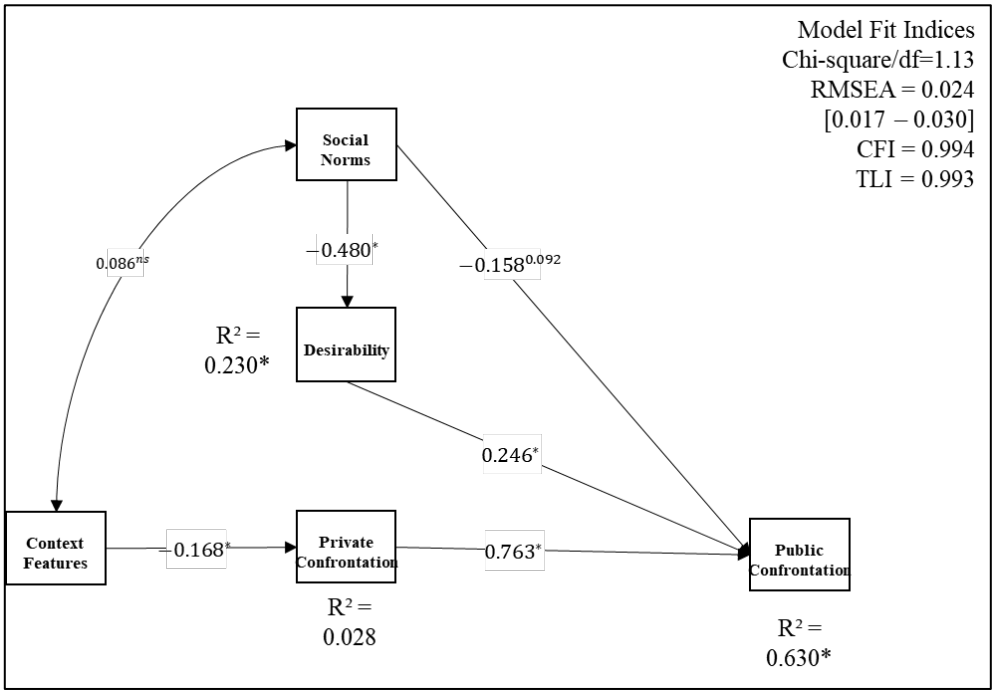
As described in Figure 10, Social Norms have a significant impact on Social Desirability and Public Confrontation, but not on Private Confrontation. The relationship observed between these variables suggest the influence of social norms in individual's behaviour (Cialdini, 2007): when thinking about general settings (in which public confrontation happens), people guide their behaviour by general norms (Crandall et al., 2018; Zhirkov et al., 2021), and reproduce the relational pattern adopted in that society (David & Derthick, 2018), whatever it may be prejudiced or egalitarian (Murphy et al., 2018; Pereira & Vala, 2007).

Meanwhile, Private Confrontation was only impacted by Context Features. This brings back the discussion about norms specificity (Torres & Macedo, 2022): when the discrimination is observed in private contexts, the individual will be oriented not by general norms but by the norms specifically built in and for such contexts – those norms are overt in the group social consensus (Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Sechrist & Young, 2011) and it will influence people's tolerance of prejudice (Odenweller & Harris, 2018). The interactions observed suggest that, when considered collusion intention in private settings (Private Confrontation), perceived ingroup consensus about prejudice display (Context Features) indirectly affects collusion intention in public spaces (Public Confrontation) (Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Sechrist & Young, 2011). Further, the positive relation between Private and Public Confrontation reflects the people's tendency to stay consistent in their behaviour (Festinger, 1957; Schaumberg & Wiltermuth, 2014).

Bearing in mind the relations described above, we proceeded a second test to refine the model, excluding all non-significant relations observed. The empirical model proposed is presented in Figure 11.

Figure 11.

Proposed Empirical Model (N=223)



Note. The items for each dimension are not presented to keep the graph parsimonious.

In the second model, the mediating role of Social Desirability became more clear. In this proposition, the relation between Social Norms and Public Confrontation is mediated by Social Desirability, with no significant direct relation between Social Norms and Public Confrontation. The mediation performed by Social Desirability reveals not a bias in participants responses, but an alignment with cultural normativity learned through socialization, and a reference to culturally shared norms (Malham & Saucier, 2016). This understanding includes Social Desirability as part of the model for collusion behaviour, and serve as evidence for the compliance in face of culturally acceptable discrimination (Zhirkov et al., 2021).

In sum, we are describing a process of social influence in which individual's accept discrimination as the default relational arrangement amongst social groups (Crandall & Stangor, 2005; Durrheim et al., 2016). An iconic example of broader social norms influencing people's permissiveness towards prejudice was observed after Donald Trump's campaign in the 2016 elections in the USA, when there was a significant increase in permissiveness towards prejudice among the American population. Longitudinal data collected before and after the elections suggested that prejudiced expressions towards groups targeted by Trump were much more accepted by the population after he won the presidential run (Crandall et al., 2018). The explanation given by the authors is that the social norm changed with Trump's emergency, and so people endorsed the new rules. Although it was not found an equivalent study in Brazil, a similar phenomenon might have happened after Bolsonaro's election in 2018 – two years after the elections it was observed an increase in reports of violence against Black people, Women and LGBTQIA+ community members (Coalition Solidarité Brésil, 2021).

Regarding private contexts, evidence of social norms impacting prejudice acceptance were also reported in numerous research through the years. Researchers have proposed that when norms are salient in a context, people tend to act accordingly (Murphy et al., 2018), especially when they deeply identify themselves with the normative group (Badea et al., 2021; Sechrist & Young, 2011), such as their family (Odenweller & Harris, 2018). In 2021, Smith and Minescu investigated the normative influence exerted by distal social groups in children. Results have pointed out that family and religious group norms are good predictors of children's intergroup warmth and contact intention bias (Smith & Minescu, 2021). Further, other studies have suggested that peer's attitudes are good predictors of youth prejudiced attitudes and intergroup contact (Miklikowska et al., 2019), and that, even though different

sets of norms influence behaviour expression and acceptance, peer norms are especially important guiding behaviour (Tropp et al., 2016).

Descriptive Results

Results show that 97.8% of the participants have witnessed sexist situations, 80.3% have witnessed racist situations, and 76.7% have witnessed homophobic situations. Most participants affirm they usually interfered in such situations (55.28%).

Table 22.

Previous Collusion Experience

How often have you confronted...			
	Sexist Situations	Racist Situations	Homophobic Situations
Never	5.5%	5%	6.4%
Fewer times	43.6%	37.4%	35.1%
Most times	45.9%	43%	40.9%
Every time	5%	14.5%	17.5%

As in the previous study, there were identified significant correlations between behaviour report and factor scores regarding collusion (Public Confrontation and Private Confrontation). Participants scores in Social Norms and Social Desirability factors guard a low but significant correlation with collusion behaviour in face of Racism, while Context Feature scores are correlated with collusion behaviour in face of Homophobia. Once again, collusion behaviour seems to be correlated across oppression systems (Sexism, Racism, Homophobia), reaffirming that collusion, as prejudice (Allport, 1954; Bergh & Akrami, 2017; Byrd, 2008), is generalized through contexts.

Table 23.

Spearman's Rho

		Previous Collusion Experience		
		Sexism	Racism	Homophobia
Previous Collusion Experience	Sexism	-		
	Racism	.425** [.268, .573]	-	
	Homophobia	.511** [.369, .639]	.380** [.226, .527]	-
Public Confrontation		.305** [.136, .456]	.347** [.186, .496]	.265** [.088, .425]
Context Features		-.051 [-.215, .115]	-.132 [-.279, .022]	-.160* [-.300, -.006]
Private Confrontation		.364** [.201, .510]	.366** [.204, .520]	.319** [.154, .465]
Social Norms		-.090 [-.239, .060]	-.167* [-.315, -.006]	-.137 [-.282, .016]
Social Desirability		.149 [-.022, .250]	.172* [.008, .322]	.113 [-.045, .276]

Note. ** $p < .001$ (two-tailed). * $p < .05$ (two-tailed). BCa bootstrap 95% CIs reported in brackets.

The pattern of correlations between factors' scores in this sample is similar to what was described in Study 2. Specifically for this sample, it was observed a weak correlation between Contextual Features and Private Confrontation, suggesting that the higher the score in Contextual Features (the more permissive the ingroup is towards discriminatory behaviours) the lower the score in Private Confrontation (the lower the chances of confronting an ingroup member). The inverse correlation between those factors suggest the normative relation between ingroup norms (Badea et al., 2021; Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Miklikowska et al., 2019; Odenweller & Harris, 2018; Smith & Minescu, 2021), perceived

ingroup consensus (Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Sechrist & Young, 2011), and people's behaviour in face of prejudice.

Additionally, the results show that Social Norms were only correlated with Social Desirability (r_s = −.374, 95% BCa CI [−.514, −.200], p < .01) in such a way that the higher the score in Social Desirability (the more the individual conforms to cultural normativity) the lower the score is in Social Norms (the less likely the individual is to report Social Norms that reinforce prejudice). Also, Social Desirability is positively correlated with Public Confrontation (r_s = .243, 95% BCa CI [.120, .363], p < .01) – the higher the person-group congruence the more individuals report confrontation intention. The arrangement of those variables suggests people's adherence to cultural normativity – the knowledge of general social norms makes the individual endorse socially accepted answers (Malham & Saucier, 2016), and still conform to the oppression system established (David & Derthick, 2018; Foster & Devine, 2014; Murphy et al., 2018).

Specifically, Social Desirability scores in this sample were only correlated with Gender (r_s = .204, 95% BCa CI [.032, .366], p < .05) and Race/Ethnicity (r_s = .226, 95% BCa CI [.060, .405], p < .01). Further correlations among factors are described in Table 24 below.

Table 24.

Pearson Correlations

	Public Confrontation	Contextual Features	Private Confrontation	Social Norms
Public Confrontation	-			
Contextual Features	-.176* [-.312, -.035]	-		
Private Confrontation	.527** [.351, .674]	-.182* [-.305, -.060]	-	
Social Norms	.109 [-.055, .261]	.049 [-.179, .277]	-.004 [-.144, .130]	-
Social Desirability	.243** [.120, .363]	-.180* [-.325, -.022]	.005 [-.147, .144]	-.374** [-.514, -.200]

Note. *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed). BCa bootstrap 95% CIs reported in brackets.

Mean Comparison

Intergroup mean differences were assessed through Factorial ANOVAs (2x2x2). The comparisons reported refer to the differences between Majority (White people, Heterosexuals, Men) and Minority (POC, Non-Heterosexuals, Women) groups in the study. Bootstrapping procedures were implemented to reinforce results reliability, and to reduce the impact of statistical assumptions deviations in the sample. Further, this procedure provided a 95% confidence interval for differences between means (Haukoos & Lewis, 2005).

Results suggest no significant effect of those variables interaction regarding any of the factors identified - Public Confrontation ($F(1, 207) = 1.719$, $p = .191$, $\eta^2 = .008$), Contextual

Features ($F(1, 207) = .319$, $p = .573$, $\eta^2 = .002$), Private Confrontation ($F(1, 207) = .744$, $p = .389$, $\eta^2 = .004$), Social Norms ($F(1, 207) = 1.060$, $p = .304$, $\eta^2 = .005$).

However, other group differences were identified. In Private Confrontation, Men and Women scored differently (Mean Difference = .266, BCa CI [.051, .486], p = .028). Further, Women of Colour score lower when compared to White Women – especially if they identify as Non-Heterosexual. Considering People of Colour alone, Women score lower than Men in Private Confrontation, once again, the mean difference is larger between Non-Heterosexual People of Colour.

Table 25.

Private Confrontation - Factorial ANOVA

	Compared Groups		Mean Difference	Confidence Interval (95% BCa)	
				Lower	Upper
Heterosexual Women	POC	White	-.288	-.903	-.026
Non-Heterosexual Women	POC	White	-.457	-.542	-.025
Heterosexual POC	Men	Women	.300	-.-.065	.664
Non-Heterosexual POC	Men	Women	.649	.018	1.221

Apart from the differences aforementioned, the only other intergroup difference observed is among the Social Norms' scores of Heterosexual and Non-Heterosexual Women of Colour (Mean Difference = -.376, BCa CI [.045, .697], $p = .036$). In the previous study, majority groups also achieved higher scores for this factor, showing less sensitivity to the acknowledgement of prejudiced norms (Plaut et al., 2018).

The differences observed in this study regarding collusion intention suggest that Minorities tend to collude more in face of discrimination. This pattern was not observed in Study 2, in which Minority groups frequently reported higher confrontation intention in both public and private contexts. Confrontation in face of prejudice and discrimination is a strategy adopted by Minorities to assure psychological well-being by controlling stressful situations (Bourguignon et al., 2020; Rattan & Dweck, 2018). This strategy is proven to reduce negative effects on the prejudice target (Chaney et al., 2015), and improving life satisfaction, autonomy, and empowerment of those people (Chaney & Sanchez, 2021). Still, the sample in the present study exhibits the opposite intention: collusion. Although confrontation might be a successful strategy coping with prejudice, people often choose a different tactic, and adopt a disengagement strategy (Chaney & Sanchez, 2021). Disengagement strategies are marked by avoidance of stressful situation (Bourguignon et al., 2020), either by distancing oneself from the targeted group or by denying the occurrence of discrimination (Napier et al., 2020; Veldman et al., 2020).

The usage of distancing strategies, as counter-productive in fighting prejudice as it might be, can still result positive outcomes on preserving, and even improving, subjective well-being (Napier et al., 2020). Specifically for Women, the choice to disengage from discriminatory situations was named *queen bee* behaviour (Derks et al., 2016), in which Women adopt a self-group distancing strategy to succeed in Male dominated environments, and benefit from individual mobility and other individual-level outcomes. Such behaviour has been observed among Women in different contexts (Derks et al., 2011; Derks et al., 2016; Napier et al., 2020; Rasinski et al., 2013; Veldman et al., 2020), and it is arguably reproducible by different Minority groups (Van Laar et al., 2019). In this dissertation, queen bee behaviour was suggested to have occurred in Women Private Confrontation intention in Study 3, as well as in Women Public confrontation Behaviour in Study 2.

Now What?

For years, practitioners and scholars have studied prejudice, discrimination, and its impacts on society (Stangor, 2016). At this point in history, we understand quite well how the social psychological mechanisms of those phenomena emerge and operate in our communities. However, the question remains: why is this still happening after so many years of discussions about the topic?

This is the question that guided this research. We explored people's tendency to do nothing in face of discrimination (Vogelsang et al., 2013), a (lack of) behaviour that allows prejudiced expressions to linger through the years – this is the phenomenon we called Collusion. Even though one can find studies that investigate prejudice by omission (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014; Elizer & Major, 2012; Good et al., 2012; Nicole & Stewart, 2004; Rasinski et al., 2013; Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020; Wang & Dovidio, 2016), it was not found academic efforts to define collusion, its functioning and correlated variables. Considering that, our goals were to delimit and characterize the concept of collusion, construct a quantitative measure to it, and propose a model to explain how it works in society.

The investigation was based on three studies: a) a qualitative study aimed at defining the phenomenon based on people's experience with it, and the variables connected to collusion behaviour; b) a study to construct a reliable quantitative measure of collusion; and c) a quantitative study to propose an empirical model that could explain the phenomenon. The first study counted on seven focus groups and collective interviews and provided the first definition for the phenomenon. Collusion is here defined as the exemption of liability when observing a discriminatory situation. It shows compliance and conformity to historical-cultural patterns of discrimination, and connivance with the oppression systems established in society.

The qualitative data suggested that collusion is experienced by members of all social identities approached in this research (Men, Women, White people, Black people, Gay Men, Lesbians, and Heterosexual individuals) and is reproduced across situations regardless the discrimination observed (sexism, racism or homophobia). In that sense, collusion is suggested to have a similar functioning as prejudice, being generalized through intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Bergh & Akrami, 2017; Byrd, 2008). The initial findings point to the understanding of collusion as an important form of prejudice by omission, essential for the maintenance of systematic oppression in society (Ritov & Baron, 1992, Sue et al., 2019), and neglected by academia over the years (Ferdman, 2003).

Further, collusion constitutes a social phenomenon strongly connected to group processes. The initial theoretical model proposed included the variables of Socialization, Contextual Features, Cost-Effective Balance and Consequences as predictors of Collusion Intention, and, consequently, Collusion Behaviour. Those were used to fundament a quantitative measure to assess the phenomenon in larger samples.

The second study focused on the elaboration on a quantitative measure of collusion and followed all the steps recommended to assure the quality of a psychometrical instrument (Pasquali, 2013a; Pasquali, 2013). Once the instrument was ready, it was applied on a sample of 495 participants from the general population to define its factorial structure. It was proposed a 4-factor structure to assess the phenomenon through the Collusion Intention Measure, including 47 items to describe Public Confrontation, Context Features, Private Confrontation, and Social Norms. The factors described are in line with social psychology literature, especially regarding social influence (Crandall et al., 2018; Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Sechrist & Young, 2011). This structure allowed the proposition of a new model to explain collusion.

Finally, the last study empirically tested the model proposed. Collusion was characterized as a social influence process, in which people refer to contextual norms to decide on whether to confront discrimination or not (Badea et al., 2021; Murphy et al., 2018). The empirical model unfolds collusion into two main behavioural intentions: Private Confrontation, directly influenced by Context Features; and Public Confrontation, influenced by Social Norms, in a relation mediated by Social Desirability, but also by Private Confrontation.

The results corroborate previous findings that have discussed the relative strength of different sets of norms (Miklikowska et al., 2019; Smith & Minescu, 2021; Tropp et al., 2016). In the present research, as in previous studies, both broader and specific social norms were relevant for individual's collusion or confrontational behaviour – still, group consensus and strong ingroup norms seem to overshadow general norms in its influence (Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Sechrist & Young, 2011). Our findings also reinforce the role of social desirability for cultural normativity (Malham & Saucier, 2016), in this case for prejudice maintenance.

After this investigation, it is important to discriminate collusion from other phenomenon well known in social psychological theories. It is not unusual that the audience raises questions regarding the bystander effect (Latané & Rodin, 1969), proposed to describe the exemption of liability in face of emergencies. Even though the linkage between collusion and the bystander effect seems natural, we must recognize they discuss different possibilities in human social behaviour. First, let us consider that the bystander effect is based on one of two processes: either the observer does not recognize the emergency in the situation, interpreting it as not problematic and, for that reason, concluding it does not require intervention; or they do recognize the danger in the situation, but they engage in responsibility diffusion and expect other people to act instead (Latané & Rodin, 1969).

Neither of those processes is required for collusion in prejudice. Both the bystander effect and collusion describe social influence processes that define people's behaviour, but while the bystander effect is deeply affected by the presence of others (Fischer et al., 2011) – favouring social influence for misinterpretation of social emergencies and diffusion of responsibility –, collusion is not connected to the actual presence of others, but to the individual's adherence to the social norms previously stablished by them. Thus, collusion is characterized by the accurate understanding the observer has of the discriminatory situation and by their undeniable responsibility to interfere.

Similarly, the moral disengagement theory (Bandura, 2016) could also be interpreted as a theory close to collusion. According to Bandura's proposition, moral disengagement allows people to justify behaviours that might be seen as socially inadequate. In face of prejudice, such justification would not characterize omission, but active perpetration and agreement with the prejudice disparaged. Still, moral disengagement mechanisms could be used by observer of institutional harmful practices (Bandura, 2016), but such proposition refers specifically to institutional actions (and not to the individual actions approached in the present research). Further, specific research has evidenced that previous confrontational behaviour in face of prejudice could increase moral disengagement by providing the individual the moral credentials for future discriminatory performance (Monin & Miller, 2001) In that sense, confrontation (or non-collusive behaviour) would precede moral disengagement and its consequences, and not be confounded with it. Moral disengagement differentiates from collusion because the latter does not involve nor depend on moral justification for the behaviour displayed, but it is a behavioural option per se.

Other theories in social psychology could be discussed regarding their overlap with collusion. Yet, to the best of our knowledge, collusion is a specific phenomenon and, although it overlaps with parts of other theoretical propositions, it is not fully assessed or

described in the scientific literature. Therefore, we must insist that inclusion collusion as a specific phenomenon is important for the development of theories of prejudice.

Academically, the present dissertation addressed a literature gap regarding collusion, opening a new field of research for social psychologists and scholars from other fields to explore. But, more than that, we provide to society a new understanding of our communities, the power relations established in it, and the mechanisms for inequality continuation hoping that this will serve as basis for interventions and public policies, such as strategies for informal inclusion of Minority groups based on equalitarian norms endorsement, early educational interventions for diversity, and training programs, especially for social leaders (e.g., teachers, politicians), that can help break prejudice inertia (Stangor, 2016).

This understanding comes in a crucial moment in our history. In recent years, with the rise of far-right leaders in several countries, our communities have experienced what has been called a climate of hate (Rees et al., 2019). The climate of hate is stablished through a combination of variables and social norms that facilitate hostility towards outgroups, which can be experienced in different countries around the world (e.g., Crandall et al., 2018; Perry & Scrivens, 2018; Rees et al., 2019; Sponholz, 2020) finding its support on hate speech and extremist leaders. The consequences of this new social climate are evidenced in international reports regarding violence against minorities. As discussed in the previous section, since 2016 there has been an increase in violence against Black people, Women and LGBTQIA+ community members (Coalition Solidarité Brésil, 2021). In 2022, the Brazilian annual report on public security has pointed to an increase in racism cases (31%), LGBTQIAP+ violence (35.2% more aggressions, 7.2% more homicides, 88.4% more rapes), and sexual violence/violence against Women (4.2% more rapes, 0.6% more domestic violence cases, 3.3% more threatens) when compared to the previous report (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2022).

If on the one hand the climate of hate facilitates hostility and violence against outgroup members, collusion reinforces the normativity in such behaviour. In order to interrupt this violence cycle, we suggest that the investments should prioritize the variables discussed in this research, approaching the problem from the social norms' perspective, that includes:

- The development of educational programs, from early childhood, that stimulates respect and embracement of diversity of all kinds, so to guarantee an early diversity orientation in the socialization of children.
- The promotion of institutional training on diversity and inclusion to encourage both informal and formal integration of Minorities in organizations.
- The investment in leadership development program, in both private and public sectors, to stimulate a top-bottom change in society.
- The constant investment in affirmative action programs to increase cultural normativity of diversity and inclusion in our community.
- The strengthening of public policies that protect Minority group members, and the enforcement and protection of the laws against violence to reassure the social normativity against such behaviour.

Those are just some examples of what could be done considering the variables described in this study. Considering that, the Collusion Intention Measure, as an academically consistent measure, comes in hand to help us evaluating such interventions overtime, as we expect those propositions could reduce collusion in the long term. Further, and apart from the societal interventions listed, it is essential that we all take responsibility for the current scenario: collusion happens among us, due to our inertia as individuals. Now that we

understand at least a part of this phenomenon, this is an invitation for social agents (all of us) to act (and literally act) on collusion to break the conditions of oppression. Silence is not golden, and we need to talk about it.

Limitations of the Study and Research Agenda

As described above, this dissertation investigated and proposed a new theory on social psychology. It was our goal to delimit and characterize the studied phenomenon and, in that, we have succeeded. Still, there is much to know about collusion and the debate regarding its coordination with other theories. Even though we have presented the first definition of collusion, the conceptualization and operationalization of the construct is incipient. For that reason, further research shall contribute to its definition, operationalization, and differentiation from other social psychological variables. Some suggestions for future investigations are described below.

Even though collusion functioning was consistent for all participants, the tendency to collude was varied among Minority social identities. We understand that those differences reflect groups preferences for strategies of coping with discrimination, either confronting or disengaging from the situation (Chaney & Sanchez, 2021). Still, coping strategies were not focused on the present study and it should be addressed in future research to understand the impact of individual's strategy of preference on collusion behaviour. Also, we believe that research with larger samples, more representative of society's diversity, might provide a better understanding of groups' differences in collusion behaviour.

Moreover, some of the variables initially proposed were not assessed in the final version of the instrument. Even though specific items were dropped after the factorial analysis, both Consequences and Cost-Effective Balance were mentioned in all focus groups and interviews conducted in Study 1 as an important variable to consider when deciding to

confront discrimination. Likewise, those variables are also mentioned in prejudice confrontation literature (Nicole & Stewart, 2004; Van Laar et al., 2019). That considered, there are reasons to believe that expected consequences and costs of confrontation can impact people's intention to collude. This should be considered in future research. Further, to take the next step developing a theory on Collusion, our last suggestion is to include other variables (i.e.: prejudice, self-efficacy) in research design, so we can complexify the explanatory model, and reach a holistic comprehension of this phenomenon.

Para os que virão

[...]
Não importa que doa: é tempo
de avançar de mão dada
com quem vai no mesmo rumo,
mesmo que longe ainda esteja
de aprender a conjugar
o verbo amar.
É tempo sobretudo
de deixar de ser apenas
a solitária vanguarda
de nós mesmos.
Se trata de ir ao encontro.
(Dura no peito, arde a límpida
verdade dos nossos erros.)
Se trata de abrir o rumo.
Os que virão, serão povo,
e saber serão, lutando.
(Thiago de Mello).

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Appendixes

Appendix 1. Interview Script

Introduction

Você está sendo convidado a participar da pesquisa "Quem cala, consente? A construção de um modelo teórico explicativo de colusão", desenvolvida pela pesquisadora Laura Andrade, doutoranda em Psicologia Social, do Trabalho e das Organizações da Universidade de Brasília, sob a orientação do Prof. Dr. Cláudio Vaz Torres. Os objetivos do estudo são delimitar e caracterizar comportamentos de omissão frente à discriminação para diferentes grupos de identidade social. Essa produção visa fortalecer e consolidar o estudo da diversidade enquanto campo de impacto na psicologia e fornecer à comunidade subsídios importantes para combater o preconceito velado contra diferentes grupos de minoria.

Solicitamos a sua colaboração para a participação neste grupo focal, como também sua autorização para o registro em áudio desta reunião e para a posterior apresentação dos resultados deste estudo em eventos e publicações científicas nacionais e/ou internacionais. Por ocasião da publicação dos resultados, seu nome será mantido em sigilo absoluto.

Esclarecemos que sua participação no estudo é voluntária e pode ser interrompida a qualquer momento. Não existem respostas certas ou erradas para as questões propostas. Os dados da pesquisa serão analisados através de resultados gerais; assim sendo, respostas individuais não poderão ser identificadas. Os pesquisadores estarão a sua disposição para qualquer esclarecimento que considere necessário em qualquer etapa da pesquisa.

Questions

Algum de vocês já deixou de se manifestar numa situação de discriminação ou já viu isso acontecer com outra pessoa? Vocês poderiam me contar como foi a experiência?

Por que vocês acham que as pessoas deixam de se manifestar contra a discriminação?

O que vocês acham que precisaria mudar para que as pessoas se manifestassem mais?

Appendix 2. Registration Questionnaire

Quem cala, consente?

O Laboratório de Psicologia Social Transcultural, vinculado à Universidade de Brasília, convida homens e mulheres para participar de grupos focais sobre diversidade e preconceito.

O objetivo deste estudo é investigar situações discriminatórias e a permissividade dos sujeitos diante delas. Pretende-se caracterizar estas situações e as variáveis que as cercam.

Se você tiver interesse em participar, por favor, preencha o formulário a seguir com as suas informações.

Em caso de dúvidas, envie um e-mail para lauranovaesa@gmail.com.

Desde já, agradecemos o interesse!

Nome: _____

Idade: ____

Telefone: _____

E-mail: _____

Como você se identifica?

( ) Homem Cisgênero

( ) Mulher Cisgênero

( ) Homem Transgênero

( ) Mulher Transgênero

( ) Outro: _____

Sexualidade:

( ) Heterossexual

( ) Homossexual

( ) Outro: _____

Raça/Etnia:

( ) Preto

( ) Branco

( ) Outro: _____

Disponibilidade para participar do grupo focal:

	Segunda-feira	Terça-feira	Quarta-feira	Quinta-feira	Sexta-feira
08h-10h					
10h-12h					
12h-14h					
14h-16h					
16h-18h					
18h-20h					