Colombian Youths' Reasoning About Retributive and Restorative Justice in the 2016

Peace Accord: Associations with Belief Systems of Trust

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ABSTRACT

Colombian Youths' Reasoning About Retributive and Restorative Justice in the 2016 Peace Accord: Associations with Belief Systems of Trust

Angelica Restrepo

This study investigated Colombian adolescents' reasoning about justice as a function of their disposition to trust their environments. Specifically, we examined (1) how youths' endorsement of restorative and retributive solutions varied in relation to their levels of trust, (2) how their expectations regarding perpetrators' behavior played into their reasoning, and (3) the qualitative differences between participants with high and low levels of trust. Seventy-four 14- to 19-year old adolescents evaluated five solutions (apologies, compensation by perpetrators, compensation by the government, punishment, and a balance between compensation and punishment) after being presented with two scenarios depicting group harm, based on events situated in the armed conflict. Participants also completed a 16-item questionnaire assessing their general levels of trust. Overall, higher levels of trust were associated with support for restorative solutions; this association was mediated by beliefs about perpetrators' honesty and reliability, but only for solutions that balanced restoration and retribution. Relatedly, youths' judgments about punishment reflected a nuanced understanding of moral transgressions as they occur in complex socio-political climates. Last, qualitative analyses suggested that attributions about perpetrators' behavior bore on youths' beliefs about their potential for rehabilitation, thereby informing their reasoning about justice in the aftermath of harm. These findings provide new insights into the ways that adolescents weigh and coordinate concerns with deservingness, accountability, and victims' wellbeing, as informed by their assumptions about the trustworthiness of their environment. Understanding how these associations unfold in younger generations is critical, as they will carry the burden of future attempts at peacebuilding.

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'Malicia indigena' (translated literally as 'indigenous malice') is a floating term used by Colombians in reference to their own abilities to get by through creativity and ingenuity, at its best, and deception and hypocrisy, at its worst. The term has also acquired a historical meaning from Colonialism all the way through the twentieth century as an illustration of how Colombians survive under underdeveloped conditions, precarious education and abandonment from the state (Morales, 1998). In this sense, the existence of cultural practices and beliefs surrounding distrust and individualism in Colombia is neither new, nor surprising. Nevertheless, the premise of this study is that this mist of scepticism that so aptly captures day-to-day interactions in Colombia may also affect how youths construct meaning around their experiences with justice and conflict.

Currently, Colombia is undergoing a period of extensive transition, as the country attempts to transform its society in the wake of an enduring and convoluted conflict. However, the initial wave of optimism that followed the signing of the peace treaty between the government and the *Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia* (known by its Spanish acronym, FARC) has begun to fade; as violence and inequality persist, the Colombian population grows impatient (Karl, 2017). Against this backdrop of distrust and controversy, this thesis aims to examine how adolescents reason about morally-laden and politically charged issues, such as punishment and reparation. More specifically, the current study will investigate whether Colombian adolescents' preferences for retributive and restorative justice vary in relation to their disposition to trust others and institutions when evaluating situations of harm. In this regard, social domain theory provides a framework whereby prescriptive judgments about justice are assumed to be influenced by beliefs about the world, such as perceptions of political instability and corruption, on the one hand, and trust in others, on the other hand. Thus, studying youths' stances on highly debated and controversial political issues is of great importance; as the next generation of voters, adolescents' beliefs, values, and opinions represent sources of social continuity and change.

In the following sections, relevant dimensions of the political and armed conflict in Colombia will be outlined, followed by an explanation of how the 2016 peace agreement between the government and left-wing guerillas came to be. A framework developed by the United Nations will be used to describe the peace agreement's approach to peace, with the

ultimate goal of contrasting its emphasis on restorative justice at the expense of punitive measures. Then, literature pertaining to social domain theory and trust will be reviewed, inasmuch as it provides a lens through which issues of justice can be examined as they relate to informational assumptions. Subsequently, the goals, hypotheses and method of the current study are described, followed by the results and discussion.

Inequality and Power Struggle in the Context of the Colombian Armed Conflict

For more than 50 years, the Colombian people have been caught in the cross-fire of the deadly conflict between internal guerrilla groups, paramilitaries, and the government. This history of violence has resulted in the uprooting of nearly 6.5 million people and the loss of more than 200,000 lives (Historical Memory Group, 2016; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015). The armed conflict in Colombia emerged as a partisan conflict with, at its source, disagreements regarding wealth and land distribution. Although violent acts between Liberals and Conservatives were common, the assassination of the left-wing politician Jorge Eliécer Gaitán unleashed unprecedented levels of radicalization and severe forms of violence (Historical Memory Group, 2016).

La Violencia, the period that followed Gaitán's death, was one of the deadliest periods in the history of Colombia (Historical Memory Group, 2016). Amid the conflict between radicalized liberals and conservatives, the *National Front* agreement allowed for the alternation in power (i.e., every four years) between moderate liberals and conservative elites. This served as the foundation upon which political exclusion of other left-wing groups fueled the perpetuation of violence. As such, the eradication of left-wing guerrilla groups through military repression and restricted political participation became the Colombian government's main priority. Meanwhile, land distribution programs and the development of the agricultural sector took the backseat (Historical Memory Group, 2016).

In the mid-60s, provoked by a US-funded anti-subversive/anti-communist policy, peasant self-defence militias formally united as guerrilla groups, with the goal of becoming communist revolutionary forces (Historical Memory Group, 2016; "Marquetalia 35 años después," 1999). Ultimately, it was in this social and political climate that the FARC came together. Importantly, the government's failure to address the living condition of the rural impoverished population provided the political platform upon which the FARC's agrarian-based ideals developed (Historical Memory Group, 2016). Similar left-wing guerrilla groups later emerged (e.g.,

National Liberation Army). These guerrillas and their land redistribution programs found support in rural areas from landless peasants and small landowners unable to compete against large landlords (Historical Memory Group, 2016).

In 1982, the FARC and the Colombian government conducted a first round of peace negotiations. As part of the agreement, the FARC and the Colombian Communist Party co-founded the political party *Patriotic Union* (UP). In the 1986 elections, the UP accomplished a level of unprecedented success unknown for any third party in Colombia, not to mention an openly communist party (Freeman, 2014). However, the UP's success quickly became a threat for opposing parties, which led to the forced disappearances and systematic assassinations of its leaders. Reports show that throughout the 90's and into the early 2000's, between 4,000 and 6,000 UP members, including two presidential candidates, were assassinated (Freeman, 2014; Historical Memory Group, 2016; S.B., 2011). By the end of the century, the political party had few active members left, as most of its proponents had been murdered or had fled the country (Freeman, 2014).

In 1991, the new Political Constitution of Colombia was ratified, thereby promising the empowerment of citizens and marginalized political groups. Despite these institutional changes, subversive violence (i.e., emergence of guerrilla groups and confrontations with the State) had been on the rise since the early 1980s. Ultimately, the transition from the twentieth to the twenty-first century was characterized by a stark increase in the armed conflict's intensity. As guerrilla groups and paramilitary organizations expanded, the drug-trafficking business altered the nature of the conflict for the following decade (Historical Memory Group, 2016).

In its early years, the FARC used kidnapping and extortion as their main source of funding, therefore making the group responsible of over 90% of the incidents recorded between 1981 and 2002. Further, the US-led drug war that dismantled large-scale Colombian cartels in the last decade of the twentieth century also had a direct impact on the FARC's economy (Chernick, 2005; Historical Memory Group, 2016). As coca production increased in FARC-controlled areas, illegal drug trade slowly became the group's largest source of income. The FARC organized the coca market by controlling the land upon which the plant was cultivated, centralizing purchases and establishing direct relations with the traffickers (Chernick, 2005). While the FARC claimed to defend the interests of the peasants in the midst of a severe economic crisis, its attacks on vulnerable populations decreased the initial acceptance and

sympathy expressed by marginalized populations. For instance, as the gate keepers of a highly coveted commodity in the North-American market, the FARC formed self-defence groups that preyed upon children and adolescents for the purpose of recruitment and protection of the drug trade (Chernick, 2005; Historical Memory Group, 2016). While these militia groups were mandated to prevent the influx of drug-traffickers and criminals in cultivation areas, abuses of power on the population quickly became the modus operandi. Ultimately, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the FARC collected 60% of its revenue from the illicit coca trade (Chernick, 2005). The remaining 40% was acquired mainly through extortion and kidnapping practices.

The formalization of right-wing paramilitary groups emerged as a counter-insurgency offensive attempting to fight the territorial control that the FARC had acquired over the years. The United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) had its roots in the paramilitary armies founded by drug lords in the 1980's, promoting itself as a political and military movement fighting for the right for self-defence in a powerless state. While some dismissed the AUC as nothing more than a drug cartel, others characterized it as a counter-insurgency group devoted to targeting left-wing activists (Historical Memory Group, 2016; McDermott, 2004). In contrast to the years that known drug traffickers used paramilitary groups to protect their wealth, the re-emergence of paramilitaries in the late nineties has been linked to a complex network of connections with the army, political circles and landowners (Historical Memory Group, 2016). In 1994, the government created a legal frame within which self-defence groups were authorized to operate. Years later, the groups were deemed unconstitutional and abusive, which prompted many of their members to continue their activities in hiding. It was in 1997 that the AUC formally became a nation-wide self-proclaimed counter-insurgency group. Regional elites and drug-traffickers have been identified as the main source of paramilitary funding (Historical Memory Group, 2016), thereby positioning the AUC as one of the FARC's main adversaries.

The failure of the peace talks between the Colombian government and the FARC in the early 2000's, as well as the FARC's systematic use of abductions as a strategy to strengthen their position at the negotiations table, caused concern for the Colombian population (Historical Memory Group, 2016). In the search for change, the Colombian people turned towards the first presidential candidate to be elected without a liberal or conservative affiliation: Álvaro Uribe Vélez (Henderson, 2015; McDermott, 2010). The eight following years of *Uribism* (Uribe was elected in 2002 and re-elected in 2006) marked the recent history of Colombia. Between 2002

and 2010, through a US-funded initiative, Uribe implemented a full-scale policy to defeat guerrilla groups (Historical Memory Group, 2016; Shifter, 2012). Uribe's offensives not only forced the FARC to seek refuge in the jungle and neighboring countries, but also weakened its ranks. While the FARC included approximately 20,000 members in 2002, by 2010, its numbers had decreased by more than 50% (Historical Memory Group, 2016; Shifter, 2012). Nevertheless, Uribe has been widely criticized for his strategies and intentions; while his hawkish stance against left-wing guerrillas was controversial, he was accused of having ties with the paramilitaries, which presumably facilitated the peace agreement reached with the AUC in 2006 (Acemoğlu, Robinson, & Santos, 2013; Bargent, 2014; Shifter, 2012).

Uribe's successor, Juan Manuel Santos, took over as president in 2010, with his predecessor's endorsement. However, he ultimately took a divergent path; although Santos had previously been Uribe's Minister of Defence, his approach to restoring trade relations with Venezuela and the subsequent negotiations with the FARC set his party apart from Uribe's conservative followers (Alsema, 2014; Weymouth, 2014; Wilpert, 2010). This break in the Colombian right characterized the country's political environment in which the peace process unfolded. That is, Uribe's current party has been the Santos' Administration main detractor, which, by extension, also represents the 2016 Peace Accord's main critic (Bustamante-Reyes, 2017).

The 2016 Peace Accord: Waging War While Constructing Peace

In 2012, Santos' Administration and the FARC began the peace negotiations that, four years later, culminated in the signing of the *Final Agreement for Ending the Conflict and Building a Stable and Lasting Peace* (hereinafter referred to as 'Final Agreement' or 'Peace Accord'; Brodzinsky, 2016; Bustamante-Reyes, 2017). Nevertheless, in the context of a plebiscite that followed, the Colombian people narrowly rejected (50.2%) the Peace Agreement (it is worth noting that 62% of the population did not vote; Registraduria Nacional del Estado Civil, 2016). Arguably, at the heart of this divide among voters lie variations in views of justice, restoration, and forgiveness. For instance, supporters of the treaty applauded its emphasis on restorative justice in the form of reparation to affected communities and land redistribution programs, while those opposing it raised concerns about the amnesty granted to many FARC members, and the possibility of reduced jail time even for leaders convicted of crimes against humanity (Josi, 2017). Nevertheless, in the weeks following the referendum, the Colombian

Congress approved a revised version of the Peace Accord. Although the new text incorporated many of the concerns raised by detractors of the accord, the deal was once again criticized (Casey, 2016; Posada-Carbó, 2017). The current study was based on the latest version of the accord.

Considering that land rights and ownership were identified as one of the original causes of the conflict (Bustamante-Reyes, 2017; Historical Memory Group, 2016), the peace agreement includes an extensive section in which the FARC and the government propose measures to aid the economic and social development of rural areas. Nonetheless, land ownership continues to be notoriously insecure (mainly due to lack of funding), especially for indigenous peoples, peasants, and farmers (Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2019). Additionally, while the Peace Accord promised security measures for those partaking in replacement programs for illegal coca crops, peasants and social leaders have been left at the mercy of armed groups opposed to the treaty's drug eradication program (e.g., FARC dissidents and right-wing paramilitary groups; Gill, 2017; Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2019). Despite these setbacks, progress has been made on some measures specified in the accord. By the end of 2017, the FARC had completely demobilized, except for a small dissident group (United Nations Mission in Colombia, 2017). Furthermore, the group's transformation into a political party was achieved, albeit in the midst of a controversial presidential campaign (Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2019).

For Colombia, the road to recovery is long as many challenges lie ahead for its people. The country's economic ability to implement the Peace Accord and to respond to the basic needs of the newly reintegrated members of society pose large threats on security and transitional justice mechanisms. That is, in addition to the scarcity of resources for the implementation of the land restitution program, insufficient funding also undermines the support of reincorporation programs (Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2019). Further, in territories neglected by the state, the FARC's demobilisation left a power vacuum that attracted multiple armed actors. In these areas burgeoning with illegal economies, competition among groups has triggered a new wave of violence (Dickinson, 2016; Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2019). Last, the newly elected conservative president, Ivan Duque, campaigned on the promise to modify the Peace Accord. Consequently, Duque vetoed several items crucial for the

implementation of the accord and reduced the budget for the transitional justice system (Alsema, 2019).

Finally, the population's palpable pessimism and dissatisfaction regarding the implementation of the Peace Accord poses a challenge in the years to come. Recent polls suggest that 71% of respondents believed that the FARC would not comply with the Peace Accord, and only 24 % believed that the country had improved (Gallup Colombia LTDA, 2019). Another worrisome finding was the minimal support for the institutions responsible for overseeing and implementing the agreement; disapproval ratings for Congress, the judicial system, and the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (mandated to investigate and adjudicate crimes in the context of the conflict) ranged between 52% and 74%. Lastly, the survey revealed that Colombians perceived public safety and corruption (19% and 23%, respectively) as the country's greatest obstacles, and believed that corruption was on the rise (74%; Gallup Colombia LTDA, 2019). Such low levels of perceived legitimacy not only set the pace for the acceptance continuation of the accords, but they may also play an important role in determining whether the agreement will be conducive to peace and reconciliation.

Repairing the Irreparable: The Colombian Peace Accord's Approach to Justice

In 2005, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted a set of principles for governments to follow in the aftermath of protracted conflict and human rights violations (UNGA. Res. 60/147, 2005). According to the UNGA, reparation is the broad umbrella term referring to the wrongdoer's actions to redress the damage caused. These actions take five main forms. *Restitution* is understood as restoring victims to the condition they would have enjoyed had no violations of their rights occurred. *Compensation* refers to redressing economically-assessable damages resulting from the harm such as "lost opportunities, including education and employment; material damages and loss of earnings; and costs required for legal, medical, psychological and social services" (UNGA. Res. 60/147, 2005, IX, para. 6). Importantly, while restitution is the ultimate goal that reparative measures strive to achieve, measures of compensation in cases of irreparable harm are often a more feasible outcome (Griffey & Kristicevic, 2016). *Rehabilitation* is understood as the provision of medical, psychological, legal and social services in to order provide holistic reparation for victims. *Satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition* include collective and individual measures that allow for the admission of responsibility, the discovery of truth and the measures that contribute to the prevention of future

violence (UNGA. Res. 60/147, 2005). In the following subsections, the Final Agreement (2016) will be examined with regard to the principles and guidelines of the UNGA Resolution 60/147 (2005) that it fulfills.

In the Peace Accord, the benefits of restitution are most clearly articulated in terms of the displacement caused by the conflict. Specifically, in addition to the return of existing property to its rightful users, families and communities may receive technical and financial assistance to resume their lives and generate income (Final Agreement, 2016). This form of restitution seeks to restore victims to the situation that would have existed had the harm not been committed. Therefore, the restitution of homes and land programs allow victims to rebuild their lives and to re-acquire the income to do so. With regard to compensation, the Peace Accord stipulates that victims may seek monetary compensation for the economically-assessable consequences of the inflicted harm. These indemnities are different from the financial aid provided in the context of restitutions, as they do not aim to restore victims to their condition prior to the harm. Rather, they serve as a payment to help victims cope with the consequences of the harm (e.g., costs related to funerary services). Therefore, monetary compensations are offered to the victims and/or their families when the harm was sanctioned by international law (e.g., displacement, homicide, kidnapping, illegal child recruitment; Final Agreement, 2016; UNGA. Res. 60/147, 2005). Measures aiming at victims' rehabilitation include broadening the reach of services to vulnerable populations who have been disproportionately affected by the conflict, and the creation of safe spaces for dialogue with the purpose to facilitate social healing (Final Agreement, 2016). Finally, satisfaction measures and guarantees of non-repetition include the creation of the Truth Commission (responsible for collecting testimonies and clarifying the causes and consequences of the armed conflict), and the display of public apologies and commemorations for victims, to name a few.

It is worth noting that although the agreement was not weighted heavily towards retributive measures, some judicial sanctions were provided against individuals liable for violations. With regard to crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes, those found guilty are restricted of movement beyond a designated geographical area for five to eight years. In order to respect the accord's emphasis on reparative measures, those found guilty of these crimes must engage in at least one of three types of victim-oriented sanctions while completing their

sentence (Final Agreement, 2016).[1] Nonetheless, punishment was waived for the perpetrators of political crimes (e.g., rebellion, conspiracy; Código Penal Colombiano, 2000) and offenses committed for the advancement of governmental changes. To receive amnesty, perpetrators must provide truthful accounts of their crimes and make reparations to the victims. Perpetrators who benefit from the amnesty provision may also participate in victim-oriented reparative actions (Final Agreement, 2016).

Overall, the Peace Accord's approach to criminal sanctions and its emphasis on victims' restoration seem to pave the way towards the construction of a post-conflict period that is based on eliminating the causes of the conflict and providing rural communities with the tools to evolve at the same pace as urban centers. However, while the restoration of shattered social bonds is a central component of a society's transition towards peace, the perceived lack of criminal retribution may present problems for some members of the Colombian society. Specifically, while truth-seeking and remembrance actions aimed to impede future violence, the lack of traditional sanctions may not fulfill everyone's desires for justice. While this model to tackle gross human rights violations may act as a tool to deter the accused and future perpetrators from transgressing, some believe that it may also have the simultaneous and undesired effect of condoning human rights abuses by not offering proportional punishments (Krotoszyński, 2016).

Youths as Critical Actors in Peacebuilding

When thinking about future generations, the Peace Accord and its justice orientation provide a backdrop for the role that youth will play in building sustaining peace and preventing the continuation of violence. Arguably, the extent to which youths' understandings of justice, values, and priorities are consistent with the Final Agreement's objectives will have a strong influence on the future success of society's current efforts towards peace. Nonetheless, there is still a dire need for mechanisms specifically designed to include younger generations in peacebuilding efforts (John, 2017). Notably, consistent with scholarship from previous peace processes (Cox, Nozell & Buba, 2017; McEvoy-Levy, 2006), youths' voices and interests were largely overlooked in the political sphere, despite their active participation in campaigns and

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[1] For instance, reparation programs for displaced people, construction of infrastructures, clean water access programs; elimination of war munitions and anti-personnel mines, etc.

discussions in the weeks leading up to the 2016 plebiscite (Toro, 2016; Velez, 2016a; 2016b). Specifically, youths voiced concerns with obstacles such as youths' inability to exercise their rights as citizens; the government's failure to support their participation in politics and peacebuilding; and the limited access to civic education (John, 2017).

Colombian youths constitute an important piece of the puzzle to create stable and lasting peace. Therefore, understanding how they reason about issues of justice, fairness and equity that lie at the heart of the treaty may inform peacebuilding mobilization campaigns, and perhaps even support youths' engagement in future peace processes with other armed groups. Considering that individuals develop their understanding of their worlds by interacting with their environments (Turiel, 1983), youths' perceptions and attitudes about society, civic institutions and authorities may critically guide their conceptualizations of the issues at the core of the Peace Accord. For instance, while trust in institutions has been inversely associated with civic knowledge among Colombian youth (Schulz et al., 2018), less is known about how they apply civic principles (e.g., equity, fairness) in contexts where some concepts may be at odds with one another. Relatedly, research also suggests that different levels of civic knowledge are associated with different forms of engagement; specifically, youths with lower levels of civic knowledge contemplated partaking in illegal forms of civic engagement, such as riots and illegal protests (Schulz et al., 2018). Therefore, in the same way that a lack of knowledge may not preclude youths from voicing their concerns about the peace process and participating in peacebuilding initiatives (Andersson, 2016; Ochoa, 2018), it may also promote solutions to conflict that exacerbate violence. Ultimately, it is in the interest of the current and future peace processes to consider youths' viewpoints in order to deconstruct historical narratives around adversarial perspectives.

Social Domain Theory: Moral Judgments of Conflicts as Framed by Values and Beliefs About the Nature of Reality

In exploring youths' views about political issues, this thesis attempts to contribute to scholarship bridging the gap between developmental psychology and the political sciences. An underlying assumption of the developmental framework in this study is that, from an early age, children and adolescents develop moral concepts of justice, harm, welfare and fairness, and apply them across the various spheres of their lives (Turiel, 1983). Therefore, normative judgments form, in part, the basis of what Colombian youths believe ought to be done (i.e., what they judge to be the best outcomes) in the context of the Peace Accord. Further, their beliefs of

what they think will actually occur (i.e., their informational assumptions) also have some bearing on how they make judgments and coordinate competing concerns (Wainryb, 1991). In the following section, a detailed explanation of the tenets of social domain theory will be provided. Using this theoretical lens, it will be argued that youths' levels of trust (in other people and authorities) have some bearing on their evaluations of what ought to be done in situations of harm.

Moral judgments across development. In response to Kohlberg's (1963/2008) notion that moral judgments evolve across childhood and adolescence as individuals progressively differentiate morality from convention, Turiel (1983) argued that moral development does not occur in stages. Rather, beginning early in development and based on understandings constructed from their social interactions, children distinguish between three forms of social knowledge: social-conventional, personal and moral. Matters of authority, tradition and social norms pertain to the social-conventional domain, as children attempt to make sense of the regularities (e.g., rules and sanctions) that organize social interactions (Smetana & Braeges, 1990; Smetana et al., 2012; Turiel, 1983). In the personal domain, notions of privacy, control, choices and preferences are developed through children's understanding of the self and others as psychological beings (Killen & Smetana, 1999; Nucci, 2001). Part of this psychological domain are also prudential issues, which refer specifically to acts pertaining to one's own safety, health, comfort and the potentially harmful consequences of certain actions on the self (e.g., drinking alcohol; Smetana, Jambon, & Ball, 2014). Pertaining to the moral domain, concepts such as justice, welfare and rights emerge from children's interpersonal experiences bearing on issues of harm and fairness (Smetana & Braeges, 1990; Smetana al., 2012; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Yell, 2003; Turiel, 1983).

Numerous studies have provided evidence suggesting that, from an early age, individuals begin to evaluate moral transgressions, social-conventional events and personal issues using different criteria (Killen & Smetana, 1999; Smetana & Braeges, 1990; Smetana et al., 2012; Smetana, Schlagman, & Adams, 1993). In this respect, rather than being determined by consensus, institutional convention, or personal preference, moral concepts are viewed as unalterable, universalizable, and independent of rule and authority (Turiel, 1983). As such, our judgments of wrongness are rooted in the intrinsic features of harm, such as the consequences of actions for others' welfare (Smetana, 1981; Smetana, Kelly, & Twentyman, 1984).

When reasoning about complex social experiences, it is often the case that multiple forms of social knowledge can be brought to bear on one and the same event (Nucci, 2001; Turiel, 1983). For example, moral concerns with fairness may come into conflict with personal (e.g., self-determination) or social-conventional issues (e.g., respect for authority; Helwig, 2006). Related to this, different concerns within one domain (e.g., moral concerns with welfare vs. justice) may also come into conflict. Social domain theory proposes that the way that adolescents weigh and coordinate moral, social-conventional and personal considerations in making judgments will vary across individuals, contexts, and cultures (Turiel, 1983; Wainryb & Recchia, 2014). That is, multifaceted issues in which concerns with morality, personal and prudential issues, and social-conventional rules overlap form the basis of the conflicts whereby individuals (young or old) coordinate concerns and evaluate them differently. In other words, in complex social situations, individuals within and across cultures and contexts will vary in how much they attend to and weigh the different issues at hand (Helwig, 2006; Nucci, 2001; Turiel, 1983; Wainryb & Recchia, 2014).

Although children develop a basic understanding of the different social domains early in life, within-domain changes continue across childhood and beyond. As such, the social-conventional, personal, and moral domains have been found to follow different developmental trajectories (Midgette, Noh, Lee, & Nucci, 2016; Nucci, 2001; Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Nucci, Turiel, & Roded, 2017; Turiel, 1983). Relevant to this study, Nucci and Turiel (2009) and Nucci et al. (2017) reported that the capacity to coordinate different, and at times conflicting, aspects of moral situations becomes increasingly sophisticated with age. Further, Nucci et al. (2017) highlighted the importance of taking into account contextual variations (e.g., intentions and psychological states of the actors) as these are associated with different approaches when making moral decisions. As such, while young children and late adolescents may sometimes make similar evaluations, their processes of coordination are different, depending on the situation at hand. Generally speaking, with age, as individuals become more aware of contextual features and conflicting considerations, they reason in ways that are systematic, consistent, and give priority to one set of concerns. This research is relevant for the current study as it provides a basis for the ways in which 16- and 17-year-olds may weigh and coordinate conflicting considerations in morally-laden contexts. By late adolescence, we expect youths to be able to

coordinate the moral and non-moral aspects of each situation in ways that reflect that they are giving clear priority to certain concerns over others (Nucci et al., 2017).

Social domain theory also posits that variations in how morally-laden situations are considered and evaluated may be due to differences in youths' understandings of the nature of reality. That is, variability in individuals' judgments may be partly accounted for by differences in attitudes, religious beliefs, and scientific knowledge (Turiel, Hildebrandt, & Wainryb, 1991; Wainryb, 1991). As such, factual knowledge within cultures may be taken for granted (in that it is overlooked in examinations of moral judgments), may change (e.g., scientific advancements) and may be of a controversial nature (Smetana et al., 2014). For instance, Turiel et al. (1991) showed that individuals who believed that life begins at birth tended to view abortion less negatively than those who believed that life begins at conception, such that they more often evaluated it as acceptable, considered that it should be legal, and made arguments based on personal choice. Even so, these understandings were context-specific. When presented with a conflicting situation in which abortion was used as a means of choosing the sex of the child, most participants viewed the act as wrong. Similarly, some of those who initially judged abortion negatively, on the basis that life begins at conception, and viewed it as a moral issue, changed their evaluations of the act when presented with a scenario in which a woman is a victim of sexual assault.

In a related study, Wainryb (1991) asked high school and college students to evaluate scenarios depicting moral transgressions (e.g., inflicting harm to others, such as corporal punishment), while also manipulating their informational assumptions about the event. The findings revealed that participants' evaluations of a moral transgression sometimes shifted after being presented with views of reality that were different from their own. That is, participants who initially judged the corporal punishment of a child as wrong were presented with an expert's opinion stating that that sort of punishment was the most efficient disciplinary method. In their subsequent answers, these participants stated that, if they believed the truthfulness of the stated, they would have judged the event differently (i.e., positively). Overall, the findings from these studies suggest that informational assumptions may be flexible enough to lead to fluctuations in moral evaluations, depending on the other concerns that are brought to bear on a given situation. Additionally, they also stress the importance of assessing individuals' descriptive beliefs as the basis for their prescriptive beliefs. In the next section, we elaborate on how experiences with

conflict and injustice may be influential in this way, by altering youths' understandings of their day-to-day interactions with others.

Experiences with conflict and injustice as framing youths' moral development. An extensive body of research speaks to how experiences of injustice and discrimination affect the organizing features of children and adolescents' daily interactions with others. In 'toxic social environments' governed by poverty, discrimination and violence, children and adolescents may come to a different understanding of how the world is organized (Arsenio & Gold, 2006). For instance, research among low-income minority groups in the United States suggests that experiences with exclusion and discrimination affect youths' evaluations of others' behavior (Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007). Arsenio, Preziosi, Silberstein and Hamburger (2012) also showed that low-income African and Latino youths experiencing society as governed by injustice expected to feel less intense negative emotions following the hypothetical victimization of others. In the same study, participants' perceptions of the illegitimacy and unresponsiveness of the legal system were also associated with decreased expectations to feel afraid after inflicting harm in hypothetical situations. Likewise, research among violence-exposed youths echo these findings, in that they reveal striking associations between youths' moral judgments and their experiences of harm and injustice (Posada & Wainryb, 2008).

That is not to say, however, that adverse environments impede the development of youths' prescriptive and generalizable moral concerns. Rather, as demonstrated by research with violence-exposed children and adolescents living in countries affected by protracted conflict (e.g., Sri Lanka and Colombia), individuals in these contexts do not differ from normative samples in their overall views about the legitimacy of violence (Ardila-Rey, Killen, & Brenick, 2009; Posada & Wainryb, 2008; Rafman, 2004). Thus, children and adolescents exposed to war and political conflict develop prescriptive and generalizable moral concepts, just as youths living in societies that are not dominated by pervasive violence, even when their environments do not seem conducive to these developments.

Differences arise in situations in which conflicting considerations are made salient, as is the case in situations of revenge. Displaced Colombian children aged 6-, 9-, and 12-years old were more likely to condone moral transgressions (i.e., hitting) in situations of provocation and retaliation (Ardila-Rey et al., 2009). In a related study also with displaced Colombian youths, adolescents (aged 16 to 17) were more likely to accept theft and physical harm in the context of

revenge, despite negatively evaluating these behaviors when presented abstractly (Posada & Wainryb, 2008). With regard to their expectations of others' behavior, 85% of all participants (including children aged 6 to 9) expected other people to steal in the context of survival, and to steal or inflict physical harm in the context of revenge. Additionally, nearly half of participants expected others to steal in baseline hypothetical situations in which neither concerns with survival nor revenge were made salient (Posada & Wainryb, 2008).

Overall, these findings reveal a disconcerting reality vis-à-vis these youths' reasoning about revenge, and about the negative views that they develop about their worlds. That is, while they may be able to identify basic principles of justice and welfare, they appear to apply their justice concepts in ways that serve to justify the use of revenge as a problem-solving strategy (Posada & Wainryb, 2008). Furthermore, this review of the literature also points to a salient gap in our understanding of children's and adolescents' moral reasoning; while previous research gives us some insight into their understandings and evaluations of retribution, little is known about how youths evaluate more restorative strategies (e.g., compensation, apologies) in response to others' harmful behavior.

Finally, as suggested by these studies, youths' reasoning about justice may be linked to adolescents' exposure to unequal economic and social conditions; in contexts dominated by social inequality and violence, youths' interactions with others may be less rich in experiences of moral reciprocity and basic elements of fairness (Arsenio & Gold, 2006). In turn, this is arguably linked to their beliefs about whether others around them and people in power can be relied upon. Yet, little is known about how individual differences in beliefs about others' and authorities' trustworthiness inform prescriptive judgments.

Previous Research on Trust

Past studies of faith in humanity, or social trust, have primarily focused on adults. Nevertheless, a growing body of research has shown that adolescence is a critical period during which political and social attitudes are formed and stabilize (Abdelzadeh & Lundberg, 2017; Flanagan & Stout, 2010; Hooghe & Wikenfeld, 2008). Evidence from longitudinal studies suggests that from early to late adolescence, there is increasing stability in youths' belief that other people are, in general, trustworthy and fair, rather than acting according to their own interests (Abdelzadeh & Lundberg, 2017; Flanagan & Stout, 2010). Furthermore, while Flanagan and Stout's (2010) results imply that social trust declines with age, this finding was not

replicated by Abdelzadeh and Lundberg (2017). Rather, their results revealed that the proportions of participants reporting upward and downwards changes in their social trust were not significantly different, thereby suggesting that individual differences accounted for a greater portion of the change.

Features of youths' environments, such as democratic parenting and democratic school climate, have been associated with increases in levels of social trust (Flanagan & Stout, 2010; Wray-Lake & Flanagan, 2012). Importantly, by creating climates in which adolescents' autonomy is supported and the respectful exchange of views is encouraged, authorities set the bar for how youths expect that other individuals in power will behave (Flanagan & Stout, 2010). Thus, considering that adolescence is a critical time during which youths are increasingly exposed to other institutions beyond their family, their experiences with these authorities serve as a departure point for their more generalized beliefs about the trustworthiness and competence of those in power (Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, & Gallay, 2007). However, while youths' beliefs about authority figures' trustworthiness and responsiveness to individuals 'like them' are a key aspect of faith in humanity, they represent a different facet of an individual's belief systems of trust (Fine, Kan, & Cauffman, 2019; Flanagan et al., 2007). In fact, previous research suggests that youths perceive trust in social authorities (e.g., teachers, police), and trust in distal authorities (e.g., judges, politicians) differently (Fine et al., 2019). For the purpose of this study, we focused on three elements of trust (i.e., social trust, trust in proximal authorities, and trust in institutions) that, all together, encompassed youths' belief systems of trust in their environments.

Finally, with regard to the Colombian context, results from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (Schulz et al., 2018) suggest that while youths tend to have relatively high levels of trust in their teachers and schools, they report significantly lower levels of trust in their national government and courts of justice. Additionally, trust in the latter institutions significantly decreased since the survey's last iteration in 2009. A similar finding was reported for social trust; in 2009, 49% of Colombian youth reported "trusting completely or quite a lot in" people in general, but in 2016, this proportion had decreased by 6%.

The Current Study

The fact that children's and adolescents' applications of their moral conceptualizations of right and wrong are guided in striking ways by their informational assumptions is the foundation for the current study. When social interactions are not perceived as being governed by caring for

others and equality, but rather are understood to be organized by domination and power, adolescents may develop a cynical view of morality. Relatedly, an inherent disbelief that others are fair and trustworthy, and will therefore act accordingly, may inform youths' normative judgments and descriptive beliefs, particularly in situations involving harm. Accordingly, the present study examined whether variations in Colombian youths' reasoning about solutions to harm related to differences in their assumptions about the trustworthiness of their environment and their expectations of how others will behave.

Findings from developmental scholarship provided the basis for some expectations regarding Colombian youths' reasoning about justice. First, we know that adolescents reason about punishment in ways that align with domains of social knowledge. That is, they believe that engaging in moral transgressions (e.g., stealing) is wrong because of the potential harm to others or concerns with fairness (Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Nucci et al., 2017). They also deem these transgressions to be more deserving of punishment in comparison to transgressions involving social-conventional (e.g., traffic infractions) and prudential issues (e.g. drug use; Oosterhoff & Metzger, 2017). Further, previous research suggests that violence-exposed Colombian adolescents evaluated moral transgressions less negatively in the context of revenge (Posada & Wainryb, 2008). Relatedly, Barros-Castro and Pinzon-Salcedo (2013) reported that youths were more likely to forgive perpetrators when punishment was enforced.

With regard to informational assumptions, social domain scholarship indicates that ascribing causes for wrongful behavior to internal dispositions is linked to endorsing greater punishment (Oosterhoff, Shook, & Metzger, 2018). Arguably, believing that transgressors act in certain ways because they are dishonest, immoral or evil, may be linked to distrusting their ability to change, namely, redressing their wrongs and assuming responsibility. Similarly, expecting others' actions to deviate from ethical principles in moral situations (Posada & Wainryb, 2008) also speaks to beliefs about people's ability and willingness to act and treat others fairly. Altogether, these studies suggest that adolescents may see retribution as acceptable in response to others' harmful behavior, particularly so when it is in response to a severe transgression, and when they have negative expectations of others' ability to act in good faith.

Conversely, research on perspective taking and trust in adolescents suggests that taking into account another person's perspective is associated with higher levels of trust in an investment game (which measures trust in the context of economic decisions; Fett et al., 2014).

Although these findings were not specific to trust in others and authorities, they suggest that beliefs of trust may be associated with perspective-taking tendencies. Relatedly, perspective taking abilities were positively correlated with adolescents' restorative justice attitudes, and negatively correlated with endorsement of punitive measures, when reasoning about injustice and responses to harm (Rasmussen, Ramos, Han, Pettit, & Margolin, 2018). Altogether, these findings imply that youths with higher levels of trust who are able to consider the unique perspective of the offender may endorse more restorative solutions.

Based on this scholarship, our research questions and hypotheses were the following:

(1) How do youths' evaluations of solutions to harm in the context of the 2016 Peace Accord's vary in relation to their perceptions about the trustworthiness of their environments?

    a. H1: Lower levels of trust will be associated with evaluating punishment more positively in response to others' harmful behavior.

    b. H2: Higher levels of trust will be associated with evaluating restorative solutions more positively in response to others' harmful behavior.

    c. H3: These effects (H1 and H2) will be stronger in the context of irreparable harm.

To summarize, we expected that a cynical view of humanity and of the legitimacy of authority figures would be related to youths' preference for punitive solutions over victim-centered solutions, such as apologies and reparation, particularly in the context of harms that cannot be reversed. Distinguishing harms based on their potential for reparability illustrates the range of human rights violations that occurred in the context of the armed conflict in Colombia. In instances of harms with consequences that cannot be undone (e.g., murder), the Peace Accord attempts to provide victims and their families with appropriate and proportional compensation for the damage caused. However, this type of reparation may be seen as less satisfying than bona fide reversal of consequences. Therefore, to test this hypothesis (H3), the moral transgressions presented to participants in this study varied in the extent to which they depicted harms that were irreversible. Past research with adults supports this distinction inasmuch as irreparable harms are understood as more severe; individuals' tendency to endorse retribution increases as crimes get more severe (Gromet & Darley, 2009), whereas harm severity is inversely related to restorative

attitudes such as a willingness to forgive (Girard & Mullet, 2012; Pinzon-Salcedo, Silva, Martínez, & Van den Berghe Patiño, 2018).

(2) Do expectations of perpetrators' behavior explain the association between youths' levels of trust and their reasoning about solutions to harm in the context of the 2016 Peace Accord?

a. H4: Adolescents with higher levels of trust will be more likely to have positive expectations of perpetrators' willingness to tell the truth, compensate victims, and apologize; in turn, these positive expectations will be related to positive evaluations of restoration in the aftermath of harm.

b. H5: Adolescents with lower levels of trust will be more likely to have negative expectations of perpetrators' willingness to tell the truth, compensate victims, and apologize; in turn, these negative expectations will be related to positive evaluations of punishment in the aftermath of harm.

Along with trust in others and authorities, we expected that beliefs about perpetrators would bear on youths' prescriptive evaluations of solutions to harm. Despite the paucity of past research examining trust and reasoning about justice, our predictions were based on the assumption that having a generally optimistic view of humanity is likely to be linked with beliefs in others' ability to change. This would be reflected in their expectations of perpetrators' ability to reflect on their mistakes and to act accordingly; that is, to make amends (e.g., to apologize, compensate victims. Correlates of social trust (e.g., volunteering and tolerance; Putnam, 2000) have been associated with endorsing a dynamic view of human nature in which others are believed to be capable of change (Karafantis & Levy, 2004); in turn, beliefs about rehabilitation have been linked to endorsing restoration (Gromet & Darley, 2006). Conversely, doubting individuals' potential for change, predicted greater endorsement of punishment (Chiu, Hong, & Dweck, 1997; Erdley & Dweck, 1993). Thus, path analyses were conducted to examine whether descriptive beliefs mediated the relationship between overall levels of trust and prescriptive judgments in the expected ways.

To complement these quantitative analyses, a qualitative approach was used to examine the ways in which different concerns were brought to bear on youths' judgments of solutions. We anticipated that, in discussing their justice preferences and predictions, participants would evoke moral considerations (e.g., fairness, others' welfare; Turiel, 1983) and make reference to

their descriptive beliefs about their environment's trustworthiness, among other possible concerns. For instance, while in some cases adolescents may refer to concerns with justice and welfare, other participants may explain their evaluations based on their perceptions of others as being dishonest and/or unreliable or based on their beliefs about the legitimacy and trustworthiness of authorities. Finally, we expected participants to evoke other concerns relevant to their meaning-making, such as their views of the perpetrators' potential for rehabilitation (Gromet & Darley, 2006).

Method

For this study, we used a concurrent nested mixed methods design with the priority on the quantitative component (Hays & Singh, 2012). It is worth noting that although descriptive beliefs of trust and justice preferences are the focus of the current thesis, the broader investigation included other information collected for the purpose of future analyses. Only measures relevant to this study are described in detail here.

Participants

A total of 77 Colombian adolescents between the ages of 14-19 years *(M = 16.49, SE = .95)* were recruited from grades 10 and 11 in two urban high schools in Bogota, Colombia. Three participants were excluded due to incomplete data; the final sample comprised 74 participants (38 boys). This age group was selected as we expected them to be capable of coordinating multidimensional, competing concerns in consistent and contextually sensitive ways (Nucci & Turiel, 2009; Nucci et al., 2017). Additionally, they also represented a new generation of voters whose perspectives will inform the future of the current and upcoming peace agreements. While relevant previous research has not revealed significant gender differences in evaluations of moral transgressions, both genders were equally represented to allow for exploratory comparisons between boys and girls. Although information on ethnicity was not gathered, the sample was fairly homogeneous and roughly reflected the demographic features of the country (Caucasian and Mestizo).

Thirty-five percent of participants reported living with both of their parents, whereas 59% reported living only with their mothers, and 6% only with their fathers. With regard to maternal education, 17% of participants reported that their mother had completed elementary school or at least attended some years; 25% reported that their mother had completed high school or at least attended some years; and 25% reported that their mother had completed post-secondary

education (i.e., technical training, undergraduate degree, post-graduate degree). The remaining 33% reported not knowing their mothers' level of education. Conversely, 22% of adolescents reported that their father had completed elementary school or at least attended some years; 7% reported that their father had completed high school or at least attended some years; and 18% reported that their father had completed post-secondary education. The remaining 53% reported not knowing their fathers' level of education. Eighty-nine percent of the sample identified as catholic, and the remaining 11% identified as protestant, atheist or following another religion.

The sampling for this study was guided by the country's six-level socioeconomic stratification system; the majority of the population lives in *estratos* 1 to 3 (low-low, low, and medium-low; Secretaria Distrital de Planeación, 2014). To capture a representative segment of the urban public school population in Bogota D.C., two inner city schools serving communities in estratos 2 and 3 participated. The schools were located in areas in which approximately 70% of households benefited from government subsidies. Furthermore, both communities faced issues with increasing crime rates, and drug sales and consumption, particularly in and around schools (Veeduria Distrital, 2018a, 2018b). Nonetheless, school staff were taking action to address recreational drug use among their students. Finally, due to scheduling issues and space constraints at one of the schools, 70% of the interviews were carried out with students at the other school.

This study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee at Concordia University, and also by relevant school administrations. Written informed consent was obtained from parents, and participants provided written assent to all procedures (see Appendix A). Each participant received a cafeteria voucher in appreciation for his/her participation (with a value of 20,000 COP, or approximately $9 CDN).

Procedure and Measures

Audiotaped 1-hour individual semi-structured interviews were conducted by the author or a second well-trained Colombian graduate student in a private location at the participants' schools (e.g., unoccupied classrooms, coordinator's office). The interview was divided into three parts. The components of the interview protocol relevant for the current study can be found in Appendix B and are described in more detail below.

Reasoning about the peace agreement. Youths' knowledge and perceptions about the armed conflict in Colombia were assessed as a way to activate their belief systems of trust

directly related to the armed and political conflict. Prompts such as "do you know how or why the conflict started?" and "do you know who are the different groups and people involved in the conflict?" were used to encourage the participant to provide as much information as possible. The interviewer also asked participants about their opinions about the Peace Accord. Overall, 61% of participants supported the agreement, whereas 35% did not, and 4% were undecided or failed to provide an answer.

      Conflict vignettes. Participants were subsequently introduced to two scenarios depicting harmful events similar to those that took place in the context of the armed conflict. The two vignettes were presented in counterbalanced order. Of those vignettes, one described a situation in which the harm could not be reversed (i.e., committing severe crimes against other people), while the other scenario depicted a reparable harm (i.e., damage to property, such as hospitals and schools). Importantly, given that the harms in question may have been distressing to participants, the level of detail for these scenarios was kept at a minimum.

      After reading each vignette, the interviewer presented participants with five possibilities for reparation: apologies, compensation by the FARC, compensation by the government, punishment, and a balance of retribution and compensation (the order of solutions was counterbalanced). These alternatives were chosen according to the Peace Accord's guidelines for reparation, as informed by the UNGA Resolution 60/147 (2005). More specifically, in the case of public apologies, perpetrators were described as apologizing for their actions and showing remorse. Resolutions depicting restitution and compensation (by the FARC and by the government) were based on reparatory measures for victims in the aftermath of the harm. It is worth noting that although the UNGA Resolution 60/147 (2005) uses different terms for restoring material damages (i.e., restitution for reparable harm and compensation for irreparable harm), for the purpose of this study, and in the interest of clarity, the term 'compensation' will be used to describe material and monetary restoration in both types of harm.

      Resolutions depicting punishment bore a resemblance with Colombia's Penal Code. That is, in both types of harm, the punishment was along the lines of restricting liberty to perpetrators (e.g., 30 years to life in prison, in the case of irreparable harm; Rome Statute, 1998). Finally, the Peace Accord's take on balancing retributive and restorative approaches to justice was depicted in the adjusted solution. For the scenario depicting irreparable harm, this consisted of restricting liberty to perpetrators while also providing restorative measures for victims (i.e., five to eight

years of house arrest[2] if perpetrators tell the truth about the events and compensate the victims).
With regard to the reparable harm vignette, jail sentences were waived contingent on the
perpetrators providing a full account of the events and offering to compensate victims.

The presentation of each solution was followed by an evaluative question assessing
participants' prescriptive judgments (i.e., "is this a good way or not such a good way to handle
the problem?"), as well as questions assessing informational assumptions – specifically
pertaining to whether participants believed the solution would actually happen (e.g., "do you
think that the FARC will actually pay the victims?" or "do you think that the government will
actually pay the victims, if the FARC does not?"). Responses were recorded on 6-point Likert
scales ranging from *Not good at all* (1) to *really good* (6), for prescriptive ratings, and *Very
unlikely* (1) to *very likely* (6), for descriptive ratings. After providing ratings, participants were
asked to justify their responses.

Measures of trust. The final step of the interview consisted of a trust scale that was
based on previous research (Fagan & Piquero, 2007; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994) and
adapted for this study (see Appendix C for the complete measure). Nineteen items were used to
measure trust on three dimensions: trust in distal authorities (e.g., government officials), trust in
proximal authorities (e.g., teachers, police), and trust in others (general). Ratings were recorded
on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6). The internal
consistency of the scale was assessed using Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = 0.79$). Based on item analysis,
three statements were removed from the final measure because their low item-total correlations
with the rest of the scale, thereby resulting in a 16-item scale. Reliability analyses for each
subtype of trust yielded low Cronbach's alpha values (trust in government authorities, $\alpha = 0.65$;
trust in proximal authorities, $\alpha = 0.69$; and trust in others, $\alpha = 0.53$). As such, analyses were
based on an overall trust score for each participant.

Coding of Justifications

Qualitative analyses were conducted to chart the different reasons participants gave as to
why they endorsed retributive and restorative approaches to justice as a function of their belief

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[2] Considering that the definition of restriction of liberties had not been clearly defined at
the time of data collection, the term 'house arrest' was used, for the purpose of clarity.

systems of trust. As such, we aimed to explore the factors that influenced participants' meaning-making processes in relation to their quantitative responses. Coding was based on a subset of participants (*n*=22; 11 boys; 30% of the data). For the purpose of these analyses, we included 12 participants with trust scores below the overall mean and 10 participants with scores above the overall mean.

Following an informed grounded theory (IGT) approach, we allowed important concepts and themes to emerge, while also using pre-existing theoretical frameworks and previous research findings to examine the data in creative and flexible ways (Thornberg, 2012). IGT assumes the construction of knowledge to be framed by the researcher's prior knowledge, encounters with new theories, and constant reflections through multiple analytical lenses. Contrary to grounded theory, the goal of this approach is not restricted to the creation of new theories as it allows researchers to combine, extend, elaborate, challenge and revise existing theories (Thornberg, 2012).

Open coding, followed by values coding (Saldaña, 2009) was used to examine youths' justifications for descriptive and prescriptive ratings. The former was chosen for its flexibility and openness to all theoretical directions, while the latter was used to capture meaningful differences in participant's values, attitudes and beliefs (Saldaña, 2009). At the initial stages of analysis, a wide variety of codes emerged; iterative categories were grouped and regrouped into emergent themes and categories that reflected participants' attitudes and beliefs about trust in others, authorities and perpetrators. Concurrently, comparisons of justifications within and between participants was used to gain a more meaningful understanding of their views (Thornberg, 2012). A second native Spanish-speaking coder also separately coded half of the interviews; the two coders discussed what they individually identified, with both coders' interpretations considered when arriving at the final coding of the narratives. Qualitative analysis of the data was conducted independently, and the findings were used to support and complement quantitative results.

Trustworthiness. To increase credibility in the research process and findings, multiple strategies for validation were implemented. First, two types of triangulation of were used: theory and investigator (Hays & Singh, 2012). Consistent with IGT, theory triangulation allows different theoretical perspectives to be considered when interpreting the data. Notably, *theoretical pluralism* allowed us to evaluate the results through multiple lenses, ultimately

permitting us to examine the phenomena at hand by combining different ideologies (Thornberg, 2012). Finally, in addition to the primary co-investigators, one research assistant (a graduate student from a university in Colombia) collaborated with data collection and another (a native Spanish-speaking undergraduate student in Canada) participated in data coding and analysis.

To maintain researcher reflexivity and reduce bias, the research team frequently engaged in reflective discussions about their experiences and expectations (Hays & Singh, 2012). For instance, as the graduate student leading the project, it is important that I recognize that my family's history and our departure from Colombia have shaped my experiences and attitudes towards the political and armed conflict. Through ongoing discussions, my graduate research supervisor and I explored my beliefs about the armed conflict and the Peace Accord. Our aim was not to mitigate or 'eliminate' the impact that my previous knowledge could have on the research process but rather to be honest and critical about how my repertoires of knowledge informed my interpretation of participants' viewpoints. Ultimately, we developed a series of strategies to safeguard the validity of the results. These included insightful discussions with colleagues and students in Colombia, and strategically revealing or concealing my assumptions about the conflict to our research assistants. In the case of the former, one of the members of the current evaluation committee and his students were key in helping us identify aspects of the research design that could be sensitive to bias. As for the latter, minimizing the extent to which I conveyed my attitudes and expectations to the research assistant involved in data analysis reduced the likelihood that her interpretations be drastically swayed in a specific direction through confirmation bias. As such, by remaining blind to the study's goals and my views on the conflict, the research assistant was allowed to voice her observations more freely. Conversely, divulging my views to the research assistant involved in conducting interviews allowed for deep dialogues on the ways in which our perspectives were at times at odds or in line with the participants' attitudes. These, in turn, led us to adjust our interview styles in ways that were more consistent and that minimized the likelihood of participants responding in socially desirable ways.

Member checking was consistently used during interviews (Hays & Singh, 2012); interviewers clarified participants' responses via probes, particularly when their answers were ambiguous. Furthermore, the research team's prolonged engagement in the schools, along with analytical memos, gave us the opportunity to gain a deep understanding of the context and the

actors with whom youths engaged. Day-to-day, seemingly mundane incidents gave us a glimpse of what would later become central themes for this thesis. Take, for instance, one of the obstacles that we encountered in the early stages of data collection. When distributing consent forms to students, we briefly presented the purpose of the study and specified that we aimed to learn more about how youths think about the Peace Accord. Later on, some students mentioned hearing rumors implying that we were campaigning for the impending presidential election. Notably, Colombian voters were not only deciding the fate of the 2017 presidential election, but also the future of the Peace Accord; feuds between supporters and detractors of the agreement permeated the election as the two main candidates were situated on opposite sides of the debate. Considering widespread concerns with electoral fraud, Colombian elections are generally tinged with distrust and a sense of disenchantment with institutions (Demir, 2018; Moloney, 2014). When considered alongside the compensation that we offered our participants for their involvement in our study (vouchers for their school cafeteria), it was perhaps to be expected that suspicions about our ulterior motives would arise. While this is only one example of the type of information that we gathered by visiting the schools every week, for almost two months, it is representative of how youths' attributions were grounded in their understanding of how institutions work (or fail to do so). Ultimately, these cross-verification strategies permitted us to produce a series of consolidated viewpoints that represented the ideas and experiences of the participants.

Results

Plan of Analysis

Quantitative analyses for this study were based on Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs) and regression models. To examine differences in youths' descriptive and prescriptive judgments of solutions in relation to the reparability of the harm, we conducted a series of two-way repeated measures ANOVA with type of harm (reparable/irreparable) and type of solution (apologies, compensation by the FARC, compensation by the government, punishment, adjusted solution) as within-subjects factors, and gender as a between-subjects factor. Probability ratings for perpetrators complying with the adjusted solution were assessed using two questions (i.e., "do you think that the FARC will actually tell the truth?" "do you think that the FARC will actually make it up to the victims?"). In the interest of parsimony, the ratings obtained from these questions were combined to create a composite score for each participant ("expectations of

perpetrators' behavior"). When the assumption of sphericity was violated, the Greenhouse-Geisser correction was performed and adjusted *df* are reported below. When testing post-hoc pairwise comparisons, means were compared with an adjusted significance level using a Bonferroni correction (alpha was set at $p < .05$, two-tailed). Partial eta-squared is reported as a measure of effect size for significant effects (η_p^2).

Correlations were used to explore connections between belief systems of trust, gender, and age. Partial correlations between trust and participants' prescriptive and descriptive ratings of the solutions were conducted, with age and gender controlled as necessary. Subsequently, regression analyses were used to test a series of mediation models in which descriptive ratings of solutions (e.g., "do you think that the FARC will actually apologize?") mediated the relationship between trust questionnaire scores and prescriptive ratings of solutions ("do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?"). Gender and age were included as covariates in these models. Simple mediations were tested in SPSS using Hayes' Model 4 (Hayes, 2018) with 5,000 bootstrapped replication samples. The significance of the unstandardized coefficients was examined at each step. An overall alpha level of $p < .05$ was used for all tests (two-tailed).

How Do Youths' Prescriptive Ratings of Different Solutions Vary Based on the Reparability of the Harm?

The first set of analyses examined the extent to which youths endorsed different solutions in the context of irreparable and reparable harm. A significant main effect was found for reparability of the harm, $F(1, 72) = 15.04$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. Pairwise comparisons indicated that, overall, solutions to a reparable harm ($M = 4.36$, $SE = .10$) received significantly higher ratings than solutions to an irreparable harm ($M = 3.93$, $SE = .13$). A significant main effect of type of solution was also found, $F(3.40, 244.74) = 12.15$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Pairwise comparisons indicated that compensation by the FARC ($M = 4.66$, $SE = .12$) was rated significantly higher than apologies ($M = 3.61$, $SE = .16$), compensation by government ($M = 4.0$, $SE = .17$), and the adjusted solution ($M = 3.94$, $SE = .16$). There was no significant difference between ratings for compensation by the FARC and punishment ($M = 4.53$, $SE = .14$). However, punishment was rated significantly higher than apologies, compensation by the government, and the adjusted solution. The latter three solutions did not differ from each other.

The aforementioned main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between the reparability of the harm and the type of solution, $F (3.51, 252.36) = 24.13$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. Relevant means and the results of pairwise comparisons are presented in Table 1. In line with our expectations, in the context of reparable harm, compensation by the FARC and the government were more positively endorsed, compared to the same solutions in the context of irreparable harm. In contrast, also as expected, punishment was rated significantly higher in scenarios of irreparable harm than in scenarios of reparable harm. No significant simple effects of reparability were found for the other solutions (i.e., apology and the adjusted solution).

How Do Youths' Descriptive Ratings of Different Solutions Vary Based on the Reparability of the Harm?

A significant main effect was found for solution, $F (3.49, 250.98) = 6.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Pairwise comparisons indicated that apologies were described as significantly more likely ($M = 4.15$, $SE = .17$) than compensation by the FARC ($M = 3.57$, $SE = .16$), compensation by the government ($M = 3.57$, $SE = .17$), punishment ($M = 3.42$, $SE = .17$) and the adjusted solution ($M = 3.56$, $SE = .14$). There were no significant differences between the latter four solutions.

An interaction effect was also found between the reparability of the harm and the type of solution $F (3.43, 246.65) = 3.72$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. The results of pairwise comparisons are presented in Table 1 using alphabetic subscripts. Specifically, compensation by the FARC was rated as more likely to happen in the context of reparable harm than in the context of irreparable harm. Conversely, punishment was believed to be more likely to occur in the context of irreparable harm, compared to reparable harm.

Table 1

Youths' Prescriptive and Descriptive Ratings of Different Solutions by Type of Harm

Solution	Type of harm	Prescriptive ratings			Descriptive ratings		
		M	*SE*	95% CI	*M*	*SE*	95% CI
Apology	Irreparable harm	3.51-	.19	[3.14, 3.89]	4.24$_{a+}$	.20	[3.84, 4.64]
	Reparable harm	3.71	.17	[3.37, 4.06]	4.06$_b$	.21	[3.65, 4.48]
Compensation by FARC	Irreparable harm	3.91$_{a+}$	.20	[3.51, 4.30]	3.26$_{a-}$	.19	[2.87, 3.64]
	Reparable harm	5.40$_{b+}$	.09	[5.22, 5.59]	3.88$_{b-}$	.19	[3.48, 4.27]
Compensation by government	Irreparable harm	3.40$_a$	.22	[2.96, 3.83]	3.49$_a$	.19	[3.12, 3.87]
	Reparable harm	4.61$_{b+}$	.20	[4.22, 5.00]	3.65$_{b-}$	.19	[3.28, 4.01]
Punishment	Irreparable harm	4.97$_{a+}$	.16	[4.64, 5.30]	3.67$_{a-}$	.19	[3.30, 4.04]
	Reparable harm	4.09$_{b+}$	.19	[3.72, 4.46]	3.17$_{b-}$	.20	[2.77, 3.56]
Adjusted solution	Irreparable harm	3.88	.17	[3.53, 4.22]	3.58	.16	[3.26, 3.89]
	Reparable harm	4.00+	.20	[3.60, 4.41]	3.55-	.16	[3.24, 3.87]

Note. Evaluations of solutions were made on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from *not good at all* (1) to *really good* (6). Likelihood ratings were also made on a 6-point scale ranging from *very unlikely* (1) to *very likely* (6). Values on different rows with dissimilar alphabetic subscripts (i.e., *a*, *b*) indicate differences between prescriptive ratings or descriptive ratings across irreparable vs. reparable harm (e.g., prescriptive ratings of compensation by the FARC were more positive in the case of reparable harm, as compared to irreparable harm). Values in different columns with dissimilar +/- subscripts indicate differences between prescriptive ratings and descriptive ratings within a given solution (e.g., descriptive ratings were higher than prescriptive ratings of apologies in the context of irreparable harm).
*p< 0.05 (two-tailed).

Do Youths' Prescriptive Ratings Differ from Their Descriptive Ratings?

Analyses were also used to explore the contexts in which prescriptive and descriptive ratings diverged. An ANOVA revealed that lower-order effects were qualified by a three-way interaction between the type of question (prescriptive vs. descriptive), the reparability of the harm and the type of solution, $F(3.32, 239.26) = 4.80$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.063$. The results of pairwise comparisons are presented in Table 1 using +/- subscripts. Specifically, in the context of irreparable harm, compensation by the FARC and punishment received higher prescriptive ratings as compared to descriptive ratings. In other words, participants endorsed these solutions but were relatively less confident that they would actually happen. In contrast, also in the context of irreparable harm, apologies received lower prescriptive ratings as compared to descriptive probability ratings. As for reparable harm, with the exception of apologies, all solutions received higher evaluative ratings, compared to descriptive probability ratings.

Associations Between Levels of Trust, Prescriptive Judgments, and Beliefs about Perpetrators' Behavior

Participant's average levels of trust was 3.28 ($SD = 0.61$). The minimum score was 1.38 and the maximum was 4.44. While participants' trust was not significantly associated with their gender, levels of trust tended to decline with age ($r = -.29$, $p < .01$). As such, age was controlled when examining associations with levels of trust. Table 2 illustrates partial correlations between youths' prescriptive and descriptive ratings of solutions with their levels of trust. Notably, in the case of irreparable harm, as expected, prescriptive ratings were significantly positively correlated with levels of trust for apologies, compensation by the FARC, compensation by the government, and the adjusted solution. Partially in line with hypotheses, for reparable harm, prescriptive ratings for punishment were negatively associated with trust. As expected, ratings of descriptive beliefs were also assessed in relation to levels of trust. Positive associations emerged between youths' expectations of perpetrators' behaviors (i.e., that they would tell the truth and compensate victims) and their belief systems of trust.

Table 2

Partial Correlations Between Levels of Trust, Prescriptive Judgments, and Descriptive Ratings

Type of harm	Type of rating	Type of solution	Partial correlation with trust
Irreparable harm	Prescriptive	Apology	.34**
		Compensation by FARC	.32**
		Compensation by government	.28*
		Punishment	.10
		Adjusted solution	.30*
	Descriptive	Apology	.19
		Compensation by FARC	.33**
		Compensation by government	.39**
		Punishment	.54**
		Adjusted solution[a]	.56**
Reparable harm	Prescriptive	Apology	.19
		Compensation by FARC	.19
		Compensation by government	-.02
		Punishment	-.24*
		Adjusted solution	.10
	Descriptive	Apology	-.03
		Compensation by FARC	.42**
		Compensation by government	.37**
		Punishment	.35**
		Adjusted solution[a]	.44**

Note. Partial correlations controlling for age.

[a] Composite scores of descriptive ratings for the adjusted solution (i.e., "do you think that the FARC will actually tell the truth?" "do you think that the FARC will actually make it up to the victims?").

*$p < 0.05$ level (two-tailed). ** $p < 0.01$ level (two-tailed).

The Mediating Effect of Expectations of Perpetrators' Behavior

Simple mediation models were conducted for each solution to examine the effects of trust on evaluative ratings, as mediated by descriptive ratings. A total of ten models were tested (i.e., five solutions per type of harm). For each solution, level of trust was included as a predictor, descriptive ratings as the mediator (e.g., "do you think that the FARC will actually apologize?"), and prescriptive ratings as the outcome ("do you think that this [apology] is a good or not such a good solution?"). Eight of the ten models were not significant. That is, the indirect effects of trust on endorsing apologies, compensation by the FARC, compensation by the government, and punishment, as mediated by descriptive beliefs, were not significant, and this, in the context of irreparable and reparable harm.

Conversely, levels of trust were significantly associated with having more positive beliefs about the perpetrators' willingness to tell the truth and compensate victims, which were related to greater endorsement of the adjusted solution, in the context of both irreparable (see Figure 1) and reparable harm (see Figure 2). Specifically, in the case of irreparable harm, the indirect effect of levels of trust on endorsing the adjusted solution was significant, and the direct effect of levels of trust was no longer a significant predictor of the adjusted solution ($b = 0.10$, $SE = .33$; *ns*). With regard to reparable harm, levels of trust were significantly associated to having more positive beliefs about the perpetrators' willingness to tell the truth and compensate victims, which were related to greater endorsement of the adjusted solution. The specific indirect effect of levels of trust on endorsing the adjusted solution was significant and the direct effect of levels of trust was no longer a significant predictor of the adjusted solution ($b = -0.24$, $SE = .37$; *ns*).

Figure 1. Indirect effect of levels of trust on justice preferences in the context of irreparable harm. Trust scores predicted endorsing a solution to conflict that balanced restoration and retribution through expectations of perpetrators' behaviour, in response to losing loved ones. Full lines represent significant paths; dashed lines are non-significant.

Unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses are reported.

**p < .01 (two-tailed).

0.55 (.19), 95% CI: 0.16, 0.92

Expectations of perpetrators' behaviour

1.05 (.25)**

0.52 (.16)**

Levels of trust

Adjusted solution (retribution/restoration)

Figure 2. Indirect effect of levels of trust on justice preferences in the context of reparable harm. Trust scores predicted endorsing a solution to conflict that balanced restoration and retribution through expectations of perpetrators' behaviour, in response to damages to infrastructure. Full lines represent significant paths; dashed lines are non-significant.

Unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses are reported.

**p* < .01 (two-tailed).

Qualitative Results

Qualitative analyses were conducted to examine participants' justifications for their evaluations of retributive and restorative solutions, particularly in relation to their beliefs about the trustworthiness of their environment. In reading the transcripts, we initially identified the portions of the interview directly related to youths' reasoning when making evaluative judgments of solutions. Specifically, we focused on participants' justifications for prescriptive judgments and how they intersected with their descriptive beliefs.

Our first step towards making sense of the data was to identify general themes in participants' reasoning; that is, we were interested in the core concepts that formed the basis of their viewpoints without restricting the process only to concepts relevant to trust. Then, we continued with a deeper investigation into the similarities and differences between participants with high and low levels of trust. In the following sections, we discuss the observed patterns, and examine the participants' values, attitudes and beliefs about others and authorities as they related to youths' evaluative reasoning. Examples from interviews with participants with varying levels of trust are provided to illustrate prototypical patterns. All of the names reported are pseudonyms.
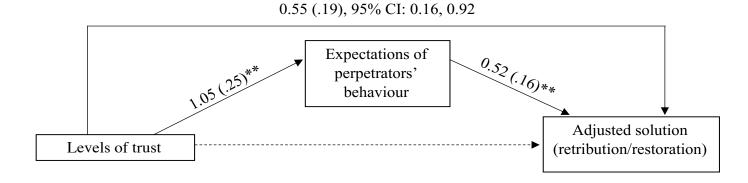
What Concerns did Adolescents Bring to Bear When Reasoning About Solutions to Harm?

When justifying what ought to be an appropriate response to harm, youths predominantly made reference to notions of accountability ("each person must pay for what they did," Max); deservingness ("they are not getting a punishment of the magnitude of what they did. I think that it should be a much stronger punishment, equal to what they did," Alex); the solution's inability to repair or reverse the harm ("it's not going to revive their loved ones," Mat); benefits for victims ("victims are going to be able to have services, and they will be able to have education, water, and electricity," Carla); as well as desires for the perpetrators to suffer ("it's satisfying for them [the victims] to know that they [the perpetrators] are suffering and are paying for the damage that they caused," Isabela). In line with previous research, adolescents' judgments were based on moral concerns, such as welfare and justice, but also took account of nonmoral considerations, such as contextual features (e.g., irreparability of the harm; Gromet & Darley, 2009; Nucci et al., 2017).

Grappling with the Is Versus Ought Dilemma

In their reflections on what constitutes a desirable response to harm, participants grappled with the *is* versus *ought* dilemma in ways that reflected the complexities and limits of prescriptive commitments, and how they intertwine with their views of reality. Take, for instance, Miguel's prescriptive evaluation of compensation in the context of irreparable harm:

> *[Money] is not going to do anything for them. It's not going to heal them from the pain, it's not going to bring back that person… It's not going to do anything for them. Maybe the money will be useful but – let's say like if they have an economic problem, maybe it will be useful. But it's not going to help them in anything in terms of the problem of them losing the person that they loved.*

Considering that the economic situation for many victims of the conflict is dire, monetary compensation has the potential to truly help them restart their lives. Nonetheless, material goods will never make up for years of suffering, grief and the loss of lives. Thus, while participants believed that perpetrators ought to provide victims with some economic relief, what their answers simultaneously conveyed was that there was nothing could really be done to 'fix things'. Although one could argue that these youths answered an 'ought' question with an 'is', their reasoning suggested that they believed that the appropriate, or just, way to redress the harm was simply impossible. That is, their view of the ideal solution was that perpetrators bring loved ones back but, in the absence of this, some settled for what could actually be done. Even more, for some participants, the impossibility of what should happen was so flagrant that none of the solutions was acceptable (e.g., Laura, as illustrated in the following sections, provided mostly negative answers to prescriptive ratings). As eloquently put by Miguel, life is without price: "At the end of the day, a person is not measured by money but by what they were."

Trust in Government: "They Never Follow Through on What They Promise"

The main unifying theme between adolescents with high and low levels of trust was the widespread sense of distrust in the government. This disenchantment with the system manifested itself through statements about the inefficacy of the legal system, political corruption, and the unreliability of those in power. For instance, in response to whether they thought that the government would help compensate those who lost loved ones, Laura (lower trust) and Sam (higher trust) each judged it unlikely to happen on the account of those in power stealing public funds:

Those in government and everyone in the country are thieves. Because… they steal too much from people, like, instead of helping people, they steal, and that's why the country is the way it is. (Laura)

The government also steals money, like they maybe have it, but they don't give it to them (the victims). (Sam)

Consistent with other participants' responses, Laura's reasoning suggests a sense of distrust that was not only limited to government authorities. In fact, it was not uncommon for participants to display general attitudes of cynicism and disbelief in change, which were also reflected in their ratings. However, others, like Sam, came to different conclusions about the motives behind the government's and the FARC's behavior, which led them to make different predictions about each group's actions:

I: Do you think that the government would actually help repair the damage caused?

Sam: 3 […] Well, no, I don't think that they will do it. They steal money…they always do it, so, like, maybe they will start [to rebuild], but they will leave it all halfway, like they have done it before.

I: Do you think that the FARC will participate in programs to help rebuild, and that they will help pay for those programs?

Sam: Yes, a 6 […] Because maybe they regret it, right? Like, what they have done. So, as I said before, it would be a good act of peace.

His remarks illustrate variations in youths' attributions about the FARC's behavior in relation to their evaluations of solutions. That is, inferring that the FARC would contribute to reparation initiatives because they regret their previous actions suggests an optimistic orientation in which attributions underline the possibility of change. Conversely, it was also the case for a number of participants to make internal and stable attributions about the FARC's undesirable behavior. These different orientations, or *mindsets*, are examined in the next section as they relate to youths' perceptions of trust.

Attributions About Perpetrators' Behavior

When justifying their descriptive and prescriptive ratings, participants made reference to their beliefs about the dispositional and situational causes of behavior. Participants with lower levels of trust tended to attribute their predictions of the FARC's behavior to fixed, global traits. On the other hand, the justifications of those with higher levels of trust reflected a greater

emphasis on the circumstances and the actors' psychological states. In the following section, we discuss the differences in youths' justifications as they relate to beliefs of trust and their predictions of perpetrators' behavior.

Consistent with informed grounded theory, this inquiry into youths' reasoning was framed by theories of development that we had not initially considered (mainly, implicit theories about human attributes; Chiu et al., 1997; Erdley & Dweck, 1993; Heyman & Dweck, 1998). The degree to which adolescents in this study made trait attributions about members of the FARC was relevant to our understanding of their normative judgments, especially considering that they speak to their beliefs about the trustworthiness of others. A more complete understanding of variations in youths' justice preferences in response to harm therefore unifies frameworks that explain general beliefs about the world with those that examine changes in specific social situations. Ultimately, this allowed us to make meaningful connections between the quantitative and qualitative analyses within this study.

Lower levels of trust: "A bad person and a liar will never tell the truth." Participants with lower levels of trust explained their ratings for perpetrators' behavior by making attributions about the group's characteristics. As illustrated by the excerpt below, these youths tended to focus on their beliefs about internal and enduring traits:

I: Do you think that the FARC will actually apologize?

Laura: 1 […] Because…they are really rude people. They don't care if others are ok or not ok […] let's say that in the family, 5 die because of the FARC. They won't be like "Oh look we killed 5, let's go apologize because we killed their family members." They are not going to think that way because they are bad people, they are people that don't have feelings.

Laura's remarks exemplify how implicit beliefs about the FARC's traits (i.e., insensitivity and maliciousness) shaped youths' understanding and expectations of the group's behavior. Such global negative judgments about the FARC also implied that participants predicted a bleak prognosis for change.

These observations were consistent with previous research on individuals' implicit theories about the nature of human behavior. When reasoning about social situations, believing that traits are fixed has been associated with making more rigid social judgments (i.e., predicting less change, being less likely to revise judgments in light of new information) and making more

global, generalized judgments (i.e., judging the person rather than the act; Chiu et al., 1997; Erdley & Dweck, 1993). As such, youths with a 'fixed' mindset use traits as the basis of social inferences, which is linked to perceiving a strong connection between an individual's actions and the type of person that they are. Conversely, those with a 'growth' mindset tend to take into account an individual's psychological states and situational factors when attempting to make sense of social events. Each orientation has different implications for beliefs about rehabilitation; while youths with a fixed mindset expect traits not to change, those with a growth mindset view characteristics as malleable (Chiu et al., 1997; Erdley & Dweck, 1993; Heyman & Dweck, 1998).

It is worth noting that the assumption here is not that youths with lower levels of trust invariably use trait attributions when justifying their evaluations and predictions of the FARC's behavior. Rather, we argue that they displayed stronger beliefs about the group's inherent qualities, which appeared to be tied into their beliefs about the FARC's ability to change. Previous literature also specifies that those with a fixed mindset do not only make negative trait inferences, but that they do the same with positive attributes (Chiu et al., 1997). However, ascribing behaviors to the FARC's negative attributes was the rule, rather than the exception. This was to be expected, considering the group's turbulent path, the country's political climate and the common expressions used to describe them (e.g., 'terrorists'; Barreto, Borja, & López-López, 2012).

There were also multiple instances in which participants described the FARC in subtle ways that, nevertheless, implied a cynical perspective. For example, despite believing that the FARC would tell the truth and compensate victims, a closer analysis of Juan's answers belied his apparent optimism. Specifically, he characterized FARC members as acting for their own benefit (i.e., being selfish): "they would help people so that they could also benefit and not go to jail;" "they don't care about other people, they only think about themselves." Similarly, when examining the instances in which youths with lower levels of trust provided positive ratings to solutions, their sense of skepticism about the group's ability to act in good faith prevailed. That is, while Laura endorsed the solution in which FARC members would assist in rebuilding strategies for the damages to infrastructure scenario, she believed that it would be useless because they would "perhaps help today and in a month damage it again." It is interesting to note

that this sense of pessimism was also observed in similar ways among participants who provided opposite ratings to the same question:

Low descriptive ratings:

I: Do you think that the FARC will tell the truth?

Laura: No, 1. […] Because there are bad people and even if they tell them "look, we're only going to give you one year in jail, and we'll give you house arrest," […] a bad person never tells the truth.

I: Do you think that the FARC will actually participate in programs to help compensate victims and their families?

Laura: Eh, 1 (laughs) […] for the same reasons that I told you, they are bad […] If a person was good, they would think about what they are doing and they would reflect on what they are involved in…they wouldn't keep doing what they do for the land and money. But a bad person is like them in that they would go to a house and kill 5 old people only to keep their land.

High descriptive ratings:

I: Do you think that the FARC will tell the truth?

Juan: I think so because they are probably also thinking that being in jail is a different drill than being at one's home. […] So, I give it a 6.

I: Do you think that the FARC will actually participate in programs to help compensate victims and their families?

Juan: It's likely for them to help people so that they can also benefit from it and don't have to – like they wouldn't have to go to jail.

These excerpts exemplify how, among youths with low levels of trust, expecting perpetrators to tell the truth and compensate victims rarely stemmed from believing in their desire to act in good faith. Rather, those who provided higher probability ratings for restorative actions made reference to the group's self-serving motivations, similar to youths who judged it unlikely for the FARC to tell the truth and compensate victims.

Higher levels of trust: "Eventually they are going to feel something in their heart that may make them feel bad about what they did." Participants with higher levels of trust

drew different inferences in response to the hypothetical scenarios, as illustrated by Maria's evaluation and prediction for apologies in the context of damages to infrastructure:

> *Maria: By apologizing, they want to change, and they want other people to forgive them, right?*
>
> *I: And do you think that they would actually apologize?*
>
> *Maria: 4 […] Because there may be some that won't want to. They won't accept the agreement to apologize, and others will want to change and all.*
>
> *I: I see. Why do you think that some won't want to apologize, and others will want to change?*
>
> *Maria: 4 […] Because, let's say that they had their reasons to kill, so they won't feel the need. (Interviewer reminds the participant that the scenario is about harm to infrastructure)*
>
> *Maria: If they did the harm, let's say to bring attention to themselves – that would be like their way of thinking – it would be unlikely that they apologize […] to apologize would be like taking a step back, right? Like they did it all for nothing.*

Rather than relying on context-free dispositions, Maria made reference to their desires (e.g., wanting to change) and goals (e.g., they had their reasons, apologizing would be a step back). Similarly, when justifying her evaluation of apologies in the context of irreparable harm, she focused on the process behind the behavior. Also telling were her views on the perpetrators' ability to change:

> *Maria: 6 […] Because they are trying to solve their mistake and answer for it […] Their mistake led them to think and react in that way (to apologize) […] That way, they will change, and probably won't do it again.*

Maria's interpretation of the perpetrators' behavior relied on the mental processes that accounted for their actions, which, incidentally, also revealed her views about their ability to change. This tendency to focus on the process behind actions when evaluating others' behavior has been linked to positive beliefs about rehabilitation (Erdley & Dweck, 1993). As such, differences in how trait attributions were made not only had implications for how youths thought about the FARC, but also shaped how participants thought they should be treated.

Another distinctive feature in the reasoning of some youths with higher levels of trust was their ability to empathize with the other group. For instance, when reasoning about jail time,

Sam mentioned that "they are people… and jail is bad," and that he "wouldn't want to go to jail!" Contrary to Maria, and many other participants, Sam's reasoning revealed his consideration of what the experience of living in jail must *feel* like. While considering the situation from the perpetrators' perspective was a rare occurrence, doing so suggested that these adolescents were taking a pluralistic perspective to conflict resolution (Opotow, 2006). That is, becoming aware of the existence and perspective of others may have limited the reach of their own entitlements and allowed for the needs of others to be considered (Opotow, 2006; see also Opotow, 1990). Ultimately, this ability to see members of the FARC in their humanity and complexity has implication for these youths' ability to move beyond essentialist and stereotypical views so as to promote collaboration and inclusiveness at the individual, community, and societal level.

Remorse as a Redeeming Quality

Through our analysis of youths' beliefs about the FARC, and how they perceived these features as guiding the group's behavior, a unifying theme emerged. Specifically, participants indicated that the expression of remorse provided evidence that perpetrators took responsibility for their actions, felt guilty for the harm, and perhaps even felt anguish over the pain caused:

> *At least they are – they are telling people that… that like they regret it and they are sort of appeasing people and…like, they are telling them, from the heart, that they really feel bad for what they did […] and, in a nutshell, they are answering for what they, themselves, did. (Juan)*

Scholarship on apologies and forgiveness has identified remorse as a powerful tool for victims and perpetrators to heal, come to terms with traumatic events, and move on (Friedman, 2006; O'Hara, 2004). Consistent with this view, many adolescents in this study deemed expressions of remorse to be crucial across situations, thereby indicating that, for a solution to be considered successful, the wrongdoers' intentions to change are just as important as the actions themselves.

For participants, the presence of remorse signaled the perpetrators' desire to change, while its absence opened the door to incertitude and suspicion. As supported by literature on implicit theories (Chiu et al., 1997; Erdley & Dweck, 1993; Heyman & Dweck, 1998), in situations of uncertainty, some youths (namely, those with lower levels of trust), may have relied more on attributions about the perpetrators' character when predicting future behavior. For instance, Laura generally provided negative ratings to solutions on the basis of negative

attributions about perpetrators' traits. Accordingly, she evaluated apologies negatively, both in terms the solution's desirability and its probability. Nevertheless, her justification suggests that, while she doubted the FARC's ability to change, the perpetrators' expression of remorse could affect her decision to endorse restorative solutions to harm:

> Laura: I already told you, they are bad people, and a bad person isn't going to bow their head for the damage caused [...] But then maybe, an extreme change like 'wow, look all the change that I did in my life' would maybe be different, and maybe you will want to forgive them depending on how...you see the change in that person and everything that has happened. Like, it would be different and maybe the person would support you, or something like that, but what if they apologize and...they do it again? Then it would be...all for nothing.
>
> I: So, you are saying that it would be unlikely for it to happen, and that it would be very unlikely for someone to show remorse and to change?
>
> Laura: Yes. Like, wow, what a change! And that you're like 'what happened?'

As illustrated by Laura's remarks, the importance given to the expression of remorse was relevant for youths' judgments of the perpetrators' character and also their beliefs about whether the victims could forgive them. Ultimately, it is possible that even those with the most bleak outlook on humanity may find restorative solutions acceptable under some circumstances, inasmuch as they interpret perpetrators' actions as indicating a willingness to change.

Summary

Our qualitative analyses allowed us to delve deeper into youths' understandings of their worlds and how these related to their prescriptive beliefs. When reasoning about morally-laden situations, the adolescents in this study provided reasons rooted in concerns with justice and others' wellbeing. Importantly, their answers echoed the complexity of creating a holistic agreement that meets people's desires for accountability and restoration, while also valuing rehabilitation. Generally speaking, youths with lower levels of trust held more essentialist beliefs about the FARC; in turn, these were also related to their assumptions about the group's potential for change. Conversely, participants with higher levels of trust explained perpetrators' behavior on the basis of situational and psychological factors, an orientation that was also in line with their beliefs in the perpetrators' ability for change.

It is important to note that our analyses did not imply that youths with higher levels of trust had generally more positive views of the FARC. Rather, when reasoning about the complexities of human behavior, their reflections suggest a more dynamic and flexible view wherein people are given the 'benefit of the doubt' when situations allow for alternatives other than attributing behavior to stable traits. Ultimately, when adolescents fail to view members of the FARC as individuals with histories, goals, and understandings, acting and evolving within a larger context, this serves to disregard heterogeneity, individuality and agency. Nonetheless, as illustrated in the closing section, youths with varying beliefs about the trustworthiness of their environments identified expressions of remorse on the perpetrators' part as opening the door to the possibility of redemption.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to examine how Colombian youths' evaluations of solutions to harm varied according to their assumptions about the trustworthiness of their environments, and their expectations of how others will behave. Our results provide new insights into the ways that youths grapple with others' wrongful behavior, particularly when benefits for victims and perpetrator accountability are made salient. Further, this study allows for a deeper understanding of how youths reason about others' behavior in the context of harm, and how this reasoning is guided by their inferences and attributions, as well as their beliefs about the trustworthiness of the system and those in power. Our primary aim was to address two main questions: How do youths' evaluations of solutions to harm in the context of the 2016 Peace Accord vary in relation to their perceptions about the trustworthiness of their environments? And do expectations of perpetrators' behavior explain the association between youths' levels of trust and their reasoning about solutions to harm in the context of the 2016 Peace Accord?

When What Should Happen Clashes with Expectations of What Will Actually Happen

The participants in our study evaluated compensation by perpetrators, as a response to damages to infrastructure, and punishment, as a response to hurting loved ones, particularly positively, in comparison to compensation by the government, apologies, and the adjusted solution. As such, it appears that while youths' reasoning about their social worlds entails heterogeneity (Wainryb & Recchia, 2014), predictable differences arose when considering specific features of the harm (i.e., reparability). Consistent with previous literature in adults, for a harm of high severity, youths endorsed retribution (inasmuch as the reparability of the harm is

comparable to its severity; Gromet & Darley, 2009), whereas they supported victim-oriented solutions in response to a less serious offense (Girard & Mullet, 2012; Pinzon-Salcedo et al., 2018). A similar trend emerged in youths' beliefs about the likelihood of each solution; participants expected the FARC to be more likely to repair damages to infrastructure than to offer monetary compensations in response to crimes against humanity. They also believed that punishment would be more likely to occur when people had been irreversibly hurt, in comparison to infrastructural damages. The overlap between youths' prescriptive and descriptive ratings points to the possibility that youths' expectations of their environments informed their prescriptive judgments. Although additional analyses would be required to test the extent to which their expectations and evaluations intertwine, it is possible that adolescents considered the likelihood of a solution to occur, and that this bore on their evaluation of the event (Wainryb, 1991).

Discrepancies also arose between what youths considered as the most desirable solution and their expectations of it occurring. Specifically, despite endorsing punishment (in the context of irreparable harm) and victim compensation by the FARC (in response to reparable harm), youths were significantly less confident that they would actually occur. Interestingly, the same was true for the Peace Accord's adjusted solution that balanced retribution and restoration; despite judging it as a desirable solution, they believed it unlikely for the FARC to tell the truth and compensate victims, in the context of damages to infrastructure. These findings are in line with previous research suggesting that youths are aware of the discrepancies between their moral commitments and reality (Posada & Wainryb, 2008). Ultimately, our results suggest that youths' prescriptive beliefs about how perpetrators should respond and how victims should be treated in the aftermath of harm persisted, despite what they believed to be likely to actually occur.

Finally, while youths expected perpetrators to apologize in the aftermath of irreparable harm, relatively speaking, they evaluated this solution less positively. This finding may be explained by the fact that, at the time of data collection, the FARC had already publicly apologized, as part of their efforts to restore victims. Therefore, it is possible that apologies (particularly in the context of crimes against humanity) were perceived as more likely to occur because participants had already witnessed them, in comparison to other solutions that may have be less mediatized or may be more complex to execute.

Trust and Attribution: Where Generalizations and Specifics Meet

Our hypotheses that levels of trust would be inversely related to support for punishment and positively associated with restoration, particularly so in the context of irreparable harm, were partially supported. As shown in Table 2, support for restorative solutions (i.e., apologies, compensation and the adjusted solution) was positively associated with trust in the context of irreparable harm. Having a general belief in people's honesty and reliability may have allowed youths with higher levels of trust to choose victim-oriented solutions. In line with previous work, adolescents with higher levels of trust may have a more psychologically-based understanding of what it means to be a victim and a perpetrator (Fett et al., 2014; Rasmussen et al., 2018), thereby making them more likely to choose solutions that may be beneficial for both sides (e.g., offering perpetrators the opportunity to change, allowing victims to get closure). Conversely, those with lower levels of trust may have perceived perpetrators as dishonest and callous, thereby doubting the sincerity of their actions and their commitment to not reoffend. Further, more than their willingness to change, these youths may have also doubted perpetrators' ability to do so (Chiu et al., 1997; Erdley & Dweck, 1993), and, as such, they were less likely to endorse solutions that emphasized rehabilitation.

Nonetheless, our findings did not support the hypotheses that youths with lower levels of trust would endorse punishment, particularly as a response to losing loved ones. Rather, this association was only observed in the context of damages to infrastructure. With regard to the latter, for adolescents with higher levels of trust, retribution may have failed to adequately address the harm, especially in a situation where reparation was possible and there was a concrete and pragmatic way in which perpetrators could make amends for their actions. Thus, they may have perceived the lack of emphasis on benefits for victims that is implied by a purely retributive strategy to be unacceptable. Conversely, youths with lower levels of trust may have given priority to other concerns, such as the deservingness of punishment (e.g., "it's a way for them to pay for their actions, for the bad things that they did," Gab), and their assumptions about the perpetrators' inherent traits and potential, or lack thereof, for change (as exemplified by Laura's belief that the FARC could damage infrastructures again, despite having rebuilt them).

The absence of an inverse association between trust and punishment in the context of irreparable harm requires explanation. We believe that it is important to interpret this finding in light of the overwhelmingly positive ratings that punishment received in the context of losing loved ones (see Table 1). As such, limited variability in youths' ratings of punishment made it

difficult to predict heterogeneity in these ratings. Nevertheless, it may be the case that youths with higher and lower levels of trust explained their positive ratings of punishment in different ways. For instance, while previous research suggests that attributing the causes of crime to internal dispositions is associated endorsing punishment (Oosterhoff et al., 2018), believing that individuals may change through instrumental punishment may also promote endorsement of punitive solutions. Thus, differences in adolescents' informational assumptions about the goal and efficacy of different solutions may help explain some of the variability in their views of retribution (Oosterhoff et al., 2018; Wainryb, 1991). In our future analyses, we will examine beliefs about the purpose of each solution and their relation to trust and implicit theories of human behavior.

Participants' beliefs about perpetrators were relevant to how they evaluated different solutions to harm. We predicted that positive expectations of the FARC's willingness to tell the truth, compensate victims, and apologize would mediate the association between youths' levels of trust and their evaluative judgments. Our findings supported this hypothesis, but only for the adjusted solution (i.e., the Peace Accord's solution balancing retribution and restoration) in the context of both irreparable and reparable harm. Thus, fostering trust in others and institutions may represent an opportunity to encourage youth to endorse resolutions that arguably lead to more positive outcomes rather than potentially perpetuating cycles of violence. Furthermore, attention must also be paid to complexifying and contesting youths' pessimistic conceptions about the FARC, especially inasmuch as they speak to individuals' beliefs about how perpetrators and victims should be treated. Attending to youths' beliefs about others may not only predict support for alternatives to retribution that emphasize victims' rights and perpetrators' rehabilitation, but also advance our understanding of how biases and stereotypes affect the everyday lives of vulnerable groups, particularly those attempting to reintegrate into society.

Our qualitative analyses also highlighted the importance of considering the attributions that youths are making about the causes of others' actions. While our results were consistent with Flanagan and Stout's (2010) finding that social trust declines with age, participants' responses pointed to meaningful variations in their beliefs about the causes of behavior that had ramifications for their judgments of different solutions. Specifically, adolescents with lower levels of trust tended to make more stable trait inferences about the FARC's behavior, which in

turn was linked to their beliefs about their potential for rehabilitation. Arguably, these beliefs informed their disfavour of restorative solutions to harm considering that they suggested cynical perspectives on the prospect of perpetrators' rehabilitation. Conversely, a tendency to believe in the trustworthiness of their environments was reflected in attributions of the FARC's behavior to situational factors and psychological processes (e.g., goals). Accordingly, these youths viewed traits as more malleable, thereby suggesting a disposition to view perpetrators as capable of change, and by extension, as likely to carry out restorative solutions.

Nonetheless, the expression of remorse emerged as a feature that youth with varying levels of trust valued as important for any action attempting to redress a harm. Thus, our results suggest differences in youths' beliefs about what leads individuals to feel remorse; while someone may feel remorse as a consequence of punishment, they can also experience it in the context of apologies and compensation. This has implications for initiatives aiming at facilitating social healing. Specifically, peacebuilding approaches that bring together victims and perpetrators with the aim to acknowledge, validate and promote healing represent opportunities through which victims' needs are satisfied and retaliatory desires may be mitigated. Last, in our future analyses, we will examine youths' allusions to remorse across various solutions in an effort to contribute to our understanding of the concerns that youth bring to bear when reasoning about harm.

Considering that only two descriptive questions (i.e., compensation by the government and punishment) were conducive to exploring youths' beliefs about the government, our qualitative analyses predominantly focused on youths' perceptions of the FARC. As such, the aforementioned variations in ascriptions of behavior were less apparent in youths' reflections about authorities. Nonetheless, youths appeared to generally hold negative views about the government's honesty and dependability. It is possible that, despite displaying negative beliefs about those in power, youths with high levels of trust explained their behavior by distinguishing the individual from the larger system and circumstances. This may take a number of forms, from recognizing the existence of institutional barriers that hinder governance, to believing that power changes people. Conversely, those with lower levels of trust may attribute authorities' behavior to their inherent traits, which could originate from beliefs that dishonest people disproportionately self-select to participate in politics.

Relatedly, while trust in government authorities may be a consequence of social trust (Putman, 2000), the two remain theoretically distinct concepts that would benefit from being studied more closely. This is particularly relevant considering that certain socio-political values (i.e., right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation) have been associated with believing that human traits are fixed (Kahn et al., 2018), and with differences in reasoning about punishment (Oosterhoff et al., 2018). By studying the associations between political orientations and punishment in the Colombian context, future research could contribute new insights to a field that has mainly focused on conceptions of rights and civil liberties in Western cultures (with some notable exceptions; e.g., Neff & Helwig, 2002; Turiel & Wainryb, 1998; for a review, see Helwig, 2006).

Last, it is worth noting that, while a trusting orientation was related to choosing restorative solutions to harm, there is value in the ability to navigate social environments informed by optimism but also tempered by skepticism. A dose of cynicism may be adaptive, especially in climates in which trust may be unwarranted. The country's general sense of skepticism described in the introduction may not only be an accurate reflection of the social and political environment, but it may also be crucial for change. Thus, in the same way that compliance is not always positive, dissent emerging from distrust does not inevitably lead to chaos. The key, however, lies in promoting progress and innovation without resorting to violence. As exemplified by Ghandi's nonviolent resistance efforts to free India from British Authority, and the Selma to Montgomery march led by Martin Luther King Jr. in the name of civil rights, tangible, successful change takes time.

Limitations

The methodological decision to use participants' reasoning about hypothetical situations grounded in the armed conflict supported our goal of examining how Colombian youths perceive harm within a specific political context. Additionally, this allowed us to ensure that all participants reasoned about a harm event that was at the same level of severity and happened in the same time frame. Thus, our use of hypothetical scenarios affords some key advantages over the use of participants' personal accounts of harm in the context of the conflict. Nevertheless, this methodology did not take into account adolescents' previous experiences with the conflict and how they shaped their reasoning. That is, while a few participants described having been directly exposed to conflict-related violence, not all youths provided details about their own

experiences with the conflict, if any. Thus, this introduced some heterogeneity that we cannot account for in our analyses. This variability may also play a role in explaining individual differences in youths' reasoning about the different actors in the conflict; different areas of the country have been affected at various degrees by armed groups (e.g., paramilitaries, guerrillas) and government intervention. As such, youths' reasoning about blame, accountability, and trust may have been guided by their varied life experiences and exposure to the conflict.

Relatedly, we used a convenience sample recruited from Bogota, D.C. Therefore, these results may not generalize to other groups, such as non-typically developing youths, or participants from different ethnic backgrounds, or residing in other regions of the country. Although our sample comprised youths from socioeconomic levels that were representative of the country's distribution (i.e., estratos 2 and 3), our findings cannot be generalized to youths from more disadvantaged or affluent backgrounds. Specifically, from daily encounters with injustice and inequality to the broader advantages that wealth and social security may provide, socioeconomic circumstances may affect youths' lives in ways that influence their reasoning about responses to harm. Regarding the age of our participants, although we initially aimed to recruit youths aged between 16 and 17, the final sample had a wider range because of the variability in the ages of students in grades 10 and 11. Although this unexpected change allowed us to examine age-related changes in levels of trust, our findings must be considered with caution. Future studies should either use a larger sample to examine age effects in a more systematic way or strictly recruit participants within a desired age range.

Due to low reliabilities of the subscales assessing the different types of trust in this study, we were not able to differentiate between links with generalized trust, trust in social authorities, and trust in distal authorities. Previous research has reported that youths perceive the two latter differently (Fine et al., 2019). It would be preferable for future research to examine separate associations with these different forms of trust. Last, the interview sections that we used for our qualitative analysis were taken from a larger interview. Including additional sections of the interview in our analyses (e.g., the section on knowledge about the conflict) could have provided greater insight into participants' responses, including their views about other groups involved in the conflict. Further, contacting participants after coding the interviews may have provided further insight into the way participants reasoned about solutions to harm, and would have ensured that participants agreed with our interpretations.

Implications

Despite these limitations, this study allowed the examination of how youths' reasoning about solutions to harm were related to their belief systems of trust. Our findings point to a nuanced view of youths' reasoning about retributive and restorative justice, thereby providing some answers to theoretical questions about the variability of evaluative judgments when the negative consequences for victims and punishment for offenders are made salient. In line with previous research, our analyses suggest that there were specific features of the harm and the situation that may have informed youths' judgments in endorsing retributive solutions (Nucci et al., 2017; Smetana et al., 1984).

Further, the majority of current research on moral reasoning focuses on examining youths' evaluations of moral transgressions; only a handful of studies examine adolescents' judgments of solutions to harm (Oosterhoff & Metzger, 2017; Oosterhoff et al., 2018). Relatedly, while past research has inquired about children's and adolescents' evaluations of retaliation in response to others' harmful behavior (Ardila-Rey et al., 2009; Posada & Wainryb, 2008); this study builds on this work by contrasting youths' reasoning about retributive courses of action with more restorative approaches.

Additionally, our work contributes to the growing literature examining the role of informational assumptions in guiding youths' reasoning about solutions to harm (Turiel et al., 1991; Wainryb 1991; Oosterhoff et al., 2018), as well as how these intertwine with existing literature on implicit theories of human behavior (Chiu et al., 1997; Erdley & Dweck, 1993; Heyman & Dweck, 1998). Although individuals vary in the ways that they weigh and coordinate moral and non-moral concerns when making judgments (Turiel, 1983; Wainryb & Recchia, 2014), our findings revealed coherent patterns in youths' perspectives, which can be explained by assumptions about their environments as well as the different ways in which they understand the internal causes of behavior. As such, in addition to overall belief systems of trust, it is important to distinguish how differences in attributions inform social information processing and reasoning.

Finally, our findings have implications for understanding how youths' perspectives may be brought to bear on the broader socio-political state of the country and the future of this and other peace accords. First, uncovering potential biases that influence youths' reasoning about justice constitutes a venue whereby peace education can affect change. By challenging

predominant narratives about perpetrators, schools may be able to empower youths with the attitudes and knowledge to oppose oppressive social structures. Arguably, this would allow them to see similarities between themselves and 'the other' as human beings with needs and desires, and who are also capable of both moral failure and growth. Becoming more cognizant of those commonalities has the potential to problematize youths' perception of perpetrators as inherently bad and incapable of change. Ultimately, this would lead them to recognize that, just as them, the individual members of the FARC have lived and evolved in a system that has historically favoured the needs of some and disregarded the needs of others. Exploring these psychological and historical factors may provide them with the impetus to be peacebuilders. Arguably, exploring these psychological and historical factors may provide them with the impetus to be peacebuilders. Furthermore, an increased awareness of other individuals' divergent perspectives on the conflict can promote acceptance of diversity, which is ultimately conducive to a democratic environment in which different ideologies can coexist and productive dialogue across the political spectrum is possible (Opotow, Gerson, &Woodside, 2005). While we acknowledge that systematic, large-scale societal evolution may take years, even decades, future prospects in Colombia will be guided by the incremental efforts of individuals of all ages, including new generations of citizens.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent and Assent

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Colombian Youths' Reasoning about Intergroup Conflict

Researcher: Angelica Restrepo

Researcher's Contact Information:
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Faculty Supervisor's Contact Information:
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1-514-848-2424 x. 2017
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Source of funding for the study: Concordia University

You are being invited to participate in the research study mentioned above. This form provides information about what participating would mean. Please read it carefully before deciding if you want to participate or not. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of this research is to learn about how adolescents think about different ways of resolving problems, especially in the context of conflicts with peers and the peace accord with

the FARC. Our goal is to understand how youth interpret and evaluate conflict outcomes, and why adolescents may reason in different ways about these issues.

B. PROCEDURES

If your child participates, he/she will be individually interviewed at school at a time when he/she will not miss important schoolwork. In an audio recorded interview, we will show your child two stories depicting conflicts with other students at school. We will then ask your child to tell us what he/she thinks about the different outcomes that could occur after the event. Then, we will ask your child to tell us what he/she knows about the conflict in and the peace accord with the FARC, based on what he/she has learned at school or heard at home. We will then show your child two situations of conflict based on what has occurred in Colombia and ask him/her to tell us what he/she thinks about the different solutions proposed in the peace accord. We'll also ask your child to provide basic demographics information and to fill out a questionnaire on their beliefs about others and social institutions.

In total, the interview will take approximately one hour.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

The risks of this study are minimal. Some adolescents may feel upset when thinking about or talking about conflicts. These risks are similar to those they might normally experience when discussing these issues at home or at school. If your child feels upset, he/she can tell the researcher, who will tell your child about resources available to help. Your child can also choose to stop the session at any time or to skip any questions he/she doesn't want to answer.

This research is not intended to benefit your child personally. However, we hope the information we get from this study may help us develop a better understanding of how adolescents think about conflict. Upon completion of the study, your child's school will receive a written report about the results of this study.

D. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will gather the following information as part of this research: (a) your child's audio recordings from interviews, (b) information about your child that is provided in response to the questionnaires (on paper).

We will not allow anyone to access the information, except people directly involved in conducting the research. We will only use the information for the purposes of the research described in this form. Ensuring your family's privacy is extremely important to us. However, it is important to

note that if you or your child discloses actual or suspected abuse or neglect, we are required to report this information to the Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar (ICBF).

The information gathered will be coded. That means that the information will be identified by a code rather than your child's name. The researcher will have a separate list that links the code to your child's name.

We will protect your child's information in various ways. Only the primary investigator will have access to the key linking participants' names to the numbers used on the recordings and the interview transcripts. Data and records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet, an encrypted Canadian computer server, or on a password protected computer. Only the researcher and members of her study team will have access to this information. Your child's date of birth (month and year only) will be collected solely for calculating the average age of participating youths, and will not be used for identification purposes.

We intend to publish the results of the research. However, it will not be possible to identify your child in the published results.

De-identified data from this study will be permanently archived. The code linking participants' names to their research records will be destroyed five years after completion of the study.

F. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

Your child does not have to participate in this research. It is purely your decision. If he/she does participate, he/she can stop at any time. You can also ask that the information your child provided not be used, and your choice will be respected. If you decide that you don't want us to use your child's information in any of our research reports, you must tell the researcher within two months of his/her participation. You may also make a request at any time after this date, and your information will be omitted from any additional research reports.

As a compensatory indemnity for participating in this research, your child will receive cafeteria coupon (of an approximate value of $20.000 COP). If he/she withdraws before the end of the research, your child will nevertheless receive the cafeteria coupon.

To make sure that research money is being spent properly, auditors from Concordia University or outside will have access to a coded list of participants. It will not be possible to identify your child from this list. There are no negative consequences for not participating, stopping in the middle, or asking us not to use your information.

G. PARTICIPANT'S DECLARATION

I have read and understood this form. I have had the chance to ask questions and any questions have been answered. I agree to allow my child to participate in this research under the conditions described.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

If you have questions about the scientific or scholarly aspects of this research, please contact Angelica Restrepo, the researcher in charge of this project. Her contact information is on page 1. You may also contact her faculty supervisor, Dr. Holly Recchia.

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, Canada, 1.514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca.

INFORMATION AND ASSENT FORM:

Who are we and what are we doing?
We are from Concordia University. We would like to ask if you would be in a research study. A research study is a way to find out new information about something. We are trying to learn more about how teenagers think about different ways of resolving problems, in the context of conflicts with groups of peers and the peace accord in Colombia.

Why are we asking you to be in this research study?
This study can help us learn about how teenagers understand situations of conflict between groups, and why teenagers might think about these issues differently.

What happens in the research study?

If you decide to be in this research study, this is what will happen. You'll give me a little bit of information about your family (e.g., which neighbourhood you live in). Then, I will read you two stories depicting conflicts with other students at school. I will ask you to tell me what you think about the different things that could occur after the conflict. Then, I'll ask you to tell me what you know about the conflict in Colombia and the peace accord. I will then read to you two situations of conflict based on what has occurred in Colombia and I'll ask you to tell us what you think about the different things proposed in the peace accord. At the end, I'll ask you to fill out a questionnaire about your beliefs about other people, institutions (e.g., the police, your school), and the government. The interview will be audio-recorded and will last about one hour.

Will any part of the research study hurt you?

Some teens feel a little upset when they talk about conflicts. If you start feeling upset, just let us know and we will try to help you feel better. We can take a break, skip a question, or you can stop at any time you want to.

Will the research study help you or anyone else?

Being in this study won't help you directly, but it will help us to understand how teenagers think about conflicts with groups of peers and the Colombian peace accord.

Who will see the information about you?

Everything that you tell me today is completely confidential. This means that the only people who hear the tapes are me and the people I work with at the University. We will not tell anyone else that you are in the study. All your answers to our questions will be kept locked up or protected by a password on the computer, so no one else can see them.
I want you to know that if you tell us that you or someone else is in danger or could be hurt really badly, then we will have to let someone know so that they can help.

What if you have any questions about the research study?

It is okay to ask questions. If you don't understand something, you can ask us. We want you to ask questions now and any time you think of them. If you or your parents have questions later that you didn't think of now, you can call Angelica Restrepo (the student doing this study) at 57-314-435-7477 or Holly Recchia (the research supervisor) at 1-514-848-2424 x. 2017.

Do you have to be in the research study?

You do not have to be in this study if you don't want to. Being in this study is up to you. Even if you say yes now, you can change your mind later and tell us if you want to stop.

Agreeing to be in the study

I was able to ask questions about this study. Signing my name at the bottom means that I agree to be in this study. I will be given a copy of this form after I have signed it.

_____

Printed Name

_____   _____

Sign your name on this line   Date

Appendix B

Interview Procedure

Demographics Questionnaire

In this questionnaire, you'll find questions about you and your family. Please read each question carefully and answer to the best of your knowledge. You will have to answer some questions with an X, while others will require you to write a short answer. There are no right or wrong answers in this questionnaire. You can ask for help if you don't understand a question or if you don't know how to answer it.

When were you born? (Please write the month and year)

Gender: Male _____ Female_____

What grade are you in?

Do you live with your mom, your dad, neither or both?

If you live only with your mother or your father, answer only the corresponding questions.

How far in school did your mother get?

Never studied

Some years of primary school   _____

Finished primary school   _____

Some years of high school   _____

Finished high school   _____

Attended a technical school   _____

Studied in university (undergraduate degree)   _____

Studied in university (graduate degree)   _____

I don't know   _____

_____

How far in school did your father get?

Never studied

Some years of primary school   _____

Finished primary school   _____

Some years of high school   _____

Finished high school   _____

Attended a technical school   _____

Studied in university (undergraduate degree)   _____

Studied in university (graduate degree)   _____

I don't know   _____

Does your mother work?

If answer is yes: What does she do for work?

Does your father work?

If answer is yes: What does he do for work?

In which status do you and your family fall? If you hesitate between two statuses, you can trace a line in between them.

_____

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

Is your family religious?

If so, what is your religious affiliation?

Catholic   _____

Protestant   _____

Other (specify)   _____

Do you and your family go to church?

Yes

No _____

If so, how often?

Once per week or more

Twice a month _____

Once a month _____

Once every two months _____

Less than five times per year _____

_____

In which neighborhood do you live?

Usaquén

Chapinero _____

Santa Fe _____

San Cristobal _____

Usme _____

Tunjuelito _____

Bosa _____

Kennedy _____

Fontibón _____

Engativá _____

Suba _____

Barrios Unidos _____

Teusaquillo _____

Los Mártires _____

Antonio Nariño _____

Puente Aranda _____

La Candelaria _____

Rafael Uribe Uribe _____

Ciudad Bolívar _____

_____

Sumapaz   _____

                                               _____

For how long have you lived there?

If you lived in other places before, please list them. Don't worry if you don't remember all the places where you have lived, only list the ones that you can recall.

Knowledge About the Conflict

What do you know about the armed conflict in Colombia?

Do you know how or why the conflict started?

Do you know who are the different groups and people involved in the conflict?

Do you know why the FARC were fighting? What about other armed groups?

Is there anything else that you can think of?

Do you talk about the conflict and the peace treaty with your family? Or do your parents talk about it when you are around? What kinds of things do they talk about?

What about at school? Do you remember talking about the conflict or the Peace Accord with your teachers or in the context of a class?

Do you and your friends ever talk about the conflict or the Peace Accord?

What have you heard or seen on TV, online or on the radio?

Agreement/Disagreement with the Peace Accord

When you think about the peace treaty in general, do you agree or disagree with it? Why?

Reasoning About the Peace Agreement

      Now, I would like for us to talk about some of the points of the Peace Accord between the FARC and the government. I know that there are other actors that are important when we talk about the conflict in Colombia, but for the purpose of this study, we are only going to talk about this peace process. Here is what we are going to do: I will read you two situations and then ask you some questions. These are not questions to test your knowledge of politics. Instead, I want to know how you think about these issues. If there is something that you don't understand, let me know. I will be happy to repeat or rephrase as many times as you need.

      Irreparable harm.

      The FARC have been accused of committing very severe crimes against other people. Many people have lost loved ones that they will never see again.

      Compensation. In the Peace Accord, the FARC are asked to give victims and their families monetary compensations.

      Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

_____

| **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |

Not so good   **Really good**

      Why?

      Another point of the Peace Accord says that if the FARC do not have the money to compensate victims, the government will pay the victims instead.

      Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

_____

| **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |

Not so good   **Really good**

      Why?

Do you think that the FARC would actually pay the victims and their families?

_____

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

Very unlikely   **Very likely**

Why?

Do you think that the government would actually pay the victims and their families, if the FARC does not?

_____

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

Very unlikely   **Very likely**

Why?

Apologies. In the Peace Accord, the FARC can perform symbolic actions to repair victims. A symbolic reparation action can be an apology. As such, the FARC apologize to the victims and their families for all the harm they did. They say that they feel bad for what they did and are sorry for the suffering that their actions caused.

Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

_____

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

Not so good   **Really good**

Why?

Ok, and do you think that the FARC would actually apologize?

_____

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

Very unlikely   **Very likel**

Why?

Punishment. In the regular justice system, the FARC would be sent to jail for 30 years or more.

Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

_____

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Not so good   **Really good**

Why?

Ok, and do you think that they would actually go to jail for 30 years or more?

_____

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Very unlikely   **Very likely**

Why?

Adjusted solution. Alternatively, the Peace Accord says that if they confess the truth about what happened and offer to make it up to the victims, members of the FARC will be sentenced to 5 to 8 years of house arrest. An example of how they could make it up to the victims is by participating in programs that help families find their loved ones.

Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

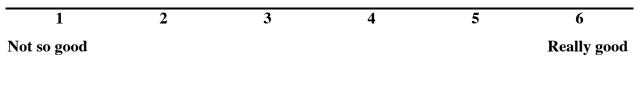**Not so good**   **Really good**

Why?

Ok, and do you think that the FARC will actually tell the truth?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Very unlikely   **Very likely**

    Why?

    Do you think that the FARC will actually make it up to the victims?

1	2	3	4	5	6

Very unlikely   **Very likely**

    Why?

Reparable harm.

    The FARC have caused many damages to infrastructures in cities and villages. They have been accused of taking down electric towers and water aqueducts, as well as damaging roads, schools and hospitals. In remote areas, many people had to live without electricity and water, while also being exposed to unsafe roads or not having access to schools and hospitals.

    Compensation. In the peace accord, the government proposed to build and repair damaged infrastructures such as roads, schools and hospitals. It was also proposed that the electric and water systems will be made functional in areas affected by the conflict.

    Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

1	2	3	4	5	6

Not so good   **Really good**

    Why?

    The FARC are asked to participate in programs to rebuild infrastructures and to help pay for the damages caused.

    Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

1	2	3	4	5	6

Not so good   **Really good**

Why?

Do you think that the government will actually rebuild and repair the damage caused?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very unlikely					**Very likely**

Why?

Do you think that the FARC will actually participate in the building and reparation programs and help pay for them?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very unlikely					**Very likely**

Why?

Apologies. In the Peace Accord, the FARC can perform symbolic actions to repair victims. A symbolic reparation action can be an apology. As such, the FARC apologize to the victims and their families for all the harm they did. They say that they feel terrible for what they did and are sorry for the suffering that their actions caused.

Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Not so good					**Really good**

Why?

Ok, and do you think that the FARC would actually apologize?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very unlikely					**Very likely**

Why?

Punishment. In the regular justice system, the FARC would be sent to jail for 10 years.

Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Not so good					**Really good**

Why?

Ok, and do you think that they would actually go to jail for 10 years?

_____

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very unlikely					**Very likely**

Why?

Adjusted solution. Alternatively, the peace accord says that if members of the FARC confess the truth about everything that happened, help rebuild what was destroyed and promise not to do it again, they will not go to jail.

Do you think that this is a good or not such a good way to handle the problem?

_____

1	2	3	4	5	6
Not so good					**Really good**

Why?

Ok, and do you think that the FARC will actually tell the truth?

_____

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very unlikely					**Very likely**

Why?

Do you think that the FARC will actually help repair what they destroyed and won't damage infrastructures again?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Very unlikely					**Very likely**

Why?

Measures of Trust

| I can rely on the promises made by the government. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |
| | **Strongly disagree** | | | | **Strongly agree** | |

| The adults in charge at my school are honest. * | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |
| | **Strongly disagree** | | | | **Strongly agree** | |

| When dealing with strangers, it's better to be cautious before trusting them (R). * | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |
| | **Strongly disagree** | | | | **Strongly agree** | |

| Most of the teachers at my school are dependable. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |
| | **Strongly disagree** | | | | **Strongly agree** | |

| Generally, the only thing that elected officials care about is money (R). | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |
| | **Strongly disagree** | | | | **Strongly agree** | |

| The law represents the values of the people in power, rather than the values of people like me (R). * | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |
| | **Strongly disagree** | | | | **Strongly agree** | |

| Most people in Colombia are trustworthy. | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **5** | **6** |
| | **Strongly disagree** | | | | **Strongly agree** | |

People in power use the law to control people like me (R).

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly disagree				**Strongly agree**	

Nowadays, you can't rely on anybody (R).

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly disagree				**Strongly agree**	

In general, the police cannot be trusted (R).

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly disagree				**Strongly agree**	

Most people try to take advantage of you if they have the chance to do so (R).

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly disagree				**Strongly agree**	

Most people are helpful (R).

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly disagree				**Strongly agree**	

I can trust most of the teachers at my school.

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly disagree				**Strongly agree**	

Elected officials take into account the needs of people like me when making decisions.

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Strongly disagree				**Strongly agree**	

The police are good at dealing with problems that concern those around me.	**1** **Strongly disagree**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5** **Strongly agree**	**6**

Generally, people tell a lie when they can benefit by doing so (R).	**1** **Strongly disagree**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5** **Strongly agree**	**6**

Before sentencing people, the courts listen to all sides of a conflict.	**1** **Strongly disagree**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5** **Strongly agree**	**6**

Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.	**1** **Strongly disagree**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5** **Strongly agree**	**6**

At my school, when students break the rules they are treated fairly.	**1** **Strongly disagree**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5** **Strongly agree**	**6**

* Based on item analysis, three statements were removed from the final measure because their low item-total correlations with the rest of the scale, thereby resulting in a 16-item scale.