Peers Influence Response to Threat:

Cultural Norms, Reciprocity & Identity Processes in the Adolescent Caregiving System

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Abstract

Two years of school observations and interviews with parents, educators, and adolescents led to the creation of an application to investigate how adolescents respond when peers are threatened, and how those actions relate to cultural norms, identity and victim well-being. The resulting project attempted to address questions raised by community members and by developmental theories of caregiving and bystander intervention. Surveys and in-depth interviews were conducted with 300 7th to 12th grade adolescents, evenly divided between African American, European American, Mexican American and Native American. Five research studies are published or submitted for publication. The first study describes the specific bystander actions that victims identified as moderating or amplifying their negative emotions. The second study shows that victims experienced greater emotional well-being and social connection after bystanders calmed their emotions and helped resolve conflicts, than when bystander amplified victim anger or took revenge on behalf of the victim. The bystander perspective on those four actions is the topic of the third and fourth studies. Bystanders felt more pride, less guilt and shame, and more like a good friend when they calmed and resolved than when they amplified and avenged. Third-party resolution was followed by strong feelings of competence, while third-party revenge was often followed by feelings that actions were inconsistent with values and one's "true self." Study 5 developed a measure of adolescent honor, dignity and face norm endorsement. It shows the predicted associations with threat response and self-evaluation of responses. Implications of the results for educational practice are discussed.

Responding to the National Institute of Justice's School Safety Initiative, the project's overarching goal was to foster youths' constructive responses to perceived threat and aggression by leveraging positive peer influence and in a culturally competent manner. All cultures have institutions, norms and rituals aimed at containing internal conflict and violence (Frey et al. in press). Effectiveness of such strategies is compromised when social institutions do not provide equal protection to all groups (Jackson et al., 2013; Tyler, 2012; 2015), and when people are unfamiliar with conflict containment strategies of people from other cultural backgrounds (Cohen et al., 1999). In schools, these problems elevate the already strong role of peers in transmitting norms regarding aggression (Dishion et al., 1996). Educators identify a need for increased understanding of cultural variations, and for practices that support peer efforts to intervene positively in threat situations.

Our theoretical model suggests that peer influence is most potent when young people have been targets of bullying, harassment and discrimination (Frey et al, 2015). Such intervention is common when friends are threatened. Bystanders may defend victims in the moment, encourage or discourage victim retaliation, calm and comfort victims, take revenge on behalf of victims, and help them resolve problems with peers. While educators may understandably lament what they consider the overinvolvement of adolescents in the problems of peers, such actions may represent important practice in learning to protect and care for others—an essential developmental task. Worldwide, care and protection of others are among humans' most important goals (Ko et al., 2020).

One way that bystander actions promote the development of caregiving is that bystanders need to take victim perspectives into account. Victims provide feedback on the adequacy of bystander efforts—sometimes quite bluntly. Bystanders worry about their friends'

welfare and they also worry about maintaining the friendship if their actions or advice negatively impact their friend. Their intervention allows them to practice protecting friends and to find out what is effective when consoling and resolving problems. Whether adolescents choose actions that reduce escalation and enhance victim adjustment depends on the specific context, cultural norms, past feedback, and their own moral appraisal of similar actions they have taken in the past. Our model posits that effective and peaceful actions initiate recursive processes (Cohen & Sherman, 2014) that affirm self-identities and foster well-regulated prosocial behavior among both helpers and their recipients (Frey et al., 2015). That is, the pride and self-affirming judgements that adolescents experience after effectively protecting and caring for a peer encourage more constructive actions. These self-evaluative emotions and thoughts contribute to an identity as a good person, and the desire to experience those positive feelings again. Victims that they have helped feel affirmed, grateful, and are motivated to reciprocate the help-giving. Thus, both parties experience feelings of social connection. Conversely, we predicted that aggressive and ineffective actions would elicit guilt and shame. Over time, adolescents learn to anticipate and avoid negative self-evaluative emotions by choosing actions that help them feel good about themselves. Our overall goal was to provide information that can help educators guide and accelerate such positive development, thereby increasing school safety and the well-being of all students. Our specific objectives were to:

1. Describe *what* types of peer intervention are considered effective by young people.

2a. Assess *how* victimized youth judge and respond to the actions of peers on their behalf

2b. Assess *how* young people judge themselves after intervening with a victimized peer

3. Refine and validate a measure of socio-cultural norms relevant to revenge and reconciliation

4. Pilot culturally competent practices for supporting positive youth caregiving efforts.

To fulfill these objectives, we interviewed and surveyed a diverse sample of middle and high school students. To achieve objective 1, we used qualitative methods to code and summarize actions that adolescents take to co-regulate emotions (e.g., calm, amplify anger) of peers who have been bullied, harassed or discriminated against. We tested hypotheses for Objective 2 by asking participants how they felt after peers intervened in their victimization. We predicted that victims would feel lower levels of internalizing emotions (e.g., worry sadness), and higher levels of positive emotions (e.g., pride, relief, gratitude) after peers calmed, and helped resolve problems, compared to amplifying victim anger or avenging the victim. We also thought that victims would experience greater respect and desire to reciprocate after calming and resolution. The study for project Objective 3 and a fifth paper based on secondary analyses test our hypotheses that adolescents would experience greater pride and feelings of benevolence and competence after calming and resolving than after amplifying anger and avenging the victim. We also predicted that adolescents would experience less guilt, shame, and feelings of incongruence with their sense of self after peaceful interventions.

Because first three objectives were accomplished using the same measures and participants, we first describe the methods common to all four studies. We describe the specific variations and results for each study. We then describe the surveys administered for the fourth objective. Our aim was to develop adolescent measure of the norms associated with three socio-cultural systems known as honor, face and dignity systems (Leung & Cohen, 2011). We describe measure validity and test the predictions that honor endorsement would be linked to greater perceived threat and retaliation, and more positive feelings after revenge, while face endorsement would be linked to greater anger suppression, reconciliation and more positive feelings after calming a victimized peer.

Our fifth objective was to initiate the development of useful educational practices. We describe recommendations based on projects results and summarize the six-session program that we developed for adolescents to create community service podcasts.

METHODS APPLICABLE TO OBJECTIVES 1 TO 3

Participants

This project administered surveys and conducted in-depth interviews with African American, European American, Mexican American, and Native American youth. We interviewed at the end of the school or during summer to enable youth to reflect on an entire school year of events. The youngest participants had completed seventh grade. The oldest could be completing twelfth grade. Two sets of piloting testing, first with ten, and then with 52 youth, were used to refine the interview protocol and estimate statistical power and the necessary sample size. Our goal was 256 interviews, 64 with boys and girls of four ethnicities: African-, European-, Mexican-, and Native-American. Because youth occasionally declined to provide an example for one of the conditions, we oversampled (n = 300) to preserve study power. The final sample sizes vary by study and conditions examined. In all studies, participation by youth of each ethnicity was approximately equal. In addition to institutional review, a research permit was obtained from tribal authorities when appropriate. We obtained permission from the participants' parents and assent from participants.

Procedures

Interviews ranged from 45 – 90 minutes long. The interview was developed based on narrative and recursive theories of identity formation (Frey et al., 2015; McLean et al., 2007) and two years of ethnographic observations and conversations with adults and students in rural, urban and suburban regions of Washington and Idaho, including tribal lands in each state. This

preliminary work was completed prior to applying for funding. We selected four types of bystander actions for investigation. Two describe actions that influence victim emotions—calming and amplifying. Two describe actions likely to shape future interactions between the aggressor and victim—bystander revenge and peaceful efforts to resolve and stop the aggression. To help participants think about different types of aggression that they may have experienced, they first completed the California Victimization Survey (Felix et al., 2011). Using a repeated measures design, participants were then asked to describe and evaluate four bystander actions that they had taken and to also describe four actions taken by bystanders when the participants had themselves been victims of aggression. A ninth, comparison condition asked participants about past retaliation they had taken on their own behalf. Remembering activates the same brain regions as the original experience did (Danker & Anderson, 2010), contributing to ecological validity. Participants' examples were typical of those involving middle and high school students and ranged in severity from slights to events that threatened bodily harm and/or were frightening. Youth often cited sport events as venues that elicited aggression.

OBJECTIVE 1

Bystander Actions That Calmed Victim Emotions and Amplified Their Anger

Methods

Adolescents (N = 264) described specific instances when they had been targeted for aggression, and a "peer—like a friend, or student your age" intervened. Prompts for the two emotion co-regulation conditions were (1) "…a person your age tried to help you calm your emotions", and (2) "…made you more upset at the other person—like getting you riled up or keeping you from calming down." The descriptions of peer actions were transcribed and coded.

Results and Discussion

Qualitative methods used open- and process-coding to identify sixteen themes that described bystander actions. Pattern coding provided insight into why particular actions were perceived as anger-amplifying or calming. Wilcox Signed Rank tests on action frequencies revealed six actions that were associated with amplifying victims' anger: (1) providing threatening information ("She was telling me that my friend was talking about me and stuff, and I was getting mad."); (2) co-ruminating ("I was like, "oh yeah this person irritates me so much," and then she said, "oh yeah this happened and she this and that."); (3) encouraging the victim to respond aggressively ("You should get back at him and try to break his bone."); (4) Adding to the threat ("I was angry already…a person came up and …started making jokes about it."); (5) siding with the aggressor ("They got really mad because I wasn't on their side."); and (6) confronting / retaliating against aggressor ("Someone was saying hurtful things to my friend and my friend can't really defend himself so I went to confront him."). Such actions map onto strategies in past research that are linked with exacerbated conflict, increased victimization (Frey & Higheagle Strong, 2018), and internalizing and externalizing problems (Rose, 2002).

Ten actions were associated with calming victims' emotions: (1) minimizing the situation or aggressor ("Just told him that it's not a big deal...and it wasn't worth being mad over."); (2) encouraging victim to ignore or move on ("Ignore them and avoid them as much as I can."); (3) reassuring or comforting ("[They said],'I'm sure it'll be fine, this will definitely blow over in a day or two.'"); (4) encouraging reflection ("All I told her was like, "Do you know why you made those decisions? Do you know why you did it?"); (5) giving general advice ("She suggested to me how to handle the situation…"); (6) physically restraining ("I pushed him back [away from his adversary]," "I had to grab at her."); (7) discouraging an aggressive response ("I said that they shouldn't get into a fight…."); (8) encouraging reconciliation ("I just told her to go talk to her about

it."); (9) Seeking outside support ("My friend told the principal,"); and (10) validating victim emotions ("I helped her calm her down by telling her that like, she was in the right to be upset."). Validating emotions was tricky, however, as it sometimes devolved into co-rumination, surprising actors with the virulence of victim anger. Thus, even well-intended actions may compromise victim adjustment.

Chi-square and Mann-Whitney tests revealed that most actions did not vary across groups. Girls reported receiving threatening information more than boys and reassurance/comfort and advice. African American participants reported being physically restrained by peers more than others and European American girls reported more co-rumination.

These results shed light on how adolescents sometimes use their social relationships to help them recover from victimization—and where those efforts may fall short. See the study published in *Journal of Adolescent Research* (Higheagle Strong et al., 2019; https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558419864021).

OBJECTIVE 2A

Victims Respond to Bystander Actions: Emotional Well-Being and Social Connection

Specific Methods

Adolescents targeted for peer aggression are at risk of emotion dysregulation and social withdrawal—responses that predict increased victimization and impede access to the benefits of peer support. The purpose of this study was to compare victimized youths' (N = 257) emotional reactions to and appraisals of four common types of bystander peer action. In addition to calming and amplifying anger, participants were asked about times "a person your age tried to get back at a person who had mistreated you and (4) "….tried to help you work out a peaceful solution." After each of the four event descriptions, participants then rated how much they

experienced internalizing emotions (anxiety, sadness), positive (gratitude, relief, pride), and miscellaneous emotions (angry, cold-hearted, excited). Using six-point scales, participants rated (1) how helpful each action was, (2) how much they valued the advice or that actor, and (3) how much they would want to reciprocate if the bystander needed help.

Results

Internalizing and positive emotions were analyzed with a 4 (action type) x 2 (emotion type) x 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (gender) double repeated measures analyses of variance that controlled for frequency of victimization. As predicted, emotional well-being, indexed by relatively low levels of internalizing emotions and high levels of positive emotions, was greater after bystanders tried to help participants calm their emotions and resolve problems than after bystanders amplified participants' anger or avenged them. Emotional well-being was lower after anger amplification than after bystander revenge. Calming, resolving, and to a lesser extent, bystander revenge, also elicited appreciative judgements from participants. Few group differences were found.

We discuss how positive bystander actions are likely to increase social connection for victimized youth. Adolescents express great concern for the welfare of friends. Communicating which bystander actions are most helpful may guide adolescents to become more effective resources for victimized peers. The study has been submitted for publication (Higheagle Strong, Frey, McMain & Pearson (2020). "Victimized adolescents' social-emotional responses and judgement following third-party actions").

OBJECTIVE 2B

Actors' Moral Emotions & Self-Appraisals After Responding to a Peer's Victimization

Theoretical models of how self-evaluative cognitions and emotions influence future

morally-relevant actions (Malti & Ongley, 2014) affirm that appraisal of past actions is key to learning from mistakes and successes, an important developmental asset. While some bystander actions interrupt aggressive events and support victim adjustment, others escalate tensions and harm to the victim. Because bystanders act in constructive, destructive, and morally ambiguous ways, understanding how bystanders appraise their own actions may assist efforts to provide guidance as adolescents navigate challenging social situations that threaten harm to themselves as well as the original victim. This study examines how ethnically diverse adolescents think and feel about four common interventions that they have employed following victimization of a peer.

Methods

Participants (N = 270) were first asked how often that students at school calmed a victimized peer, amplified victim anger, took revenge on behalf of the peer, and tried to resolve the situation peacefully. Events were estimated to occur about once a week, and estimates did not vary by action type, ethnicity, gender or school level.

Participants then described instances in which they had performed each of the four actions, rated the emotions they experienced and appraised (1) action helpfulness, (2) how much the action made them feel like a good friend (1 = not at all; to 6 = A lot!), and (3) how many peers out of ten would approve of the action.

Results & Discussion

Two repeated measures analyses (one for emotions and one for appraisals) using 4 (action type) x 3 (specific emotion or appraisal) x 4 ethnicity designs were followed, as appropriate, by individual analyses for each specific measure. As predicted, bystanders felt prouder, more helpful, more like a good friend, and expected more peer approval after calming and resolving than after amplifying anger or avenging peers. They also felt less guilt and shame

after calming and resolving. Avenging the victim elicited more positive self-evaluation than amplifying victim anger. Epistemic network analyses explored links between self-evaluative and other emotions. Pride was linked to relief after efforts to calm or resolve. Third-party revenge reflected its antisocial and prosocial nature with connections between pride, relief, anger, and guilt. Conversely, bystander anger was only related to guilt and shame in the amplify anger condition. The only group difference was that girls were less likely to have intentionally amplified anger. Boys who were intentional about amplifying anger reported feeling cold-hearted.

Thus, adolescents from each of the four ethnicities experienced moral distress when their actions harmed others, an experience likely to reduce similar actions in the future. The self-enhancing emotions and appraisals experienced after calming victim reactions and trying to resolve the problems may bolster adolescent identity as a good friend and person. In our conceptual model (Frey et al., 2015), having a positive identity as a good friend increases the likelihood of behaving in a positive social way in the future. This study (Third-party intervention in peer victimization: self-evaluative emotions and appraisals of a diverse adolescent sample) has been published in *Journal of Research on Adolescence* (Frey et al., 2020; https://doi.org/ 10.1111/jora.12548).

Bystanders Analyze Their Efforts to Avenge a Victimized Peer and to Resolve a Victimization Event Peacefully.

When peers are victimized, adolescents undertake risky actions to protect and support them. Third-party revenge elicits the risk of counter-retaliation and is a significant contributor to the spread of violence across neighborhood. Even peaceful efforts to resolve problems are risky, however. Youth fear that efforts that are inept or not endorsed by the victim may imperil their

friendship. They sometimes report, for example, that victimized friends were initially angry when discouraged from retaliating. Attempts to mediate a conflict sometimes required challenging a friend's actions, or self-presentation as a victim. Playing what some young people referred to as a *counselor role*, could strain relationships as in this example, "When she gets mad at that girl, I just…tell her 'oh, you did the same thing to her, you can't just forget, you can't be a hypocrite'…I felt proud...because I tried to…help her to see the bigger picture [how the other girl feels]….and I felt worried...that she would turn…anger towards me because I wasn't going with what she was saying."

Methods

To investigate the motivations and values underlying adolescents' self-evaluative emotions and appraisals, we asked participants to explain their self-ratings, and 270 evaluated their third-party revenge and third-party resolution efforts. Participants' explanations were transcribed and coded using mutually exclusive codes based on Schwartz model of basic human values (2006). Coders also assessed whether the indicated value had been promoted or threatened by the action. Rater accuracy was assessed prior to and after reaching threshold by comparisons with a master coder. *Kappas* for each code ranged from .61 to .76.

Results and Discussion

Two complementary types of analyses were performed. Repeated measures analyses of variance revealed that third-party revenge was described as threatening youths' values and goals considerably more than third-party resolution. Relationships between the qualitative aspects of youth's meaning-making were visualized using network graphs where nodes correspond to values and outcome, and the connecting edges reflect the relative frequency of co-occurrence between two values or between values and outcomes. Thus, even though benevolence was cited equally often in the two conditions, epistemic network analyses revealed that revenge on behalf

of the victim was viewed as threatening benevolence as more than promoting it. Third-party resolution was described as promoting the value of competence more than revenge, and revenge was seen as promoting power—the coercive exercise of influence. Perhaps the most interesting finding was that self-direction emerged as a very strong concern after third-party revenge. Adolescents described vengeful actions as not representative of their "true selves." Sometimes they related that feelings of remorse after these actions led to changes in behavior and identity, as in, "I'm not the same person anymore." Third-party revenge includes both antisocial and prosocial elements. Consistent with this moral ambiguity, youth cited more goals and values as they made meaning of their vengeful actions than when considering their resolution efforts. Qualitative examples are included in the published paper, "Adolescents views of third-party vengeful and reparative actions" (Frey et al. 2019; https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-33232-7_8).

LIMITATIONS OF THE FOUR INTERVIEW STUDIES

These four studies share a methodology and limitations. They relied on self-reports of past events. Thus, the emotions and judgements we measured might not have occurred to participants before or immediately after the events, but only after having an opportunity to reflect. The possibility that ratings were the product of self-reflection does not invalidate the importance of self-evaluative emotions in moral decision-making. Theory posits a reciprocal relationship between spontaneous emotions and more reflective ones (Dys & Malti, 2016). Future research is needed to specify the roles played by anticipatory, consequential and reflective emotions and appraisals in behavior.

Another threat to validity is provided by the possibility that the actions, emotions and beliefs reflected social desirability concerns elicited by the presence of a congenial adult. While this threat could not be eliminated, we attempted to reduce it by asking adolescents *when* they

had performed the specified action or experience the event, rather than *if* they did. Further, if they were unwilling to answer a question, we allowed participants to tell us about events they had observed. This strategy appeared to enable some participants to recount events that they were ashamed of. They often switched to first-person pronouns midway through their stories

While these studies identified common emotional reactions and sociomoral processes among participants, they did not address individual differences in how often each type of bystander action is enacted and experienced. Longitudinal studies are also needed to determine whether particular actions, experiences or self-appraisals predict the development of social-emotional skills and well-being.

OBJECTIVE 3

Develop a Measure of Honor, Face, and Dignity Norms

Every society has culturally-approved strategies for managing conflict and reconciling antagonists. Frameworks known as honor, face, and dignity norms (Leung & Cohen, 2011) enable people to coordinate their actions in social situations. Strategies to defuse conflicts, however, may backfire if used with people who are not culturally knowledgeable, particularly if intense, escalating responses are normative as they are in honor cultures. Conflict-response norms may also influence disciplinary policies and educators' assessments of students whose behavior is incongruent with local norms. While structural issues are undeniable (e.g., groups denied adequate protection from institutions such as police and the courts will adopt honor norms of revenge for self-defense), educators have testified to the need for increased understanding of cultural variations to avoid mistakes that escalate conflict.

This part of the project examined the psychometric properties and validity of a new self-report measure. It assesses the social norms that coordinate social relations and define self-worth

within three cultural systems. The Socio-cultural Norms Survey assesses endorsement of honor, face, and dignity norms. It was evaluated in ethnically diverse adolescent samples in the United States (studies 1a & 1b) and in a parallel study in Canada (not funded by NIJ).

Methods

Validating surveys were administered individually before the interview protocol and 267 adolescents completed all surveys. These measured anger suppression, threat vigilance, self-reported retaliation and conciliatory behavior. The socio-cultural norms survey was administered after the interview. To insure comprehension, items were read aloud and participants were instructed to let us know if any were unclear because "we are trying out different ways of saying this and want to see which ways are best."

Results and Conclusions

Confirmatory factor analyses in each sample showed that the internal structure of the sociocultural survey was consistent with the conceptual framework and showed acceptable model fit. Using *omega,* we found that only the honor and face scales displayed good internal reliability. Validity analyses were performed using multiple regression analyses. The degree to which adolescents endorsed honor and face norms was used to predict anger suppression, threat vigilance, self-reported retaliation and conciliatory behavior. As predicted, honor endorsement was linked to relatively strong retaliation, low levels of conciliatory behavior, and high threat vigilance in the NIJ-funded U.S. study. In a separate, non-NIJ project, results were replicated in a Canadian sample. Study 1b in the U.S. examined self-evaluative emotions and appraisals that youth experienced after they had retaliated or calmed a victimized peer. After taking revenge, adolescents who endorsed honor norms at high levels experienced pride, while those who endorse face norms experienced shame. Adolescents who endorsed face norms judged calming

to be particularly helpful and consistent with the role of good friend. Honor endorsement was linked to views that revenge was helpful and indicative of their commitment to their friend.

Limitations. Given the relationship of honor norms to retaliatory aggression, it is important that educators become familiar with avenues for resolving conflict that many honor cultures have. Importantly, endorsement of honor norms is related to the level of protection and justice that societies offer to inhabitants. Without access to institutional protection, people resort to personal revenge as a less satisfactory way to deter assaults and secure justice. Results of these studies have been accepted for publication in the *International Journal of Behavioral Development* as "Honor, face and dignity norm endorsement among diverse North American adolescents: Development of a social norms survey" (Frey, Onyewuenyi, Hymel, Gill, & Pearson, 2019). A chapter titled "Cultural Systems and the Development of Norms Governing Revenge and Retribution" (Frey, Onyewuenyi, Higheagle Strong & Waller, 2020) has further discussed the history of sociocultural norms in the U.S. and the mechanisms of norm adoption and behavioral influence. It has been accepted for *Revenge and Retribution Across Childhood and Adolescence* (in press).

OBJECTIVE 4

IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL SAFETY

Whether or not offenders are perceived as being remorseful has a significant impact on sentencing, and probably on school disciplinary actions as well. African American youth are less likely than European Americans to be judged as remorseful after misbehavior (Howard, 2018), which may contribute to higher-than-average school suspensions (Skiba et al., 2011). Our research indicates that as a group, African American youth are just as regretful as European American, Mexican American, and Native American youth when they make choices that are ill-

considered or harmful to others. All but three of the 300 youth in our study spoke about their remorse, guilt and shame in morally nuanced ways, revealing that they had often reflected on their actions at length. Further, many teens spoke with passion about their desire to help peers avoid actions that would "get them in trouble." All could describe situations in which they had taken action to achieve that goal. Our theoretical model suggests that actions on behalf of friends are an important avenue for teens to practice caregiving. Caring for children and disabled family members can be highly rewarding, but it is also taxing. The mistakes youth make when they try to protect and care for friends are a way of learning and preparing for their future adult roles.

Our work also suggests possible explanations for the perception that youthful offenders may be lacking in remorse. Most feel anger at others when they or friends have been targeted for aggression. They may also feel anger at themselves for failing to "avoid trouble." Like adolescents, adults may not wish to speak immediately with others when they are angry at themselves. The perception of an "angry young man" may thus be accurate, but an indication of remorse rather than lack thereof. We spoke to adolescents after they had time to reflect, and we allowed them to tell their stories. Asking questions about the emotions they felt often elicited reports of anger, shame and guilt. The few youth who were not immediately forthcoming about their regrets often took responsibility for actions when asked to explain <u>why</u> they felt guilty. Our interview procedures suggest ways to help educators deal with student misbehavior. Teens often told us that when they got angry, they were not themselves and could lose sight of their "true selves" (i.e., the people they want to be). Thus, it is helpful to allow students plenty of time to cool down and regain that sense of self. At that point, educators can encourage self-reflection by giving students the lead in speaking and asking nonjudgmental questions about their emotions after they acted and their current emotions. Students may not be able to feel guilt the same day—

but they probably will after a while.

Another promising preventive measure is to undertake some "norms marketing projects." Most youth cared deeply about the well-being of their friends. They recognized and spoke openly about selfish actions that did not help—such as directly encouraging the victim to retaliate or indirectly encouraging retaliation by feeding anger. Class discussions that identify the nearly universal perception that these are selfish actions might discourage bystanders from enacting them, and also reduce the influence such actions have over victims. Further, when youth try to constructively assist peers who have encountered bullying, harassment or discrimination, they are taking risks themselves. Risks include the possibility that their actions are not appreciated by the victim. Teens told us that a good friend would tell friends when they were in the wrong and counsel them to keep out of trouble and pursue peaceful alternatives. Our research from the victims' perspectives provides guidance about which actions are appreciated, and which well-meaning actions often result in bad outcomes. We think adolescents would appreciate this information.

Initial Development of a Program Student-Led Scientific Edutainment Creation

As an initial foray into practice, Zoe Higheagle Strong, the PI of the Washington State University subcontract, developed and piloted a scientific "edutainment" program over six sessions with Native students. The goals for each session were as follows:

1. Discuss the social problem of retaliation

   Discuss how narratives can be persuasive and promote positive messages

   Brief overview of Entertainment Education

   Define the current task and the necessary components for a successful program
2. Help participants draft their scenes, based on the worksheets they completed in the

previous workshop

3. Have a finalized or nearly finalized draft of the podcast. Then, listen to sample podcast and discuss what elements they liked / disliked or might want to include in their own podcast
4. Learn basics of podcasting (what is a podcast, utility of podcasts for dealing with social issues and for entertainment, equipment used, techniques and procedures, assign roles).

5 & 6. Learn basics of podcasting (what is a podcast, utility of podcasts for dealing with social issues

and for entertainment, equipment used, techniques and procedures, assign roles); make a recording of the story.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS FOR ALL STUDIES

These studies provided considerable insight into the people that adolescents want to be—capable caregivers of friends and family members. In responding when peers were targets of aggression, adolescents were most proud and felt the most like good friends when they calmed victims, helped them stay out of trouble by discouraging fighting, and assisted them in resolving social problems peacefully. These actions were associated with greater emotional well-being (reduced internalizing and enhanced positive emotions) among the victims of aggression. They also enhanced social connection and reciprocity compared to bystander actions that encouraged peers to fight the aggressors or when bystanders took revenge on behalf of victimized peers. The studies also help us understand how adolescents react when their own actions fall short in their own eyes—with remorse, guilt and shame. Self-critical emotions and appraisals (Not competent, not a good friend, not the "real me") were highest after adolescents encouraged victim revenge and moderately high after personally avenging victims. Part of the caregiving system (Buffone &

Poulin, 2014), avenging a victim is nevertheless morally ambiguous. Participants' responses revealed nuanced understandings of both the antisocial and prosocial elements.

Investigation of individual differences revealed that pride after revenge was elevated among youth who endorsed honor norms at high rates. Those who endorsed face norms appraised their actions most positively after calming a victimized peer. Moral emotions and self-appraisals predict future behavior in a cyclical fashion (Sherman & Cohen, 2011; Frey et al., 2015). Understanding how adolescents think and feel about their actions in the face of victimization can inform efforts to guide and support them in their efforts to become their "true selves."

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