Colombian Youths' Descriptions of Their Responses to Peer Provocation: Associations with Dyadic Gender Composition

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ABSTRACT

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Daysi Zentner

The aim of this study was to investigate adolescents' descriptions of responses to provocation within same- and mixed-gender peer dyads. We examined (1) the types of provocations youth described, (2) the types of responses desired and enacted following these provocations, and (3) the reasons youth described for enacting or not enacting their responses to provocations. Ninety-six adolescents (*M* age = 15.9 years; 49 girls) from an urban sample in Colombia were interviewed about two experiences in which they were provoked by a peer (one when they forgave the offender and one when they did not). Generally, analyses failed to reveal significant gender effects for many types of provocations, responses, and reasons. However, some of the notable gender effects included: provocations related to physical attributes were most often described in mixed-gender dyads. Boys reported general offensive behaviours, whereas girls reported more gendered provocations. Participants identified girls as engaging in relationship based provocations. Boys described more retaliatory responses in same-gender dyads, but used avoidance strategies in mixed-gender dyads; whereas girls described more powerless responses in cross-gender dyads, and more withdrawal strategies in same-gender dyads. Male participants enacted retaliatory responses more often compared to girls, especially within same-gender dyads. These findings were sometimes qualified by event type (i.e., forgiveness vs. nonforgiveness). Reasons for enacting or eschewing responses to provocations were overall consistent with gendered patterns observed in previous research on cultures of honour. Findings provide information on the prevalence and influence of gendered beliefs, norms, and behaviors in youths' experiences of conflict resolution.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Colombian Youths' Descriptions of Their Responses to Peer Provocation: Associations with Dyadic Gender Composition

Social relationships with peers, especially during adolescence, represent an important facet of youths' lives and serve as a crucial context for their development (Brendgen, Markiewicz, Doyle, & Bukowski, 2001). Experiences of friendship are related to many aspects of emotional, social-cognitive and behavioural development (Brendgen et al., 2001). In ongoing relationships, conflicts invariably occur, including instances when adolescents feel hurt or angered by their peers' actions. Conflicts are important in the formation and functioning of interpersonal relationships, by helping youth develop social and moral understandings, and giving them the opportunity to develop negotiation skills (Laursen, Hartup, & Koplas, 1996). Thus, depending on how they are resolved, conflicts can either be constructive or destructive to social relationships. Therefore it is important to understand how youth most often respond to conflicts within social relationships, as this can have significant effects on their present and future interactions with peers.

Gender may be one key predictor of such responses. Importantly, it should be noted that there are substantial within-gender differences in conflict strategies (i.e., not all girls and boys behave in homogenous ways; Sagrestano, Heavey, & Christensen, 1998). Even so, boys and girls tend to socialize in same-gender segregated groups, as though growing up in two separate worlds (Maccoby, 1990, 1998). In these groups, youth increasingly develop distinct expectations for friendships (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012) and behave in a way that is consistent with their gendered social roles or norms. Thus, the nature of interactions in groups of boys and girls tends to diverge with age (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 1999). Nevertheless, as children enter adolescence, they start engaging in more mixed-gender interactions, which can precipitate novel challenges in navigating interactions with opposite-gender peers as boys and girls come to interact together after a long period of interacting primarily in same-gender groups (Maccoby, 1990, 1998). Hence, strategies to respond to conflicts might be distinct for boys and girls in interactions with same- and cross-gender peer relationships.

Interpersonal conflicts are exchanges that involve acting on mutually opposed goals (Shantz, 1993). The provocations that initiate conflicts involve offenses that are targeted and prompt a particular response in another person, implying a bilateral exchange between two or

more people (Ardila-Rey, 2003; Dirks, Cuttini, Mott, & Henry, 2016). The present study aimed to examine the provocations and responses described by Colombian adolescents in same- and mixed-gender interactions, in order to gather a deeper understanding of gender-related variations in conflict patterns within this sample. In particular, the study focused on differentiating the types of harm that are most often described as provoking girls and boys, as well as the different desired and enacted strategies that boys and girls described in response to these provocations from same- versus opposite-gender peers. That is, we examined whether provocations and responses varied as a function of gender, as well as whether these patterns were unique to particular dyadic gender combinations (e.g., a girl provoking a boy). Furthermore, the different reasons that boys and girls described for enacting or not enacting their desired responses to peers' provocations were examined. It is also important to note that our study was based on the notion that interpersonal interactions and youths' conceptions of gender are situated within a particular cultural context; in this case, our investigation focuses on an urban Colombian sample of low to middle socioeconomic status (SES) youth who are exposed to relatively high levels of violence in their communities.

In the following sections, the different social interactions that most often occur among girls and boys during adolescence will be reviewed, as well as how boys and girls differ in their interactions with same- versus opposite-gender peers. Two theories will be used to provide an explanatory framework for these possible gender differences in interaction (i.e., gender socialization and gender norm theories). Moreover, literature pertaining to gender differences in conflict interpretations will be reviewed, inasmuch as such interpretations will frame the conflict strategies most often used and described by adolescents when solving interpersonal conflicts. Relevant dimensions of the Colombian cultural context will be outlined, with a particular focus on the specific gendered beliefs, norms, and roles that are prevalent in this society. Finally, the goals and hypotheses of the current study will be summarized.

Interpretations of Provocation and Responses: Gender Differences

Social context theory. Maccoby (1990, 1998) proposed the social context theory, which posits that gender differences first emerge in groups or social contexts. According to this developmental theory, beginning early in their lives, boys and girls tend to socialize in same-gender segregated groups. These socialization experiences are posited to influence how boys and

girls behave later in life because they lead to distinct patterns of social engagement. Particularly relevant to the present study, this includes distinct forms of interactions in conflict situations.

Interactions between boys and between girls are characterized by a number of differences. Studies that have examined the number of children in playgroups suggest that boys' peer groups are generally larger as compared to peer groups of girls (Ladd, 1983; Lever, 1976, 1978). On the other hand, research suggest that girls' social networks appear to be characterized by extended dyadic interactions and are more cooperative, whereas boys' groups are more competitive (Leaper, 1994; Maccoby, 1988).

In addition, boys are more likely than girls to engage in rough and tumble play, which is prevalent within the large groups in which boys participate (Ladd, 1983). This may lead to boys possibly having more opportunities to compare strength and skills, and develop better-defined dominance hierarchies (Omark & Edelman, 1975; Savin-Williams, 1979). These specific ways in which boys interact might contribute to girls' avoidance of interactions with boys, as they might be unaccustomed to boys' rough and tumble play. Similarly, the self-disclosure and social conversations that most often occur within girls' dyadic relationships (Benenson, Del Bianco, Philippoussis, & Apostoleris, 1997) might also contribute to the avoidance of mixed-gender interactions, as both genders are accustomed to different ways of playing and interacting with their same-gender peers.

Studies that have examined play in 3- to 6-year-old children report clear gender differences not only in what children play but also where they play (Damon & Eisenberg, 1998). More specifically, Pellegrini and Perlmutter (1989) found that during free play at preschool, boys were more likely to be found in blocks areas, while girls in arts and crafts spaces. These gender differences in interests and activities appear to continue into middle childhood and adolescence. That is, girls and boys, on average, have different preferences in shows on television, sports, household chores, interests and hobbies in their adolescent lives (Blair, 1992; Sanik & Stafford, 1985).

Overall, gender-segregated interactions appear to be evident beginning early in development. However, the underlying reasons that explain these differences may go beyond social behaviours. Therefore, it is important to understand the social-cognitive processes that explain and sustain these differences. The social role theory aims to do this.

Social role theory. In addition to social context theory, which focuses on behaviour, the social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 1999; Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000) explains the beliefs, goals, and roles that underlie gender differences in behaviour. This theory provides a useful framework for understanding gender differences, as it postulates that gender differences in social behaviours are a result of the tendency of individuals to behave consistently with their social roles or norms. From an evolutionary perspective, society has historically been organized by differentiating the roles of females and males and by assigning different tasks and responsibilities to each. This in turn influences the different norms that men and women are expected to follow in specific situations. There are many aspects to gender role behaviour. Social psychologists (Deaux & Kite, 1993) suggest that gender roles involve behaviours and activities, personality attributes, and physical appearance. Gendered norms concerning these issues are understood to be the basis for gender-stereotypical behaviours and expectations (Eagly et al., 2000). Therefore, women and men are expected to behave differently because their social roles are associated with diverse behaviours. Hence, interactions with others are influenced by these expectations from one's own social context and/or family.

According to this theory, socialization agents influence gender development by treating boys and girls differently. It can occur within families, such that parents encourage masculinity in their sons, and femininity in their daughters (Marmion, & Lundberg-Love, 2004). This can also be seen when adults are more encouraging and supportive of their children's engagement in gender-typed activities and interests (Fagot & Hagan, 1991). In addition, gender socialization arises in schools, via reinforcement from teachers, classmates, as well as from a wide range of gender stereotyped input from media (Damon & Eisenberg, 1998). Gender socialization occurs through observational learning, which takes a dynamic role in influencing the interests, attributes and behaviours of girls and boys. Furthermore, children learn and adopt gender-traditional patterns of behaviour because of the direct reinforcements through social learning (Bandura, 1977; Bussey & Bandura, 1992; Damon & Eisenberg, 1998).

Preferences for gender-stereotyped play activities and toys are considered as one of the earliest and developmentally consistent indicators of gender roles in children (Serbin, Poulin-Dubois, Colburne, Sen, & Eichstedt, 2001). Research shows that children as early as 18-months are able to identify gender-stereotyped play activities and toys (Serbin et al., 2001) and acquire basic knowledge about gender norms and roles between ages 2 and 5 (Martin, Wood, & Little,

1990; O'Brien et al., 2000; Ruble, Martin, & Berenbaum, 1998). Moreover, knowledge about gender norms continues to increase with age and children begin to act accordingly to these expectations subscribed to them (Blakemore, 2003).

Gender roles and responses to provocation. Male gender roles are generally associated with dominance, aggressiveness, power and even with a tendency to see danger as exciting (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984), while female gender roles are usually associated with caring and nurturance (Cacchioni, 2004). This may partially explain a number of different patterns observed in boys' and girls' behaviours in response to provocations. Boys have been observed to use more direct physical aggression than do girls (Card, Stucky, Sawalani, & Little, 2008), possibly in part to establish dominance within their relationships. On the other hand, girls may not demonstrate anger and aggression as overtly because certain gender roles and norms prevent them from doing so (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Richardson & Hammock, 2007), and because of their desires to maintain secure social relations, conceivably in line with their expected roles for nurturing relationships and care for others (Ostrov & Keating, 2004).

Despite these patterns, it is important to take into account that although social roles have an impact on gender-based conflict behaviours, these are not definitive, nor universal. For example, MacEvoy and Asher (2012) examined hypothetical responses to resolving transgressions involving friendship betrayal, and found no significant differences in the responses that girls and boys would enact in these situations. In fact, they found that girls and boys were both likely to endorse diverse revenge and aggressive strategies in response to these specific provocations (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012). Nevertheless, it is critical to consider the specific provocations that were the focus of the study. MacEvoy and Asher (2012) found that being called mean names by a friend, being the victim of negative gossip, backstabbing, and friendship manipulation were perceived as more negative by girls than boys, and that girls reported more anger and sadness from these provocations as compared to boys. Based on these findings, it appears that girls are more sensitive to provocations of friendship expectations and interpret their friends' actions more negatively than boys do, perhaps thus attenuating gender differences in aggressive responses to provocation in this context. On the other hand, Richardson and Green (1999) found that boys were more likely to perceive threat in their interpersonal interactions. This in turn, may explain the more prevalent pattern of boys' use of aggressive

strategies when responding to provocations, especially when these provocations threatened their public image and dominance in their interactions (Richardson & Huguet, 2001).

This work suggests that it is important to take into account that particular provocations might elicit certain responses in boys' and girls' conflict situations. Boys and girls differ in their exposure to particular stressors, and in the perceptions they have of these stressors in their interpersonal relationships. For example, teenage boys are more likely to develop hostile reactions towards authority; while girls might develop anxiety symptoms in similar situations (Toner, 1994). Perceived provocations or stressors help to differentiate between youths' actual experiences and their appraisals of these experiences, which appear to be influenced by social gender roles. For example, boys may perceive a peer making a bid for leadership in a group as more provoking than girls, because they are more concerned with dominance in their social interactions; whereas girls might perceive transgressions of friendship expectations as more provoking, because they are more sensitive to relationship violations (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Ostrov & Keating, 2004). Thus, due to social gender roles, boys and girls might have different motivations and beliefs that influence their appraisal of provocations, and subsequently their responses to these events (Rose & Rudolph, 2006).

The specific forms of provocations and responses described above are typically evident within same-gender relationships. That is, research overall focuses on same-gender relationships but often assumes that findings related to gender differences will apply across all relationships. However, arguably, these patterns may not immediately generalize to conflicts with opposite-gender peers, given that cross-gender relationships involve diverse forms of interaction (Rose & Rudolph, 2006). In other words, it is important to consider the interplay between the gender of the offender and the victim in examining how dyadic composition is related to youths' descriptions of provocations and responses. This perspective thus moves beyond essentialist views of gender, inasmuch as it emphasizes variations across different relational contexts.

Cross-gender interactions. Challenges within cross-gender relationships begin early in life. As mentioned earlier, boys' peer groups maintain prevailing forms of play involving dominance and competition. Perhaps as a consequence, when boys engage in cross-gender interactions, they are not often influenced by female playmates (Fagot, 1985) and tend to be less responsive to their polite suggestions (Serbin, Sprafkin, Elman, & Doyle, 1982), which does not contribute to forming friendships across genders. Other studies of young children also suggest

that girls' assertiveness is significantly diminished in the presence of boys (Charlesworth & LaFreniere, 1983). Benenson, Aikins-Ford, and Apostoleris (1998) suggest that it is perhaps in part because boys' perceived assertiveness and competition might intimidate girls. Importantly, this gender difference in assertiveness appears to occur only among mixed-gender groups, and not within same-gender groups. Similarly, Charlesworth and LaFreniere (1983) examined 4- to 6-year-old children's negotiation to be able to see films through a movie viewer, and found that girls in mixed-gender groups gained less access to the movie viewer relative to boys, compared to when they were in same-gender groups. Overall, this research clearly demonstrates the importance of considering both parties' gender in interpersonal interactions, as patterns across same- and cross-gender interactions are distinct. That is, it implies that when boys and girls interact together, it can apparently pose specific challenges to cross-gender relationships because of the specific behaviours that girls and boys are accustomed to.

Taking into consideration that boys and girls grow up in distinct peer groups (Maccoby, 1990), some gender differences may become increasingly magnified by the time youth are in their teenaged years. This is because early experiences of same-gender interactions influence how youth behave later in life (Maccoby, 1990, 1998). However, there is a limited literature on gender differences in conflict resolution among adolescents. Of these studies, most have focused on same-gender relationships and not on cross-gender relationships (e.g., Black, 2000; Kozlowski & Warber, 2010), and studies examining cross-gender relationships in adolescence tend to focus on romantic partners (e.g., Keener, Strough & DiDonato, 2012; Tuval-Mashiach & Shulman, 2006), rather than cross-gender friendships. In fact, only a few studies have examined the different conflict resolution strategies that youth described using across same- and cross-gender friendships (Shute & Charlton, 2006; Suh, Moskowitz, Fournier, & Zuroff, 2004). Overall, their findings suggest that adolescent boys and girls respond differently depending on the gender of the person who they are in conflict with. More specifically, Suh and colleagues (2004) found that, consistent with the large body of research on gender differences described above, relationships between adolescent girls are more agreeable whereas boys' relationships with boys are more dominant. In contrast, in cross-gendered relationships, especially those of a romantic nature, adolescent boys and girls respond to conflicts consistent with the gender of their partner, by using strategies that matched the cross-gender expected responses (e.g., girls were

more dominant towards boys, and boys were more agreeable with girls), possibly because they aim to communicate their perspectives clearly to the other person.

Shute and Charlton (2006) found similar results. They examined responses to hypothetical conflict situations with same-gender friends, cross-gender friends and cross-gender romantic partners. The results revealed that both adolescent boys and girls attempted to match their responses to conflict to the expected stereotypical responses that the cross-gender peer would use, across both friendships and romantic relationships. More specifically, boys reported less overt aggression in cross-gender relationships (friends and romantic relationships), while girls reported they would maintain high levels of overt aggression in same-gender and cross-gender friendships, but lower levels in cross-gender romantic relationships. These results suggest that social norms and expectations of gender-social roles might have an influence on how youth respond to conflicts depending on the specific gender dyad. Keener and colleagues (2012) also found differences in the ways adolescent boys and girls described responding to confrontations with same-gender friends and cross-gender romantic partners. They used hypothetical vignettes to assess conflict management strategies within these two different groups. Adolescent girls described using more communal strategies with same-gender peers but not with their opposite-gender romantic partner, with whom they described using more agentic strategies. In contrast, adolescent boys described using more communal strategies with romantic partners, and more agentic strategies with same-gender peers (Keener et al., 2012). These findings among same-gender friendships, cross-gender friendships and romantic relationship might suggest that the dyadic gender is a predictor of these specific behavioural responses. However, it is important to take into account that cross-gender relationships in romantic contexts might be very different from cross-gender friendships, where there is a substantial dearth of literature.

Overall, this research underscores that social norms of interpersonal interactions cannot be understood without considering the interaction context to which they are being applied; that is, norms may influence how boys and girls describe acting similarly or different with same- versus cross-gender peers. In addition to the influence of the specific gender of the participant and the offender, cultural frameworks might also play an important role in influencing the types of actions that will provoke girls and boys, as well as the ways in which they describe responding to these provocations. It is important to note that the studies described above are based almost exclusively on North American community samples. Thus, patterns may not generalize to other

contexts, including the culture in which the present study took place. The following section provides more information about the cultural context of the present study.

Situating the Study in a Cultural Context

The current study was based on a sample of low- to middle-SES urban adolescents, recruited in Bogotá, Colombia. This section aims to provide background information about the features of Colombian society that may inform boys' and girls' interpretations of and responses to provocation when they are provoked by a girl as compared to a boy. This is in an attempt to better understand the different patterns that may be observed in youths' descriptions of same- versus cross-gender interactions in this specific cultural context.

Members of cultures are assumed to share certain goals, values, and developmental paths that are features of their specific cultures. The most widespread theoretical framework for classifying cultural orientations is based on notions of individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1990). In brief, individualism refers to the notion that individuals are independent of one another, and highlights personal autonomy and self-fulfillment (Hofstede, 1980). This is the orientation that is described as most characteristic of Western industrialized societies. In contrast, collectivism refers to the beliefs that groups bind and mutually oblige individuals. Collectivistic societies are understood to be characterized by a sense of community and share mutual obligations and expectations, based on their specific roles and statuses within their culture by sharing common goals and values (Schwartz, 1990).

Similar to other Latin American countries, Colombia is generally understood to be a country whose core is collectivistic (Mesurado et al., 2014). However, when individualism and collectivism were examined as orthogonal dimensions in a meta-analysis by Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier (2002), no significant differences between Latin and European Americans emerged in levels of individualism. In this sense, individualistic and collectivistic orientations may co-exist in Colombian society.

Even more, it has been argued that a focus on the differences between individualistic and collectivistic societies has led to the overlooking or downplaying of differences within these cultures (Wainryb, 2005). Entire continents are often characterized according to their seemingly uniform orientation to individualistic or collectivistic approaches (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1990). However, it is important to take into account that individuals within cultures can reason in multifaceted ways about complex phenomena, often disagreeing with each other about

social and moral issues (Wainryb, 2005). Thus, culture is not a stable unit tied to a specific geographical location but more a construct that is created, sustained and potentially transformed by its members (Wainryb, 2004). In this sense, it is important to think of cultural orientations as characteristics and beliefs that are present in specific cultures and potentially influential on, but not definitive of, behaviour of its members.

That being said, there are some predominant characteristics of Latin American cultures that served to frame the hypotheses of the current investigation. The first such characteristic is the notion of *familism*, which emphasizes the value of family and the importance of harmony within the nuclear and extended family (Thayer, Updegraff, & Delgado, 2008).

In addition, inasmuch as familism emphasizes prioritizing the needs and protecting the reputation of one's family, it is related to the notion of *honour*, which is another salient feature of Latin American societies. Specifically, honour refers to the importance of status and reputation (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Beliefs within cultures of honour have as a basis the protection of the family and its status. This protection of the family and its status is enforced to promote a sense of strength and power over others or to command respectful treatment (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Men are generally considered to be particularly influenced by honour-related beliefs, in that they take the role of protectors of the family and thus develop a great concern for their masculine reputation with respect to toughness and ability to protect their family and possessions (Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

More broadly speaking, the historical development of cultures of honour is rooted in the lack of a reliant penal system to protect its citizens, which may lead individuals to develop different rules by which they were able to protect their families and their reputations within these cultures (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). However, cultures of honour continue to persist even when a functional penal system is in place because of a developed need of individuals to protect their reputations within their communities and not be regarded as targets of provocation (Cohen et al., 1996).

Particularly within cultures of honour, public offenses (e.g., openly humiliating someone's family or insulting one's manhood) are viewed as fundamental harms because they violate respect-based norms (McDonald, 2008). Several studies with young adults have shown that individuals from cultures of honour interpret and respond to provocation in unique ways. For instance, Cohen, Vandello, Puente, and Rantilla (1999) examined reactions to provocations of

university students from the southern and northern US (the former is considered to be an honour culture, whereas the latter is not). These two groups of participants responded to a confederate's provocation in exceptionally different ways. Northerners began gradually increasing their anger and confrontational behaviour in responses to hostile signals, but as the provocations continued, they stopped responding as they likely realized their actions were not having an effect. Southerners, on the other hand, did not initially respond to the provocation, remaining polite and showing no escalation in their anger. However, after some critical point things changed, and southerners reacted with bursts of anger, which were far more sudden and severe than the responses ever shown by individuals from the northern US. Cohen and colleagues (1999) emphasized "politeness" among cultures of honour as a protective mechanism that is used to avoid escalating cycles of violence within these cultures. Polite responses to provocations allow both parties to keep their honour intact and avoid conflict and escalation. However, in response to direct and continual provocations, they might not be able to contain their anger. This evidence suggests that individuals from cultures of honour may fail to send clear signals as warning symbols in responses to provocation. Taking into account that the nature of provocations has an influence on the way individuals from cultures of honour react (i.e., politely versus aggressively), it is critical to examined the nature of provocations that youth in our sample described as triggers, given that these provocations might have been significant for them to recollect these experiences. In turn, not sending clear signals as warnings of provocation can lead to perpetuating cycles of aggression, as politeness might be used to maintain honour between parties, but as the provocations increase, the desire to maintain honour for themselves can allow for more pronounced aggressive responses towards others (Cohen et al., 1999).

In framing our study, another important feature of Colombian society is that it is characterized by high levels of injustice and violence. Colombia is a country that has been in a state of internal armed conflict for over 50 years, although the tides may be turning in light of recent peace agreements (Oficina de alto comisionado para la paz, 2016). Throughout the conflict, more than 3.5 million people have been displaced from rural areas and found refuge in bigger cities such as Bogotá (Organization of American States, 1999). About 70% of those displaced people in the 1990's were minors (Ardila-Rey, 2003; Ardila-Rey, Killen, & Brenick, 2009). And this situation did not improve much in the 2000s. For instance, the Colombian government's statistics on the Social Solidarity Network showed that 128 590 families were

displaced between January 2001 and November 2002, reaching a peak of over 1000 people being displaced a day (COHDES, 2003, 2005 as cited in Ardila-Rey et al., 2009). The forced displacement posed major challenges in Colombia (Organization of American States, 2013). According to the Organization of American States' (OAS) Commission for Human Rights (2013), the commission was able to verify the disproportionate discrimination, exclusion and internal displacement of women, children and adolescents as a result of the conflict. Many children and adolescents in Colombia have faced direct human rights violations due to this internal armed conflict, such as forced recruitment, homicides of family members, etc. Other children face more indirect consequences of this internal armed conflict through difficulties accessing basic health care and educational opportunities (Organization of American States, 2013).

Although the political conflict has largely been situated in rural areas, youth growing up in low-SES neighbourhoods in urban centres such as Bogotá are faced with serious problems of community violence (Espino-Duque, 2010), in addition to some youth becoming targets or witnesses of family violence at home (Knaul & Ramirez, 2005). Furthermore, a study by Chaux and Velasquez (2009) revealed that over 30% of students in Bogotá reported being victims of physical aggression at school. In sum, as compared to the US community samples that are typically the focus of research, exposure to violence within our sample is likely to be more pervasive.

Growing up in a society affected by violence, such as Colombia, can present profound challenges to the development of children and adolescents. Research with similar violence-exposed populations has revealed that these youth are at increased risk of engaging in aggressive or violent behaviours themselves, and therefore perpetuating cycles of aggression (Qouta, Punamaki, Miller, & El-Sarraj, 2008). Huesmann and Guerra (1997) found that, among American elementary school children exposed to high levels of community violence, both normative beliefs approving of aggression and actual aggressive behaviours increased with age. Moreover, Wilkinson and Carr (2008) revealed similar patterns among adolescents in a low SES, at-risk sample in the US; their findings indicated that these youth exposed to high levels of violence viewed aggression and retaliation as adaptive responses to provocation. Ardila-Rey (2003) found similar results among Colombian adolescents; such that exposure to violence significantly affected how youth judged provocations and reasoned about conflict resolution, and

was found to be a stronger predictor of judgment and reasoning than youths' gender. Posada and Wainryb (2008) found similar results among Colombian children and adolescents exposed to high levels of violence. Most of the participants were able to identify hurting or stealing others as morally wrong. However, they judged stealing behaviours as acceptable especially in survival and revenge conditions (85% each), and 45% in other situations where survival or revenge were not in question. Furthermore, in the revenge situations, 33% of children and adolescents did not expect feeling guilt or shame after stealing, but rather feel happy or both happy and afraid. In sum, endorsing revenge in response to provocations might be especially likely among children who grow up in environments that are unstable or dangerous. Violence then, presents children with a model of aggressive solutions to conflicts and disagreements.

Furthermore, more specifically with respect to gender-related patterns, Latin American societies are characterized normatively by traditional gender roles and patriarchy (Vandello & Cohen, 2003), which underscores the importance of gender in framing interpretations of and responses to provocation in the present sample. Latin American cultures have an emphasis on male *machismo*, which is strongly connected to notions of honour; several behaviours are associated with machismo among men, including stoicism, attempts to avoid shame and gain respect and dignity for themselves and their families, an emphasis on virility, and often, patterns of assertiveness and dominance (De La Cancela, 1986).

Moreover, alongside traditional gender roles for men (i.e., machismo), female roles emphasize loyalty, sacrifice and purity (McDonald, 2008). A pervasive symbol of the ideal of feminine sacrifice in Latin American cultures is based in the Virgin Mary; and this powerful gender symbol serves as the basis of the Latin concept of *marianismo* (Stevens, 1973). According to the principles of marianismo, women are morally and spiritually superior to men, and therefore expected to accept male dominance and subvert their own individual interests for those of their family (Flake & Forste, 2006; Vandello, Cohen, Grandon & Franiuk, 2009). It is important to note that marianismo is not always perceived negatively, given that self-sacrifice and nurturance are considered as positive characteristics (e.g., to care for your children and family). Even so, notions of *marianismo* might perpetuate more traditional gender roles in these societies, as women are expected to comply with these norms, and undermine their own individual interest for those of others.

Glick and colleagues (2000) examined the pervasiveness of two types of sexism among adolescents from different countries, including Colombia. The authors suggest that male dominance fosters hostile sexism (HS), while men's need of women for affection (condescending ideology) creates benevolent sexism (BS). Hostile sexism refers to the adversarial view of men towards women, by viewing women as potentially challenging men's authority and power. On the other hand, benevolent sexism reinforces and presumes women's inferiority and need of protection (*patriarchal* views), while idealizing women as pure creatures, and wonderful (*marianismo* views). The results of this study suggested that there is a strong positive correlation between HS and BS, as both views, although contradictory, are forms of sexism. The Colombian sample in this study ranked 5th of 19 sampled countries on HS and 6/19 on BS, for both male and female respondents. In addition, a different study by Lameiras and colleagues (2002) found similar results, displaying the prevalence of sexist beliefs among Latin American youth (*M* age = 22.46), including a Colombian sample. Furthermore, Garaigordobil and Badillo (2011) found similar prevalence of hostile sexism and neosexism among adolescents from two cities in Colombia, including Bogotá.

Gender roles frame cultural beliefs about what men and women should and should not do (Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2000). Gallego Henao (2012) found that specific gender roles are present in Colombian cultures, giving men and women different roles and definitions based on gender, especially as these are reinforced by family roles expectations that nurture traditional family life (Gutiérrez, 2000; Viveros Chavarría, 2011). Indeed, Lameiras and colleagues (2002) found that Colombia has a stronger traditional gendered culture compared to some other Latin American countries (e.g., Brasil, Argentina, Spain).

Taken together, this research suggests that notions of machismo and marianismo in Colombia may inform the nature of expected interactions between men and women. On the one hand, men's roles as protective figures for the family are associated with very strict cultural norms against the mistreatment of women and children (Cohen et al., 1996). In fact, under most circumstances, people regard violence against women as much worse than violence against men, especially among cultures of honour due to norms of chivalry that includes protecting women from harm (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Yet machismo in these cultures also focuses on male honour, virility and toughness; alongside a desire to maintain a positive reputation for their families, these beliefs indirectly reinforce the use of violence towards women when manhood is

threatened (e.g., domestic violence when women are unfaithful to their spouse; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Vandello et al., 2009). These patterns are particularly pernicious inasmuch as gender norms for women emphasize loyalty and female sacrifice for the family, which may sometimes discourage women from ending abusive relationships (López-Zafra, 2008). Consequently, gender roles in patriarchal societies can limit women's assertive responses to provocation, while supporting more submissive responses (López-Zafra, 2008).

Based on this evidence about aggression and gender norms in cultures of honour, various patterns of aggression in mixed-gender interactions may be possible. On the one hand, we might expect boys from cultures of honour to protect women, based on cultural beliefs against their mistreatment (Cohen et al., 1996). But on the other hand, in response to certain types of provocation, violence against women might be used to maintain male virility and honour within this culture (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Likewise, it is possible that female participants might refrain from retaliatory responses to boys' provocations, due to imposed gender roles (Richardson & Hammock, 2007; Vandello et al., 2009). On the other hand, contingent on the specific provocation, it is possible that female participants might actually engage in similar retaliatory responses as their male counterparts (Adamshick, 2010; Letendre & Smith, 2011; MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Ness, 2004). Studies between opposite-gender peers in the teenaged years are limited, possibly because of the emergence of romantic relationships at this age. Therefore, it is difficult to make inferences about the ways in which opposite gender peers respond to provocations, or the ways in which these patterns might be framed by cultural norms.

With respect to conflicts among same-gender peers, we had competing hypotheses about whether girls and boys would show marked differences in their levels of aggression in a Colombian sample. Regarding interactions between boys, there is substantial evidence that physical aggression among boys is especially present in violence-exposed samples (Ardila-Rey, 2003; Huesmann & Guerra, 1997; Qouta et al., 2008). Relevant to the present study, Brown (2004) found in self-reported studies that men were more likely to engage in retaliatory responses and had more positive attitudes about retaliatory behaviours compared to women, suggesting some gender differences in regards to these behaviours. Therefore, in responses to provocation we would expect relatively high levels of aggressive responses between boys. However, patterns for girls are less clear. On the one hand, women from cultures of honour are encouraged to be submissive and avoid confrontation; however, this might only be true for

conflicts with opposite gender peers (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Alternatively, girls growing up in violent environments might also respond in similarly aggressive ways to boys; there is some evidence from at-risk populations in the US supporting this conclusion (Adamshick, 2010; Letendre & Smith, 2011; Ness, 2004). Girls exposed to violent environments might use aggression in order to ensure self-protection, as they lack interpersonal skills to solve problems more assertively (Adamshick, 2010). Indeed, Snethen and Van Puymbroeck (2008) have documented rises in female violence, especially for those who are exposed to violence, which might attenuate differences between boys and girls.

Summary: The Current Study - Hypotheses

Taking into consideration all the diverse areas of research described above, the current study examined the different types of provocations narrated by our sample of Colombian adolescents, in the context of specific situations in which the participants felt hurt/angered by someone else's actions and wanted to get back at the person who hurt them. We also examined how youth described wanting to respond to such harms, the extent to which they actually enacted such desires, and their reasons for enacting or containing these desired responses. Our analyses focused particularly on the prevalence of retaliatory aggressive responses, as compared to other strategies to solve conflicts (e.g., confrontation, withdrawal, expressing anger without retaliating, etc.), although we also examined gender-related patterns for the other types of responses. In particular, we examined how descriptions of provocations and responses varied between boys and girls interacting with same- versus opposite-gender peers, with the objective to better understand dyadic gendered patterns in experiences of conflict.

Furthermore, each participant in the study shared two different narrative accounts during their interviews, one when they ultimately forgave the offender and one when they did not. Taking into consideration the event outcome, analyses were initially separated by event, and the moderating effect of event type was also examined. Although our analyses did not focus on overall differences between forgiveness and nonforgiveness, it is important to note that literature on forgiveness suggests that it entails relinquishing retaliatory motives (Young et al., 2013) and that the severity of the offense plays an important role in the decision to forgive the offender (Waldron & Kelley, 2005 as cited in Beltrán-Morillas, Valor-Segura, & Expósito, 2015). Therefore, taking these factors into consideration, it is possible that different gender effects

might be observed within forgiveness events and nonforgiveness events, and thus it was deemed important to examine gender-related patterns separately across the two types of accounts.

Finally, the present study used a subscale of the Normative Beliefs about Aggression Scale (NOBAGS; Huesmann & Guerra, 1997) to examine the participants' third-person judgements of retaliatory aggression among same- versus cross-gender peers. These general gendered beliefs of the participants were situated in a more decontextualized context as compared to their own personal narratives. This measure was included as a way of providing more information regarding the gendered beliefs of our sample that may inform their descriptions of their own same- and cross-gender conflicts.

Hypotheses: Provocation types. Research suggests that boys and girls engage in different forms of aggression (Card et al., 2008), and that girls and boys are differentially sensitive to particular types of harmful acts (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Richardson & Green, 1999). Therefore, we hypothesized that in conflicts between two boys, provocations would be more often described as involving physical harm, based on consistent evidence suggesting that boys engage in higher levels of physical aggression as compared to girls (Card et al., 2008). Likewise, we also expected that provocations that were described as having a public impact (e.g., being teased by others as a result of the harm) would also be mentioned more frequently by male participants. This is because, as suggested in the literature on culture of honour, men in these cultures often assume the role of protecting their own and their families' reputations, and thus place emphasis on how they are regarded within their culture (e.g., McDonald, 2008; Vandello et al., 2009). Therefore, provocations having an impact on their public image could threaten male participants more than female participants.

On the other hand, research suggests that girls prioritize social relations (Ostrov & Keating, 2004), and thus the ways in which they are provoked and provoke others might reflect this priority. Noakes and Rinaldi (2006) found that girls were more likely to report having relational provocations as compared to boys. Although, the meta-analysis of Card and colleagues (2008) suggested that relational aggression is similar across both boys and girls, the proportion of these relational provocations might be higher for girls, because of the emphasis they put on social relations, while boys might talk more about physical as compared to relational aggression. Therefore, we expected that in conflicts between girls, participants would describe more relational forms of provocation, and specifically those related with relationship betrayal and

other relationship based offenses. These types of provocations might include gossiping, back-stabbing, and otherwise damaging social relationships.

Based on mixed evidence about aggression in cultures of honour, and due to the paucity of past research on types of provocations in mixed-gender dyads, various patterns of aggression in mixed-gender interactions may be possible. We expected participants to describe a wider range of provocations occurring in mixed-gender dyads, including both direct and indirect types of aggressive behaviours. Although boys have strong cultural norms against harmful behaviours towards women (Cohen et al., 1996), violence against women might be used as means to maintain and protect their male virility within these cultures (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). In addition, when using aggression, girls are most likely to use indirect and relational types of aggression (Card et al., 2008). Thus, we expected these kinds of provocations would also be described in cross-gender interactions.

Hypotheses: Responses to provocation. When adolescents have been wronged or hurt by a peer, they have a decision to make about how to respond to the provocation. Research suggests that gender may play an important role in influencing youths' responses in conflict situations, and that depending on the gender of the participant and that of the offender; adolescents might use different conflict resolution strategies (e.g., Keener et al., 2012; Shute & Charlton, 2006; Suh et al., 2004). Hence, the present study examined youths' descriptions of their responses to provocations more closely.

Research suggests that adolescents most often use conflict resolution strategies that match their gender-based expectations of how their antagonist will behave (e.g., Keener et al., 2012; Shute & Charlton, 2006; Sigelman & Holtz, 2013; Suh et al., 2004). More broadly, research also suggests that youth tend to respond in kind, by matching the nature of the provocation (Dirks, Treat, & Weersing, 2007). Thus, generally, we expected youth to describe responding in the same way they were provoked. This suggests, in same-gender dyads, that boys may respond with more direct aggressive strategies (Card et al., 2008), while girls may engage in more relational and social types of aggressive responses, or at least in less direct forms of aggression as compared to within boy-dyads.

Among mixed-gender dyads, we had competing hypotheses. On the one hand, if the offender is a boy, past research suggests that girls may respond assertively and use strategies and behaviours most often observed among boys' interactions, by matching their behaviour to those

of their offender (Shute & Charlton, 2006). However, alternatively, based on the gender roles that prevail within this culture, it is possible that girls in our sample would describe limiting their assertive responses to provocation, while engaging in more submissive responses towards boys (López-Zafra, 2008). In contrast, if the offender is a girl, we expected boys to describe using either similar responses seen among girls' interactions (e.g., more communication, by confronting and asking for an explanation to the offender) or to describe responding by using more withdrawal strategies, which has been observed in adolescents' romantic relationships (Keener et al., 2012). More specifically with respect to retaliatory aggression, it is possible that boys may describe responding less aggressively towards girls as compared to boys, because within cultures of honour, norms imply that men should protect women against harms and negatively evaluate acting violently towards them (Vandello et al., 2009).

Nonetheless, some other studies examining hypothetical scenarios (e.g., MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; McDonald, 2008) have found that gender differences may depend on the contexts in which provocations occurred. We expected to find that both boys and girls would describe a variety of response ideations, and considered the possibility that girls would describe desiring revenge as much as their male counterparts, but perhaps in different ways. This is based on previous research that found girls to desire revenge as much as boys do in response to relationship betrayal provocations or other serious offenses (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; McDonald, 2008).

Hypotheses: Enactment of retaliatory responses. In addition, the present study also examined the extent to which youth' desired retaliatory responses were actually enacted. Based on the findings of Brown (2004), we would expect boys to describe enacting their retaliatory responses to provocations significantly more often compared to female participants; given that their attitudes towards retaliatory responses are more positive as compared to those of women (Brown, 2004). However, taking into account the prevalent rules against the mistreatment of women (Cohen et al., 1996) and how violence against women is considered as much worse compared to violence against men (Vandello & Cohen, 2003) we would expect more enactment of these retaliatory responses among same-gender boy dyads, as compared to any of the other gender dyads.

Hypotheses: Reasons for enacting or eschewing responses to provocation. Ardila-Rey and colleagues (2009) found that Colombian youth who have been exposed to more violence

judged retaliatory behaviours as more acceptable in situations of provocation. However, limited research has examined the variety of internal (e.g., to do the right thing) and external (e.g., to avoid getting in trouble) reasons that adolescent boys and girls might describe for containing or not containing their response ideations. Therefore, the present study aimed to provide a better understanding of these reasons, and more specifically, whether these are similar or different across same- versus cross-gender peers. We expected within same-gender dyads, girls would describe reasons for enacting or containing their desired responses to be related to friendship. For instance, youth might describe enacting their response ideations because of friendship betrayal, while they might eschew their revenge ideations with the goal to maintain their friendships, inasmuch as girls prioritize relationship oriented goals in conflict resolution strategies (Ostrov & Keating, 2004; Suh et al., 2004). On the other hand, we expected that female participants in cross-gender dyads may provide reasons for enacting responses to provocation that are indicative of perceived power inequalities in interactions between boys and girls (e.g., fruitlessness of the response, avoiding escalation of conflicts), or eschewing their desired responses because certain gender roles and norms might not allow them to openly display more aggressive responses (López-Zafra, 2008; MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Richardson & Hammock, 2007).

In contrast, we expected boys within same-gender dyads to describe reasons for enacting their desired responses that are related to disrespect or implied threats to their manhood. In turn, we expected boys to describe eschewing some responses to provocations to avoid escalation of the harm, as men from cultures of honour might use politeness as a response to provocations in order to avoid escalation of conflicts (Cohen et al., 1999). On the other hand, across mixed-gender dyads, boys' reasons for containing or not their desired responses might be more often related to gender norms that condemn more aggressive responses towards women (Cohen et al., 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

Hypotheses: Third-party judgments of retaliatory aggression. Colombia is considered a culture of honour, where more gendered traditional roles are often directly and indirectly reinforced (Glick et al., 2000; Lameiras et al., 2002). Therefore, overall we expected that participants would make more negative judgements about retaliatory aggression towards women, as compared to men. This is based on the more strict cultural norms against the mistreatment of women observed across these cultures (Cohen et al., 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). We expected this to be particularly the case in mixed-gender dyads (i.e., negative judgments of

males' retaliatory aggression towards females). Furthermore, in line with previous research, we expected participants' negative judgements of females' retaliatory aggression, as these do not conform with female cultural norms (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Richardson & Hammock, 2007).

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited at four urban schools in Bogotá, Colombia. Parents or guardians provided written informed consent; youth also provided written assent to all procedures. Ninety-six adolescents (*M* age = 15.9 years; 49 girls) participated in the study. Adolescents received school uniforms or school supplies in appreciation for their participation.

School descriptions. The interviews for the present study took place at four different schools. Schools varied in socioeconomic status, as well as levels of neighbourhood and school violence. Socioeconomic status (SES) in Colombia is typically defined by strata, especially in Bogotá. The strata system consists of categorization at one of six levels according to the area of the city that residents live in, the type of work they do, and the housing they have. Strata 1 is considered to be the lowest SES, while strata 6 is considered as the highest SES (Profamilia, 2011). The schools' and neighbourhoods' characteristics were determined by municipal and school records (AMB, 2009; CEACSC, 2008). Detailed descriptions of these four institutions were available through interviewers' notes (although the extensiveness of these descriptions varied across schools) and research on the neighbourhoods based on municipal records. Please refer to Table 1 for more specific information.

School 1. The first school where participants were recruited was a private school situated in the south end of Bogotá, Colombia in a commercial area. Demographic information about this area suggested that 52% of the population have not completed high school, and only 42% of the families have both parents present at home (Profamilia, 2011). This school included pre-school, primary and secondary divisions, with approximately 400 students registered in total. During the year when data collection was completed, 14 students were expelled from the school for different reasons, including stealing of school property. The school climate appeared to be generally positive, although the neighbourhood where the school was situated appeared to be relatively insecure (e.g., street vendors, homeless street gangs, and graffiti seen in this neighbourhood). At this school, interviewers were asked by school personnel to use a lab coat during the interviews, as a way to clearly demonstrate their role as authority figures at the school.

School 2. The second school where the interviews took place was situated in the south east of Bogotá, Colombia. The school was located close to the central square of this region and near one of the busiest streets of the community with very heavy traffic. The roads around the school were in poor condition, and the neighbourhood suffered from a lack of cleanliness, CO^2 pollution, and the mismanagement of human waste. The housing in this neighbourhood largely consisted of old houses, some of which appeared to be incomplete constructions (e.g., one-storey buildings that were intended to be two or three storey houses). Gangs of young people were seen smoking marihuana in the neighbourhood, despite having police cars patrolling the area.

This neighbourhood experienced high crime rates; based on statistics, women appeared to be particularly affected. The area was characterized by a relatively high mortality rate due to homicide, as well as high rates of injuries related to physical violence. Other crimes related to vehicles being stolen, homes being robbed, and kidnapping were also pervasive in this region. With respect to violations involving children, rates of negligence were particularly high, as many families lacked access to vaccines, medical care, etc. About 14% of the school-aged children in this area were not registered at schools.

The school buildings themselves were old and the cleanliness of the school and classrooms was poor (e.g., graffiti on desks, peeling paint, broken or missing glass in windows). There were bars on the windows of the school, and youth were searched for weapons before entering the premises. The interpersonal relationships between teachers and students generally appeared to be positive and mutually respectful. The school included youth between 11- and 19-years old, with approximately 550 students registered.

School 3. The third school where the interviews took place was situated in a rural area in the boroughs of Bogotá, Colombia. The school was surrounded by green space, and the neighbourhood appeared to be secure and tranquil. The school in general lacked cleanliness and had poor illumination. The overall social atmosphere of the school appeared to be positive, as were relationships between students and teachers. The school included primary and secondary education, with approximately 350 students registered.

School 4. The fourth school where the interviews took place was located in the north of Bogotá, Colombia. The neighbourhood where the school is located was considered as the safest area compared to the other three schools (e.g., security guards were always present in the surroundings of the school). This region of Bogotá is one of the largest, with a relatively low

population density. A total of 38% of the population in this region are of high SES, and the population has access to all public services. One of the only problems highlighted in this area is the high pregnancy rate among adolescents.

The area where the school was situated appeared to be tranquil, surrounded by other schools, sport clubs, and large green spaces. The school was large and well-organized. The relationship between the teachers and students appeared to be positive, and characterized by mutual respect.

Table 1

School Characteristics

Characteristics	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Strata of School Population	Strata 2	Strata 1 and 2	Strata 1 and 2	Strata 3 and 4
District homicide rates 2014	0.018%	0.0088%	0.0087%	0.0078%
District theft rates 2014	0.34%	0.48%	0.025%	0.26%
High school completion rates	High	Medium	Low	High
How students get to school	Walking	Walking	Walking	School buses or private transport
Average time to get to school	Average 15 minutes	Average between 15 – 30 minutes	Average between 15 – 30 minutes	Between 30 – 60 minutes
School hours	6:30 am - 2:00 pm	1:30 pm – 6:00 pm	6:30 am - 2:30 pm	7:00 am - 2:45 pm

Number of Students	436	550	330	606

Procedure

This study uses data gathered from a larger investigation of adolescents' moral development; only procedures relevant to the current study are described.

Adolescents were interviewed by a native Spanish speaker (i.e., a graduate or undergraduate research assistant attending a local university) individually in a private setting at their schools. They were first asked to provide two open-ended narrative accounts of experiences when they had been harmed by a peer. More specifically, youth provided one narrative account of an event when they ended up forgiving the offender and another when they did not (order counterbalanced across participants). The narrative elicitation script is provided in Appendix A. It should be noted that the distinction between forgiveness and nonforgiveness experiences was not the central focus of the current thesis, although this manipulation was accounted for in analyses.

Following the event nominations, adolescents were asked a series of more specific questions regarding the narratives they recounted. These included questions about desired and enacted responses to the offenders, as well as the reasons for their decisions to enact or contain these responses (see Appendix A). These interviews were audio-recorded, and transcribed verbatim for analysis by Canadian students who were native speakers of Spanish (typically, research assistants had immigrated to Canada from South American countries, and who continued to speak Spanish regularly with friends and family members). A second research assistant verified the accuracy of all transcriptions.

Finally, the participants completed a series of closed-ended measures. These included the MyETV (Selner-O'Hagan et al., 1998) interview (described below), used to assess their lifetime exposure to violence, as well as the NOBAGS (Huesman & Guerra, 1997) scale (described below), used to gathered information about the participants beliefs of retaliatory aggression by gender dyads. The NOBAGS was administered as a paper-and-pencil measure.

Measures

Exposure to violence. In addition to gathering specific information about the schools where the interviews took place, we also measured participants' lifetime exposure to violence by using the MyETV interview (Selner-O'Hagan et al., 1998). This interview assessed the participants' experiences of violence in different forms: witnessing (e.g., "Have you ever in your life seen another person been shot?") and victimization (e.g., "Have you ever been hit, slapped, punched or took a beating?"). Results revealed substantial individual differences. On average, participants responded affirmatively to 6.2 of 13 questions assessing witnessing of violence (range = 1 to 11), and to 2 out of 8 questions assessing experiences of being the victim of violence (range = 0 to 6). These results of exposure to violence are similar to those found by Posada and Wainryb (2008) among displaced Colombian adolescents; in that study, adolescents' witness ETV scores (M = 6.50; SD = 2.4) and victim ETV scores (M = 1.40; SD = 1.4) were similar as those found in the present report. This therefore suggests relatively high rates of exposure to violence among our participants.

Normative beliefs about aggression. In order to gather information about the normative beliefs of the participants about the appropriateness of retaliatory aggression in different gender dyads, we used the Revised Normative Beliefs about Aggression Scale (NOBAGS; Huesman & Guerra, 1997). For the purpose of this study, we used a 12-items subscale that included variation on two dimensions: gender of the provoker, and gender of the responder (e.g., Suppose a boy says something bad to a girl: Do you think it's wrong for the girl to scream at him? - response options: It is perfectly ok, it is sort of ok, it is sort of wrong, it is really wrong; see Appendix E for a complete list of items). Results from this self-reported questionnaire allowed us to gather background information of our participants about their personal beliefs about the acceptability of retaliatory aggression within same- and opposite-gender dyads in a hypothetical context.

Coding

Coding was conducted by Canadian students who were native speakers of Spanish (i.e., interviews were not translated for coding purposes – the translations included in this thesis were conducted by the author for illustrative purposes only). From the 192 conflict events described in the study (i.e., two events from each of 96 participants), we first coded the gender of the antagonist person in each provocation event. This coding step allowed us to determine the gender composition of each dyad (e.g., girl provoking against girl, boy provoking against girl, etc.).

Narrative accounts were coded for youths' descriptions of the initial provocations. Information gathered from both the narratives and the follow-up questions was used in order to code participants' desired and enacted responses to harm, as well as the reasons for their decision to enact or eschew their desired responses. That is, for these latter coding dimensions, responses that appeared in the narratives and follow-up probes were collapsed for the purpose of analyses.

Provocation types. A coding scheme for the types of harms that youth described was developed, taking into account the types of harms that were most often described by our sample in their narrative accounts, as well as distinctions that were of theoretical interest based on the literature examining gender differences in peer conflict (e.g., Card et al., 2008; Kozlowski & Warber, 2010; MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Ostrov & Keating, 2004; Richardson, Bernstein, & Taylor, 1979). The coding scheme is included in Appendix B with examples and a description of each code.

Implications of the harm coding. In order to further categorize the types of harms that our participants described in their narratives, an additional coding scheme was developed that characterized harms along some additional dimensions of theoretical interest. These categories helped us to combine provocations of similar nature (e.g., provocations related to romantic relationships, regardless of the provocation type), that might illuminate specific gender dyad distinctions in provocations based on previous literature (e.g., Card et al., 2008; Kozlowski & Warber, 2010; MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Ostrov & Keating, 2004; Richardson, Bernstein, & Taylor, 1979). This coding scheme is included in the Appendix B with examples and a description of each code.

Responses to the harm. A coding scheme was also developed to categorize the different ways in which youth described wanting to respond to their peers' provocations. The coding scheme is included in Appendix C with examples and descriptions of each code. This coding scheme aimed at categorizing the diverse responses to provocations that were most often described by our sample, and that are representative of potential gender and cultural distinctions identified in the literature (e.g., Dirks et al., 2007; López-Zafra, 2008; Murphy & Eisenberg, 2002; Vandello & Cohen, 2003; Vandello et al., 2009). In addition, we coded whether described responses were ultimately enacted or not.

Reasons for enacting or not enacting responses. Coding schemes for participants' descriptions of their reasons for enacting or not enacting their response ideations were

developed. These were mainly based on the reasons most often observed in participants' descriptions, as well as the literature concerning the varied goals that may motivate boys and girls in the context of conflict resolution (e.g., Dirks et al., 2007; Walton, Harris, & Davidson, 2009). The coding scheme for reasons for enacting desired responses is included in Appendix D with examples and descriptions of each code. Likewise, a coding scheme for the reasons participants described for eschewing their desired responses was developed, and is included in Appendix E with examples and descriptions of each code.

Interrater Reliability

In order to establish interrater reliability for all coding, two independent raters (both native Spanish speakers) coded 25% of the interview transcripts; percentage of agreement and Cohen's *kappas* were calculated for each code. The *kappas* obtained for each of these codes each exceeded .80. Disagreements were resolved via discussion and consensus. After reliability was established, one rater coded the rest of the data.

Results

Preliminary analyses. In order to examine whether the likelihood of same- vs. mixed-gender events varied across participant gender and event type, we conducted a frequency analysis of same and cross-gender narratives for boys and girls across forgiveness (F) and nonforgiveness (NF) events. There were no effects of participant gender (i.e., boys and girls were equally likely to describe cross-gender events), of event type (i.e., mixed gender events arose equally in F and NF accounts), or of the interaction between gender and event type (i.e., the likelihood of mixed-gender events in F and NF stories was similar for boys and girls).

Table 2

Frequency of Gender Dyads by Event

Participant Gender	Forgiveness Event		Non-Forgiveness Event	
	Same Gender	Mixed Gender	Same Gender	Mixed Gender
Girl	32	17	36	13
Boy	34	13	33	14

Provocation types. To examine gender differences, we conducted a series of 2 (participant gender) x 2 (offender gender) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs),

separately for each of the types of provocations. Analyses were conducted separately for forgiveness and nonforgiveness events. An alpha level of $p < .05$ was used for all tests; partial eta-squared is reported as a measure of effect size (η^2_p) for significant effects.

Forgiveness events. In the context of forgiveness experiences, the analysis revealed significant effects of the participant's gender on provocations related to physical attributes, F (1, 92) = 8.26, p = .005, $\eta^2_p = .08$, and gendered provocations, F (1, 92) = 7.75, p = .007, $\eta^2_p = .07$. Whereas boys reported more provocations related to physical attributes, girls reported more gendered provocations (see Table 3). In turn, the analysis revealed significant effects of the offender's gender on property related provocations, F (1, 92) = 4.94, $p = .029$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, suggesting that boys provoked using these harms significantly more than girls (see Table 4). Finally, an interaction emerged between the participant and offender's gender for provocations related to physical attributes, F (1, 92) = 5.63, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .06$; boys selectively reported provocations about their physical attributes when the offender was a girl rather than a boy, whereas girls reported provocations about their physical attributes infrequently, and their references to these provocations did not vary significantly across gender dyads (see Figure 1).

Nonforgiveness events. The ANOVAs revealed effects in the nonforgiveness events of the offender's gender on relationship-related provocations involving a third party, F (1, 92) = 5.60, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .06$. As reported in Table 4, participants described these provocations as more frequently enacted by female offenders than male offenders. Interactions between participant gender and offender gender were also observed for three types of provocations (see Figure 2). Boys described general offensive behaviours mainly in same-gender interactions, F (1, 92) = 4.85, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, whereas for both boys and girls, provocations about physical attributes were reported more often in mixed-gender interactions, although the effect was particularly pronounced for girls, F (1, 92) = 10.67, $p = .002$, $\eta^2_p = .10$. Finally, relationship related provocations were reported by boys more frequently when they were provoked by girls than boys, F (1, 92) = 4.37, $p = .039$, $\eta^2_p = .05$, whereas girls reported these provocations from both boys and girls equally.

As for the implications of the harm coding, participants reported more provocations related to public humiliation, F (1, 92) = 4.03, $p = .048$, $\eta^2_p = .04$; and provocations related to relationship betrayal, F (1, 92) = 5.61, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .06$, when the offender was a girl.

Comparing forgiveness and nonforgiveness events. In addition to examining gender-

related patterns separately in the context of F and NF events, we also conducted analyses to directly compare whether gender-related patterns were significantly different across these two event types. To do so, we treated event as the unit of analysis (N = 192), and included event type, participant gender, and offender gender as between-subjects variables. To avoid redundancies with the analyses presented above, we report only interactions between event type and gender variables.

These analyses revealed that insults related to physical attributes were described significantly more by boys in forgiveness events as compared to nonforgiveness events, whereas girls described these kind of provocations somewhat more in nonforgiveness events, F (1, 184) = 8.06 p = .005, η^2_p = .04; see Table 3 for relevant means (italicized).

As part of the implications of the harm coding, offensive provocations related to public humiliation were seen significantly more often in nonforgiveness events when the offender was girl as compared to a boy, whereas gender-related patterns were not evident in the context of forgiveness events, F (1, 184) = 7.27, p = .008, η^2_p = .04; the same pattern was observed with respect to provocations related to relationship betrayal, F (1, 184) = 4.67, p = .032, η^2_p = .03 (see italics in Table 4).

Table 3

Provocation Types as a Function of the Participant's Gender

	Provocations Types Coding			
	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Participant Boy	Participant Girl	Participant Boy	Participant Girl
	M (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)
Offensive Behaviour	.38 (.08)	.30 (.07)	.37 (.08)	.40 (.08)
Insults Related to Physical Attributes	*.20 (.04)**	*.03 (.04)*	*.07 (.04)*	*.13 (.04)*
Family Related Provocations	.10 (.05)	.08 (.45)	.09 (.05)	.00 (.04)
Property	.14 (.05)	.13 (.05)	.10 (.05)	.12 (.05)

Related				
Homework Related	.07 (.04)	.06 (.03)	.00 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Exclusion	.02 (.04)	.12 (.04)	.04 (.03)	.03 (.03)
Relationship Based Offender	.04 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.16 (.05)	.13 (.05)
Relationship Based Third Party	.15 (.07)	.26 (.06)	.18 (.07)	.36 (.07)
Gendered Provocations	.00 (.04)	.17 (.04)*	.05 (.05)	.12 (.05)
Physical Provocations	.25 (.07)	.20 (.07)	.24 (.07)	.27 (.07)

Implications of the Harm Coding

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Participant Boy	Participant Girl	Participant Boy	Participant Girl
	M (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)
Offenses Related to Public Humiliation	.05 (.03)	.09 (.03)	.09 (.04)	.07 (.05)
Offenses Related to Romantic Relationships	.14 (.04)	.23 (.04)	.22 (.07)	.31 (.07)
Offenses Related to Disrespect	.18 (.04)	.12 (.04)	.15 (.05)	.14 (.05)

Offenses Related to Relationship Betrayal	.05 (.03)	.06 (.03)	.09 (.05)	.11 (.05)

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote participant gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction. Italicization denotes significant interactions between participant gender and event type.

Table 4

Provocations Types as a Function of the Offender's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Offender Boy *M* (SE)	Offender Girl *M* (SE)	Offender Boy *M* (SE)	Offender Girl *M* (SE)
Offensive Behaviour	.34 (.07)	.35 (.08)	.41 (.08)	.36 (.08)
Insults Related to Physical Attributes	.07 (.04)	.15 (.04)	.12 (.04)	.09 (.04)
Family Related Provocations	.09 (.04)	.09 (.05)	.09 (.05)	.00 (.04)
Property Related	.22 (.05)*	.05 (.05)	.14 (.05)	.08 (.05)
Homework Related	.09 (.03)	.04 (.04)	.00 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Exclusion	.04 (.04)	.09 (.05)	.00 (.03)	.06 (.03)
Relationship Based Offender	.00 (.02)	.05 (.02)	.09 (.05)	.20 (.05)
Relationship Based Third Party	.16 (.06)	.25 (.07)	.15 (.07)	.39 (.07)*

Gendered Provocations	.09 (.04)	.08 (.04)	.08 (.05)	.08 (.05)
Physical Provocations	.19 (.06)	.26 (.07)	.32 (.07)	.18 (.07)

Implications of the Harm Coding

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Offender Boy *M* (SE)	Offender Girl *M* (SE)	Offender Boy *M* (SE)	Offender Girl *M* (SE)
Offenses Related to Public Humiliation	*.06 (.03)*	*.08 (.03)*	*.02 (.05)*	*.14 (.04)**
Offenses Related to Romantic Relationships	.15 (.04)	.22 (.04)	.20 (.07)	.33 (.07)
Offenses Related to Disrespect	.15 (.04)	.14 (.04)	.19 (.05)	.10 (.05)
Offenses Related to Relationship Betrayal	*.02 (.03)*	*.10 (.03)*	*.02 (.05)*	*.18 (.05)**

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote offender's gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction. Italicization denotes significant interactions between offender gender and event type.

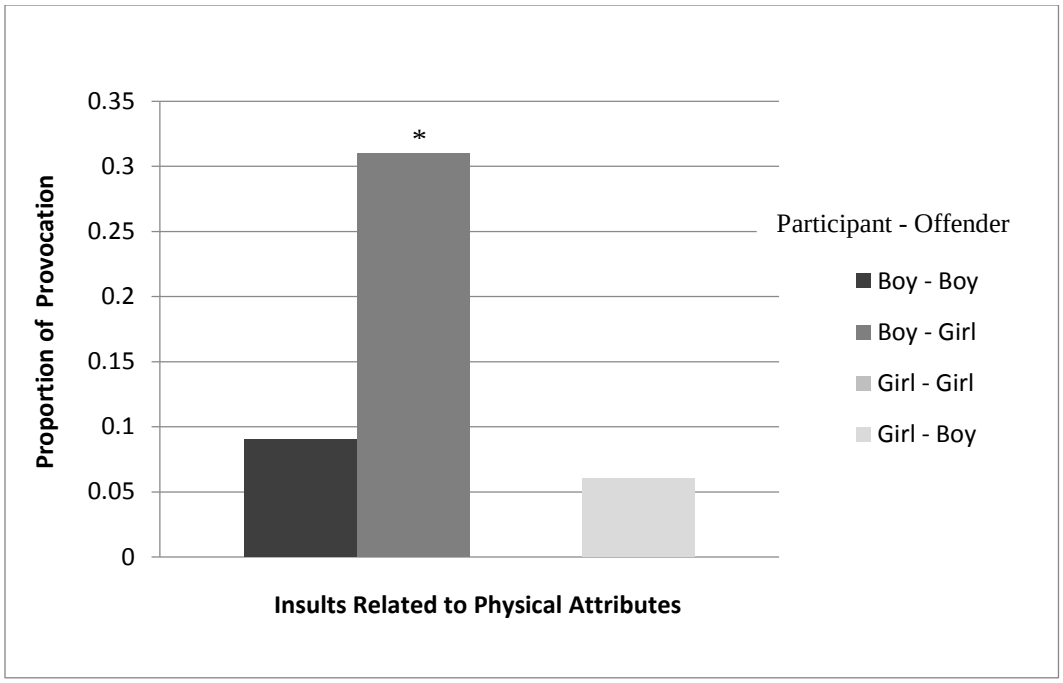

Figure 1. Significant interaction between participant's and offender's gender in forgiveness event. *Note.* * Denotes simple effects of the participant's and offender's gender that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

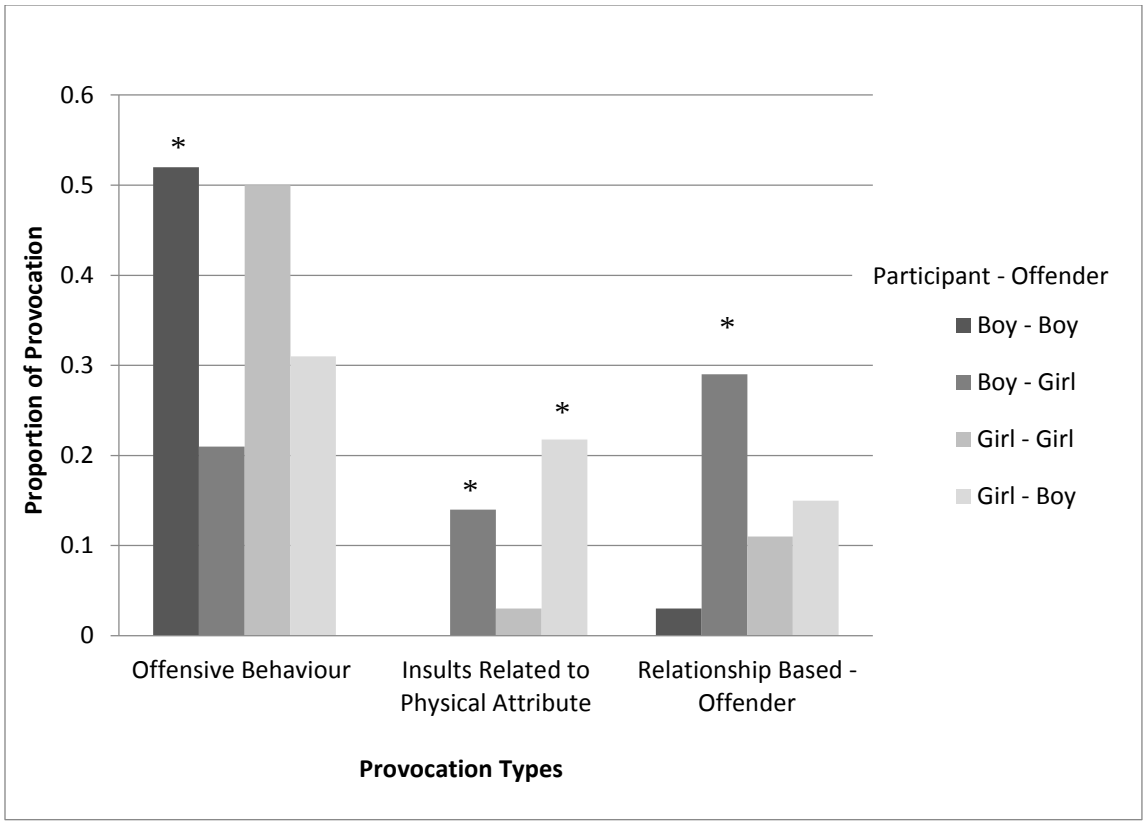

Figure 2. Significant interactions between participant's and offender's gender in nonforgiveness events. *Note.* * Denote simple effects of the participant's and offender's gender that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Responses to provocations. Responses were initially coded for whether they were desired or actually enacted. Across most response types, the majority of the responses described by the participants were actually enacted. Therefore, in our first set of analyses, we collapsed across desired and enacted responses; specifically, we conducted a series of 2 (participant gender) x 2 (offender gender) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs), separately for each of the response types. Analyses were also conducted separately for forgiveness and nonforgiveness events.

In contrast, the pattern differed for retaliatory responses, such that there was notable variation across events in whether these responses were actually enacted. Thus, below, we report more detailed analyses of desired vs. enacted retaliatory responses.

Forgiveness events. The analysis for forgiveness events revealed significant effects of the participant's gender. Girls described not responding to the offender significantly more often than

boys, F (1, 92) = 4.82, p = .03, η^2_p = .05, as well as powerless responses of not being able to do anything towards the offender, F (1, 92) = 4.67, p = .03, η^2_p = .05 (see Table 5). In turn, the analysis also revealed significant effects of the offender's gender. Immediate withdrawal responses were described significantly more when the offender was a girl rather than a boy, F (1, 92) = 6.4, p = .01, η^2_p = .07 (see Table 6). On the other hand, wanting to engage in other actions to cause harm was described significantly more when the offender was a boy rather than a girl F (1, 92) = 4.45, p = .04, η^2_p = .05 (see Table 6).

Finally, interactions emerged between the participant's and offender's gender for describing no response towards the offender, F (1, 92) = 3.83, p = .05, η^2_p = .04. A lack of response was reported selectively when the participant was a girl and the offender was a boy (see Figure 3). On the other hand, boys reported expressing anger towards girls significantly more than towards boys, F (1, 92) = 4.46, p = .04, η^2_p = .05, whereas girls reported this response equally frequently with boys and girls (see Figure 3).

Nonforgiveness events. The ANOVAs also revealed effects in the nonforgiveness events of the participant's gender. As reported in Table 5, boys described avoidance significantly more than girls did, F (1, 92) = 7.74, p = .007, η^2_p = .08, whereas girls described immediate withdrawal significantly more than boys, F (1, 92) = 4.58, p = .04, η^2_p = .05. These analyses also revealed significant effects of the offender's gender. As reported in Table 6, participants described not responding to the offender significantly more often when the offender was a boy rather than a girl, F (1, 92) = 8.68, p = .004, η^2_p = .09. However, participants described avoiding female offenders significantly more than male offenders, F (1, 92) = 11.44, p = .001, η^2_p = .11. Finally, various interaction effects emerged. Similar to the forgiveness events, not responding to the offender was reported significantly more frequently by girls when they were provoked by boys rather than by another girl, whereas boys reported this response equally in interactions with boys and girls, F (1, 92) = 4.95, p = .03, η^2_p = .05 (see Figure 4). On the other hand, boys reported avoidance significantly more frequently when the offender was a girl but not a boy, whereas girls reported this response equally frequently with boys and girls, F (1, 92) = 7.74, p = .007, η^2_p = .08. Moreover, boys reported wanting to retaliate with other actions to cause harm significantly more when the offender was also a boy than when the offender was a girl, whereas girls reported wanting to retaliate in this way towards both boys and girls similarly, F (1, 92) = 4.10, p = .05, η^2_p = .04 (see Figure 4).

Comparing forgiveness and nonforgiveness events. In addition to examining patterns separately across F and NF events, we also conducted an analysis to compare whether gender-related patterns were significantly different across these two event types. To do so, we treated event as the unit of analysis (N = 192), and included event type, participant gender, and offender gender as between-subjects variables. To avoid redundancies with the patterns described above, we report only interactions between event type and gender variables.

In forgiveness events, participants reported immediate withdrawal responses significantly more often towards female offenders compared to male offenders, whereas in nonforgiveness events participants engaged in immediate withdrawal similarly towards both boys and girls, F (1, 184) = 5.38, p = .02, η^2_p = .03 (see italics in Table 6).

The analysis also revealed a number of three-way interactions between participant gender, offender gender, and event type. In nonforgiveness events, boys avoided offenders who were girls significantly more than they did in forgiveness events or with other boys, F (1, 184) = 4.48, p = .04, η^2_p = .02 (see Figure 4), while girls avoided both boys and girl similarly across events. Moreover, in forgiveness events, participant boys confronted female offenders significantly more than they confronted boys, whereas participant girls confronted both boys and girls almost equally across events; this pattern was not observed in nonforgiveness events, F (1, 184) = 4.86, p = .03, η^2_p = .03 (please refer to Figure 3). Furthermore, also in forgiveness events, boys expressed their anger verbally or with gestures significantly more towards female offenders than they did towards male offenders F (1, 184) = 4.2, p = .04, η^2_p = .02, while this pattern was not observed in nonforgiveness events (see Figure 3). Female participants expressed their anger verbally or with gestures similarly across events and offender genders.

Table 5

Response Types as a Function of the Participant's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Participant Boy	Participant Girl	Participant Boy	Participant Girl
	M (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)
No Response	.07 (.05)	.22 (.05)*	.10 (.05)	.21 (.05)
Powerlessness	.00 (.04)	.11 (.04)*	.03 (.03)	.03 (.03)
Avoidance	.05 (.03)	.03 (.03)	.14 (.03)*	.01 (.03)

Withdrawal Immediate	.27 (.07)	.37 (.07)	.06 (.06)	.24 (.06)*
Withdrawal Permanent	.05 (.04)	.09 (.04)	.40 (.08)	.40 (.08)
Confronting	.62 (.08)	.71 (.07)	.64 (.07)	.74 (.07)
Expressing Anger	.13 (.05)	.14 (.05)	.08 (.04)	.03 (.04)
Other Action to Cause Harm	.49 (.08)	.48 (.07)	.54 (.08)	.58 (.08)
Tit-for-tat	.63 (.08)	.45 (.08)	.45 (.08)	.50 (.08)
Adult Intervention	.10 (.05)	.11 (.05)	.06 (.05)	.15 (.05)
Reconciliation	.10 (.6)	.18 (.05)	.03 (.03)	.05 (.03)

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote participant gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Table 6

Response Types as a Function of the Offender's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Offender Boy	Offender Girl	Offender Boy	Offender Girl
	M (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)
No Response	.21 (.05)	.09 (.05)	.25 (.05)*	.05 (.05)
Powerlessness	.06 (.03)	.05 (.04)	.03 (.03)	.03 (.03)
Avoidance	.02 (.03)	.07 (.03)	.00 (.03)	.16 (.03)*
Withdrawal Immediate	*.19 (.07)*	*.44 (.07)**	*.18 (.06)*	*.13 (.06)*
Withdrawal Permanent	.04 (.04)	.10 (.04)	.31 (.08)	.50 (.07)
Confronting	.62 (.07)	.71 (.08)	.63 (.07)	.75 (.07)
Expressing Anger	.10 (.05)	.16 (.05)	.05 (.04)	.06 (.04)

Other Action to Cause Harm	.60 (.07)*	.37 (.08)	.63 (.08)	.48 (.08)
Tit-for-tat	.56 (.07)	.53 (.08)	.50 (.08)	.44 (.08)
Adult Intervention	.12 (.05)	.09 (.05)	.14 (.05)	.07 (.05)
Reconciliation	.15 (.05)	.13 (.06)	.07 (.03)	.01 (.03)

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote offender's gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction. Italicization denotes a significant interaction between offender gender and event type.

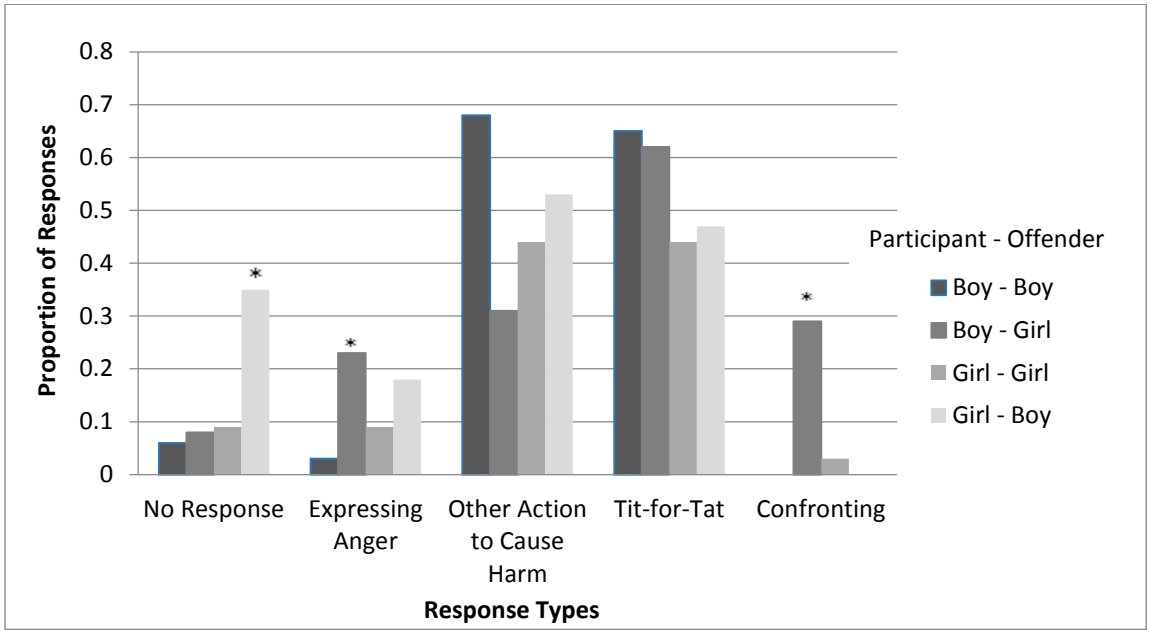

Figure 3. Forgiveness events - Response types. *Note.* * denote participant and offender gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction. Confronting responses were only significant as a three-way interaction comparing Forgiveness and NonForgiveness events.

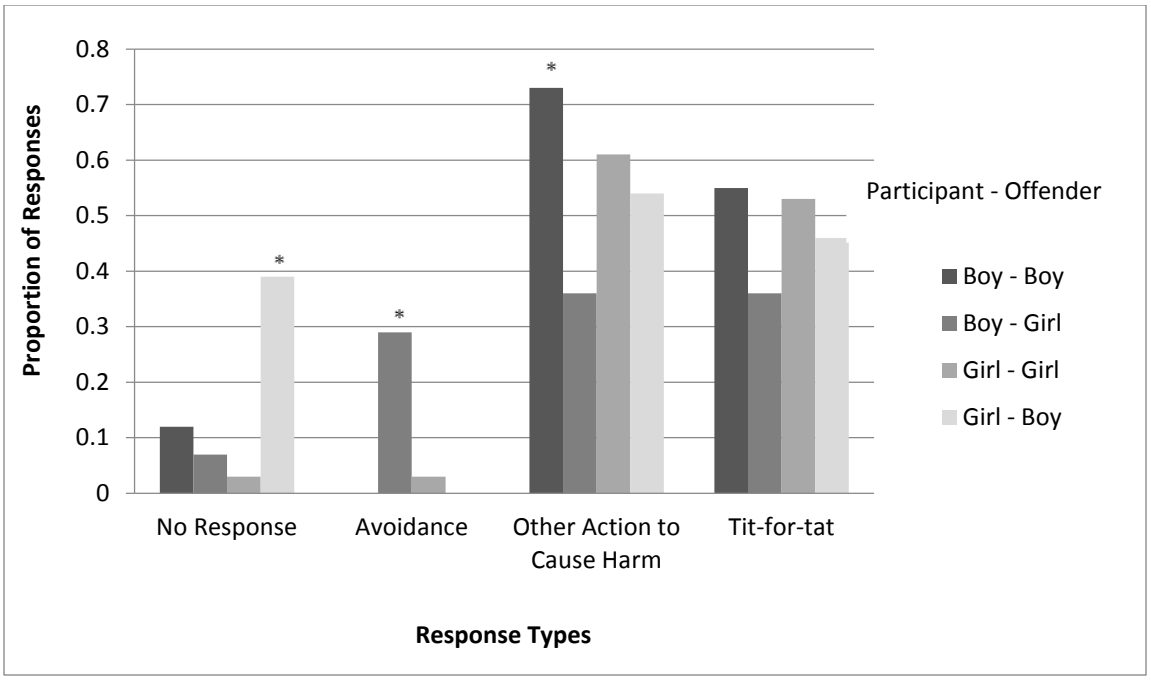

Figure 4. NonForgiveness events - Response Types. *Note.* * denote participant and offender gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Subtypes of retaliatory responses. It is important to note that non-significant gender differences were observed for retaliatory responses of tit-for-tat or other actions to cause harm. These categories are included in Figures 3 and 4 simply to demonstrate the prevalence of these types of retaliatory responses observed across each event.

Because one of the main interests of the present study was to investigate retaliatory responses, these were further categorized as physical, relational and other revenge ideations (in this case, responses were collapsed across tit-for-tat and other actions to cause harm). This allowed us to separately examine desires to engage in each of these types of retaliation, as well as to examine the actual enactment of each type of desired response.

Forgiveness events. The first analysis examined desires for each type of retaliation in forgiveness events. This analysis revealed a significant effect of the offender's gender, such that participants described desiring to retaliate physically more towards boys than towards girls, F (1, 92) = 5.57, p = .02, η^2_p = .06 (see Table 8). However, this effect was qualified by an interaction. Specifically, this desired response was reported predominantly when the participant was a boy and the offender was also a boy, F (1, 92) = 4.04, p = .05, η^2_p = .04 (see Figure 5).

Nonforgiveness events. The ANOVAs also revealed effects in the nonforgiveness events of the offender's gender. The pattern was identical that for the forgiveness event. Specifically, as

reported in Table 7 and 8, participants desired physical retaliation significantly more towards boys than towards girls, F (1, 92) = 10.07, p = .002, η^2_p = .10, but this pattern was also qualified by an interaction, such that this desired response was reported significantly more by boys when the offender was also a boy, F (1, 92) = 12.22, p = .001, η^2_p = .12, whereas girls desired this kind of response equally towards girls and boys (see Figure 6).

No significant effects in forgiveness or nonforgiveness events were observed for relational or other retaliatory response ideations. Both boys and girls desired relationally aggressive responses towards male and female offenders almost equally (see Figures 5 and 6).

Table 7

Retaliatory Response Types as a Function of the Participant's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Participant Boy	Participant Girl	Participant Boy	Participant Girl
	M (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)
Physical Retaliation	.54 (.08)	.39 (.07)	.55 (.07)	.40 (.07)
Relational Retaliation	.07 (.04)	.05 (.04)	.07 (0.5)	.12 (.05)
Other Retaliation	.60 (.08)	.52 (.08)	.48 (.08)	.57 (.08)

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote participant gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Table 8

Retaliatory Response Types as a Function of the Offender's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Offender Boy	Offender Girl	Offender Boy	Offender Girl
	M (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)	*M* (SE)
Physical Retaliation	.59 (.07)*	.34 (.08)	.63 (.07)*	.32 (.07)
Relational	.06 (.03)	.05 (.04)	.07 (.05)	.12 (.05)

Retaliation				
Other	.52 (.08)	.60 (.08)	.51 (.08)	.51 (.08)
Retaliation				

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote offender gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

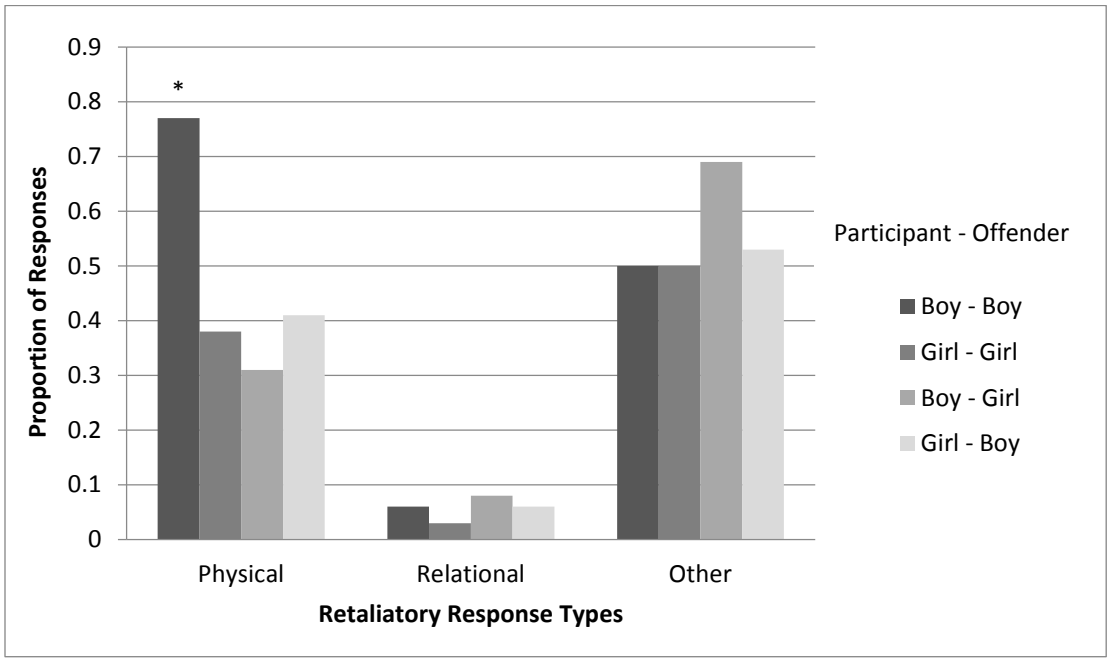

Figure 5. Forgiveness - Retaliatory response types. *Note.* * denote participant and offender gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

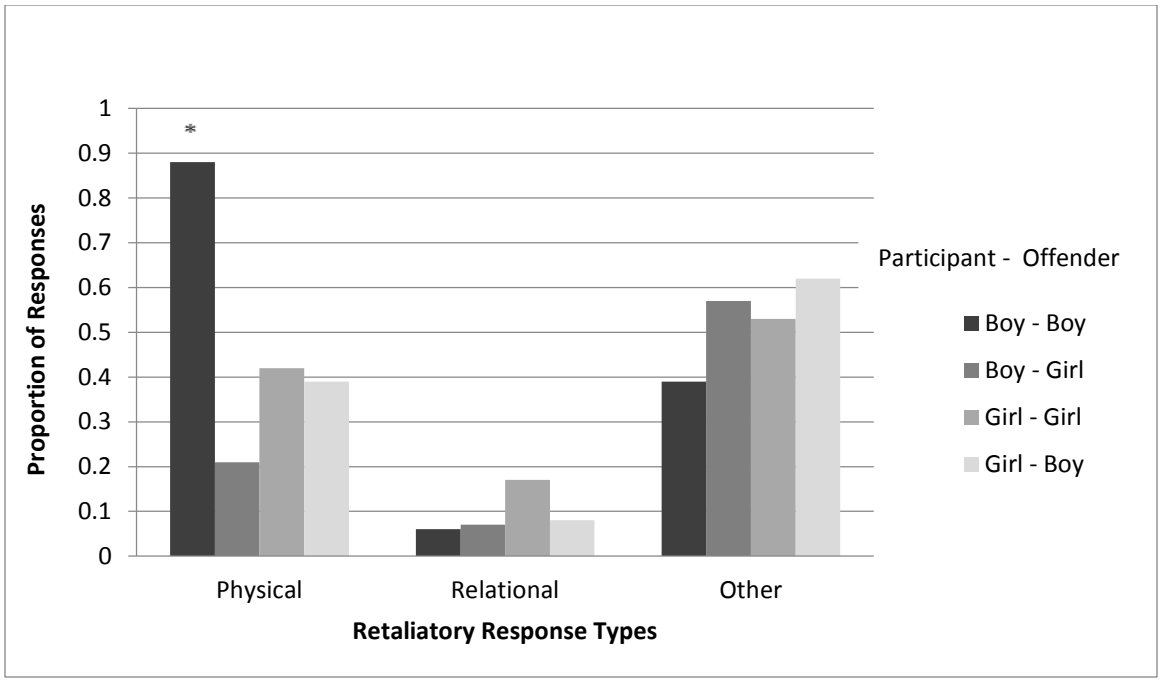

Figure 6. NonForgiveness - Retaliatory Response Types. *Note.* * denote participant and offender gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Enactment of retaliatory responses. In order to determine the extent to which retaliatory desires were enacted, a series of 2 (participant gender) x 2 (offender gender) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed, separately for forgiveness and nonforgiveness events. The dependent variable was the proportion of retaliatory ideations described as enacted by each participant (i.e., enacted responses/ [enacted + non-enacted ideations]).

Forgiveness events. These analyses revealed a significant effect of the participant's gender. Boys described enacting retaliatory responses significantly more than girls did, F (1, 89) = 13.13, p = .001, η^2_p = .13, see Table 9.

Nonforgiveness events. There were no significant effects in nonforgiveness events, suggesting that in the context of these events, both boys and girls described enacting their retaliatory desires almost equally towards boys and girls, see Table 9.

Comparing forgiveness and nonforgiveness events. In addition to examining patterns separately across F and NF events, we also conducted an analysis to compare whether gender-related patterns were significantly different across these two event types. To do so, we treated event as the unit of analysis (N = 192), and included event type, participant gender, and offender gender as between-subjects variables. However, we did not observe interactions between event

type and gender variables in the proportional enactment of retaliatory responses.

Table 9

Enactment of Retaliatory Responses as a Function of the Participant's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Participant Boy *M* (SE)	Participant Girl *M* (SE)	Participant Boy *M* (SE)	Participant Girl *M* (SE)
Proportion of Enacted Retaliatory Responses	.44 (.05)*	.17 (.05)	.31 (.06)	.29 (.06)

Note. Means are expressed as the proportion of enacted retaliatory responses compared to the total number of retaliatory ideations in a particular cell. * denote participant gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Reasons for enacting and not enacting responses. In order to assess participants' reasons for enacting or not enacting responses towards the offenders, we conducted a series of 2 (participant gender) x 2 (offender gender) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs), separately for each of the types of reasons. Analyses were also conducted separately for forgiveness and nonforgiveness events.

Forgiveness events. In the context of forgiveness experiences, the analysis revealed a significant effect of the participant's gender, related to fruitlessness of the response, F (1, 92) = 8.34, p = .005, η^2_p = .08, such that girls described these reasons for not responding to the offender more often than boys (see Table 10). On the other hand, boys gave gendered reasons for not responding to the offender significantly more often than girls did, F (1, 92) = 7.82, p = .006, η^2_p = .08; as well as provided general references to the initial harm as reasons for either enacting or not enacting their responses, F (1, 92) = 8.90, p = .004, η^2_p = .09 (see Table 10). In addition, with respect to the offender's gender, youth provided more gendered reasons for not responding when the offender was a girl rather than a boy, F (1, 92) = 7.82, p = .006, η^2_p = .08 (see Table 11).

There was also an interaction between participant and offender gender, such that gendered responses were particularly likely when the participant was a boy and the offender was

a girl, F (1, 92) = 16.96, p = .001, η^2_p = .16. These kinds of reasons were not typically observed across the other gender dyads (see Figure 7).

Nonforgiveness events. Within the nonforgiveness events, references to the magnitude of the harm or dissipation of emotion were described significantly more often by girls compared to boys in explaining their reasons for not responding, F (1, 92) = 6.06, p = .02, η^2_p = .06 (see Table 10). In terms of the offender's gender, the inability to respond was described significantly more towards boy compared to female offenders, F (1, 92) = 4.21, p = .04, η^2_p = .04. To the contrary, avoiding escalation or further conflicts was described significantly more when the offender was a girl rather than a boy, F (1, 92) = 5.11, p = .03, η^2_p = .05 (refer to Table 11). No gender interactions were observed in nonforgiveness events.

Comparing forgiveness and nonforgiveness events. In addition to examining these patterns separately across F and NF events, we also conducted an analysis to compare whether gender-related patterns were significantly different across these two event types. In order to do so, we treated event as the unit of analysis (N = 192), and included event type, participant gender, and offender gender as between-subjects' variables.

There was an event type by participant gender interaction, such that female participants described fruitlessness as reasons for not responding significantly more than male participants only in the forgiveness event, F (1, 184) = 6.80; p = .01; η^2_p = .04. In contrast, girls discussed the magnitude of the offense as not being sufficient for responding more than male participants, but only in nonforgiveness events F (1, 184) = 5.42; p =.02; η^2_p = .03. (see italics in Table 10) In addition, event moderated three offender gender effects. Participants described fruitlessness reasons for not responding significantly more when the offender was a boy as compared to a girl, but only in forgiveness events, F (1, 184) = 4.42; p = .04; η^2_p = .02. Uniquely in nonforgiveness events, participants described avoiding escalation of the conflict as a reason for not responding significantly more often when the offender was girl as compared to a boy, F (1, 184) = 4.94; p = .03; η^2_p = .03. Likewise, also across nonforgiveness events, participants described making themselves feel better, or the offender worse as reasons for enacting their responses significantly more when the offender was a girl as compared to a boy, F (1, 184) = 4.19; p = .04; η^2_p = .02 (please see italics in Table 11).

Table 10

Reasons for Responding or Not Responding as a Function of the Participant's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Participant Boy *M* (SE)	Participant Girl *M* (SE)	Participant Boy *M* (SE)	Participant Girl *M* (SE)
Negative Evaluation of Response	.10 (.06)	.21 (.06)	.16 (.06)	.23 (.06)
Own Stable Characteristics	.03 (.04)	.11 (.04)	.03 (.04)	.11 (.04)
Inability or Fear of Further Victimization	.07 (.05)	.12 (.04)	.05 (.03)	.20 (.06)
Fruitlessness of Response	*.02 (.05)*	*.19 (.04)**	*.05 (.03)*	*.03 (.03)*
Avoiding Escalation	.14 (.07)	.21 (.06)	.19 (.06)	.10 (.06)
Magnitude of the Harm or Emotional Dissipation	.17 (.06)	.09 (.06)	*.03 (.06)*	*.22 (.06)**
Offender's Remorse	.11 (.04)	.06 (.04)	.00 (.02)	.05 (.02)
Lack of Offender's Remorse	.00 (0)	.00 (0)	.00 (.02)	.05 (.02)
Perspective of Offender	.11 (.05)	.09 (.04)	.03 (.06)	.17 (.06)
Relationship	.14 (.06)	.17 (.06)	.00 (.04)	.09 (.04)

Oriented				
Lack of Opportunity or Intervention	.06 (.04)	.05 (.04)	.16 (.07)	.23 (.07)
Emotionally Driven	.35 (.08)	.41 (.07)	.36 (.08)	.50 (.08)
General Provocation	.27 (.06)*	.05 (.05)	.24 (.07)	.11 (.07)
Standing up for Self and Family	.07 (.06)	.20 (.06)	.24 (.07)	.12 (.07)
Make Self Feel Better, or Offender Worse	.06 (.05)	.11 (.04)	.10 (.05)	.08 (.05)
Gender Norms	.15 (.03)*	.03 (.03)	.09 (.04)	.07 (.04)

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote participant gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction. Italicization denotes a significant interaction between participant gender and event type.

Table 11

Reasons for Responding or Not Responding as a Function of the Offender's Gender

	Forgiveness Event		Nonforgiveness Event	
	Offender Boy *M* (SE)	Offender Girl *M* (SE)	Offender Boy *M* (SE)	Offender Girl *M* (SE)
Negative Evaluation of Response	.21 (.06)	.10 (.06)	.13 (.06)	.25 (.06)
Own Stable Characteristi	.09 (.04)	.05 (.04)	.11 (.04)	.03 (.04)

cs				
Inability or Fear of Further Victimization	.12 (.04)	.07 (.05)	.27 (.06)*	.08 (.06)
Fruitlessness of Response	*.16 (.04)*	*.05 (.05)*	*.02 (.03)*	*.06 (.03)*
Avoiding Escalation	*.22 (.06)*	*.13 (.07)*	*.05 (.06)*	*.24 (.06)**
Magnitude of the Harm or Emotional Dissipation	.16 (.06)	.10 (.06)	.18 (.06)	.07 (.05)
Offender's Remorse	.06 (.04)	.11 (.04)	.04 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Lack of Offender's Remorse	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.04 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Perspective of Offender	.06 (.04)	.14 (.05)	.11 (.06)	.10 (.06)
Relationship Oriented	.12 (.06)	.19 (.06)	.04 (.04)	.06 (.04)
Lack of Opportunity or Intervention	.06 (.04)	.05 (.04)	.24 (.07)	.15 (.07)
Emotionally Driven	.43 (.07)	.33 (.08)	.41 (.08)	.44 (.08)
General Provocation	.15 (.05)	.17 (.06)	.14 (.07)	.22 (.06)
Standing up for	.16 (.06)	.11 (.07)	.18 (.07)	.19 (.06)

Self and Family				
Make Self Feel Better, or Offender Worse	*.12 (.04)*	*.05 (.05)*	*.03 (.05)*	*.16 (05)*
Gender Norms	.03 (.03)	.15 (.03)*	.05 (.04)	.10 (.04)

Note. Means are expressed as proportions of the total number of events in a particular cell. * denote offender's gender effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction. Italicization denotes a significant interaction between offender gender and event type.

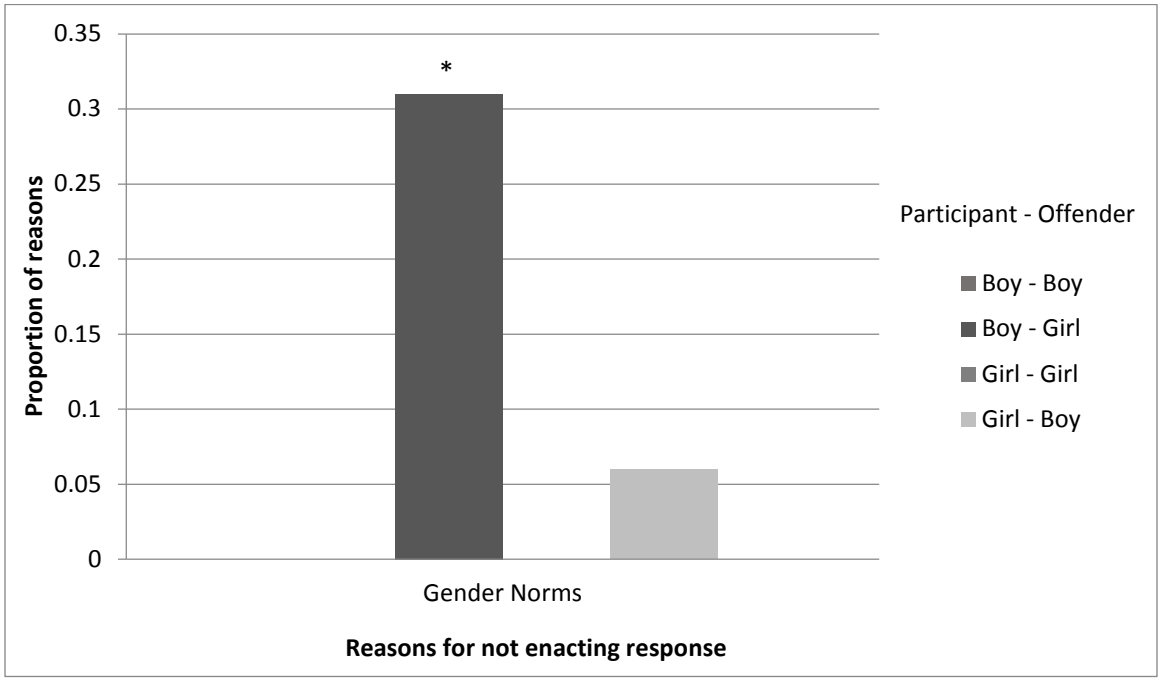

Figure 7. Forgiveness events – Reasons for not enacting response. *Note.* * denote participant and offender gender interactions effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Normative Beliefs about Aggression Scale (NOBAGS). The NOBAGS questionnaire was included to provide further information regarding the ways in which participating boys and girls judged retaliatory aggression within same- versus cross-gender interactions. We conducted a repeated measures analysis with the participant's gender as a between-subjects factor and the genders of the actor and target described in the questionnaire included as within-subjects factors. The dependent variable was the negativity of the participant's evaluations (i.e., higher scores =

more negative judgments). First, we found a significant effect for the gender of the actor of retaliation, F (1, 92) = 32.11; p = .001; η^2_p = .26. Overall participants evaluated retaliatory behaviours from male actors (M = 10.21, SD = .12) significantly more negatively as compared to girls engaging in retaliatory behaviours (M = 9.42, SD = .18). In addition, we also found a significant effect for the gender of the target of retaliation, F (1, 92) = 47.75; p = .001; η^2_p = .34, such that retaliatory aggression towards girls was judged more negatively (M = 10.34, SD = .13), as compared to retaliatory behaviours towards boys (M = 9.29, SD = .18). Note that neither of these effects was qualified by the gender of the participant (i.e., boys and girls made similar evaluations).

Furthermore, significant effects were also observed in the way participants judged retaliatory aggression depending on the specific gender dyads in which the hypothetical retaliatory aggressions occurred; in other words, there was a significant actor by target gender interaction, F (1, 92) = 15.64, p = .001; η^2_p = .15. Overall, participants judged retaliation from a boy towards a girl (M = 10.98, SD = .13) significantly worse than within other gender dyads, whereas retaliation from a girl towards a boy (M = 9.15, SD = .22) was judged the least negatively compared to the other gender dyads (please refer to Figure 8).

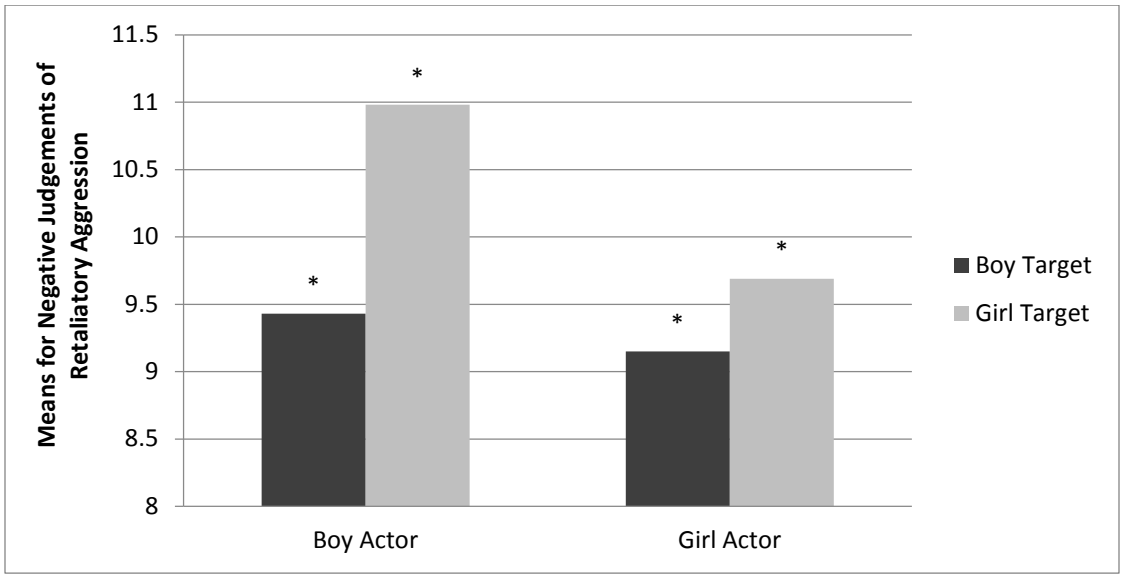

Figure 8. Participants' judgements of retaliatory aggression by gender dyad. *Note.* * denote actor gender by target gender interaction effects that were significant at $p < .05$ with a Bonferroni correction.

Discussion

The goal of the present study was to illuminate Colombian adolescents' understandings of their own experiences of conflicts with their peers, and particularly, how they are related to the specific gender dyad composition of a given event. The results provide information about the behaviors that youth describe as most likely to provoke them, how they respond to these provocations, and how their own gender and that of their antagonist informs these descriptions. Specifically, the present study aimed to answer four questions: (1) What types of provocations were salient for youth when asked to narrate peer conflicts? (2) What kind of desired responses did youth describe in face of these provocations? (3) What percentage of retaliatory responses was described as actually enacted? And (4) What are the reasons that youth described for either enacting or not enacting their desired responses towards the offender? These questions were analyzed according to the adolescents' own gender and that of their antagonist, in order to better comprehend whether gendered patterns were evident in the participants' perception of provocations, decisions in responding to these provocations, and the reasoning behind these decisions. The narratives shared by the participants included two different events, one when they ultimately forgave the offender and a second when they did not forgive the offender. Results based on each of the research questions will be discussed separately.

Prior to describing gender-related patterns, it is important to note that results overall demonstrated several similarities across gender dyads, rather than differences. These similarities may suggest that some of the boys and girls from our sample are faced with similar challenges (e.g., exposure to violence), which might have influenced some of their conflict resolution strategies independent of their gender or that of their antagonist. Furthermore, the nonsignificant effects observed also underscores the heterogeneity among females and males in our sample, inasmuch as they imply overlap in provocations and responses described across gender dyads in the context of this study.

More specifically, both female and male participants were equally likely to describe events that happened with same- and mixed-gender peers. In fact, this facilitated analyses for the present study, by allowing analyses by gender dyads to be performed. In terms of provocation types, we did not find differences for some harm types, including in some instances where differences had been hypothesized. It is particularly notable that we failed to find significant differences for physical provocations, as based on previous literature, physical harms are more prevalent among boys compared to girls (Card et al., 2008). In addition, we expected these types

of provocations to happen even less when boys were described as provoking girls. This is because in cultures of honour, the maltreatment of women is often condemned as much worse compared to physical aggression towards men (Cohen et al., 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). However, these types of provocations were recounted similarly across all four gender dyads. Similarly, we failed to reveal the expected gender-based differences in frequencies of family-related provocations. We expected male participants to describe these types of provocations significantly more often than female participants. This is because among cultures of honour, males take the role of protecting their families' reputation and status in order to maintain certain position within their societies or to command respectful treatment (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Given that we did not find significant differences of such provocations across gender dyads, it is possible that females within these cultures might be taking on these roles more often; in Colombia, there are a substantial number of households headed by females (36.4%; Profamilia, 2015). Therefore, due to this reality, it is possible that a great number of females take on the roles of protecting their families. As a consequence, it is possible that these notions are transferred to youth growing up in Colombia, explaining the similarities observed. On the other hand, based on the strong notion of *familism* across these cultures, both females and males are expected to take on protecting roles of the family when necessary (Thayer et al., 2008).

Moreover, in terms of desired responses, we did not find robust differences across gender dyads for some categories. Interestingly tit-for-tat retaliatory response desires were described by both female and male participants similarly. This suggests that, consistent with literature on youth exposed to higher levels of violence, judgements of some retaliatory behaviours is considered negative but also expected, and not necessarily seen as evoking negative moral emotions (i.e., guilt, shame) (Ardila-Rey, 2003; Posada & Wainryb, 2008). It is important to note that specific prompts regarding retaliatory desires were included in the current study (i.e., What did you feel like doing or saying to him/her when you were most upset?); the prevalence of youth reporting retaliatory desires might be influenced by this. Furthermore, based on several notions observed in cultures of honour, we expected female participants to be less likely to describe desiring retaliatory behaviours as compared to their male counterparts due to specific gender norms (Richardson & Hammock, 2007). However, as discussed in more detail below, this pattern was only observed in terms of actually enacting retaliatory behaviours. That is, female

participants ideated about responding in a retaliatory manner similarly as boys did, but did not actually describe retaliating as much as their male counterparts did. Furthermore, participants' responses of seeking adult intervention and reconciliation with the offender were similar across all gender dyads, suggesting that these responses were not strongly influenced by the participants' or the offenders' gender. It is possible that engaging in either of these responses be more closely related to the nature of the provocations themselves rather than to gender.

In terms of reasons for which participants described enacting or not enacting their desired responses, many of the reasons provided were also not related to dyadic gender effects. Again, it seems likely that many types of reasons for responding or failing to respond may relate more to the nature of specific provocations or situations, rather than more consistent gender differences.

These similarities overall might suggest that gender roles do not always have an impact on all types of provocations and conflict resolution strategies. In the case of the present study, it is possible that some of these similarities occurred in part due to comparable experiences and environmental influences for both boys and girls living in Colombia (e.g., exposure to violence). In addition, the similarities observed may also highlight the heterogeneity of experiences and internalization of gender norms in females and males in our sample. Nevertheless, despite all these similarities observed in conflict resolution across gender dyads, key gender related differences were also observed. These gender related patterns underscore the role of gender socialization processes, and how these might continue to influence youths' responses to provocations, and the types of provocations that they are most often experiencing or thinking about. These patterns may suggest that more traditional gender beliefs continue to have some influence on youths' behaviours and understandings of their conflict situations with peers. Therefore, the gender of the participants and gender of the offenders appeared to play a role in peer provocations and resolution strategies described by the participants. These findings are reported in the following sections.

Provocation types. Results regarding provocation types revealed that provocations related to physical attributes were specifically narrated by boys in forgiveness events, whereas girls recounted these provocations significantly more often in nonforgiveness events. Furthermore, these types of provocations occurred mainly within mixed-gender dyads in nonforgiveness events and for male participants in the context of forgiveness events. On the one hand, this is consistent with previous literature suggesting that female adolescents have greater

concerns with their physical appearance as compared to boys, therefore having more difficulty forgiving these types of offenses (Jackson, Sullivan, & Hymes, 1987). Thus, it is possible that girls condemn these kinds of provocations more strongly compared to their male counterparts. On the other hand, it is interesting that male participants also shared these types of provocations. These results are consistent with previous literature suggesting that both male and female adolescents care profoundly about their physical appearance, as it has a great impact in their self-esteem and well-being (Harter, 1988; Thornton, & Ryckman, 1991). In addition, given that these types of provocations occurred mainly in cross-gender dyads, the findings suggest that provocations related to physical attributes may be specifically remembered when an offender of the opposite gender is involved, as compared to same-gender peers, as they may be particularly threatening in this context. Alternatively, this finding may also indicate that these types of provocations actually occurred most often in these gender dyads.

Relationship related provocations involving a third party (e.g., "She insulted me, told me that I had stolen her boyfriend and other things, and well that gave me a bad reputation in the classroom... well, people started to see me as the kind of person who was going out with everybody") were most often described by the participants when the offender was a girl. Other types of relationship related provocations (e.g., "She kissed another guy in my face") were most often described by male participants who were provoked by female offenders. And relationship betrayal provocations (e.g., "She did that, knowing that at-one moment we were –FRIENDS. Best friends… it hurt me because she was one of my best friends") were also found to be described as initiated by female offenders significantly more than by boys. All of these patterns arose mainly in nonforgiveness events. The fact that these gender effects (i.e., female offenders of these types of provocations) were observed within nonforgiveness events suggests that relationship related provocations by girls may be particularly unforgivable, as compared to these provocations being enacted by male offenders. In sum, the gender of the offender played a role in the types of provocations youth described.

These results are consistent with previous literature suggesting that girls prioritize social relations (Ostrov & Keating, 2004). Although Card and colleagues (2008) found that relational aggression occurred similarly across boys and girls, this type of aggression may constitute a greater *proportion* of female aggression. That is, while boys might engage in more varied forms of provocations, including relational aggression, girls might engage in relational provocations at

a higher proportion, because of the emphasis they put on social relations. In addition, interestingly, male participants described other relationship based provocations most often compared to female participants. This could suggest that because female participants were most often the provocateurs of these forms of offenses, these were particularly salient to male participants because these provocations (i.e., related to social relationships) threaten their sense of control within cross-gender relationships. Although men might not prioritize social relations as much as girls do (Ostrov & Keating, 2004), men within cultures of honour care deeply for their reputations and how they are regarded within these cultures (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). Therefore, it is possible that provocations that had an impact on their social relationships posed specific threats for men compared to women in our sample.

Moreover, provocations that were described as having an impact on public perceptions of the respondents were described significantly more often when the offender was a girl, particularly in nonforgiveness events. We had expected that being publicly humiliated by a female would be considered as an especially salient provocation for boys within cultures of honour (Cohen et al., 1996; McDonald, 2008). Yet surprisingly, female participants also described these provocations among same-gender dyads. This suggest that the gender of the provocateur played a particular role in these types of provocations; it is possible that being publicly humiliated by a female be considered as worse than being humiliated by a boy, who might be considered stronger than a female. This is in line with gender-based ideologies such as "being weaker than a girl", which seem to be pervasive in this cultural context (Vandello et al., 2009). One interpretation of this finding is that bystander youth more often mocked participants who were provoked by females, given assumed power differences between boys and girls within these cultures (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Richardson & Hammock, 2007). It is also possible that female offenders more often engage in provocations that are damaging to social relationships, as they understand that public humiliation can be devastating for their peers, especially among adolescents from cultures of honour (Card et al., 2008; Cohen et al., 1996; McDonald, 2008). The literature suggests that girls prioritize social relations (Ostrov & Keating, 2004). Therefore, by using these kinds of provocations, girls may be cognizant of the impact these will have on their antagonist. For example "She started this rumour, and every time I had to walk by the ninth and tenth grade hallways, it was awful. I had to walk with someone else... otherwise they would make fun of me, and tell me all kinds of things".

In addition, it is also important to note that in forgiveness events, female participants described more gendered provocations than boys did (e.g., “but when I was turning, he spat on the floor and began to say that women were this and that, and to swear more”; “She said I was not a virgin”). These results are partially in line with literature of cultures of honour, such that these gendered provocations towards girls include using misogynistic slurs or being regarded as having opposite characteristics compared to features in line with marianismo beliefs (Vandello et al., 2009). However, we had also expected male participants to describe gendered provocations based on notions of machismo, especially taking into account that men in these cultures care about their reputation profoundly, as it can often threaten their virility, especially in front of others (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

There were also a few observed patterns that were more difficult to explain. In forgiveness events, male offenders were predominately described as agents of property related provocations. We do not have specific explanations for why these provocations may be described as enacted specifically by male offenders. And finally, general offensive behaviours were described more often in same-gender dyads by male participants. These types of provocations include more general provocations such as teasing and name calling; because these provocations were more varied in nature, it is difficult to interpret this specific pattern.

Responses to provocations and reasons for enacting or not responses. When considering the responses to provocations that were described by participants, a number of patterns were evident. First, across both forgiveness and nonforgiveness events, female participants more often described not responding to the offender, especially when the offender was a boy. This type of response occurred almost exclusively in this specific gender dyad. This suggests that more gender stereotyped ideologies in cultures of honour may continue to be present among our sample, and influenced girls’ behaviours and how they chose to solve their conflicts with male offenders. On the one hand, this is consistent with the Latin concept of *marianismo*, which perceives women as morally and spiritually superior to men, often expected to subvert their individual interest and accept male dominance (Vandello et al., 2009; Stevens, 1973). On the other hand, it is possible that female participants did not consider other types of responses because they did not feel that they were able to respond in other ways in this context (rather than actually preferring this type of response). This is also consistent with the reasons our female participants described.

Specifically, when looking more closely at the reasons that participants described for not enacting their responses, female participants described fruitlessness of the response particularly in forgiveness events (e.g., “I didn't resort to that simply because I think using them wouldn't have changed the situation”; “Because I said that it wasn't worth it to tell her that. For what?… if I knew she wouldn't take it in consideration and she was already involved with him, so what could I do?”). These reasons were also described by participants specifically when the offender was a boy rather than a girl. Female participants also described reasons related to dissipation of negative emotions for not enacting their responses, specifically in nonforgiveness events (e.g., “That was a moment of anger, after that you start thinking about it and you're not angry towards that person anymore”). Therefore, it is important to consider each of these reasons that girls described, as well as possibly the inability or fear to respond towards boys (e.g., “I was afraid he would do something back to me”; “Because I wasn't brave enough to do it… to do something to him”, “I didn’t hit him, because you know… he is a boy, and he could do worse”), which was described by both boys and girls in response to male provocations in nonforgiveness events.

On the other hand, we observed that male participants also described responding in unique ways towards female offenders. Boys avoided female offenders more often compared to male offenders. This was especially seen in nonforgiveness events. These responses are consistent with specific cultural expectations of boys, who would be expected to avoid retaliating towards women because of the strict cultural norms against the maltreatment of women (Cohen et al., 1996). It is possible that boys chose to avoid female offenders in order to control their impulses, especially as the provocations may have been more serious as compared to the provocations described in forgiveness events. In contrast, in forgiveness events, boys described expressing anger (e.g., yelling) and confronting female offenders more often. This suggests that boys within our sample were able to respond to provocations towards female offenders using more positive strategies when they ended up forgiving them. That is, by confronting them and expressing their emotions without retaliating, participants may be using an emotion regulatory strategy (Parlamis, 2012), which may result in a more constructive resolution and the possibility of forgiveness and reconciliation. In contrast, boys who described avoiding female offenders in the nonforgiveness events may have done so because they were afraid of not be able to control their negative emotions, thus choosing to avoid them, which may have precluded the possibility of forgiveness. This is line with the reasons boys described for not enacting their responses, such

that they provided more gendered reasons (e.g., “I was going to hit her…but no, I said no you can't hit women so no”) for not responding to provocations towards female offenders.

Overall participants described immediate withdrawal responses towards female offenders in forgiveness events, whereas female participants described immediate withdrawal more often than boys in nonforgiveness events. These results suggest that when the offender was a girl, participants decided to physically remove themselves from the conflict, take the time to think over the provocations to perhaps regulate their emotions. It is possible that, consistent with past research (e.g., Keener and colleagues, 2012; Shute and Charlton, 2006; Suh et al., 2004), youth most often responded to provocations using strategies that matched their gender-based expectations of how their antagonist would behave. Thus, it is possible that most participants expected females not to respond, and walk away in face of provocations. Hence, participants in our sample may have also responded in this way. And in fact, we observed that female participants in nonforgiveness events did describe withdrawing themselves from the provocations more often than male participants did. In addition, taking into consideration the reasons that participants described for not responding to female offenders, participants described avoiding escalation or further conflicts (e.g., “You can't hit them because they go and tell the teacher so I don't say anything”, “to avoid having more problems than the ones you already have”) as the reasons why they chose not to respond to female offenders in nonforgiveness events. As such, this may possibly explain the response-patterns observed.

Furthermore, when examining retaliatory responses to provocations more closely, results suggest that these types of responses were significantly more prevalent when the participant and the offender were boys. This pattern was observed across forgiveness and nonforgiveness events. In addition, when exploring the types of retaliatory responses in more detail, these were mainly of physical nature. This suggests that within same-gender boy dyads, physical aggression was predominant compared to other gender dyads. This is in line with our hypothesis, as we expected to see more physical aggression between boy-boy dyads, as compared to cross-gender or same-gender girl dyads. Overall, research suggests that physical aggression is predominately observed among boys’ interactions (Card et al., 2008) including when it is retaliatory in nature (Smith & Shu, 2000).

In addition, when examining at the proportion of enactment of retaliatory responses, results showed that boys enacted these responses significantly more than girls did in forgiveness

events. However, within nonforgiveness events, there was no significant difference between boys and girls. This suggests that boys are most likely to act on their retaliatory responses compared to girls, at least in forgiveness events. It is possible that boys enact their retaliatory responses most often because social norms do not prevent them from doing so, at least as compared to female participants, for whom overtly displaying aggression and anger go against their social norms (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Richardson & Hammock, 2007). However, when provocations are more severe (i.e., those narrated in nonforgiveness events) male and female participants become more similar in their proportion of enactment of their retaliatory responses. This suggests that the severity of the provocations might play a role in the enactment of retaliatory responses, at least for female participants. In contrast, for male participants, the likelihood of retaliation was apparently more consistent across forgiveness and nonforgiveness events; one possibility is that males may not perceive as much of a conflict between seeking revenge and ultimately forgiving the offender. Previous research has shown that in face of minor conflicts with peers (e.g., argument over an object), boys engaged in more maladaptive responses (Rose & Asher, 1999). In contrast, girls may react particularly vehemently in the face of more severe provocations, such as relationship betrayals (MacEvoy & Asher, 2012; Ostrov & Keating, 2004). Therefore, it is possible that the severity of the provocation had a bigger impact for females and their decision to retaliate and forgive the offender, as compared to their male counterparts.

In addition, male participants most often reiterated the initial provocation (e.g., “Well because he hit me”, “Well honestly for me- well I thought it was really wrong that… he didn't want- that he didn't want to help me”) as an adequate explanation for why they chose to enact or not enact their responses towards the offender. These responses are consistent with research on other samples of males exposed to violence, which might suggest that male participants understand provocations and resulting retaliatory responses as a transaction (Wilkinson & Carr, 2008). That is, transactional violence is described by inner city boys as a preventive and protective strategy that they have learnt as an adaptation to exposure to violence and to the specific situational characteristics. Thus, within this framework, male participants may have deemed the provocations themselves as enough reason for their responses, in an attempt to seek justice.

Participants' judgements about retaliatory aggression. The results of the NOBAGS measure provided complementary information on how participants in this study evaluated retaliatory actions in specific gender dyads. Specifically, these findings helped us further interpret the patterns above, in that they elucidated participants' views on the acceptability of retaliation in a more general (i.e., decontextualized) context that was not situated in the participants' own interpersonal interactions.

Overall, findings indicated that youth judged retaliatory aggression from boys more negatively as compared to girls. In addition, retaliatory aggression towards girls was evaluated more negatively as compared to retaliatory aggression towards boys. And finally, youth appraised retaliatory aggression from a boy towards a girl as worse compared to any other gender combination, whereas retaliation of a girl towards a boy was judged the least negatively compared to the other gender dyads. This information suggests that patterns in our sample are in line with previous research suggesting that Colombian youth endorse relatively traditional gender norms (Diekman et al., 2005; Glick et al., 2000; Lameiras et al., 2002) that are consistent with a culture of honour, where aggression towards women is judged more severely as compared to aggression towards men (Cohen et al., 1996). These results provide converging evidence that the youths' gender-based judgments of conflict may explain some of the above patterns observed and described by our participants, in that many of the provocations and responses described by boys as compared to girls are consistent with these results.

Limitations

There are advantages and disadvantages of the methodology that was used in this study. Real life narrative accounts provided us with insight into adolescents' actual experiences of provocations and the conflict resolution strategies they described using. However, the data gathered were not homogeneous, and events varied on many characteristics. For instance, the narratives that participants recounted were from different periods in their life, which might have influenced the details provided about older events compared to more recent events. Unfortunately, we were not able to identify the time when the event described took place for the majority of the events (56%). Nonetheless, 26% of the events narrated by our participants occurred less than one year prior to the interview; while 18% of the events were from more than one year prior to the interview. Out of the events for which the time when the provocation occurred was identifiable, in recent events participants disproportionately described provocations

related to relationships or general offensive behaviors, whereas past events were somewhat more likely to include property related provocations and insults related to physical attributes.

Moreover, a number of other gender-related issues were not examined in this work. Given that this project used participants' own narratives about their personal conflicts with peers, a number of gendered themes were not discussed, as these were never described by our participants. Further research using hypothetical scenarios could take into consideration a number of other gendered conflict issues including provocations related to leisure activities, sport teams, household chores, family responsibilities, etc. Likewise, the lifetime exposure to violence measure included in this study did not include a number of types of violence that might be considered more indirect forms of violence (i.e., those included in the news, or to family members that youth might not have witness directly), or to forms of violence that might disproportionately affect women (e.g., sexual assault). That is, the MyETV interview included some, but not all forms of violence that youth might be exposed to, and that might be important in understanding of the types of provocation described by our participants, as well as in their responses to these provocations, and reasons for enacting or not enacting these responses.

Further, our study did not take into consideration the number of individuals involved in each of these provocations. That is, although most provocations described by our participants occurred between two individuals (83% in forgiveness events, 77% in nonforgiveness events). Some conflicts involved at least one group as one of the parties (17% in forgiveness events and 23% in nonforgiveness events); that is, such conflicts occurred between an individual and a group of peers, or two groups of peers. Benenson, Sinclair, and Dolenszky, (2006) found that children and adolescents were expected to respond differently in dyadic versus group provocations. More specifically, females victims of a hostile provocation were expected to react more aggressively in a compatible dyadic relationship, while boys were not expected to react differently across dyadic and group situations. In addition, Benenson and Heath (2006) found that boys displayed more withdrawal responses in dyadic interactions, whereas girls withdrew more often in group interactions. Although, these results were not in the context of conflict resolution, it is possible that similar patterns would occur in responses to provocations. Therefore, further research should take into account the number of people involved in conflicts, in order to better comprehend the similarities or differences observed in dyadic versus group conflict resolutions and how these differences might moderate the observed gender effects.

Indeed, previous analyses reported by Recchia, Sarmiento, Posada, and Wainryb (2016) based on this sample found significant differences between interpersonal as compared to intergroup provocations, although the frequencies of group vs. dyadic conflicts were similar for boys and girls. Issues

In addition, distinctions between the four schools where data collection took place were not considered in analyses due to limited sample size in each school, especially when considering dyadic gender composition. Participants were recruited from four different urban schools that varied in neighbourhood and school violence. Therefore, it is possible that these school factors might have influenced participants' descriptions of conflict.

Furthermore, the results of this study were conducted within a specific cultural and geographical context, and thus cannot necessarily be generalized to other cultural groups. In addition, the present study was not designed to examine dyadic gender effects. Therefore, the number of each gender dyad group was not the same, limiting power for some statistical analyses. Finally, it is important to note that the patterns observed above only represent the participants' descriptions of the provocations and responses to these provocations as they were understood by them, and not necessarily how they actually occurred.

Implications

The present study provides new information about adolescents' conflict resolution strategies and how these vary across gender dyads. Although some studies have examined conflict resolution in adolescence (Black, 2000; Kozlowski & Warber, 2010; Tuval-Mashiach & Shulman, 2006), there is a lack of research examining conflict resolution strategies among cross-gender peers during this period. Therefore, the present study sheds light on conflict dynamics among same- versus opposite-gender peers. The current project also takes into account the specific provocations narrated by the participants, which were drawn from their own life experiences. By asking the participants for their own personal narratives, the present study provides information about the lived conflict experiences in our sample, and allowed us to identify patterns that might not have arisen otherwise (e.g., in response to hypothetical scenarios).

We have attempted to situate the current findings within a specific cultural context. In particular, the characteristics of our sample imply that our findings not only provide information about experiences of provocations among boys and girls, but also about the experiences of youth

growing up in environments with higher violence exposure, in contrast to the community samples that tend to be the focus of most research in this topic (Dirks et al., 2007; McDonald, 2008). Moreover, specific cultural characteristics were taken into account in the present study, which allows for a better understanding of possible contributing factors of cycles of violence, and the different reasons youth provided for containing or enacting their desired responses in face of diverse provocations. These contributing factors might include their exposure to violence, the pervasive symbols of marianismo and machismo, along with other specific cultural norms and roles that appear to be often reinforced in cultures of honour.

Having a better understanding of youths' conflict experiences can allow parents, teachers, and school principals to target provocations that are most likely to escalate or that might be most salient in same- versus cross-gender dyads of girls and boys. This information provides adults with the opportunity to intervene and deliver guidance to youth in order to solve conflicts more constructively, and hopefully avoid more negative strategies such as aggression. For instance, these results speak to the specific types of provocations that youth describe experiencing at the hands of boys and girls (Card et al., 2008), the desired responses of boys and girls described (i.e., retaliatory versus non-retaliatory), and the types of goals that girls and boys describe as guiding their responses. Therefore, this knowledge may serve to provide adults with an occasion to intervene accordingly when peer conflicts arise. For example, by targeting gendered provocations (e.g., "She said I was not a virgin") and encouraging youth to consider the implications of these types of provocations, this may hopefully enhance youths' empathic characteristics in their social relationships. Further, the results of the present study can also allow parents and other adult figures in the lives of adolescents to be cognizant of the ways certain cultural characteristics and symbols are passed on to future generations, and how boys and girls might internalize them. For example, these processes appear to influence boys' responses to provocations that violate their honour (e.g., Cohen et al., 1996; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996), while also limiting girls from acting assertively or even responding at all to provocations, thus reinforcing more submissive responses (López-Zafra, 2008). As described previously, many of these cultural characteristics can actually perpetuate issues of unequal power or aggression across same- and mixed-gender dyads (Cohen et al., 1999; Huesmann & Guerra, 1997; Qouta et al., 2008). Thus, it is important to demonstrate how pervasive stereotypical gender roles continue to influence youths' interpersonal relationships, in terms of the ways they understand and

respond to provocations with same- and mixed-gender peers. In other words, this study suggests that more work is still needed to overcome stereotypical gender beliefs, norms, and behaviors. Indeed, Colombia is considered a country where sexism continues to be pervasive, and therefore it is not surprising to find the gendered patterns that were observed (Glick et al., 2000).

Future Directions

Taking into consideration the results from this study, important additional questions emerge. First, it would be important to examine conflict resolution strategies in same- and mixed-gender peers among youth from different cultural backgrounds. Although the present study was situated in a specific cultural context, it would be interesting to investigate whether or not similar patterns would also be observed in North American cultures where gendered stereotypes might be distinct from those in cultures of honour (Glick et al., 2000; López-Zafra, 2008). Similarly, although there is a large body of research on links between conflict resolution and exposure to violence (e.g., Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004; Astor, 1994; Astor & Behre, 1997; Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992; Huesmann, & Spindler, 2003), conflicts among same- versus cross-gender dyads have not being examined specifically. Previous research suggests that childhood exposure to violence might influence reactive aggression more strongly for boys than girls (Debowska, et al., 2015). Therefore, it would be interesting to further investigate whether the antagonist gender may also influence different types of aggression as a function of exposure to violence, as well as other conflict resolution strategies.

In addition, the present study did not examine the specific school climate for each of the schools where youth were recruited. Although important information about the schools and neighbourhoods were described, having an empirical measure of the school climate, specifically related to the gender norms within these schools, might play an important role in better understanding the types of provocations, and responses most often observed. For instance, it is possible that youths' traditional gender norms be maintained through socialization practices at the schools (e.g., only male soccer teams and only female volleyball teams). Similarly, family and peer influence in gendered norms should also be taken into account. For example, it would be useful to by examine families' judgements about more traditional gender norms and relate these to adolescents' descriptions of gendered patterns in conflict. In addition, especially during adolescence, peer influences might play an important role in the ways youth respond to conflicts in the context of same- and cross-gender dyads (Brendgen et al., 2001). Therefore, by gathering

information about the gendered beliefs, norms, and behaviors in youths' peer networks, we could examine processes of peer influence. In sum, assessing these gender related patterns in schools, homes, and peer groups could be used to partially explain youths' descriptions of provocations and conflict resolution strategies used.

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Appendix A

Narrative elicitation and follow up questions script (translated from Spanish)

Forgiveness event:

(a) You know how sometimes a peer says something or does something and you end up feeling hurt or upset by it? So what I would like to ask you now is to think about a time when another kid did or said something to you and it made you feel very hurt and angry. And you were so angry or hurt, that you wanted to get back at them, but you ended up forgiving them. This happens to all of us once in a while, but see if you can think of a time that was important to you. Can you think of a time like that, when a kid did or said something to you and you felt so hurt or angry that you wanted to get back at them, but you ended up forgiving them?

Prompts if necessary: *(You don't need to rush. Go ahead and take your time, think about it. Try to choose a time that you remember really well. When you think of a time like that, then tell me. Ok, now I want to know everything that happened. So try to tell me everything you can remember about that time when you ended up forgiving this person).*

Probes: *Is there anything else you remember about that time? Is there anything else you can tell me about what happened? Is there anything else that would help me understand how things were for the two of you?*

Non-Forgiveness event:

(b) Ok, now I'm going to ask you about a different time. For this one, I want you to tell me about a time when another kid did or said something to you, and it made you feel very hurt and angry. And you were so angry you wanted to get back at them, except this time you ended up NOT forgiving them. Again, this happens to all of us once in a while, but see if you can think of a time that was important to you. Can you think of a time like that, when a kid did or said something and you felt so hurt or angry that you wanted to get back at them, and you ended up NOT forgiving?

Prompt if necessary: *(Go ahead and take your time, think about it. Just like the first one, try to choose a time that you remember really well – remember, for this one, try to think of a time when you ended up NOT forgiving. When you think of a time like that, then tell me.*

Ok, again, I want to know everything that happened. So try to tell me everything you can remember about that time when you ended up NOT forgiving this person.)

Probes: *Is there anything else you remember about that time? Is there anything else you can tell me about what happened? Is there anything else that would help me understand what happened and how things were for the two of you?*

Relevant follow up questions (asked separately about each event, after both open-ended narratives have been provided):

(1) I don't know if you actually did something to get back at them or not, but – try to remember how you felt back then — when you were the most [the feeling described before], what did you feel like doing or saying to him/her?

Prompt if necessary: Was there something you felt like doing or saying to him/her, even if you ended up not doing or saying it?

(2) Is there anything else that crossed your mind? That you felt like doing?

(3) Did you end up doing/saying any of that or anything like that?

(4) Why did you end up doing/saying any of that? Or, why did you not?

Appendix B

Coding scheme for provocation types (all examples translated from Spanish)

1) Offensive behaviour (OB): Verbal or behavioural action that offends the participant. Includes being rude, being mean, teasing, making rude comments, rude behaviour. The participant does not recognize a specific reason for the harm. *E.g., "He turned my backpack upside down"*

2) Insults related to physical attributes (IPA): It includes nicknames and insults that are based on the participant's physical characteristics. *E.g., "He used to make fun of my teeth"*

3) Family related provocations (FP): Verbal or behavioural action that offends the family of the participant. It includes insulting family members, treating family members bad, disrespecting family members, etc. *E.g., "She insulted my mom"*

4) Property related (PR): Includes any transgression that involves the destruction of property, taking it, stealing, breaking, etc. *E.g., "He cut my school uniform"* When someone takes something from the participant and/or they are fighting over an object. *E.g., "He stole my cellphone"*

5) Homework related (HR): It refers to transgressions related to homework, course work, or transgressions that lead to poor academic outcomes. *E.g., "He did not help with the group work"*

6) Exclusion (E): It refers to being excluded and being ignored by a friend or peer. *E.g., "She started to ignored me and stop being friends with me"*

7) Relationship based - offender (RO): It refers to transgressions that affect the participant's relationship with the antagonist. It also includes betraying the trust of the participant, backstabbing, lying, etc. Includes transgressions that strictly affect the relationship between the participant and antagonist. E.g., *"She lied to me"*

8) Relationship based - third party (RT): It refers to friendship manipulations that affect the participant's relationship with others. It also includes starting rumours, negative gossip, messing with love interests, cheating, etc. It already implies transgressions that affected the participant's relationship with the offender. E.g., *"He spread rumours about me"*

9) Gendered Provocation (GP): Include:

a) Insult threatening femininity (IF): Verbal action that offended the female participant's purity. It threatens her traditional role of *marianismo,* which emphasizes female

loyalty, sacrifice and purity. *E.g., "She said I was not a virgin"; "He used to call me 'bunny playboy' because of my teeth"*

b) Insults threatening masculinity (IM): Verbal action that offended the male participant's virility. It threatens his traditional role of *machismo*, which is strongly connected with notions of honour, includes norms of chivalry, stoicism, etc. It includes being teased because of soccer skills, being called weak, etc. *E.g., "He called me and my friends' gays"*

10) Physical Provocations (PP): Any physical aggression, including physical transgression that did not hurt the participant. *E.g., "She hit me"*

11) Other (OTH): Includes blocked goals and factual disagreement. *E.g., "We were fighting about which movie to watch"*

Implications of the harm coding:

1) Offenses related to public humiliation (OPH): Includes insults, behaviours and nicknames the participant specifically mentioned lead to public humiliation (*E.g., "He called me stupid and then everyone else laughed at me"),* or explicit references to the public nature of the offense and/or the fact that others observed the harm (*"she did it in front of everyone")*

2) Offensive behaviours related to romantic relationships (OBR)*:* It includes behaviours the participant explained was related to romantic relationships. *E.g., "She gave me dirty looks because she was jealous" or "He insulted me because I didn't want to go out with him"*

3) Offenses Related to disrespect (OD): The harm is described as offensive or disrespectful in nature. It includes explicit references of feeling that one's rights/dignity are violated by the harm, or that the harm was undeserved. *E.g., "He was forcing me and I said 'no' (…) well it was my boyfriend and he was saying 'come, nothing will happen' as* ***if I were, I don't know who (reference of: who does he think I am)****. So of course that was really annoying"*

"I told her, ***you are always trying to control me*** *and take me towards whatever you want, but* ***no, I am free to do whatever I want to do****"*

"I was celebrating my quinceañera party. I left my cell-phone on a table and there was one of my invites who took the phone and stole it. I could have put my hand on fire for him when this occurred. I don't hold a grudge on him but I will not forget it. Following this incident, at school I saw this person holding my cell-phone and I told him ***"que garra"*** *(you crossed the line), you come to my party to steal my phone"*

4) Offenses related to relationship betrayal (RB): The harm is described as something that betrays the trust of the participant or as violating the participant's expectations for specific relationships. E.g., "She was my best friend and so she shouldn't have done that to me"

Appendix C

Desired and Enacted Responses to Provocations (all examples translated from Spanish)

1) No response (NR): Participant describes not wanting to do anything to the perpetrator. Includes, forgiving the perpetrator, leaving things in peace. *E.g., "I did not do anything"*

2) Powerless/lack of response (P): Participant describes not being able to respond. Includes feelings if defeat. *E.g., "I cried"*

3) Avoidance (A): Participant describes desiring to, or avoiding the situation. Includes, avoiding to think about it, distract themselves, ignoring. *E.g., "I continued doing my homework"*

4) Withdrawal (W): Includes walking away, not talking to the perpetrator, stop being friends with the perpetrator, leaving.

(a) Withdrawn Immediate (WI): Includes stop being friends, stop talking to them for a while. *E.g., "We didn't talk for like three months"*

(b) Withdrawn Permanently (WP): Includes stop being friends with the perpetrator, stop talking to that person permanently. *E.g., "I stopped talking to her"*

5) Confronting (C): Articulating to the perpetrator what the harm was or telling the perpetrator to do it directly to them. *E.g., "I told her to tell me all those things in my face"*. It also includes instances when participant explicitly tells the offender to stop the harm. *E.g., "Stop doing that"*. Also includes when the participant tells the perpetrator how he or she feels about the harm, and how it has affected her/him. *E.g., "I told him how it affected me"*

6) Expressing anger (EA): General descriptions of "yelling" or "screaming" at the perpetrator and actions that express anger without any reference to the nature of the harm. Includes telling off, rolling eyes. *E.g., "I yelled at him"*

7) Other action/process to cause harm (OA/H): Includes psychological (e.g., insulting), physical, and relational aggression that had the intention to harm the perpetrator. E.g., "I punched him"

8) Tit-for-tat (TT): Doing the exact same thing back to the perpetrator to cause him/her the same amount of harm. It includes getting back at him/her. *E.g., "I insulted her back"*

9) Adult intervention (AI): Seeking the intervention of an authority figure, with or without the intention to get the perpetrator in trouble. *E.g., "I went to the coordinator's office and tell on him"*

10) Reconciliation (REC): Action directed towards resolving the situation or mending the relationship with the perpetrator. It includes apologizing. *E.g., "I apologized"*

11) Other (OTH): All other responses. *E.g., "I got a new friend"*

Appendix D

Reasons for responding or not to provocations (all examples translated from Spanish)

1) Negative evaluation of the response (NE): Response is judged to be mean, wrong, bad, not ok, disrespectful, or something that you just shouldn't do, does not want to hurt the offender, or anticipates own feelings of guilt or remorse. *E.g., "Only because they were... how can I say, fantasies, because you think of something but you can't carry it out because you know that it's bad"*; *"Because maybe I was angry and I could have said things that I would regret at that moment, so I waited until my anger went away and told her outside"*; *"I think that what you do doesn't- what you don't want others to do to you, you shouldn't do. Well that's like the philosophy I have"*

2) Own stable characteristics/preferences/commitments (SC): Responding or failing to respond because of stable personal characteristics, preferences, commitments, or values that make retaliation unlikely. *E.g., "Because I don't like it... I don't like being disrespectful and I wouldn't be able to slap someone. I have never been like that and I think I never will be"*

3) Inability to respond or fear of further victimization (IF): Participants describe responding in a powerless manner or not responding because they feel they are not strong enough, are afraid that other ways of responding will result in further victimization or retribution from the offender or are unable to think of a retaliatory action in the moment. *E.g., "Because I remember I was afraid to say anything to those in eleventh grade"; "But I didn't do it, because I said "why would I do this if it can cause me more problems?"*

4) Fruitlessness of response (FR): References to the fact that the response would not solve problems, would not have an effect on the offender, or does not actually make them feel better. *E.g., "Because I don't know, I said that it wasn't worth it to tell her that. For what… if I knew she wouldn't take it in consideration and she was already involved with him"*

5) To avoid escalation/ continuation of conflict (AE): Participants described responding by walking away, stopping being friends with the offender, not speaking to them, telling the teacher, etc. in order to avoid escalation of the conflict. *E.g., "I told the teacher so that things would not get worse"*. Or they refrained from responding because of the potential for continuation or escalation of the conflict, including the conflict spreading to the broader peer group or having

consequences for oneself from authority figures like parents, teachers, or police. Not coded here when it is described as strictly self-oriented, or involving fear of retribution (**if**), and also not coded here when it is described as strictly other-oriented (**op**). E.g., *"[…] and I left things like that, instead of getting more involved and making a problem bigger, I didn't talk to him and that's it"; "Because I knew I would get in trouble, anyway I think he got in trouble because I told my parents and everything. So well I knew that it would also have turned out badly for me"*

6) Magnitude of the harm or emotional dissipation (MHED): The original provocation is described as not sufficiently harmful to justify responding (i.e., minimized). E.g., "*Because… I don't know that- I'm- that- she insulted the actors, but she didn't say anything to me that would really give me the- or the motive to hit her or assault her verbally"*. Or the negative emotion in the aftermath of the provocation is described as not sufficiently motivating to actually respond; most often because the negative emotion dissipates, leading to a reduced desire to respond. E.g., "*That was a moment of anger, after that you start thinking about it and you're not angry towards that person anymore, it's really normal with that person, so why would you go looking for trouble if you don't feel it, you don't feel it anymore, you only felt it at that moment and that's it"*

7) Offender's reparation/remorse (OR): Participants described refraining from response because the offender made amends, including reparations or expressing remorse. E.g., "*Because she looked for me... without me having to say anything, she went and looked for me. Well after a little bit of time had passed, she went and looked for me and asked me to forgive her"*

8) Lack of offender's reparation/remorse (LOR): Participant describes responding because the perpetrator did not make amends or did not express remorse. E.g., *"He did not apologized for what he did to me"*

9) Perspective of offender (PO): Participants described refraining from response because of empathy for the offender, exploring the offender's motives or background, simulating the offender's perspective, admitting partial culpability, or because the participant does not want to hurt the offender E.g., "*[…] Because that happened also to me once, and you do things, and feel bad afterwards. […] and anyways despite of what she had done and all the problems that were coming to me, I thought of her and what her family was going to say about her and everything, so I didn't"; "So I didn't call because I knew that if I was going to call, I was not going to call to say good things and I was going to say mean things and I was going to make her feel worse because I think anyways she was feeling bad after what she did"*

10) Relationship oriented (RO): Participants described responding because of the status of one's relationship with the offender. It includes references of betrayal (i.e., responding because the harm betrayed the participant's trust). *E.g., "Because she was my friend, and she should have known better"; "Because we were friends, so knowing I talked badly about her in class, about why she had hit me, bla bla bla... well I wasn't going to say ok I forgive you and it's ok... no. Well obviously I had to tell her "ugh I got really angry", and I told her this and this... and well she also said "I got really angry too" and I told her this and this... and we told each other everything"*. Or responding with the desire to maintain the relationship with the offender because of their friendship history. *E.g. "I confronted her because I wanted to clear things up and continue being friends"*. Or responding because the participant does not have a desire to maintain a relationship with the offender, or they do not share a past friendship history. *E.g., "I did not speak to him again because I told him I did not want to have that type of friends around me"; "I also hit him because he is not my friend, so I did not care"*

11) Lack of opportunity/intervention (LOI): Failing to respond because an opportunity to do so has not presented itself, or because of a third party intervention. Distinguished from (**if**) because the constraints here are external circumstances, does not imply powerlessness to act. *E.g., "When I was going to answer him, he turned around and left"; "Because some of my classmates got involved"*

12) Emotionally-driven, emotionally flooded, emotional release, or cathartic (ED): Youth describe responding because of their own negative emotions. For instance, this includes feeling overwhelmed, flooded, enraged, or desiring emotional release. *E.g., "Well because I felt angry and sometimes when you are angry you don't think"; "Because that made me really mad and I had to tell her"*

13) General references to the provocation (GP): References to responding because one was provoked, without directly specifying the psychological link between the provocation and the response. Also includes any reference to the magnitude of the harm, or how wrong the harm was, or how much the victim didn't like it. *E.g., "Because I had never done anything to him, because of the teams or anything and he went off to hit me right away, he didn't tell me or anything he just passed and started hitting me, and well in my mind I was thinking, when I see him again alone or just like that even if I'm with the people I usually hang out with, I'm going to get him too"*

14) Standing up for self and family (SSF): Participant described responding because there is a general need to react defensively (e.g., stand up for yourself, not let that happen, not going to let him do that to me) or responding in anticipation of being hurt to prevent it from happening in the future. Boys might describe responding because the harm threatened their manhood. Whereas girls might describe responding because the harm had no grounds, was insulting, the participant felt the need to clean her reputation in front of others, etc. *E.g., "Because he was sabotaging me in a conversation and well I don't know, I didn't want him to get away with it this time and so I got the determination"*. Or participant's responded because the harm was evaluated as disrespectful, offensive, warranted a response. *E.g., "I confronted him because what he did was disrespectful"*. Or participants responded because of a need to stand up for one's family, to defend the honour of the family, and make others respect them. *E.g., "He was treating (verbally) my mom badly and that's what gets me the angriest…"; "So we started fighting. More so it's because it's family. They taught us to- to respect our cousins and all that, everyone in our family, so that was it- [...] he said that, and well of course and I was all offended so I went right away and landed him a punch right there. And we started fighting and all that, until my cousins and the guys- the guy's friends separated us."*

15) To make self feel better, or offender worse (SBOW): Youth describe responding either to make themselves feel better, to make the offender feel worse, or some combination of the two. Also includes references to making the other person pay for what they did, and to show them how they felt. E.g., *"I left her there alone and I think that was a way for her to pay for it"*

16) Gender norms (GN): Refraining from responding because of stereotypical gender norms. Or participants describe failing to respond because they described feeling in a vulnerable position specifically due to perceived gender inequalities. *E.g., "But no, I told myself you can't hit women so no"; "Well the truth is, I do think she is good looking, yes, but the truth is I don't like to hit people, I like more to hit men than women, so that's why I didn't do it"; "I didn't hit him, because you know… he is a boy, and he could do worse"*

Appendix E

Normative Beliefs about Aggression Scale (NOBAGS)

Instructions

The following questions ask you about whether you think certain behaviors are WRONG or are OK. Mark with an 'X' the answer that best describes what you think. Choose ONE and only one answer.

Suppose a boy says something bad to another boy, John.

	IT'S PERFECTLY OK	IT'S SORT OF OK	IT'S SORT OF WRONG	IT'S REALLY WRONG
1. Do you think it's OK for John to scream at him?				
2. Do you think it's OK for John to hit him?				

Suppose a boy says something bad to a girl.

	IT'S PERFECTLY OK	IT'S SORT OF OK	IT'S SORT OF WRONG	IT'S REALLY WRONG
3. Do you think it's wrong for the girl to scream at him?				
4. Do you think it's wrong for the girl to hit him?				

Suppose a girl says something bad to another girl, Mary.

	IT'S PERFECTLY OK	IT'S SORT OF OK	IT'S SORT OF WRONG	IT'S REALLY WRONG

5. Do you think it's OK for Mary to scream at her?				
6. Do you think it's OK for Mary to hit her?				

Suppose a girl says something bad to a boy.

	IT'S REALLY WRONG	IT'S SORT OF WRONG	IT'S SORT OF OK	IT'S PERFECTLY OK
7. Do you think it's wrong for the boy to scream at her?				
8. Do you think it's wrong for the boy to hit her?				

Suppose a boy hits another boy, John.

	IT'S REALLY WRONG	IT'S SORT OF WRONG	IT'S SORT OF OK	IT'S PERFECTLY OK
9. Do you think it's wrong for John to hit him back?				