LJMU Research Online

Lyons, M, Brewer, G, Gandolfo Conceição, MI, Jaramillo-Sierra, AL and Reyes-Rodriguez, MF

 Barriers and facilitators of bystander intervention in response to racism in Colombia

http://researchonline.ljmu.ac.uk/id/eprint/25518/

Article

For more information please contact researchonline@ljmu.ac.uk

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Barriers and facilitators of bystander intervention in response to racism in Colombia

Minna Lyons[a], Gayle Brewer[b], Maria Ines Gandolfo Conceição[c], Ana Lucía Jaramillo-Sierra[d] and Maria Fernanda Reyes-Rodriguez[d]

[a]School of Psychology, Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK; [b]School of Psychology, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK; [c]Institute of Psychology, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, Brazil; [d]Department of Psychology, University of Los Andes, Bogota, Colombia

ABSTRACT

Racial discrimination is a pervasive global problem. Bystanders who observe racism can intervene to support the targets of racism, but they often fail to do so due to several context-specific barriers. There is currently little research on bystander behaviour in racism outside of English-speaking countries. We used mixed methods to explore bystander responses to everyday racism in Colombia. In an online survey, participants ($N = 1,157$) were presented with a scenario where they observed racist behaviour as a bystander. Subsequently, they were asked to respond to a series of open and closed questions. Quantitative findings suggested that knowledge on how to act was predicted by confidence and responsibility; responsibility was predicted by ethnicity (being non-mestizo), confidence, noticing the event, and feeling more uncomfortable; and confidence was predicted by noticing the event, feeling less uncomfortable and more responsible. In the analysis of the qualitative data, we identified six themes. These were (i) Bystander characteristics and circumstances; (ii) Bystander morality and attitudes towards racism; (iii) Clarity of the situation; (iv) Perceived need and deservedness; (v) Presence of authorities and other people, and (vi) Consequences of action: Safety to the bystander. We discuss these findings in relation to racism in the Colombian context.

Introduction

Discrimination based on race or ethnicity is a pervasive global problem that has a significant impact on health, economic and educational outcomes, and participation in the society for the targets of racism (e.g. Paradies et al., 2015). Indeed, racism (both structural and interpersonal) has been suggested as *the* global public health crisis, resulting in multiple inequalities and disadvantages of racialised individuals (Andrews, 2021). Consequently, the fight against racism is a priority of the United Nations (n.d.). Bystanders – people who observe racism and have the power to intervene to defend the target – constitute an important tool in this fight (Sue et al., 2019).

According to the classical model by Latané and Darley (1970), bystanders must go through five steps to provide help (i.e. notice the event, identify the situation as intervention worthy, take responsibility for intervening, decide how to help, and finally, act to intervene). All these steps have several potential obstacles. However, it is possible to educate people to overcome the barriers.

For example, Derald Wing Sue et al. (e.g. 2019, 2020) worked on a set of strategic goals to educate individuals to combat racism (more specifically, microaggressions) from a bystander perspective. These strategies range from calling out racism and disarming the aggressions to educating the perpetrators and seeking for external support. To develop effective interventions globally, the context-specific barriers and facilitators should be first explored. What is successful in one context may not be applicable in other settings. Although there is some empirical research and theoretical developments on barriers and facilitators of anti-racist bystander behaviour (see Sue et al., 2020), the topic remains under-investigated.

Indeed, although bystander behaviour has been studied widely in the context of sexual violence (e.g. Mainwaring et al., 2023), there has been much less work on bystanders in racism (Jenkins et al., 2024). Some of the potential bystander barriers in racism include ambiguity of the situation, fear of negative repercussions, social norms, moral disengagement, interpersonal relationships and group memberships, or lack of knowledge of how to help (Marks et al., 2024; Murrell, 2021; Nelson et al., 2011; Sue et al., 2019, 2020; Zacheus et al., 2024). In addition, bystander behaviour (in both sexual violence and racism) can be facilitated by previous victimisation (Bloom et al., 2024; Milani & Carbajal, 2023), and identifying as belonging to ethnic minority (Amar et al., 2014; Brewer et al., 2024; Brown et al., 2014; Burns et al., 2019). However, unlike sexual violence, much of the knowledge of bystander behaviour in racism is driven by theories rather than by empirical data. In addition, most work has taken place in English-speaking countries, and more specifically, the United States (Nelson et al., 2011; Sue et al., 2019). To develop effective intervention programmes, it is imperative to conduct empirical studies in varied contexts. This could increase our understanding of the role of bystanders in racism in diverse settings around the world.

This pilot study focuses on Colombia, a South American country rich in human diversity, with 14% of the population identifying as indigenous, Rom or Afro-Caribbean (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística [DANE], n.d.). Colombia also has a history of colonialism and enslavement, which continues to manifest in the modern context as systematic violence towards racialised individuals (García Dussán & Hurtado Vera, 2023; Parra Cadavid, 2023). Despite formal anti-racism legislation (Hernán Vásquez Padilla, 2024), racial discrimination exists at both an individual and societal level. This often relates directly to skin colour (Vásquez-Padilla, 2019), where individuals with darker skin tone more likely to experience social exclusion (Benavides & Velásquez, 2022). Racism in Colombia is evidenced, for example, in the education system (e.g. Cifuentes & Martínez, 2021; Loango & Mazabel, 2021; Quintero Ramírez, 2014), in the workplace, and in health inequalities (Tovar et al., 2020).

There are several factors that could have an impact on bystander behaviour in racism in the specific context of Colombia. First, the country has a long history of armed political conflict that has affected disproportionately Afro-Colombians, indigenous, women, and LGBTQ+ communities (Amnesty International, 2023; Restrepo, 2024). Despite the recent peace agreement, transition to peace has numerous challenges due to political and economic insecurity (Meernik et al., 2021) and marked inequalities (Gordon et al., 2020). This could lead to persisting violence and high levels of current crime (Albarracín et al., 2023), which could have a major impact on bystander behaviour.

Indeed, both historical and current societal disorder could influence bystander behaviour in complicated ways. For instance, the idea of 'suffering leads to altruism' suggests that exposure to violence increases empathy, morality, and activism, which could, in turn, result in altruistic behaviours. Evidence from Colombia (Hernández-Wolfe, 2011; Taylor, 2016) and elsewhere (e.g. Hartman & Morse, 2020) demonstrates that experiences of political and community violence relate to civic participation and altruism. Violence (both present and historical) could increase empathy, which facilitates proactive bystander behaviours. On the other hand, fear of crime and violence also prevent bystander action (Flax et al., 2024; Mainwaring et al., 2023), which could be a problem in Colombia where people may not feel safe in public spaces (e.g. Pérez, 2020). Thus, the current and historical violence in the context of Colombia can impact bystander barriers and facilitators in multiple ways.

Second, many countries in the Latin America region (including Colombia) tend to negate and minimise the existence of racism due to the ideology of mestizaje, 'mixing' of people from European and indigenous backgrounds (e.g. Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Fajardo Mazorra, 2022; Wade, 2024). The way that ethnicity is classified has created a system that is presented as racially harmonious, hiding systemic racism (Valoyes-Chávez & Martin, 2016). This contributes to the invisibility and trivialisation of racialised minorities (Arocha Rodríguez, 2005). Racism in Colombia is not only evident in direct discrimination but is perpetuated through policies and laws that marginalise Afro-Colombians by prioritising economic and neoconservative interests. Structural racism impacts institutions and is evident in urban areas, such as during the social unrest of 2021, where reports indicated racially motivated police abuse against Afro-descendant and Indigenous people (Cortes, 2023; Restrepo, 2024). Moreover, this classification could also relate to confusion between racism and classism (Dixon, 2019), and lead to difficulties in identifying and denouncing racism (Moreno Parra, 2024; Restrepo, 2018). It is possible that bystanders lack an understanding of racism and how it operates in the society, which could be a barrier to help in the context of Colombia.

Despite the importance of bystanders in combatting racism, we currently lack global knowledge of the barriers and facilitators. This pilot study utilised mixed methods in exploring factors that could influence bystander behaviour in response to everyday racism in Colombia. Social and cultural contexts are likely to impact bystanders, which warrants an emic, bottom-up approach in new countries and contexts (e.g. Lyons et al., 2024a, 2024b). However, quantitative designs can also be useful, especially when investigating a host of demographic and other relevant factors (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, experiences of racism) in larger, more generalisable samples. Consequently, we utilised both an inductive qualitative approach (Labhardt et al., 2024; Robinson et al., 2022), as well as quantitative instruments in answering the question 'What are the facilitators and barriers to bystander behaviour in racism in Colombia'.

Method

Participants

We recruited a total of 1157 for an online study, using convenience and snowball sampling methods. Of these, 999 participants provided qualitative data. Participants were invited to participate voluntarily through social media adverts, direct contact via email, and advertising the survey through word of mouth.

All participants were aged 18 years or older (M_{age} = 34.76, SD = 13.07) and majority were cisgender female (50.8%) or cisgender male (37.1%), with 3.1% identifying as trans or non-binary. Most participants reported being single (49.8%), followed by married (21.2%), divorced (8.6%), or widowed (1.5%) at the time of the study. With regards to education, 59.9% had completed high school, 18.4% were university students, 11.2% had a graduate degree, 8.8% had an undergraduate degree, and 1.6% did not finish high school. Most participants had a full-time employment (47.5%), followed by unemployment (18.5%), working as independent (16.3%), having a part-time job (10.8%), being a pensioner (3.7%), and other (2.9%).

Most of the sample self-identified as White or Mestizo (63.0%). As stated by Olarte Sierra and Díaz Del Castillo Hernández (2013)

> In Colombia, the blending of Africans, Amerindians, and Europeans during colonial times led to the formation of a mestizo nation. The concept of "mestizo" is frequently employed by geneticists to study the peopling process and genetic composition of the continent's populations and plays a significant role in Colombian national identity. (p. 226)

According to National Administrative Department of Statistics in Colombia (DANE, n.d.), four ethnic groups are legally recognised; Indigenous, Afro-Colombians (including people of African descent, Black, Mulatto, and Palenquero from San Basilio), Raizales (from the archipelago of San

Andrés and Providencia), and Rom or Gypsy. These accounted for 2.2%, 32.7%, 1.7%, and 0.4% of the sample respectively.

A significant proportion of the sample (39%) reported having personally experienced discrimination. Of these, 23.6% reported to have been a direct victim of discrimination because of their ethnicity or skin colour, 18.9% based on their gender identity, 16.6% because of their age, and 10.3% because of their sexual orientation. Moreover, 49% of the participants had witnessed at least one situation where a person had been intimidated, harassed, or discriminated against because of their ethnicity, skin colour, sexual orientation or gender.

Materials and procedure

The study was administered through the Qualtrics platform in Spanish. Participants were presented with an information sheet and consent form, detailing the focus of the project and ethical issues (e.g. confidentiality, withdrawal). Participants then responded to a range of demographic questions (e.g. age, relationship status) and were presented with a vignette (created after discussions among team members on the racist events common across Latin America). The vignette stated

> You are entering a shop to buy food. At the same time, a person who looks like they are from indigenous/African origins enters the shop. The security guards start following them around the shop. The guard stops the person and accuses them of stealing something. The person looks confused and says that they have not taken anything.

After reading the vignette, participants were presented with a series of closed and open-ended questions. The open-ended questions were 'As a bystander, what are the things that would prevent you from acting?' and 'As a bystander, what are the things that would help you to act?' Closed questions required participants to rate their agreement on a 10-point Likert scale (1 = not at all to 10 = extremely so) on five questions; (i) In this situation, how likely is it that you would notice that something is out of place? (i.e. "noticing"), (ii) How uncomfortable is this situation? (i.e. "feeling uncomfortable"), (iii) Is it your responsibility to get involved in this situation? (i.e. "responsibility"), (iv) How likely is it that you would know how to act to provide help? (i.e. "knowledge on how to help"), (v) How confident are you that you could intervene successfully in this situation? (i.e. "confidence").

Data analysis

Qualitative data were analysed using a reflexive thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2022). The thematic analysis conducted followed six steps: (1) familiarising with the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and (6) producing the final report. Over a period of several weeks, one of the researchers (ML; not native Colombian, but familiar with the context) read and re-read the responses, immersing herself fully in the data. Initially, the answers were coded separately for barriers and facilitators. However, there were significant similarities in these answers. Indeed, sometimes the same response could be both a barrier and a facilitator (e.g. presence of authorities). In other responses, a barrier (e.g. fear) could be the opposite to a facilitator (e.g. lack of fear). The team agreed that it made sense to code across the whole dataset. ML generated initial codes and themes. She then shared these with the wider team (MR, AJ; native Colombians) for comments. After grouping the codes around potential themes, the researchers reviewed and discussed them until they reached a consensus on the final themes. They then selected the quotes that best represented these themes. Quotes were translated from Spanish to English by ML (fluent but not native in both languages) and checked by MR and AJ (native in Spanish and fluent in English).

We acknowledge that our positionalities could have influenced our approach to the study, including the data analyses. The five authors are all female faculty members in academic institutions in Brazil, Colombia, and the United Kingdom. All the team members are racialised as white in the context of their countries. Collectively, the team members have experience of racism as white

bystanders; through their racialised family members; or direct lived experiences of racism outside their countries (e.g. when visiting Europe). In addition, the team has robust knowledge of thematic analysis as well as researching racism in multiple countries (also with similar methods reported in the present study). We think that our diverse experiences facilitated the analyses of the data from multiple bystander perspectives.

For the quantitative analyses, we conducted descriptive, correlational, and multiple linear regressions using Jamovi.

Ethics

The study was conducted in line with ethical principles of the Declaration of Helsinki. The study was granted ethical approval from the Institutional Review Board of Universidad de los Andes. The ethics code is: 1729.

Results

Qualitative results

In total, participants provided 1777 open-ended responses to the two questions about barriers ($n = 889$) and facilitators ($n = 888$). Responses that were ambiguous or included minimal detail were excluded from the analyses. For example, responses such as "no; nothing; nothing would stop me; everything; etc" were not analysed ($n = 467$). This left us with 1310 responses that were included in the analyses. We constructed six themes: (i) Bystander characteristics and circumstances as barriers and facilitators; (ii) Bystander morality and attitudes towards racism, (iii) Clarity of the situation; (iv) Perceived need and deservedness; (v) Presence of authorities and other people, and (vi) Consequences of action: Safety of the bystander. Themes are based on coding across the two questions (facilitators and barriers).

Theme 1: Bystander characteristics and circumstances as barriers and facilitators

This theme encompasses individual characteristics and circumstances that could influence bystander behaviour. Some characteristics were relatively stable (e.g. size, personality, own race/ethnicity), and others more situational (e.g. skills, situational ability, emotions). We organised the responses here into two subthemes: (i) Personal attributes and skills (e.g. is/is not small, shy, weak, powerful, afro/indigenous, does/does not know how to help); (ii) Situational factors and emotions (e.g. anger, fear, disgust, is/is not with children, is/is not in a hurry)

Subtheme 1: Personal attributes, experiences, and skills
In this subtheme, participants wrote about their personal characteristics, including size, appearance, and formidability. One person wrote how "I have a very strong voice and a very intimidating appearance" (P101), and another mentioned how they " … have very attractive physical features, people generally pay attention to me" (P102), both of which were considered as facilitators to intervention. In a similar manner, other participants mentioned how their small size or lack of (physical) power would prevent them from providing help. Self-perception of one's own physical appearance seems to be an important factor in bystander behaviour in Colombia and has a link to both barriers and facilitators.

Lived experiences of racism were mentioned as both facilitator and a barrier to intervention. For instance, participants wrote how "I've experienced the same with my dad" (P6), and "I've been through it and I know more or less what it's all about" (P702) when discussing facilitators. These experiences could also hinder the help (e.g. P16 wrote how "I am an afro person" would be a barrier). These responses highlight the complexity of lived experiences, and how they could

either facilitate or prevent bystander behaviour in racism, depending on the individual and their situation.

Perceptions of one's skills (e.g. "I have experience" P103) and knowledge (e.g. "Know what rights you have as an accused" P831) were also viewed as facilitating intervention. Individuals also wrote abour how the lack of knowledge and skills could be a barrier (e.g. "I don't know how to act, many times the same situation occurs and the response is different" P93). Increasing skills and knowledge on how to act as a bystander could facilitate the readiness to provide help.

Subtheme 2: Situational factors and emotions

There were several situation-specific factors and emotions that the participants mentioned as barriers or facilitators. For instance, participants reported they would not help if they were in a hurry, and "If I have time to do it" (P109) would facilitate intervention. These responses indicate that helping the targets of racism is secondary to other challenges that the bystanders may have when the incident takes place.

Other situational factors were whether the bystanders were alone, or with their children. For example, "If I'm with my children. They get nervous if the police or guards approach us" (P105) was stated as a barrier. These kinds of responses indicate that bystanders would be reluctant to help if they feel like their loved ones would be at risk, or if they did not have the back up from others.

Emotions that arose in the situation were also barriers and facilitators. For instance, anger could facilitate help (e.g. "The anger that that situation would generate in me" P610). Fear was a barrier, and overcoming it was a facilitator, for example, "If I can overcome my fear" (P349). Being a witness to an incident of racism is a highly emotional situation, and the emotions play an obvious role in the subsequent behaviour.

Theme 2: Bystander morality and attitudes around racism

The second theme was constructed from responses concerning deeper-rooted personal beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes that could affect the likelihood of intervention. For example, facilitating factors were the bystanders' sense of justice/injustice and fairness, responsibility, respect, loyalty and solidarity, willingness to promote human rights, moral responsibility to help, and empathy towards the targets of racism. Participants commented how their help would be facilitated just by seeing " … the intolerance and discrimination against one" (P879); " … the unfairness of the situation" (P880), and " … that it is unfair and it is only because the guards did not like them" (P18). Many wrote about their sense of justice, together with the willingness to promote human rights, for example "For the defence of the rights that all human beings have, whether of any race, ethnicity or gender" (P341). "Doing the right thing" was at the heart of many of the responses to the question about facilitating factors.

However, personal, beliefs, and attitudes could also form barriers. Some participants mentioned their discriminatory views as a barrier, for example, "My own prejudices, perhaps I would believe that it is possible that he is denying something he did" (P743). Giving more credibility to the security guard rather than the victim was also a barrier to act: "If they are detained, it's because they did something; the guards are there to present the evidence" (P185). Denial of racism, as well, can create barriers to acknowledging and addressing racial discrimination, which could perpetuate systemic inequities: "I don't think they were followed just for being Afro-indigenous or Raizal" (P35); "In my country, I don't notice discrimination because of our indigenous ancestors" (P119). Comments like these are interesting in the context of Latin America and Colombia, where the existence of racism is often denied. This denial could guide the behaviour of bystanders, who may be less inclined to act to provide help.

Also, some participants lacked a of sense of responsibility to act. This barrier was characterised by a reluctance to get involved in something that is not the person's 'problem'. Participants wrote,

for example, how "It doesn't affect me directly" (P24); "this has nothing to do with me" (P25); " … I do not know the person and the case does not affect me directly" (P80); or "It's not my theme" (P816). Feeling responsible in situations of racism is an important step that bystanders must take to help. Failing to take responsibility can contribute to the inaction of bystanders.

Theme 3: Clarity of the situation

Participants wrote about clarity of the situation both as a barrier and a facilitator to intervention. Certainty of the innocence of the target was a facilitator, for example "Talking to a supervisor or someone in charge to verify the cameras to check that they do not have anything (P714)", or "Having been close to the victim at all times to attest to his innocence" (P716). However, confidence that the target of racism did steal (e.g. "Be sure of the person stole, having seen them" P727) would prevent help. In addition, if the bystanders did not see the situation clearly (e.g. "If I didn't see what happened in the situation" P600; or "If I don't know the truth of what happened, not being present for the whole event" P636) were barriers to help. Events of racism are often ambiguous, which provides a challenge to bystanders. Lack of clarity presents a barrier that could influence the decision to stay away from the situation.

Theme 4: Perceived need and deservedness

Participants wrote about their perception of whether the target wants, needs, or deserves their help. We divided this theme into two subthemes. The first subtheme covers the target's signals to receive help, and the second subtheme includes the perceived seriousness of the situation and the bystander's perception of the target's deservedness of help.

Subtheme 1: Target signals the need for help

In this subtheme, participants talked about the significance of clear signals from the target that they need or want help from the bystander. "If the target of the racism asks me" (P32), "Seeing how the young person is afraid" (P14) were mentioned facilitators, and "If they don't want help" (P569) was a barrier. Direct or indirect signalling or verbally asking for help was a facilitator, and the lack of these signals was a barrier to some bystanders.

Subtheme 2: Target needs or deserves the help

This subtheme has responses that we interpreted as bystander barriers and facilitators based on perceived danger to the target of racism, and whether they deserve the help. For instance, individuals mentioned the dangerousness or escalation of the situation both as a facilitator and a barrier. Seriousness of the situation could mean that the target of racism is in a severe need of help. For instance "If I see they are at risk of lynching" (P10), "Seeing an intense verbal or physical attack" (P28), "If they are treating the person very badly, I would not remain silent" or "That the man is being physically attacked" (P300) were mentioned as facilitators. On the other hand, fear of escalation of violence was also a barrier. This fitted better in another theme (Consequences of action – Safety of the bystander). Thus, we will discuss the seriousness of the situation as a barrier under another theme.

Participants weighed up whether the target was worthy of their help. If they thought that the target was vulnerable (e.g. a child) or otherwise helpless, or 'a good person', they were more willing to intervene. Inability to defend oneself for whatever reason was discussed as a facilitator to intervention, for example "If I see that they are being violated and they cannot defend themselves" (P138). A victim was also deemed to be less worthy of help if they were aggressive or 'bad'. For instance, "if the victim's attitude becomes very aggressive" (P741) was a barrier. Thus, bystander decision making could also depend on whether they think that the target deserves or needs their help.

Theme 5: Presence of authorities and other people

Participants reported that the presence of other people or authorities (e.g. police) could be a barrier or a facilitator. For some, presence of people could mean more chances of collective help, which could facilitate the bystander willingness to act. For others, presence of people could signal a risk of being incriminated by a crowd when providing help, which would be a barrier to help. In a similar way, some individuals perceived that the presence of authorities would facilitate their help, and others viewed this as a barrier. We divided this theme into two subthemes which were about collective action and help from others, as well as the presence of authorities as a barrier or a facilitator.

Subtheme 1: Collective action and help from others

The first subtheme illustrates that people were more willing to help if others were present and engaged in helping the target. For example, "Support from my companions and the community" (P171); "More people around, generating social pressure" (P519); and "If there are more people to help me make the complaint" (P287) were mentioned as facilitators. The collective nature of bystander action could also depend on the presence of others from racialised minority backgrounds. For example, one person wrote how it would be easier to act if there were "Other racialised people in the place" (P362), suggesting that bystanders who belong to racialised minority groups lack trust in white people and their collective help in situations of racism. The presence of other people was also a facilitator in a sense that they could be witnesses to the event, or in the words of one participant, "If there were more people in case they incriminate me" (P289).

As well as being a facilitator, the presence of other's could also create a barrier. This was the case especially if the others were not supportive (e.g. "The fear that nobody supports what I'm saying" P94) or would even turn against the bystander (e.g. "The number of people against me" P583). Thus, the presence of other people could be either a facilitator or a barrier, depending on whether they support the bystander, or turn against them.

Subtheme 2: "Authorities" as barrier and facilitator

This subtheme identified authorities (e.g. police, army, officials, law, shop supervisors) as both barriers and facilitators to intervention. Participants stated how backing up from the authorities was a facilitator, and they would feel safer to help if they knew that authorities had already been called. In addition, many individuals wrote how they would not personally intervene "Because it would be better to phone the police" (P776). These kinds of answers demonstrate that some believe that the responsibility to help is with the authorities rather than the individuals. On the other side of the coin, the presence of authorities (e.g. the police) was a barrier to many people. One participant wrote that they would not help because "The fact that there is police makes me even more afraid" (P785). These kinds of opposing responses demonstrate how complex the relationship with (potentially armed) authorities are in Colombia. Depending on multiple factors, people may be deterred or encouraged to intervene when authorities are present in events of racism.

Theme 6: Consequences of action: Safety of the bystander

Participants reported that negative consequences to them as a bystander could be a barrier, and absence of these consequences could be a facilitator to help. In this theme, again, the legacy of armed conflict is very much present. People wrote about how they were fearful of their own safety, and the potential that the event escalates into physical violence. Many wrote about violence and presence of guns, for example, "I am scared of violent reactions" (P12); "If people start to be very violent" (P54); "If the guard gets heavy with me" (P77), or "If there are guns or violence" (P622). This kind of escalation could be dangerous in the context of Colombia, where the bystander could risk their life when intervening.

People were also fearful of legal trouble or being accused of being an accomplice if they offered support to the target. "If they took legal action against me" (P786), or "Fear that they will end up involving one as an accomplice" (P656) were mentioned as barriers. Thus, fear for safety could be about physical violence, or about potential legal problems.

Quantitative results

We conducted Pearson's correlations between the five closed questions (noticing; feeling uncomfortable; likelihood of help; responsibility; knowledge on how to help; confidence) and age. Medium to high significant positive correlations between the five items were found; however, no significant associations with age were identified (see Table 1).

Subsequently, we conducted a Multiple Linear Regression to identify predictors of the question "How likely is it that you would know how to act to provide help?" (i.e. knowledge on how to help). A range of social and demographic variables and perceptions of the incident (See Table 2) were entered as predictor variables. The overall model was significant ($R^2 = .72$; $F_{9.294} = 85.7$; $p < .001$). As shown in Table 2, significant associations were only found for responsibility and confidence. This indicates that knowledge on how to act were predicted by higher levels of responsibility and confidence. All other predictors were non-significant.

Based on these results, we ran two further models using these two variables (responsibility and confidence) as outcomes, and the same predictors (noticing; feeling uncomfortable, as well as confidence for model 1, and responsibility for model 2), excluding the item on knowledge on how to help.

The models were significant for both outcomes: responsibility and ($R^2 = .68$; $F_{7.306} = 94.6$; $p < .001$) and confidence ($R^2 = .49$; $F_{7.306} = 41.8$; $p < .001$). As shown in Table 3, for the outcome responsibility, there were significant positive associations with a medium effect size for feeling uncomfortable and confidence in intervening. There also were significant positive associations with a low effect size with noticing something is out of place and identifying themselves as part of an ethnic group. For the outcome confidence, noticing something is out of place and considering the situation as uncomfortable were significant predictors, although with a low effect size, whilst perceived responsibility was found significant and with a high effect size.

Discussion

In the present study, we explored the barriers and facilitators of bystander help in response to everyday racism in a large online Colombian community sample. Our pilot results address a critical gap in the empirical literature in this context. We discovered several individual, situational, and contextual factors that could have an impact on bystander involvement. The results of the mixed methods survey could be used in directing future research and interventions.

Summarising the results, the quantitative findings demonstrated that bystander characteristics (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, and personal experiences of discrimination, or being a bystander) played

Table 1. Pearson correlation matrix between the quantitative questions and age.

Items and age	1	2	3	4	5
1. Noticing	–				
2. Feeling uncomfortable	.77**	–			
3. Responsibility	.64**	.72**	–		
4. Knowledge on how to help	.54**	.57**	.73**	–	
5. Confidence	.46**	.45**	.61**	.75**	–
6. Age	.09	.03	.01	.01	−.03

Note: **$p < .001$.

Table 2. Model coefficients for the outcome variable of knowledge of helping as a bystander in the hypothetical event of racism.

Predictor	T	β	95% confidence interval	
			Lower	Upper
Noticing	−0.29	−.01	−0.11	0.08
Uncomfortable	1.42	.08	−0.02	0.18
Responsibility	8.46**	.46	0.35	0.56
Confidence	9.83**	.42	0.33	0.49
Age	0.30	.01	0.05	0.07
Experience of racism				
Yes-No	0.64	.05	0.12	0.22
Gender				
Masculine − Female	0.94	.35	−0.06	0.18
Ethnicity	−.48	−.04	−0.17	0.10
Other − Mestizo				
Experience of discrimination (other than racism)	.63	.05	−0.09	0.18
Yes-No				
Witness of discrimination	.06	.01	−0.13	0.14
Yes-No				

Note: **$p < 0.001$.

little role in bystander behaviour. Ethnicity was only related to one of the questions, suggesting that non-mestizo participants were more likely to feel responsible for providing help. Other predictors of feeling responsible were noticing the event, feeling uncomfortable, and having the confidence to help. For confidence to intervene, noticing the event was a significant positive, and feeling

Table 3. Model coefficients for the outcomes responsibility to act and perceived confidence.

Predictors for responsibility	T	β	95% confidence interval	
			Lower	Upper
Noticing	2.92*	.15	0.05	0.26
Uncomfortable	7.61**	.39	0.29	0.50
Confidence	11.68**	.44	0.36	0.51
Age	−0.27	−.01	−0.07	0.05
Experience of racism			−0.15	0.20
Yes-No	0.24	.02		
Gender			−0.14	0.11
Masculine − Female	0.20	.01		
Ethnicity	2.66*	.19	0.05	0.35
Other − Mestizo				
Experience of discrimination (No racism)	0.92	.07	−0.08	0.22
Yes-No				
Witness of discrimination	−0.86	−.06	−0.20	0.07
Yes-No				

Predictors for confidence	t	β	95% confidence interval	
			Lower	Upper
Noticing	1.97*	.13	−0.00	0.27
Uncomfortable	−2.14*	−.15	−0.29	−0.01
Responsibility	11.58**	.70	0.58	0.82
Age	−0.06	−.02	−0.08	0.07
Experience of racism	−0.45	−.05	−0.28	0.17
Yes-No				
Gender	−0.45	−.04	−0.20	0.12
Masculine − Female				
Ethnicity	−0.57	−.06	−0.25	0.13
Other − Mestizo				
Experience of discrimination (No racism)	−0.40	−.03	−0.23	0.13
Yes-No				
Witness of discrimination	−0.48	.05	−0.13	0.22
Yes-No				

Note: *$p < .05$; **$p < .001$.

uncomfortable was a significant negative predictor. In contrast to the quantitative findings, qualitative data suggested several barriers and facilitators that included bystander characteristics, together with perceptions, and attitudes, and multiple situational factors. Below, we discuss the results with a reference to previous studies as well as the Colombian context.

The qualitative results highlighted that many of the barriers and facilitators to intervention were similar to those found in other contexts (i.e. in other countries or in the context of sexual violence). For example, some participants wrote that they would always intervene to help as it was perceived as a moral duty. This mirrors the findings of a qualitative meta synthesis from the U.S., where participants talked about helping the targets of sexual violence because they felt that it was 'their responsibility' (Robinson et al., 2022). In the context of racism, the responsibility to help is related to allyship (Williams & Sharif, 2021), where allies consistently fight to end discrimination and call out racism. In addition, knowing that many Colombians may have lived experiences of violence, the "suffering leads to altruism" idea could also link to taking responsibility as a bystander. Future qualitative designs could probe deeper into this idea in the context of Colombia.

Although the quantitative findings suggested that individual characteristics (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity) and experiences (e.g. being a target or a witness of discrimination) did little do predict bystander behaviour, qualitative findings demonstrated that ethnicity and lived experiences of racism were important both as barriers and facilitators. In fact, ethnicity was related to only one of the quantitative questions about the perceived responsibility to act. This apparent contradiction highlights the complexity involved in how the participant perceives the context, suggesting a need for more in-depth studies.

For example, the presence of police and authorities was a barrier to intervention for some, whereas for others, it was a facilitator. This is not surprising taking the post-conflict context of Colombia, and the historical role of the police and authorities in perpetrating violence (Branton et al., 2023). The state violence is especially severe for already marginalised communities (e.g. Cardenas Suárez et al., 2018; Cortes, 2023; Merriman, 2020; Restrepo, 2024). It is possible that the presence of authorities is a deterrent to bystanders from communities (e.g. LGBTQ+, indigenous, Afro-Colombian) that have been a target of police violence. Although much work has been undertaken to increase trust in the police (Nilsson & Jonsson, 2023), this has been only partially effective. Consequently, some of bystanders appeared less likely to provide help if there is a possibility that the police or authorities were involved in the incident.

Indeed, many of the qualitative responses (e.g. clarity of the situation; presence of authorities and other people; safety of the bystander) may reflect a history of violence and prolonged armed conflict in Colombia. Communities that live in post-conflict and violent territories in Colombia display what has been characterised as 'ruptura del tejido social' (break of social/community ties; e.g. Arjona, 2008; Marín González, 2017). This entails, among other things, a distrust of other people and fear of repercussions by armed and powerful groups (e.g. new guerrillas, militias, drug cartels). In global surveys, Colombia has scored low on a question on interpersonal trust (Mathieu, 2024), which could also impact bystander barriers. Bystanders may require reassurance of support from others, as helping the targets of racism comes with potentially high personal risks. However, in countries that have a low trust, bystanders could feel that they cannot count on other people.

Some of the bystander barriers in our results fit well with the 5-step model of intervention (e.g. Jenkins et al., 2024; Latané & Darley, 1970). According to this model, bystanders should be educated to notice the event, interpret is as needing intervention, accepting a responsibility to intervene, having the toolkit of actions for intervention, and finally, acting to help. Our findings (e.g. uncertainty of whether bystander witness racism; lack of responsibility to act; perceiving the situation/target as not worthy of intervention) suggest that the 5-step model could be adapted to develop interventions in the context of Colombia and possibly in other Latin American countries. Additional research is required to determine the extent to which theories and

models developed elsewhere can be adapted in Latin America (see also Suarez et al., 2024, for bystander intervention work in Peru).

Our findings are not without limitations. The qualitative answers were sometimes very brief, and it would have been beneficial to have more elaboration on what the meaning behind the responses was. As an example, some individuals wrote that being from a racialised minority group would be a facilitator to help, and others mentioned that it would be a barrier. We can only speculate why these opposing ideas were given – perhaps it relates to previous experiences of violence, which could be completely different depending on, for instance, where the individual lives (see Berents & Ten Have, 2017). The inability to deepen the online data with follow-up questions could be overcome in individual interviews or focus groups, where the interviewer has the possibility to ask further probing questions. Despite benefits (e.g. diverse populations; reduced socially desirable responding), qualitative online surveys can suffer from lacking the richness of data (Braun et al., 2021). Hence, this study should be considered as an initial pilot, paving way to qualitative designs that use methods that allow for better understanding of the complexity of bystander experiences.

Another limitation is that we cannot separate the tangled relationships between perceptions of discrimination based on racism and classism. In Colombia (amongst many other countries in the Latin American region), people may not distinguish between discrimination based on wealth/social status, and race/ethnicity (Dixon, 2019). Thus, we cannot be sure whether the participants were thinking of class, race, or both when responding to the vignettes. Future studies should be planned in a way that prompt participants to think about being bystanders in racism (for example, by explaining racism and naming racism). In this way, we could have more certainty that the responses are about racism rather than classism.

Finally, one of the limitations of online data are that some of the responses could be bots (Storozuk et al., 2020). We did data cleaning procedures (e.g. removed very short or incomplete answers), but did not otherwise control for bot activity. For the qualitative data, we only analysed writing that made sense in the context, as bot data often have nonsensical qualitative responses. We intend to use more methods (e.g. CAPTCHA; attention checks; see Storozuk et al., 2020) in future studies to be able to distinguish bots from real participants.

To conclude, our results indicate that there are several individual, situational, and contextual factors that relate to barriers and facilitators of bystander help in response to racism in the Colombian context. Bystander behaviour is complex and multifaceted, and what might be a barrier for one person (e.g. presence of police and authorities) could be a facilitator for others. The findings demonstrate that increasing individual responsibility and confidence to act (e.g. working on allyship and empathy; or harness bystanders with a toolkit of possible actions) could be useful when devising interventions in the context of anti-racist education in Colombia. Next steps would be to investigate bystander behaviour in Colombia further, followed by developing, implementing, and evaluating research-informed bystander programmes. The bystander approach could increase social justice and change social norms around racism in Colombia, and more widely in the Latin American context.

References

Albarracín, J., Corredor-Garcia, J., Milanese, J. P., Valencia, I. H., & Wolff, J. (2023). Pathways of post-conflict violence in Colombia. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 138–164. https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2022.2114244

Amar, A., Sutherland, M., & Laughon, K. (2014). Gender differences in attitudes and beliefs associated with bystander behavior and sexual assault. *Journal of Forensic Nursing*, 10, 84–91. https://doi.org/10.1097/JFN.0000000000000024

Amnesty International. (2023). *Colombia 2023 report*. Retrieved 2024, from https://www.amnesty.org/es/location/americas/south-america/colombia/report-colombia/#:~:text=El%20conflicto%20armado%20continuaba%20afectando,LGBTI%20segu%C3%ADan%20suscitando%20gran%20preocupaci%C3%B3n

Andrews, K. (2021). Racism is the public health crisis. *The Lancet*, 397, 1342–1343.

Arjona, A. M. (2008). Grupos armados, comunidades y órdenes locales: Interacciones complejas. In F. González (Ed.), *Hacia la reconstrucción el país: Territorio, desarrollo y política en regiones afectadas por el conflicto armado* (pp. 105–167). CINEP.

Arocha Rodríguez, J. (2005). Afro-Colombia en los años post-Durban. *Palimpsestvs: Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Humanas*.

Benavides, E. O., & Velásquez, J. J. N. (2022). Ethnicity and social exclusion in Colombia in 2012–2017. *CEPAL Review*, 2021, 33–54.

Berents, H., & Ten Have, C. (2017). Navigating violence: Fear and everyday life in Colombia and Mexico. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 6, 103–117.

Bloom, B. E., Joseph, R., Ulibarri, M. D., Reed, E., & Ulloa, E. C. (2024). Factors associated with engaging in bystander intervention behavior among college students. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 39, 1731–1759. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605231212170

Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 465–480.

Branton, R. P., Esparza, D., & Meernik, J. (2023). What factors drive trust in police after civil wars: The case of Colombia. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2023.2176899

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). Conceptual and design thinking for thematic analysis. *Qualitative Psychology*, 9, 3–26.

Braun, V., Clarke, V., Boulton, E., Davey, L., & McEvoy, C. (2021). The online survey as a qualitative research tool. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 24, 641–654. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1805550

Brewer, G., Singh, J., & Lyons, M. (2024). The lived experience of racism in the Sikh community. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 39, 2415–2436. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605231218225

Brown, A. L., Banyard, V. L., & Moynihan, M. M. (2014). College students as helpful bystanders against sexual violence: Gender, race, and year in college moderate the impact of perceived peer norms. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38, 350–362. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314526855

Burns, V. L., Eaton, A. A., Long, H., & Zapp, D. (2019). Exploring the role of race and gender on perceived bystander ability and intent: Findings before and after exposure to an online training program to prevent sexual assault on campus. *Violence Against Women*, 25, 999–1017. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218807089

Cardenas Suárez, M., Cifuentes, S., & Parra Norato, J. (2018). *Cuando autoridad es discriminación: Violencia Policial contra personas con orientación sexual e identidad de género diversas en espacios públicos*. Defensoría Del Pueblo.

Cifuentes, J. F. P., & Martínez, A. A. (2021). Las Paradojas del multiculturalismo racista en Colombia: Discriminación étnica en una escuela de la ruralidad urbana en Colombia. *Revista Interdisciplinar Arista-Crítica*, 1, 26–42.

Cortés, V. (2023). Racismo, blanquidad y privilegios raciales como categorías en disputa durante la coyuntura del paro nacional 2021, Colombia. *Tabula Rasa*, 45, 243–270. https://doi.org/10.25058/20112742.n45.11

Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE). (n.d.). *Glosario étnicos*. Retrieved June 19, 2024, from https://www.dane.gov.co/files/censo2005/etnia/sys/Glosario_etnicos.pdf

Dixon, A. R. (2019). Colorism and classism confounded: Perceptions of discrimination in Latin America. *Social Science Research*, 79, 32–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2018.12.019

Fajardo Mazorra, A. (2022). The powerful myth of racial equality: A review of Colombia's mestizaje. *Clamantis: The Mals Journal*, 1(12), 18.

Flax, M., Millband, O., & Grendele, W. (2024). 'Doesn't anyone care anymore?' – Bystander intervention to hate crime. *International Review of Victimology*, 31, 3–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/02697580241271465

García Dussán, É., & Hurtado Vera, D. C. (2023). Representaciones sociales del racismo sobre la comunidad indígena misak en Colombia y su protesta social. *Forma y Función*, 36(1), https://doi.org/10.15446/fyf.v36n1.97561

Gordon, E., Henao, S. R., Duque, A. Z., & Dolan-Evans, E. (2020). Power, poverty and peacebuilding: The violence that sustains inequalities and undermines peace in Colombia. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 20, 697–721. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2020.1848119

Hartman, A. C., & Morse, B. S. (2020). Violence, empathy and altruism: Evidence from the Ivorian refugee crisis in Liberia. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 731–755.

Hernández-Wolfe, P. (2011). Altruism born of suffering: How Colombian human rights activists transform pain into prosocial action. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 51, 229–249.

Hernán Vásquez Padilla, D. (2024). Chasing racists, protecting racism: Revisiting anti-discrimination law in Colombia. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 19, 201–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2023.2222626

Jenkins, L., Marks, L. R., Perez-Felkner, L., Verma, K., Templeton, D. S. P., & Thomas, J. (2024). Applying the bystander intervention model to racial microaggressions in college students. *International Journal of Bullying Prevention*, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42380-024-00216-x

Labhardt, D., Brown, S., Holdsworth, E., McKillop, N., Howat, D. J., & Jones, C. (2024). UK and Australian university students' perceptions of the nature of sexual assault and intervening behavior. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 39, 1881–2368. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605231212171

Latané, B., & Darley, J. M. (1970). *The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help*. Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Loango, A. O., & Mazabel, M. M. (2021). Racismo en la educación superior: Un análisis desde la perspectiva de los pueblos indígenas y afrodescendientes en Colombia. *Universidades*, 72, 15–33. https://doi.org/10.36888/udual.universidades.2021.87.521

Lyons, M., Brewer, G., Chopen, N., Davila, N., Elías, D., Gómez, L. D. R., Velásquez, J., & García, G. G. (2024a). Barriers to bystander action in sexual violence in Guatemala: The role of rape myth acceptance. *Sexuality & Culture*, 28, 155–167. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-023-10106-x

Lyons, M., Gómez, L. D. R., Chopen, N., & Dávila, N. (2024b). Student experiences of sexual violence as targets and bystanders: A qualitative investigation in a public university in Guatemala. *Sexuality & Culture*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-024-10209-z

Mainwaring, C., Gabbert, F., & Scott, A. J. (2023). A systematic review exploring variables related to bystander intervention in sexual violence contexts. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 24(3), 1727–1742. https://doi.org/10.1177/15248380221079660

Marín González, K. X. (2017). Construcción de paz en escenarios de violencia intracomunitaria. Estudio de caso Sierra de la Macarena (Meta-Colombia). *Estudios Políticos*, 51, 96–217. https://doi.org/10.17533/udea.espo.n51a10

Marks, L. R., Jenkins, L., Perez-Felkner, L., Templeton, D. S. P., & Verma, K. (2024). Social cognitive predictors of bystander intervention in racial microaggressions among college students. *Race and Social Problems*, 16, 249–262. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-024-09412-2

Mathieu, E. (2024, November 9). When asked if most people can be trusted, responses vary significantly around the world. *Our World in Data*. https://ourworldindata.org/data-insights/when-asked-if-most-people-can-be-trusted-responses-vary-significantly-around-the-world

Meernik, J., Henao, J. G., & Baron-Mendoza, L. (2021). Insecurity and the reintegration of former armed non-state actors in Colombia. *European Political Science Review*, 13, 528–546. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773921000230

Merriman, D. R. (2020). Contentious bodies: The place, race, and gender of victimhood in Colombia. *Transforming Anthropology*, 28, 24–40.

Milani, R., & Carbajal, M. (2023). Experiences of street harassment and the active engagement of bystanders: Insights from a Swiss sample of respondents. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 38, 10640–10663. https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605231175912

Moreno Parra, M. (2024). Calling racism by its name: Forms of violence in the articulation or omission of racism in Ecuador. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1–21.

Murrell, A. J. (2021). Why someone did not stop them? Aversive racism and the responsibility of bystanders. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*, 40, 60–73. https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-07-2020-0191

Nelson, J. K., Dunn, K. M., & Paradies, Y. (2011). Bystander anti-racism: A review of the literature. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 11, 263–284. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01274.x

Nilsson, M., & Jonsson, C. (2023). Building relational peace: Police-community relations in post-accord Colombia. *Policing and Society*, 33, 518–536. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2022.2147175

Olarte Sierra, M. F., & Díaz Del Castillo Hernández, A. (2013). We are all the same, we all are *Mestizos*': Imagined populations and nations in genetics research in Colombia. *Science as Culture*, 23, 226–252. https://doi.org/10.1080/09505431.2013.838214

Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., Gupta, A., Kelaher, M., & Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PloS One*, 10(9), e0138511. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0138511

Parra Cadavid, S. (2023). *Conflicto Armado Colombiano: Una Mirada Interseccional De Género, Racismo Y Colonialidad* [MA thesis]. Georgia State University. https://doi.org/10.57709/2td8-xr72

Pérez, M. C. C. (2020). Mujeres y espacio público de Bogotá, Colombia: 'Un campo de batalla, de riesgo, de miedo'. *Dilemas: Revista de Estudos de Conflito e Controle Social*, 13, 391–411.

Quintero Ramírez, O. A. (2014). El racismo cotidiano en la universidad colombiana desde la experiencia vivida por los estudiantes negros en Bogotá. *Universitas Humanística*, 77, 71–94.

Restrepo, E. (2018). Talks and disputes of racism in Colombia after multiculturalism. *Cultural Studies*, 32, 460–476. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2017.1420090

Restrepo, E. (2024). *Desprecios que matan: Desigualdad, racismo y violencia en Colombia* (p. 224). Bielefeld University Press.

Robinson, S. R., Casiano, A., & Elias-Lambert, N. (2022). "Is it my responsibility?": A qualitative review of university students' perspectives on bystander behavior. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 23, 117–131. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020933829

Storozuk, A., Ashley, M., Delage, V., & Maloney, E. A. (2020). Got bots? Practical recommendations to protect online survey data from bot attacks. *The Quantitative Methods for Psychology*, 16, 472–481. https://doi.org/10.20982/tqmp.16.5.p472

Suarez, E. B., McGrath, E. M., Caceres, A. D. M., Ordoñez, J., & Reynaga, G. (2024). El que ve y Ayuda': Evaluation of a gender-based violence prevention pilot program in Peru. *Intervention Journal of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Conflict Affected Areas*, 22, 31–43.

Sue, D. W., Alsaidi, S., Awad, M. N., Glaeser, E., Calle, C. Z., & Mendez, N. (2019). Disarming racial microaggressions: Microintervention strategies for targets, White allies, and bystanders. *American Psychologist*, 74, 128–142. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000296

Sue, D. W., Calle, C. Z., Mendez, N., Alsaidi, S., & Glaeser, E. (2020). *Microintervention strategies: What you can do to disarm and dismantle individual and systemic racism and bias*. John Wiley.

Taylor, L. K. (2016). Impact of political violence, social trust, and depression on civic participation in Colombia. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 22, 145–152.

Tovar, J. A. M., Pomares, D., Sierra, M., & Martínez, M. G. (2020). Racismo y segregación en Colombia: salud, educación y trabajo en la población afrodescendiente del pacífico. *Trans-pasando Fronteras*, 16, 93–122. https://doi.org/10.18046/retf.i16.4102

United Nations. (n.d). *Fight racism*. Retrieved February 15, 2024, from https://un.org/en/fight-racism

Valoyes-Chávez, L., & Martin, D. B. (2016). Exploring racism inside and outside the mathematics classroom in two different contexts: Colombia and USA. *Intercultural Education*, 27, 363–376. https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2015.1106135

Vásquez-Padilla, D. H. (2019). Somos conscientes del racismo? Cómo las categorías étnico-raciales, el color de la piel y el mestizaje inciden en el reconocimiento del racismo en Colombia. *Sociedad y Economía*, 36, 8–30.

Wade, P. (2024). Working against racism: Lessons from Latin America? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1–21.

Williams, M., & Sharif, N. (2021). Racial allyship: Novel measurement and new insights. *New Ideas in Psychology*, 62, 100865. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2021.100865

Zacheus, T., Mäkinen, V., & Lyons, M. (2024). Korkeakouluopiskelojoiden etnisestä taustasta johtuvaan epä-asialliseen kohteluun puuttuminen: Sivustakatsojien näkökulma. *Kasvatus*, 55, 288–302. https://doi.org/10.33348/kvt.137420