

HOW DO YOUTH MAKE SENSE OF INTERPERSONAL INTERACTIONS AND
RESOLVE CONFLICTS WITH DIVERSE GROUPS?

by

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Abstract:

HOW DO YOUTH MAKE SENSE OF INTERPERSONAL INTERACTIONS AND
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By

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Building upon recent work that defines cognitive development as a continuous process of sense-making situated within a cultural and historical context (Nelson, 1997; Daiute & Nelson, 1997; Daiute, 2010; Daiute & Lucic, 2010; Bruner & Haste, 2011) this dissertation explores how youth growing up in New York City develop *relational-flexibility*, defined as a context-sensitive extension of perspective-taking enacted in narrative and discourse in interactions with culturally diverse peers (Daiute, in press; Daiute, 2010). The theoretical basis for this study is that children and youth develop through interpersonal interactions as they enter and attempt to make sense of new communities of minds (Nelson, et al., 2000; Nelson, et al. 2002) broadly defined in this work as groups of people gathered together by participation in joint cultural activities. Seen from this perspective, contemporary youth – growing up in large and diverse American cities – develop in a socio-cultural context which is radically different from the socio-cultural context that shaped the development of youth 20, 30 or even 10 years ago. This difference is, I argue, produced by increasing diversity and by the phenomenon known as the ‘*time-space compression*’ (Harvey, 1989) of their social life.

The study examines how immigrant and U.S. born youth, developing alongside one another in an hyper-diverse context such as New York City, enact *relational-flexibility* as they construct projective narratives in order to make sense of interactions

with diverse others in situations involving technologically mediated interpersonal interactions. Forty-four youth (ages 15-19) were involved in a quasi-experimental research condition and asked to answer three questions in response to a vignette depicting a slightly ambiguous text-messaging (SMS) interaction between two non-gendered individuals. Given the confluence of factors involved in increasing diversity and time-space compression of social life with plausible effects on cognitive development, the following questions are addressed in this study: How do youth growing up in an increasingly multicultural U.S. society, manage to make sense of their diverse interpersonal interactions? To what extent do they develop and enact *relational flexibility* in narratives and discourse with their culturally diverse peers?

Narrative construction of projective writing in response to questions aimed to engage the process of sense-making was analyzed using a well-known narrative analysis scheme originally developed by Labov and Waletzky (1967) and focused, in particular, on the evaluative function in narrative, articulated by Daiute and Nelson (1997) as well as Daiute and Lucić (2010). Findings indicate that immigrant youth have a greater range of *relational flexibility* than do their U.S. born peers. Immigrant youth use the functions of causation, logic and hypothetical reasoning significantly more frequently when attempting to make sense of interactions with members of their own culture than they do when attempting to make sense of bi-cultural interpersonal interactions with their U.S. born peers. Conversely, significantly higher use of affective linguistic devices in the process of sense-making by U.S. born youth scaffolds the use of affective discourse by immigrant youth who, over time, adopt that discursive strategy while maintaining another in relation to other immigrant youth.

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This work is dedicated to masses of people who – with pocket full of hope – migrated, immigrated, emigrated or in other nomenclature changed their place of residence during the great migratory wave at the turn of twenty-first century. To all those who, to paraphrase William Labov, *took on all the odds and were, often, dealt all low cards*.

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A development is a destiny

Thomas Mann

Chapter I: Rationale

Development in Culturally Diverse and Technologically Advanced Society

The goal of this dissertation is to answer two related questions: How do young people manage to make sense of interpersonal interactions and resolve conflicts among peers in their contemporary developmental context? And, how does the ability to make sense enable youth to acquire necessary understandings of their social world as they further their development toward adulthood? While these inherently developmental questions were posed many times throughout the history of our field, today's demographic and technological changes require us to renew our inquiry and reexamine the developmental process of youth. Today, development of youth growing up in large cities across the United States is different than it was a decade ago. If we take a close look at any group of teenagers growing-up across American cities, we notice two phenomenon that distinguish today's youth from youth growing up in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's: About half of today's youth are minorities and immigrants, and about half of them will be reading or typing text-messages on their cellphones rather than interacting directly (face-to-face) with their peers. In order to bring coherence to these new developmental conditions, this dissertation research examines the development of immigrant and U.S. born youth growing up in New York City, the largest and the most diverse of all American cities.

The population of the United States is becoming increasingly diverse. By 2042, minorities will make up more than 50 percent of the entire U.S. population (Bernstein & Edwards, 2008). High levels of immigration during the past decade are largely responsible for the increase in diversity. Today, there are 37.9 million foreign born

persons living and working in the United States. This number represents 12.5% of the total U.S. population, a significant increase from previous decades: 4.7% during 1970's, 6.2% in 1980's, and 11.1% in 1990's. Not only are there more immigrants living today in the U.S. than ever before – the current wave of immigration is also more diverse than those from the past. For example, a century ago, about 43% of New York City's total population was foreign born, but the foreign born population was much more homogenous than it is today and dominated by two largely white immigrant groups: Italians and Eastern Europeans (Foner, 2000). Today, the immigration landscape of New York City is more diverse: 32% of all immigrants today come from Latin America, followed by Asians who account for 24%, and immigrants from the Caribbean countries accounting for 21% (New York City, Department of Planning, 2004). In some contexts, such as New York City's public schools system, where half of the students in schools originate in immigrant homes representing 190 countries and speaking more than 170 distinct languages (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Sattin-Bajaj, 2010). Thus, diversity is *the* defining characteristic of the population.

In light of these large demographic shifts, over the past decade, researchers and theorists looking at a number of developmental categories have begun to articulate ideas such as of dual-consciousness, culturally flexible identities, multi-lingual selves, interpersonal relational dimensions, bi-cultural consciousness, bi-cultural competencies and dual frames of reference in order to explain the development of psychological functions of persons under the influence – and with the affordances of – dual, multicultural and diverse socio-cultural contexts. Researchers looking at immigrant development (Deaux, 2011; Mistry & Wu, 2010; Suárez-Orozco, Todorova, & Qin,

2006) second language learners (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Lvovich, 1997), children growing up in contentious political contexts (Daiute, 2010) and emotional development (Ko, Lee, Yoon, Kwon, & Mather, 2010; Smith & Neumann, 2005) reason that, much like dual citizenship affords a person two nationalities and the right to travel with two passports, dual-consciousness and dual frames of references allow a person to function and make sense of culturally diverse interpersonal interactions and interpret diverse contexts. On this view, immigrants are often seen as being able to operate in multiple cultural codes (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2006) navigate across cultures and form a flexible self and identity (Mistry & Wu, 2010), maintain relational flexibility (Daiute, 2010; Daiute & Lucić, 2010) bring meta-cognitive advantages to their new socio-cultural context afforded to them by a dual frame of reference (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Lvovich, 1997), manage effectively the process of living in multiple cultural settings (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1995), perform bi-cultural identity (Wiley & Deaux, 2011), and have different emotional experiences based on their membership and interactions with diverse socio-cultural groups (Smith & Neumann, 2005).

All That Is Solid Melts into Air

Increasing diversity is only one of the two great changes occurring in our contemporary society. Over the past decade new technologies, such as internet and mobile phones, have become deeply embedded in our way of life. As John Urry (2007) points out, the effects of the new technologies on interpersonal interactions are that many connections with peoples and social groupings are no longer based on proximity, nearness and propinquity. The percentage of solid, somatic interpersonal interactions

among people in the developed world is slowly dropping under the pressures of technologically mediated interpersonal interactions. As solid interpersonal interactions gradually melt into the cyber-space, multiple forms of mediated presences in interpersonal interactions increasingly occur throughout objects and carry interpersonal relations across, and into, multiple other social spaces (Chayko, 2007). Beneath the veneer of a seemingly 'natural' shift towards a technologically mediated social life, there lie terrains of novelty, ambiguity and personal struggle that perforce alter our daily activities and imply profound changes in human psychology.

According to Bureau of Labor Statistics (2005), Americans today spend more time on activities that involve internet and mobile phones (not related to work) than they do on other traditionally common face-to face activities among Americans such as for example health care, self-care or religious participation. Thus, their social life often involves continual processes of shifting between present of being at home, enjoying leisurely activities or being with friends and being distant from them yet connected via new media. Use of communication technologies, such as cellphones, is especially high among youth. In a study conducted among a nationally representative sample of 2189 teenagers across the United States by Harris Interactive (2008) 55% of participants answered that mobile phones are the key to their social life, 57% said that mobile phones improve their quality of life, and 62% know more detailed information about their cell phones and cell phone plans than they do about their favorite hobbies.

Particular trends regarding the mode of interpersonal interactions via cellphones are worth noting. Increasingly, teenagers today spend more time communicating through written text (also known as texting or SMSing) than speaking over their cell phones, 67%

of them maintain that they love text messaging and would die without it, while 72% of all teens report having the ability to text-message blindfolded. These numbers alone point toward the changes in the mode of interpersonal relationship among today's diverse youth.

Moreover, given the interactive quality of the new media, youth (and others) are now able to engage into interpersonal interactions with other people via internet and mobile phones, thus transcending the traditional geographic, physical and often temporal contexts. While this dissertation does not address directly the effects of the new media on development, it does examine the modal shift in interpersonal relations along the lines of *time-space compression* (Harvey, 1989, 1999) in order to understand the development of youth. Time-space compression is a term used to indicate processes that revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time (Harvey, 1989), thereby reducing the significance of physical distance and time in interpersonal interactions.

Given these contemporary shifts, we are impelled to ask a question: what effect does time-space compression have on human psychology? Marshall Berman (1982) equates modernity with a certain mode of experience of time and space. However, as Alvin Toffler (1970) noted some 40 years ago, in a technologically developed society “more situations flow through the channel in any given interval of time – and this implies profound changes in human psychology”. Transience of the classical interpersonal interactions in technologically mediated social life can often lead to ‘*too much change in too short a period of time*’ (Toffler 1970). This in effect, provides a context for the ‘crack up of consciousness’ within a fragmenting society, implying a fragmentation of

consciousness under the pressures that technological changes exert to our activities – and our psychology - leading us further into the postmodern era.

Present work emphasizes the point that, as the transcendence of physical and temporal spaces shatters traditional geographical and temporal boundaries between people, it at the same time allows growing cultural diversity to increasingly affect cognitive development of an individual. Given the confluence of factors involved in time-space compression of social life with plausible effects on cognitive development, the following questions are addressed in this study: How do youth growing up in an increasingly multicultural U.S. society, manage to make sense of their diverse interpersonal interactions? To what extent do they develop, and enact in language, the ability to flexibly relate with their diverse peers?

Interpersonal relations are changing under the influence of new technologies. Much like technological improvements in communication and information flow made it possible to circulate commodities through the market systems with greater speed. Think, for example, of the time it takes to purchase and deliver an eBook to your Kindle in comparison to purchasing the same book in an analogue format from the bookstore. And also, similarly to the way that electronic banking and plastic money improve the speed of the money flow and obliterate the pre-existing physical boundaries to trade, so do the technologies often called *the new media* change the mode of our interpersonal interaction. Among other things, the *space-time compression* of interpersonal interactions allows for the greater diversity of developmental context to become a matter of fact in interactions of many more developing individuals. More than ever in our history, new media such as the internet and mobile phones, today allow us the potential to interact with others who

are geographically very distant from us while at the same time delivering diversity into the developmental sphere of any individual who uses new media technology. As the effect of this shift due to time-space compression, we all thus carry around with us a *muse imaginaire* (Jencks, 1984) drawn from experience of interaction with geographically adjacent as well as distant others, and also drawn from experiences and interactions through traditional (face-to-face and visceral) and technologically mediated interactions. The shift towards increasing technological mediation of relationships is viewed in this work as the auxiliary means to approach the study of the effects of diversity on the development of youth, and in particular by examining the enactment of language in their projective narratives across varied *relational dimensions* of culturally diverse fields of interactions. Language is, we will come to see, becoming increasingly important in technologically mediated interactions because they frequently do not afford face to face cues. Hence, with respect to sense-making of these interactions, a lion's share falls on our ability to use and interpret language.

As we will see in more detail further in this chapter, children and youth growing up today in the majority of large American cities are developing in a socio-cultural context in which diverse cultural frameworks and technologically mediated interpersonal interactions abound. These aspects of globalization have – as Brook (2009) points out – over past two decades had “effects on consciousness that few have anticipated (p. 380)”. And while the effects of globalization might be unanticipated, the research on immigrant experience suggests that children who are successful in achieving bi-cultural competencies (LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; LaFromboise et al., 1995; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002) are best placed to take full advantage of

opportunities in the new global economy where international and transnational interactions – and more recently international problem solving – are increasingly becoming a norm. Also, given the recent technological development, theory and research on mobility (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Urry, 2007) time-space compression (Harvey, 1989, 1999) self and technology (Turkle, 1995) and literacy (Daiute, 1985a, 1985b; Ball & Kalmbach, 2010; Neal, 2011) emphasize the importance – and often a necessity – of increasing mastery over new technologies for participation in everyday activities and further development. In order to explore the development of youth amidst these circumstances, this dissertation study looks at how immigrant youth and U.S born youth construct projective narratives in response to diversities that they encounter via technologically mediated interpersonal interactions. That is, this study explores how youth think and feel about their diverse interpersonal interactions in situations that are often technologically mediated, how they make sense of dual-cultural frameworks, and how they resolve conflicts across diverse relational dimensions of their interactions?

Considering that increasing diversity and new media technology are significant changes in the socio-cultural landscape of American culture, a new set of questions regarding the psychological development of youth growing up amidst these changes emerges. The general orientation of this argument is that increasing diversity - often delivered to individuals through new media - has an effect on psychological development, points toward the social origins of psychological functions. Theorizing the effects of these changes along the epistemological lines drawn by socio-cultural theory which postulates that “an interpersonal process is transformed into an intrapersonal one (Vygotsky, 1978, p.57)” via context embedded interpersonal activities further points

toward the inevitable dialectical relationship between the changes in socio-cultural context and their resulting effects on psychological development.

In order to describe one aspect of the relationship between the changes in the socio-cultural context and their resulting effects on psychological development of youth, the theory and data analysis used in this study focuses on the role of language and linguistic forms in the process of sense-making. The overarching theoretical perspective for this study, which is explained in more depth in chapter two, stems from the work of L.S. Vygotsky (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky is credited as being the first theorist to introduce the concept of *mediated activity* into psychology and *semiotic mediation* into psychology of thought and language. The Vygotskian perspective also serves as an epistemological foundation for this study. The analysis of the data is carried out along the lines put forth by a narrative analysis theory described by Labov and Waletzky (1997) and conversation analysis articulated by Sacks (1972), Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) as well as theory based analytic tools such as narrative evaluations which are derived from the work of Daiute and Nelson (1997), Nelson (1998); Daiute et al., (1993), Daiute (2010) as well as Peterson and McCabe (1983).

To further situate some of the foundational concepts behind this study I survey key theoretical ideas of contemporary developmental theory on which this study is based in this chapter. I also discuss and define the construct of sense-making as it is related to socio-cultural development. Further, I will briefly discuss the pivotal role that language plays in the process of sense-making as well as how the study of language can make-manifest the process of sense-making and allow us to study it. While a more detailed

explanation of theory will be provided in the second chapter, I believe that it is important to emphasize some of the foundational theoretical concepts early on.

More general discussion of the research and theory on development of diverse adolescents and youth (such as immigrant youth), a diverse developmental context (such as New York City), and the role of new media in this process (such as mobile phones and text-messaging) will follow the brief theoretical discussion of sense-making. The aim of these sections is to trace the changes in the developmental context, by looking at the gradual shift in the demographic basis of New York City and the increase in utilization of new media in the lives of youth against the theoretical frameworks that have been used to study and understand these changes in the past. The insight of understanding development and a continuous process of sense-making of the diverse developmental context often become clear only when it is seen against the background of these contemporary shifts away from homogeneity and towards heterogeneity of population and increasing *time space-compression* of social life via new media.

Language as a Tool for Making Sense of Interpersonal Interactions:

Current theories of human development that build on Vygotsky's work view sense-making as a major developmental activity for any child, adolescent or a young adult (Daiute, 2010; Nelson, 1998). We will explore the grounding theory of this study in more detail in the second chapter; however, for clarity sake it is worth noting at this point that sense-making is primarily a relational process. On the individual level, and from the perspective of developing youth, it involves engaging the developmental context in order to figure out answers to highly personal questions such as: What is going on here?

predicting What will happen next? as well as asking and answering: Where and how, do I fit in?

Because of the focus on the individual's understanding of the context, and overall on the person-context fit, sense-making is itself an ideal process to analyze when studying the development of youth in heterogeneous and technologically mediated developmental contexts. Exploring the process of sense-making by an individual towards diverse cultural groups that populate his/her developmental context, has the potential to manifest various *relational dimensions* that play a role and exert influence on development in a heterogeneous developmental context.

This study draws in particular on the work by Daiute and Nelson (1998) who identify the mechanism of sense-making in language. In their article *Making Sense of the Sense-Making Function of Narrative Evaluation*, Daiute and Nelson (1998) emphasize and highlight the interpersonal and relational nature of sense-making. They state that orienting questions such as: *What is going on here?* and *What will happen next?* carry developmental potential as they embed "notions about the important people who influence events in the child's world (p.208)". But, since those people and their actions are not abstract (even if physically not in the same geographical or social context), they are grounded in the reality of words which provide the context for meaning in interpersonal interactions. Daiute and Nelson (1998) point out that thus a child must go a step further and "infuse the world as given with personal meaning and an increasing awareness of self as intentional, valuable, and connected to persons and events in her environment (p.208)".

Language is thus seen as a primary tool which allows the developing individual the means for infusing the world with personal meaning. On this view, sense-making initially emerges out of children's discursive activities, such as those among peers, or between a child and his or her primary caregiver(s). As we will explore in more detail in the second chapter of this work, a child, an adolescent or a young adult, acquires language (and skills related to use of language) through participation in a particular activity in relation to *a community of minds* (Nelson, et al. 2000; Nelson, et al. 2002). These skills subsequently enable them to engage in a process of relational sense-making by articulating his/her thoughts in relation to the knowledge systems of others (Vygotsky, 1978; Nelson 1998; Daiute 2010).

Theoretically, both the process of sense-making and this research build on the socio-cultural theory of development based in the work of Lev Vygotsky. According to Vygotsky's view, development is seen as a culturally mediated process. Culture is *the* context for development. From the standpoint of the individual, culture is often conceptualized as a 'community of minds' (Nelson, et al. 2000; Nelson, et al. 2002) organized around joint activities or practices (Vygotsky, 1978). Relational social processes, i.e. *relational dimensions*, in the context of organized cultural practices create the dynamics for learning and human development (Daiute, 2010; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Vygotsky, 1978) especially when we consider the framework of diverse culture as the context of development . That is, through interactions with others, a developing person is presented with tools, artifacts and discourses that impart cultural knowledge and enculturate the individual as they are engaged in everyday activities with others.

Given the rather predominant focus on contextual dynamics (such as context-embedded activities, inter-personal interactions and discourse) as main motivators of individual's development (rather than biological, genetic or intrinsic personality factors); the perspective of socio-cultural theory views development and context as related and varied rather than universal (Nelson, 1998). Much like current theory on immigrant development, which we have briefly surveyed earlier, socio-cultural theory emphasizes that psychological functions develop in different ways (and to different levels) depending upon the socio-cultural conditions that surround the developing individual. Further, according to this theory, even the concepts of *self* and *identity*, which are gradually falling out of favor in socio-cultural theory, are theorized as context embedded processes of human activity (Rogoff, 2003) and as a realm of discourse (Dolar, 2006; Lacan, 1978) rather than reified phenomenon. For example, research on literacy and narrative development in school age children has shown that children recount their personal experiences in relation to the demands and goals of their context (Bamberg, 2006; Daiute, 2004); and not in relation to the ideal and abstract self or identity construct.

The process of context embedded development affects multifold of psychological mechanisms. As I explore in more depth in chapter two, higher psychological functions such as memory, attention, ability to infer causation, ability to plan ahead and self-directed learning all develop through interpersonal interactions among a community of minds. Using cultural tools as auxiliary means, higher psychological functions take over the lower 'natural' functions progressively. Given that cultural tools are often context specific, empirical research leads us to believe that if higher psychological functions

develop within a particular context they would also be context specific, and would likely vary from context to context.

According to Vygotsky's theory, language is seen as the primary symbolic tool that mediates this developmental process – a catalyst for development of the self. Language enacted in discourse with others is a tool that creates thought (Daiute, 2010). While some contemporary theories of language development, such as Miller (1994), focus on how developing individuals are socialized into a system of meaning through recurrent discursive interactions with others, according to the view presented here, language is not simply a vehicle carrying messages – or a window into minds and hearts of others. Language is the *sine qua non* mediator of material and symbolic circumstances in spaces where intention and understanding meet in real time and space (Daiute, 2010; Daiute & Lucic, 2010) and it enacts in practice a specific cultural code embedded in cultural values (Daiute, 2004).

Therefore, the ability to make sense of a context, allows an individual to acquire shared socio-cultural meanings in order to develop higher psychological functions and to direct and further their development into the future. Sense-making is thus a valuable developmental process in which personal intentions, feelings, thoughts, desires, and expectations – all enacted in language – meet interpersonal relations in the developmental field constituted by '*communities of minds*' in the process of dialectical self-construction. Following this line of reasoning, development of today's youth can be understood as a gradual process of developing varied relational flexibilities (bi-cultural consciousness, dual consciousness) with diverse communities of minds amidst time-space compression of interpersonal interactions.

A quick look at differences in projective narratives by Hayate, a 16 years old participant in this study, who immigrated to the United States from Japan in 2000 at age 6, illustrates the extent to which thoughts, feelings and expectations can differ when they are enacted across varied *relational dimensions* with culturally diverse groups of peers. In two narratives below Hayate is responding twice to one of the questions posed in the study: *What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text-messages?* This question refers to psychological states of Kai, one of the two characters in a short interaction via text-messaging. In the vignette, two characters, Alex and Kai are depicted as actively engaged in sending text-messages to each other while trying to plan a meeting with each other. In order to embed narrating activity among diverse interpersonal audiences, the ethnic/cultural origin of Alex and Kai was varied in two conditions of the study. In the first projective narrative Hayate is responding to the situation where Alex and Kai are Japanese immigrant youth living in the U.S. and in the second narrative she is responding to the situation in which Kai was born and raised in the U.S., while Alex is a Japanese immigrant:

Alex and Kai are both Japanese youth living in New York City:

Kai was thinking that Alex is always irresponsible and delayed and it is selfish of him. He wants to plan ahead but cannot without knowing Alex's response. He finds it frustrating enough that he has been waiting around anxiously. Checking his phone every few minutes for an hour and a half waiting for a response from alex. To think that Alex was just sleeping and does not think it a big deal that he "blew him off" (in kai's mind) is even more infuriating. He feels anger and impatience and this impact their

friendship and Kai's view of Alex. Kai also waited 5min before sending an angry text (12:49 text) even though he had his phone with him.

Alex is Japanese immigrant to New York City and Kai was born and raised in New York City:

Maybe he was thinking that alex has no concept of what is socially acceptable here – if a friend text you an urgent question you respond immediately, that is the polite way to treat a friend. Maybe he (alex) should spend more times with other American friends, it's not like they are family friends that he has an obligation to.

This example illustrates that at least some of today's youth understand the complex demands of their socio-cultural context and develop *flexibility* for interacting across diverse relational dimensions, and diverse communities of minds. Formal and structural differences abound between these two examples of writing presented above. For one, Hayate's first response is much longer, indicating a more complex understanding of interpersonal relationships and greater narrative complexity (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; Hoff-Ginsber, 1992; Walters et al.1992) for relationships embedded in the socio-cultural framework of participants own cultural/ethnic. In this first narrative Hayate endows the characters with psychological states, and clearly articulates the intentions of the characters by indicating, for example, that Kai '*wants to plan ahead but cannot without knowing Alex's response*'. In these relationships she also enacts actions which are accompanying these, often frustrating, interpersonal situations when she writes that Kai was '*checking his phone every few minutes for an hour and a half waiting for a response from alex*'.

In the second narrative, when Hayate is asked to answer the same question for the interaction embedded in an interpersonal relationship between an American and a Japanese youth, she shifts her focus from attempting to explain and understand individual character's thoughts, feelings and intentions to understanding of social norms governing interpersonal interactions in the U.S. While this time Hayate does not endow the character's with psychological states, she uses them to explore social roles and norms. For example, she writes '*that alex has no concept of what is socially acceptable here*' and mentions that Alex '*should spend more times with other American friends*' as the means of acculturating and learning the polite ways to treat a friend within the cultural milieu of American society.

Hayate's example illustrates the enactment of bi-cultural and multi-cultural frames of references which enable her to function in diverse developmental context. By anticipating, expecting and predicting and the reaction of others who share her ethnic/cultural background Hayate is able to better make sense of her relations in this relational field, orient herself towards the context. Skills that enable her to engage the process of cultural specific sense-making also enable her to potentially further her development with regards to this cultural/ethnic group.

The developmental aspect of *relational flexibility* – alternatively defined as a context-sensitive extension of perspective-taking in diverse and contentious contemporary circumstances, comes to the fore even more clearly when we consider Hayate's projective narrative for the relationship embedded in the bi-cultural interpersonal interactions, as it is shown in the second projective narrative. In this case, Hayate orients towards the interactions in ways that recognize the differences in cultural

and social rules, roles as well as to anticipate the norms that govern these interpersonal interactions. Better understanding of these norms, especially when applied to interpersonal interactions, or thoughts and feelings about interpersonal interactions, allow her the possibility of reflecting and having a conscious control of interpersonal styles that can bridge the cultural gap between her native culture and her host culture (the U.S. society).

The corpus of data which I collected for this dissertation study offers many examples that have a potential to highlight and explain the conditions under which these types of interpersonal interactions, involving *relational flexibility* develop. As we will see in subsequent chapters, these examples clearly point toward the need of youth, growing up in a hyper-diverse New York City to develop the ability to flexibly relate with diverse others across multiple developmental contexts. Flexibility of interactive dimensions across a developmental spectrum enables them to function in a society that is heterogeneous and hyper-diverse and where technologically mediated interpersonal interactions abound. While all youth are affected by the recent diversification of U.S. society, research shows that immigrant youth clearly have a more difficult task in front of them. This is partially because they are developing in a new and unknown socio-cultural context. For this reason, it is worth spending some time to consider possible developmental pathways of immigrant youth, in order to highlight the enactment of relational flexibility through this radical example and subsequently extend it toward all youth, immigrant and native born, growing up in diverse developmental context.

Development of Immigrant Youth:

Arriving to the new context of the host culture immigrant youth necessarily encounter social processes that are different from those social processes which have shaped their development in the previous socio-cultural context of their native land. In order to continue their development within their new socio-cultural context immigrant youth must begin to experience, interpret and make sense of their new-found social environment and developmental context. On this view, the gradual and experiential process of development of immigrants in a new context is seen to reemphasize some of the dynamics of early childhood development described, in particular, by Katherine Nelson (1998) and Daniel Stern (1985). Basic contextual factors, such as neighborhood, school, educational practices and peers all change in the course of immigration. In its basic elements this process of immigrant acculturation is sometimes referred to as *the third individuation* (Akhtar, 1995) because it mirrors and recapitulates the process of increasing differentiation and hierarchic integration of psychological functions (Werner, 1970; Glick, 2009). Assuming that the *first individuation* happens at the time of psychological birth of human infant and his/her emotional separation from the mother (Freud, 1923; Mahler, 1958, Mahler, 1986; Settlege, 1991; Bowlby, 1989) and that *second individuation* involves the process of physical and psychological separation of the adolescent from parents (Blos, 1962), *third individuation* refers to the gradual process of immigrant becoming culturally independent and culturally aware in a foreign land as well as maintaining an 'optimal distance' (Akhtar, 1995) and an awareness of diverse cultural influences in his/her daily activities and development.

From our theoretical perspective, sense-making is a developmental process involved in all of the above outlined transitions/separations and individuations. Namely, in order to continue their developmental trajectory, a child entering psychologically into a world in which adults interact, communicate, speak and exist, adolescent achieving a new sense of independence, and a youth immigrant entering a new social context of the receiving society, all must engage their context in order to answer the questions: What is going on here? What will happen next? and How do I fit in? Furthermore, as Phinney (2003) points out immigrant youth must learn to live with this duality that as they develop and must “in some way integrate the values and attitudes of their families and those of the larger society (p.14)”

The idea behind this study is the following: if development is seen as a social relational process within a heterogeneous society, diverse interpersonal interactions may lead youth to develop in different ways (and to different levels) depending on the nature and the quality of interactions with their immigrant peers and their U.S born peers. While the constructs of dual-consciousness, bi-cultural identity, bi-culturalism and multiple frames of references have been postulated theoretically as developmental responses to hyper-diversity of today’s society (LaFramboise et al., 1993; Suarez-Orozco, 2000), there is a lag in empirical investigation of these constructs. In fact, theorists such as Phinney (2003) specifically note this absence in empirical study and state that “in addition to their own culture, immigrant children and youth are exposed to two or more contrasting cultural systems as well the experience of belonging to a minority group (p.14)” and call for research to consider that “dual socialization process and minority experience of young people from immigrant backgrounds (p.14)” This dissertation

research aims to empirically explore the development of youth by focusing on sense-making as the developmental process, and developmental task, for immigrant youth, and by extension their U.S. born peers, growing up in a hyper diverse society in order to partially address this lag in empirical investigation.

Immigration in the Age of Mass Transportation and Technology:

The primary reason for the lag in developmental research on the interpersonal interactions between immigrant and native born youth in diverse and technologically advanced developmental contexts are situated in largely antiquated theoretical formulations that are frequently used to frame research questions. These theoretical formulations stem from the days when the U.S. was a more homogenous and less technologically advanced society. Psychological development of individuals from various ethnic and cultural groups was traditionally understood as a teleological process of assimilation to the American culture and studied as a linear process of movement by the minority cultures toward the majority (Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945). The core problem with the attempts to impose this linear theoretical framework on a dynamic process of development in a heterogeneous society lies in assumptions which are inherent in the theory of assimilation.

Historically, the dominant narratives of immigrant assimilation, both inside and outside of academic purview, were structured by three clearly articulated assumptions (Suarez-Orozco, 2000): the *clean break* assumption, the *homogeneity* assumption, and the *progress* assumption. These assumptions, first articulated by Chicago School of Sociology (Gordon, 1964), have recently been reexamined in light of distinct features

which characterize the recent immigration waves as well as the current levels of technological development among our society.

According to this traditional view, immigration was theorized to take place in clearly delineated waves (as opposed to ongoing back-and-forth flows) between remote, bounded, geopolitical and cultural spaces. Immigrants left the country A, the story goes, to settle in country B, more or less permanently. In cases when immigrants chose to return to their country of origin, country A, they did so as a permanent move (see Moya, 1998; Piore, 1971). The norm, at that time, was that immigrants leaving Eastern Europe or Southern Italy are supposed to look forward and immerse themselves into the American culture, without looking back.

Owing largely to the current technological developments, such as mass transatlantic transport and new communication technologies (internet, mobile phones etc.) immigration is no longer seen as a clean break with the country of origin. Quite to the contrary, immigrants today are very mobile. They are more likely to be at once here and there, articulating dual consciousness and dual identities (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002) and in the process bridging increasingly distant national spaces (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995). Theory is starting to follow these technological developments, and in the recent years, anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists have – under the pressure of the changing demographic of the United States – begun to articulate new understanding of immigrants as actors on a transnational stage (Levitt, 2001; Schiller et al., 1995; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2006).

The second assumption of the linear assimilation view point was that immigrants would, over two or three generations, join the mainstream of the society dominated by

homogeneous white middle-class European American Protestants (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). To assume this today is no longer useful. America is today much more diverse than it was 100 years ago, and soon it will become a *minority-majority* country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008 (Bernstein & Edwards, 2008). In other words, America is developing into a country in which the total number of minority citizens put together will be higher than the number of those belonging to traditional 'majority'. As Suarez-Orozco (2000) rightly points out, the point of reference for most immigrants today in American society seems to be the cultural sensibilities and social practices of their more established co-ethnics, rather than the standards of the "increasingly remote white middle-class Protestant European Americans (p.29)".

The third assumption, which dominated the thinking of the early acculturation theorists, was about uniform progress. Progress was supposed to be linear going from good (first generation) to better (second generation) to best (third and fourth generation). The powerful *thelos* was pulling immigrants by the bootstraps towards an American Dream. As Robert Bellah once noted, "The United States was planned for progress" and each wave of immigrants was meant to recapitulate and repeat this national destiny. However, a number of scholars have recently begun to identify a worrying trend: for many immigrant groups, length of residency in the United States seems to be associated with declining health, school achievement, and aspirations (Kao and Trienda, 1995; Rumbaut, 1995; Steiner, Bradford & Dornbusch 1996; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 1995).

The National Research Council (1998) funded a study that considered a variety of measures of health, such as general health, physical health, obesity, learning disabilities,

emotional difficulties and risk behavior among adolescents of immigrant origins and found that immigrant youth tend to be healthier than their U.S. born counterparts. As Suarez-Orozco (2006) points out, these findings are counterintuitive in light of racial and ethnic minority status, lower overall socioeconomic status and higher poverty rates of many immigrant families. Surprisingly, the same NRC study found a negative correlation between the length of stay in the U.S. and health of immigrant youth. Namely, the longer immigrant youth resided in the U.S. the poorer their overall physical and psychological health became.

Following this line of reasoning, which takes the constructive criticism of the traditional theory of acculturation as the point of departure, I argue that current diversity of youth (both immigrant and U.S. born) and increasing levels of mediation of interpersonal interactions have meaningfully altered the traditional understanding of the “developmental context”, and that these changes require us to again re-examine the psychological process of development of youth in our contemporary society. In this first chapter I argue that technological development of communication technologies allows today’s youth to transcend the physical boundaries of what we have thus far understood as ‘the context of development’ and to develop activities in relation to diverse groups of their host society thus actively enacting and putting in practice the constructs of bi-cultural consciousness within the national boundaries of the United States. This is important to consider, given that immigration is at the same time both the history and the destiny of the United States (Suarez-Orozco, 2000) demographic shifts in its immigrant population and the changing patterns of relation of immigrants to the society alter the demographics of all its citizens and the country as the whole.

Who Are We as A Nation? A Historical Look at the Current Developmental Context:

“Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free” Emma Lazarus wrote in 1883 as immigrants rushed from Europe over to the American shores in search of a better life (Lazarus, 1985). During the first great wave of immigration, spanning from 1880 until 1920, European immigrants dominated the landscape of American society. Today, only 14% of immigrants arriving to the United States come from Europe, with the majority arriving from Asian and South America. This shift in the ethnic basis of immigration has a potential to drastically alter the demographic base of the U.S. population away from its traditional European roots. The change has been so drastic that it has led some theorists to ask the metaphorical question ‘*Are the flags of our fathers still there?*’ (Huntington, 2004a) ironically alluding to the fact that it is becoming harder and harder to recognize the U.S. and understand the direction which the country is taking. What follows is a brief look at the shifting demographic patterns across New York City – the place where the youth who participated in this study reside – over the past 100 years. I hope that this analysis will support the overall argument by showing that the current wave of immigration is changing the social fabric our society in the direction of increasing diversity and increasing intercultural contact among the diverse population.

In 2009 – shortly before his death – Samuel Huntington published a book entitled *Who Are We? The Challenge to America’s National Identity* in which he explored changes in American society from 1776 until the present from the perspective of immigration. In this work, he lays out his argument by drawing upon the “American Creed” initially formulated by Thomas Jefferson, as the crucial defining element of

American Identity. This Creed, he states, is the product of distinct Anglo-Protestant culture of the founding settlers of America in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Some of the distinct elements of American culture include the English language, Christianity, religious commitment, English common law, and the rights of the individuals (Huntington, 2004a, 2004b). Huntington further emphasizes that “Historically millions of immigrants were attracted to America because of this culture and the economic opportunities it helped to promote. (p.xvi)”

The salience of the national identity which ‘the Creed’ helped to build became preeminent in comparison to other identities, such as those based on ethnic or religious origins, following the Civil War, and as a result American nationalism flourished during the 19th century. After the Second World War and with the emergence of the Civil Rights movement, however, American nationalism was challenged beginning in 1960’s by subnational, dual-national, and translational identities, that “began to rival and erode” its prominence. In the late twentieth century, once again, the salience and the substance of the American culture came under the attack.

While in the past the most prominent challenges of the identity came from the substrata of the American society itself, today the attack is coming from abroad. The new wave of immigrants from Latin America and Asia, attracted to America because of the culture and economic opportunities, are currently seen as the greatest challengers of the Creed. According to Samuel Huntington (2004) this challenge is posed by the diversity of new immigrants who are ‘promoting the popularity of the doctrine of multiculturalism, the assertion of group identities based on race, ethnicity, and gender, and transnational identities (p.xvi.)’.

In essence, Samuel Huntington is right. America has been changing over the past century more rapidly than ever in its history. And we do not have to look far for the effects of these changes to our lives. A quick glance at the demographics of New York City at the turn of the 21st century in comparison to those at the turn of 20th century can reveal of one aspect of this change. The city is now more diverse than ever in its history.

In the 1880's New York City as we know it today was a much smaller place, with a population of little under 2 million people for combined populations of New York and Brooklyn, which was then a separate city (Foner, 2000; Rosenwaike, 1972). During this period Irish and Germans were the two largest immigrant groups accounting for approximately 35 percent of the total population in 1890. Over the next 30 years, the population of the city increased twofold, to almost 5 million people, primarily due to a massive influx of immigrants from southern Italy and Eastern Europe. In 1880, just before mass migration known as the great wave of immigration was to begin, only about 12,000 foreign born Italian's lived in New York City. By 1910 this number grew to 341,000. The growth of New York City's Eastern European Jewish population was even greater, going from about 14,000 in 1880 to 484,000 in 1910. In that year, immigrants made up 41 percent of the population in New York City. By 1920, after several decades of enormous immigration, foreign born Jewish and Italian population and their children accounted for about 43 percent of city's population.

Today the immigrant landscape of New York City is no longer homogenous and no longer dominated by two immigrant groups. Most immigrants today do not come from Europe but from Asia and Latin America. In 2000, New York City's foreign-born population reached an all-time high of 2.87 million, representing 36 percent of the city's

population. (New York City Department of City Planning, 2004). According to the 2000 Census, the highest numbers of immigrants residing in New York City came from Latin America 32%, followed by Asians 23.9%, immigrants from the Caribbean countries 20,6% and immigrants from Europe 19.4%. In comparison to early 1900's, of all 50 European nations only Russian immigrants made it to the list of top ten immigrant groups in New York in 2000 with 81,408 immigrants. On the other hand, during the past 15 years, roughly 500 thousand native U.S. born residents left New York City.

Alongside the increasing diversity another notable difference between the immigrants from early 1900 and immigrants today is their pattern of settlement across the city. Around the turn of the 20th century, much of Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx were underdeveloped and sparsely populated, which was not surprising, given that it was very hard to reach work from these destinations. At that time New York City had a very inefficient transit system composed of cable lines, elevated railways and horse railways before the first subway opened in 1904 (Hood, 1993). The main concentration of immigrants in New York City was in the tenement housing below 14th Street in Manhattan where most of the manufacturing industry had been located. By 1910, 2.3 million people lived in Manhattan. That is about 800 thousand more than today.

Today, only about 16% of New York City's immigrants live in Manhattan. The highest density of immigrants today is in Queens with 36% of the city's total foreign born population, closely followed by Brooklyn with 33% and The Bronx with 16%. The largest immigrant neighborhood today is Washington Heights in Manhattan, with 90,300 immigrants. The next nine largest immigrant neighborhoods are either in Queens or Brooklyn. Flushing (86,900 immigrants) is the second largest immigrant neighborhood

followed by Astoria (84,700), Bay Ridge-Bensonhurst (78,600) and Elmhurst (74,600). While immigrants of today still have a tendency to cluster, and ethnic enclaves are still alive, immigrant neighborhoods today are much more diverse than they used to be a century ago. They are frequently occupied by more than one ethnic group due primarily to class heterogeneity of current immigration wave.

Almost 80% of immigrants living in New York City today are adults between the ages of 18 and 64. Given that immigrant children and youth comprise less than 20% of the total immigrant population it is not surprising that very little systematic research has focused on their psychological experience (Garcia-Coll, Magnuson, A.Booth, A.Crouter, & N.Landale, 1998). However, according to the statistics, the proportion of immigrant children and adolescents in New York City's public schools in comparison to the proportion of their U.S. born peers is significant. Overall, 48 percent of all students in public schools are either foreign born or are children of foreign born parents. Between the years of 1998 and 2001, 38% of students enrolling into public schools in Queens were foreign born, followed by 33% of students in Brooklyn, 32% in The Bronx and 14% in Manhattan.

Although mass migration is actively reshaping the social context across much of the United States – as we can clearly see on the example of New York City – many aspects and effect of immigration remain overlooked. The dominant approaches to the scholarly study of mass migration often privileged labour and legal factors such as economics and undocumented immigration (for a review see Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010) over other less tangible variables. While economic and legal variables tend to be very powerful forces in the landscape of migration and movement of people, scholarly studies

of immigration have often neglected the developmental, individual and psychological effects of this phenomenon. For example in one of the key books on acculturation (Chun, Balls Organista, & Marín, 2003) none of the eleven chapters in the book deal with developmental issues, except for the chapter on ethnic identity and acculturation in which two pages were devoted to development. In cases when individual responses to immigration were considered, the researchers often conceptualize them in large categories and often explore the interactions between two distinct groups: an immigrant group and host society group- rather than exploring varied development of dual and bi-cultural consciousness or the multiple and shifting referential frames of an individual towards diverse cultural groups. Most importantly, as this dissertation and research aim to highlight, immigrants are no longer a homogenous group. Immigrants to the United States are today extremely heterogenous and diverse group, who live in an equality diverse society, and often have different developmental trajectories that are dependent and contingent on interactions and activities across their developmental context.

Furthermore, research has frequently focused on reified outcome measures, such as stresses, depression, marital conflict, identity crisis and school achievement in relation to immigrants (Finelli, 2001; Ainslie, 1998; Arrendondo-Down, 1980; Greenberg & Greenberg, 1990; Sluzki, 1979; Suarez-Orozco, 2000) rather than sense-making and conflict resolutions or other more dynamic variables which potentially lie at the core of above mentioned outcomes. For example, it is not hard to see how ineptness at diverse approaches to conflict resolutions can lead to marital conflict, underperformance at school and subsequently depression. Furthermore, in order to explain the effects of immigration on the development of the individual, researchers have frequently

investigated sociological factors such as economic and social background of immigrants and poor living conditions upon the arrival to the host country (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Given that sense-making and immigration are both relational processes, aimed at adapting to and demystifying new and unknown socio-cultural context, I believe that we could learn a lot from a dialectical analysis of these two processes. By exploring the relationship of immigrant youth to their society, and the relationship of US born youth towards their immigrant peers by asking question: *How do they make sense of the society in which they are growing up?* we can discover important new information regarding the process of development of youth as well as the process of development of our society.

Lack of theoretical frameworks which would facilitate this type of research can partially explain some of the underlying reasons for the lack of research into psychological effects of the hyper diverse American culture and the varied bi-cultural within-person responses to this diversity, such as those we saw in narratives by Hayate. What follows is a historical overview of the most important theories of immigration which have been used by psychologists to conceptually guide their studies of the effects of immigration, and related processes, on human psychology.

Theories of Acculturation and Immigrant Development

Although immigration, and its subsequent processes of cultural development, may appear to be unique problems confined to our 21st century era of globalization, the challenge of balancing receiving culture necessities with immigrant culture priorities is an ancient one. Dating back to 2370 B.C. we can find references of acculturation in the first written code of law, which was established by the Sumerian ruler of Mesopotamia to protect its cultural practices from acculturative change, and to establish rules for trading

and commerce with foreigners (Gadd, 1971). The first practical definition of acculturation can be derived from Plato's last book, *Laws XII*, in which he argues the pros and mostly cons of acculturation and proceeds to suggest policies based on this phenomenon. Plato states that the "free intercourse between different states has the tendency to produce all manner of admixture of characters, as the itch for innovation is caught by host from visitor and visitor by host." (Plato, 1969). Plato proceeds to suggest that travel abroad be banned to all citizens under forty years of age and recommends that foreigners be restricted in the port district of the city, in order to minimize contact and protect the native population.

The modern definition of acculturation given in 1936 states that "acculturation comprehends those phenomenon which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups." (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Following the introduction of this idea, there has been a broad interest in the study of acculturation. Contemporary research on acculturation spans many fields in the social sciences and humanities.

In 1984 John Berry proposed an influential fourfold taxonomy for the empirical study of acculturation, a non-reversible and unidirectional process, to explain an immigrant's tensions between maintaining their own culture and adapting to the cultural norms of the receiving society. For Berry (1984) this process is linear (as opposed to more dialectical process of transnational and bi-cultural identity formation) fraught with tension and largely non-revisable. Berry conceptualizes acculturation strategies as internal and de-contextualized struggles in response to two basic, implicit questions: *Is it*

considered to be of value to maintain my cultural heritage? (i.e., enculturation), and *Is it considered to be of value to develop inter-group relations in the receiving society?* (i.e., acculturation). The processes of responding to these two questions indicate to what extent immigrants are ready to relinquish or embrace their own culture while at the same time embracing or rejecting the culture of their new society. That is, this approach largely assumes that one of the two cultures will eventually come to dominate the psychological landscape and general cultural orientation of an immigrant. Their two sets of responses can then result in four acculturative strategies: *integration*, incorporating part of the dominant culture while maintaining one's own cultural identity; *assimilation*, relinquishing one's own ethnic identity and adopting that of the dominant society; *separation*, self-withdrawal from the dominant cultural society into ethnic groups; and *marginalization*, loss of contact with one's own cultural group without adopting the culture of the dominant group. Integration is most commonly viewed as the best acculturative strategy, leading to the most favorable outcomes in terms of the well-being of immigrants (Berry, Nancy, & Judy, 1998). Assimilation, on the other hand, has proven to be the most adaptive strategy (Rudmin, 2003). These processes are also seen as continuous and stretching from generation to generation, thus functioning similarly to intergenerational transmission of knowledge, or trauma.

LaFramboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1998) built on Berry's conceptualization and theorize that maintaining a bicultural balance between immigrants native and newly-adopted cultures, while holding a positive attitude towards both groups, can be beneficial and conducive for development of a healthy sense of self. For example, Feliciano (2002) reports that fluent, English and Spanish-speaking immigrant youth from similarly

bilingual households are the least likely to drop out of school. Rodriguez et al. (1995) describe the maintenance of native language as beneficial because it allows a child to access social support from both family and the larger community, particularly when the family and community are non-English speaking.

Suarez-Orozco (2001) takes a different approach to looking at immigration based on a more up-to-date understanding of immigration demographics across the United States. He posits three types of immigrant identity: ethnic flight, adversarial identity, and transcultural identity. *Ethnic flight* refers to a process of identity construction and self-development with an aim to fit in with the mainstream culture. Immigrants employing this strategy may feel most comfortable socializing with peers from the mainstream culture, while mimicking their behaviors and attitudes. Language is often an important tool with this strategy; speaking English becomes a proxy for belonging and acceptance. Although children who employ ethnic flight may perform at competent academic levels, they frequently isolate themselves and fail to build relationships with members of their own ethnic group, consequently losing the benefit of having a “buffer” from effects of discrimination (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). *Adversarial identity* refers to negotiating a sense of self around rejecting mainstream values, often perceiving one’s options as either being ‘like *them*’ or ‘betraying your own.’ This negotiation becomes a constant source of conflict between future opportunities and present-day self. Children adopting an adversarial identity may inadvertently place themselves at increased risk for premature termination of their education, and a higher probability of unemployment (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

According to Suarez-Orozco (2001) many children also develop an ethnic identity style that lies between the extremes of ethnic flight and adversarial identity. These bicultural or “hybrid” styles creatively make use of living in both worlds by embracing a sense of ethnic pride while also functioning competently in mainstream American society (Wiley & Deaux, 2011). From an educational perspective, bicultural identity is associated with high academic achievement, and is therefore considered to be the most adaptive identity for immigrant children (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

In this dissertation, I explore the development and dynamic functioning of bicultural interpersonal relational styles and dual-consciousness in both immigrant and non-immigrant youth by employing the process of sense-making as a means of operationalizing (from the standpoint of the individual) the interactions between the developing individual and his/her developmental context. According to the viewpoint advanced in this work, the process of sense-making and the use of language in interpersonal interactions can be said to lead the psychological development of an individual. As youth successfully makes sense of a certain aspect of their developmental context (be that a school or group of peers), they acquire skills, knowledge and capacities which enable them to advance further in their development and invest their psychological energy in making sense of other developmental contexts.

The main research question of the study – and at the same time a goal of the research – is to explore how youth, growing up in a plural, multicultural and increasingly interconnected U.S. society use language to enact *relational complexity* as they are actively engaged into sense-making of their developmental context, and how they approach conflict resolutions across diverse developmental contexts? I suggest that an

answer to this question can emerge from the narrative analysis of the language that youth use in response to a projective task which asks them to narrate their thoughts and feeling regarding a text-message conflict situation embedded across diverse developmental contexts. In this work, by comparing their narrative responses across diverse developmental settings, I explore how language used by youth can give us insights into varied processes of their development and enactment of psychological functions which in order to make sense of those context and further orient their development.

Chapter II

Theory: Language and Narrative as a Cultural Tool for Sense-Making

It has been almost a century since Lev Vygotsky introduced the idea of ‘mind in society’ to metaphorically represent a very concrete relationship of mutual interdependence between the society and human psyche. His theory underscores a profound shift away from understanding the mind and psychological process as self-contained, abstract or ideal. Intelligence, cognition, learning and development are not viewed as innate structures that are handed down from generation to generation – or as structures that develop in vacuum of an individual’s mind. Rather than resorting to easy answers based in biological, genetic or psychological determinisms, Vygotsky sets out to explain that “human development is the product of a broader system than just the system of a person’s individual functions, specifically, [it is a] systems of social connections and relations, of collective forms of behavior and social cooperation” (Vygotsky 1999, p.41).

In his attempts to ground the study of developmental psychology in the material and social world of social practices and activities, Vygotsky emphasizes the social origins of human mind. In his theory, mind is not some abstract or ambiguous mechanism the workings of which are hidden, obscured and hard to discern. Rather, mind is in social practices – it develops through activities with other people – and manifests itself as unique product of the history of an individual’s practices over the course of a lifespan. To underscore this points Vygotsky expresses the relationship between the mind and society simply and eloquently in famous law of higher psychological functions, in when he states that “Each function in the child’s cultural development appears twice: first on the social

level, and later on the individual level; first between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological)” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57).

In this chapter, I briefly survey some major tenets of socio-cultural theory, in order to provide basic means for a better theoretical grasp on how higher psychological functions, such as relational flexibility – arise through our participation in context-embedded activities – to subsequently enable further development. Beginning with the dialectical relationship between *tool* and *sign* as well as *word* and *thought* – I explore the processes of sense-making and relational flexibility, as they arise from joint participation within a community of minds. It is important to emphasize at this point that, while the classical socio-cultural theory largely views development as a process of un-enculturated children and youth entering into a community of minds, the substance of my work in this study draws from work of Daiute & Nelson (1998) and places an emphasis on the individual’s struggle with making sense of diverse social context where multiple communities of minds influence person’s development. To this end, the process of relational flexibility will be explored by counter-posting the processes of enculturation and acculturation (alternatively formulated as sense-making of *relatively known* cultural milieu and *relatively unknown and unfamiliar* cultural milieu) and highlighting the significance of narrative, and narrative development, to both the encultured child and the bi-cultural adolescent in the era of technologically mediated social life.

Namely, as space between people today appears to shrink with the increasing use of new media for communication and interaction (such as internet and mobile phones) and the time necessary to get in touch with peers is reduced to a cyber-minimum, transcendence of physical and temporal spaces shatters traditional geographical and

temporal boundaries between people and allows growing cultural diversity to increasingly affect cognitive development of an individual. For these reasons, context embedded activities of one individual can at the same time easily involve two or more separate communities of minds, more or less simultaneously. On this view, when we observe and study individuals across their developmental spectrum, and particularly look at their activities among diverse communities of minds, we can observe whether or not higher psychological functions develop differently in activities with different communities of minds. One of the ways to examine the development of higher psychological functions, such as relational flexibility, is to observe their enactment in language used to interpret interpersonal interactions.

To this end, we will consider the role that language plays in the process of development. Language serves as an essential tool for sense-making, segmenting and ordering thoughts and feelings and can therefore reveal how youth involved in this study make sense of interactions toward diverse communities of minds. Viewed from the research perspective, language has the ability to make-manifest developmental processes of sense-making as well as relational flexibility and thus allows us to study them. Towards the end of the chapter, we will consider the theory and research of the sub-field that is becoming known as *narrative psychology*. Narrative psychology provides us tools for analyzing narratives and discourse, and hence allows us to relate the properties of language to psychological development as it is itself related to social activities of the individual in a society.

Higher Psychological Functions are Context Specific

Higher psychological functions develop through mediation of activities which frequently involve socio-culturally embedded *artifacts* (Cole, 1996). An *artifact* is defined as an aspect of the material world that has been modified throughout the history of its incorporation into goal-directed human action (Cole, 1996). Physical artifact such as hammer, pencil, bulldozer, computer or a cellular phone are some of the frequently used examples of artifacts that have evolved over the course of history in order to meet the changing needs and practices of men who use them. Many artifacts which exist in the world are never incorporated into activities of many individuals. However, at the point when an artifact is incorporated into the sphere of meaningful activity, that artifact begins to assume the properties of a *cultural tool* and act as a mediational property between the individual and society.

On the purely social level, cultural tools enable social interactions and afford culturally-specific and context specific meaning (Gibson, 1984; Gibson & Spelke, 1983; Heft, 1989). Tools extend the reach and power of our bodies and their use results in a change in the object toward which they are directed (Lantolf & Thorne, 2007). Cultural tools populate and structure our psycho-social environment. Historically, physical tools have allowed us to expropriate value from the natural world through activities such as mining, farming or harvesting and produce commodities in order to satisfy various human needs (Marx, 1867). But, physical tools which we use in our daily lives vary greatly from one historical period to the next, from activity to activity, and from context to context.

For example, in chapter 15 of *Capital*, Volume I, entitled *Machinery and Large Scale Industry*, Karl Marx (1867) considers the difference between a tool and a machine in order to illustrate the historical transformation of human labour process during the period of industrial revolution. The machine, Marx (1867) states “is the starting-point of the first industrial revolution, [it] replaces the worker, who handles a single tool, by a mechanism operating with a number of similar tools and set in motion by a single motive power” (p.497). Marx points out that by the introduction of a spinning machine in 1735 by John Wyatt or a steam engine in 1784 by James Watt, human labor process was changed forever. From that point onward, it made little economic sense for spinning to be done using a spinning wheel. Such changes in tool use from one historical period to the next, or as we will shortly see, changes in tool use from context to context affect the development of the human mind. Development of psychological functions is tied to the socio-cultural context, and given that today that context is diverse, it raises an empirical question of whether or not we can expect the development of psychological functions to be equally diverse across various contexts?

One of the ways to explain the effects of changes in tool use (from context to context as well as between two historical periods) is to examine the role of psychological *sign* in human development. By introducing the idea of a psychological sign, Vygotsky creates the powerful dialectical relationship between the external conductors of human development (tools) and the internal ones. The *sign* acts as an instrument of psychological activity in a manner similar to the role of a tool in labor (Vygotsky, 1978). Psychological signs emerge from a social category of tools and give rise to psychological

functions. Tool and sign are two interdependent notions of similar origins and different orientation. Vygotsky (1978) explains this difference in the following way:

“A most essential difference between sign and tool, and the basis for real divergence of the two lines, is the different ways that they orient human behavior. The tool’s function is to serve as the conductor of human influence on the object of activity; it is *externally* oriented; it must lead to change in objects. It is a means by which human external activity is aimed at mastering, and triumphing over, nature. The sign, on the other hand, changes nothing in the object of a psychological operation. It is a means of internal activity aimed at mastering oneself; the sign is internally oriented (p.55).”

Cultural tools, by the means of tool mediated activity, become a psychological sign and assume auxiliary function in genesis of new activities (Wertsch, 1991). Thus, tools primarily orient our activity externally and mediate social interactions, while signs act in both directions; they mediate our psychological world and serve as conductors of our activities. Interpersonal and social process is transformed into an intrapersonal one through social mediation of the activity.

With the aid of internalized social categories – in which shared human activity, productivity, culture and history meet (Scribner, 1985) humans are able to engage in thought, symbolic representation, cognitive manipulation, abstract reasoning, transfer of knowledge from context to context and imagination. In other words, this transformation allows for higher psychological functions, mental manipulation, event representation and in effect enables the functioning of memory (Nelson, 1998). For human psychological processes the transformation from lower, more basic psychological functions, to the

higher psychological functions is even more revolutionary than the transition from a tool to a machine and the invention of steam engine for human labour.

Research has shown that higher psychological functions are context specific, and in particular specific to the context in which they initially arose. Research with Kpelle tribe in Liberia by Cole, Gay & Glick (1967) demonstrated that although children of the tribe could not comprehend simple arithmetic and solve simple puzzles in formal schools they could apply similar formal mathematical knowledge to market, taxis and many other settings. When presented with a problem like $2 + 3 = ?$ as an example in a class lesson and then asked $3 + 5 = ?$ on the test, students would protest that the test was unfair because it contained material not covered in the class (Cole, 1996). While unable to solve simple math problems in a classroom, researchers discovered that the same children were able to perform highly complex mathematical functions when it came to measuring the amount of rice (Cole, Gay, & Glick, 1968). Kpelle are traditionally rice farmers who usually sell the surplus rice to supplement their incomes. Thus, research established that people become highly skilled in performing tasks they often engaged in, and task which had a lot of social meaning for them. Furthermore, Kpelle went on to develop cultural tools and associate cognitive skills where such tools and skills were of central importance to their life. Higher psychological functions such as understanding of mathematics and grasp of meaning, sense-making and learning are all defined relative to actional context in which they arose (Hanks, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991) and are not just self-contained, 'ideal' or reified strictures.

According to this view, all higher forms of thinking necessarily incorporate external cultural forms - as symbolic and auxiliary - which arise as a consequence of

participation in cultural activities (Lantolf & Thorne, 2007). And as such, they become very relevant for our exploration of *relational complexity*. Because relational complexity is defined as context-sensitive extension of perspective-taking (Daiute, 2010; Daiute & Lucić, 2011), it is by default a higher psychological function which highlights the differences in relational capacities of an individual towards context specific demands of his or her developmental context.

In this dissertation, I explore how youth living in New York City manage various interactions with diverse cultural groups, how they make sense of these diverse interactions and how they resolve conflicts with their culturally diverse peers. Throughout this exploration, I focus on language that youth use to describe and enact their thoughts and feelings about direct participation in mediated activities with their diverse peers. In short, I expect that diverse ways of managing and making sense of interpersonal interactions will manifest themselves as enacted in varied use of language across interactions with diverse communities of minds. In other words, I expect to show that: immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers develop varied and context specific means for managing their participation within diverse communities of minds which surround them.

In the Beginning There are Words – Our Use of Language Leads Our Development:

Similarly to his theoretical explanations of tool and sign, Vygotsky (1962) explains the relationship between speech and thought by focusing on *semiotic mediation* and the power of language to direct development from which contemporary theory of narrative development draws. More than just a mechanical concept of social becoming individual, semiotic mediation focuses on the role of language in formulation and

enactment of knowledge (Vygotsky, 1962; Wertsch, 1986) and meaning-making (Bruner, 1990). Semiotic signs, just like physical tools, are outwardly directed toward other people (through speech) and influence those who are the object of our speaking (Lantolf & Thorne, 2007). Alternatively, it has been formulated that once children, youth and adults have acquired language (or second language for that matter), their use of language leads development (Daiute, 2010), especially as they encounter unfamiliar situations and unfamiliar bodies of knowledge.

In Vygotskian theory, language is seen as a cultural tool *par-excellence*. The ability to speak and think using language affords humans the possibility to engage into an enormous range of activities, both interpersonally and intrapersonally. On the interpersonal level, language affords us the possibility to communicate, understand and influence other people. On the intrapersonal level, language allows us to think and to reflect on our actions by using the signifiers and their signified meaning in this process. Alexander Luria (1981) illustrates the advantages that language provides to our thought process with the following quote: “The enormous advantage is that their world doubles. In the absence of words, human beings would have to deal only with those things which they could perceive and manipulate directly. With the help of language, they can deal with things that they have not perceived even indirectly and with things which were part of experience of earlier generations. Thus, the word adds another dimension to the world of human.... Animals have only one world, the world of objects and situations. Human have double world.” (Luria, 1981, p.35). Thus, social semiotic sign allow for the signified meaning to be created, engage and manipulated mentally.

Developmentally, the function of thought emerges by slow integration of functions, from socialized speech to egocentric speech, and finally to inner speech over the first 6 years of child's life. From the perspective of the human infant, speech is initially an arbitrary sign system used by adults for social communication. Speech manifests itself first as a social function and in its social role. But, as Vygotsky notes, any novice or a child entering a new language gradually learns how to use speech to serve himself through engaging in joint activities with the more capable others (such as parents) and "speech becomes not just a means of communication with other people, but means for the child's own thinking process". Speech, first a social category, wholly abstract to the child, becomes appropriated and enacted once it is engaged.

By exploring the emergence of speech and its meaning developmentally through social interactions, we can say that our own voice always contains the voice of others that we have been in contact with, either through direct social dialogue, or vicariously through artifacts such as written texts (Bakhtin, 1986; Wertsch, 1991). Thus, by emphasizing the social origins of meaning and enactment of meaning – as they arise from context in which the activities are embedded – Vygotsky opens the door for a more concrete understanding of theoretical constructs such as dual or bi-cultural consciousness and relational flexibility as they related to the development of youth in diverse societies.

Activities of today's youth growing up in New York City often arise in two or more different socio-cultural contexts, given that they are developing among diverse communities of minds, such as their own ethnic/cultural group and other ethnic/cultural groups which abound in their city. Two different cultural/ethnic groups often have different traditions, languages, cultural practices patters of activities and therefore quite

frequently create different cultural meaning (Rogoff, 2003) and maintain different developmental expectation. Need to make sense of more than one set of cultural meanings would, according to the view advanced here, leads youth to develop bi-culturally based ways of understanding their context, and hence to develop relational flexibility through context embedded activities.

Both Language and Meaning are Context Embedded

Vygotsky's analysis of a developmental phenomenon called autonomous speech in his work entitled *The Crisis of the First Year* is especially illustrative of the context embedded meaning in language during early development. Particularly due to focus on context embedded meaning in language in this work, I believe that it is useful to consider autonomous speech in some depth, because we are here dealing with the process of genesis of *relational flexibility* through active participation of a child in a social context. According to Vygotsky, autonomous speech is defined as that period in the development of speech which stands between the mute period and the period when the basic structure of native language takes shape (socialized speech). During the period of autonomous speech, a child will frequently create a word on his own, such as "ooah" to stand for a duck swimming in the water. A child will then begin to use the same sound for milk spilled on the table, or for any floating liquid, transferring the name from the initial object or action to another. Vygotsky notes that a majority of children go through the period of the autonomous speech, before the transition is made from the mute period to the language of the adults.

In autonomous speech we can see some aspects of flexible relationships to the diverse contexts and the emphasis on meaning. Even phonetically same words, produced

during this period, often differ in their meaning from context to context. Vygotsky defines four functional features of the autonomous speech: First, from the articulation and phonetic aspects it does not coincide with the language of the adults. Second, meaning of autonomous speech does not coincide with the meaning of language used by adults. Third, the child has the understanding of the words used by adults, such as 'stand', 'sit', 'bread', 'milk' or 'hot' and uses them in conjunction with autonomous speech. And finally the most relevant for our present inquiry is the fourth functional feature: the child's autonomous speech and its meanings are developed with the active participation of the child in the social relations and context.

Vygotsky cites an example of a child who used a word *zelenina* for light colors and *sinina* for dark colors. Both words have no meaning in the socialized speech of adults. If the child was given two leaves, bright yellow and dark yellow, he would call the first *zelenina* and the second *sinina*. If, however, he was given the same dark yellow leaf and a brown one at the same time, the dark yellow leaf was called *zelenina* and the brown one *sinina*. While phonetically the same, the meaning of the word does not have an objective consistency. Meaning has different connotations from context to context. On this view, the meaning of words and their understanding is situational, and it is often impossible to understand the meaning of the words properly when they are removed from the concrete situation.

In concluding pages of *Thinking and Speech*, Vygotsky emphasizes the centrality of meaning as he explores the dialectical relationship between thought, emotions, language and consciousness. He states:

[Thought] is not born of other thoughts. Thought has its origins in the motivating sphere of consciousness, a sphere that includes our

inclinations and needs, our interests and impulses, and our affect and emotions. The affective and volitional tendency stands behind thought. Only here do we find the answer to the final 'why' in the analysis of thinking. (Vygotsky, 1934/1987, p.282)

These initial formulations regarding the meaning which stands behind thought and language is also echoed by John Dewey (1958) as he discusses language as the vehicle by which we bring order into our thoughts about things and thus organize our experience. Dewey develops the idea of language as an integral part of sense-making even further. He argues that language is an instrument for segmenting, ordering, predicating, categorizing, and that when applied to the actual experience in the world – such as social, interpersonal interaction – language yields to increased cognitive coherence and increased organization of that experience to which it is applied (Dewey, 1958). This insight in particular enables us to understand the relationship between sense-making and relational flexibility, given that Dewey underscores organization of experience and cognitive coherence in relation to understanding ones experiences in the world.

Building on these theoretical foundations laid by Vygotsky and Dewey, Bruner (1987) and Bruner and Lucariello (1989) set forth to assign a special status to language and narrative as the means for integration of varied psychological activities such as affect, cognition and action through the process of sense-making. They treat sense-making as dynamically related to other psychological functions and argue that linguistic functions, such as for example soliloquy, which occurs in the course of everyday thinking are present there because human beings are often in need of the kind of ordering of thought that only language can provide. Expanding on this notion further in the direction of sense-making and interpersonal narrative they assert that: “one use of language is to

help the child develop through practice sufficiently decontextualized procedures so that speaking becomes differentiated from action and affect. The child gradually learns to use speech in a manner that makes it comprehensible independently of what is going on at the moment of speech (p.75)". To this they add:

"The means for the child's more reliably distinguishing what she does from what she feels from what she knows or experiences about the world is, we believe, inherent in the *structure of narrative discourse* [italics mine]. But there is also a sense in which language use *in general* contributes to this end. For language, it seems, helps to 'cool' or reduce some of uncertainty and emotionality in the child's world just by its displaced mode of representing that world in memory and thought. (p.76)"

Ideas regarding the situational and socioculturally embedded nature of words and their ability to make sense and make meaning is also echoed more recently in the epistemology of the contemporary *small stories* paradigm (Bamberg, 2006; Bamberg & Marchman, 2010). By viewing the narrative functionally, the small stories paradigm moves narrative inquiry towards increasing textualization of life, action, interaction and experience and a way from a more traditional view of mind characterized as a set of internally organized texts with normative standard (such as biography), presentable in narrative form and content such as a view advocated by McAdams (1985) and McAdams (1988). If we are to formulate this notion practically and apply it to a research design and data analysis, it would lead us away from the exploration of reified structures such as 'the self' or 'an identity'; as directly interpretable from narrative, and towards more active and engaged reading of the textualization of varied interpersonal interactions across diverse contexts, along the theoretical foundations set forth by Vygotsky. On this view Bamberg

(2006) makes a point that “narratives cannot be taken simply and interpreted solely for what has been said and told” and in terms of analytic method he adds that the “analysis has to work through this in order to perceive how a ‘sense of self’ – or an ‘identity’ – has to be conveyed and indexed.”

Language is a Tool for Segmenting, Ordering and Meaning-Making:

In her work on cognitive development of children Katherine Nelson examined the ways in which cognition is embedded in everyday meaningful activities and the ways in which cultural symbol systems – such as language and text – influence children’s developing concepts and thought (Hudson et al. 2004). Accordingly, cognitive development is viewed as a process of meaning making, through-out which children strive after meaning in their everyday interactions. Making sense of the world is a developmental need, and as a process it is embedded in ongoing everyday interactions with the objects and people in their world. According to this view, making sense of the world often occurs within vertical social interactions in which more capable others (often adults) mediate children’s cognitive processes. Social interactions with different communities of minds exert powerful mediating influence on the skills that children develop and the meanings they construct. This work draws on the theory of sense-making, however the process of development under investigation here views sense-making also as horizontal process – by conceptualizing development through interactions with diverse same aged peers – rather than solely a vertical process of the unenculturated child entering into a community of minds comprised mainly of adults. Stretching the idea of construction of meaning through sense-making to the process of *relational-flexibility*, we can say that developing across diverse settings simultaneously though

interactions with more than one community of minds would lead the individuals to constructions of varied meanings and develop varied skills to manage these diverse contexts of activities. In this research I explore whether or not these skills and their related meanings can be seen as enacted in language that individuals use to interpret their interpersonal interactions across two diverse developmental contexts.

Furthermore, Katherine Nelson's (1997) theory of cognitive development frequently emphasizes the developmental need of a good fit between the events in the world and the individual's representation of those events. Much like tools enable human activity and provide the material basis for the formation of signs, language used in interpersonal activities provides the scaffolding for the development of event representation. According to her theory, given that cognition is embedded in everyday life, and that the use of language influences children's developing concepts and thoughts, narrative construction in discourse (and by relationship in thought) is representative of the child's understanding of the context and its implicit and explicit meanings.

Narrative construction involves a complex matrix of inter-related skills that are related to sense-making and understanding the developmental world and events. Among these skills are: a) the ability to verbally project events in time, including the temporal and causal relations among events. b) The ability to formulate connected discourse using cohesive linguistic devices and to understand discourse so connected. c) The ability to differentiate the canonical from the non-canonical and to mark events in terms of necessity, probability, and uncertainty. d) The ability to take the perspective of different actors and of different spatial and temporal relations. e) The ability to resolve deviations from the expected course of events in humanely and culturally understandable terms. And

finally f) the capacity to recognize and reformulate enduring culturally significant themes.

All of the above identified narrative skills are important and directly related to the process for making sense. In this study, I view the ability to verbally project events in time, and to include the temporal and causal relations among events as aiding youth in planning for actions, and anticipating the reactions of others. Similarly, the ability to formulate connected discourse using cohesive linguistic devices and to understand discourse so connected, is seen in this work as an important skill for identifying the relations between the self and other in context, as is the ability to differentiate the canonical from the non-canonical and to mark events in terms of necessity, probability, and uncertainty important to answering the question: *What is going on here?* And the ability to take the perspective of different actors and of different spatial and temporal relations as answering the question: *How do I fit in?*

Furthermore, the ability to resolve deviations from the expected course of events in humanely and culturally understandable terms as well as the capacity to recognize and reformulate enduring culturally significant themes aid youth in answering the questions: *What is going on here?* and *How do I fit in?* However, they do so in highly relative and context specific terms, as Nelson (1997) correctly points out by ascribing to them the adjective *culturally*. In this study I focus particular attention on similarities and differences in narrative across diverse interpersonal contexts in order to understand how youth they make sense of their diverse interpersonal relationships across diverse developmental contexts, and how they enact this process in language as they flexibly relate to diverse others in their context

Emphasizing the power of narrative to act as a cultural tool in the process of sense-making, Colette Daiute (2010) in her book entitled *Human Development and Political Violence* explores multiple and often clashing ideologies of political conflict and transition through workshops with 137 youth aged 12 – 27 across four positions of post-war Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, a U.S. refugee community). In her work, youth are asked to narrate conflicts in everyday life from the perspectives of different narrator-audience relations. Focusing on young people's use of narrating as a way to deal with complex situations of their post-war societies, Daiute (2010) explores how participants draw on resources to deal with circumstances in their daily lives. In particular, data analysis focuses on how youth constructed different plot structures (conflict and resolution strategies) when narrating from diverse positions (such as peer, adult, community). Underscoring the use of fiction, Daiute (2010) points to the fact that participants across the contexts used the hypothetical community narrating activities to express character actions and emotions that were not, and perhaps could not have been, expressed in more reified terms with the autobiographical mode of narrating. Daiute (2010) further notes that the differences in how young people use narrative genres and evaluative devices in the fictional narrative “in particular highlight the use of discourse to mediate relations in society, not only personal relations but also political relations of power, such as conforming to or transforming national scripts (p.145).”

Drawing directly on the conceptual and theoretical implications of the work by Daiute (2010), in this study I analyze the narrative data (which will be illustrated further in subsequent chapters) by focusing on the projective narratives of the same individual speakers across two different context as they are engaged in sense-making process with

different communities of minds such as one's own cultural/ethnic group and other cultural/ethnic groups of the U.S. society. This within-subject design allows for the examination of varied enactment of diverse semiotic mediational means across diverse contexts of their activities used by youth who participated in this study.

To get a sense of the power of narrative analysis in making manifest aspects of the sense-making process in relation to developmental context, consider for a moment differences in narratives by a participant named Cindy, age 17, in responses to prompts which ask her to make sense of an interpersonal conflict embedded into two different cultural groups. Cindy was asked to read a vignette depicting a conflict between Alex and Kai, both ages 16, who have entered into an argument over text-messaging and to answer the following questions in writing: What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?

1. Toward: Participant's Own Cultural Group:

Alex tries to call her, but she doesn't answer because she is very upset and doesn't want to talk to him. Alex sends many messages to her saying "I'm so sorry" forgive me, I won't do it again.

2. Toward: Bi-Cultural Interactions with Members of the U.S Society:

Alex sends messages to her, but she doesn't reply to him. He tries to call her, but also doesn't answer. He goes to Kai's house to fix the problem and buys some flowers.

Notice the difference between the two projective narratives penned by the same participant. The first narrative was written as a response to the conflict embedded among members of Cindy's own cultural group (youth immigrants from Dominican Republic).

In the second narrative, Cindy is responding to the same conflict embedded into a relationship between a Dominican immigrant and a member of host society (U.S. born youth). The structure of the conflict prompt and the wording of the vignette to which Cindy is narrating were the same in both conditions.

Aside from a slight difference in the overall word count between the two responses, 38 words in the first answer and 34 in the second, Cindy employs quite different strategies in order to bring conflict to a conclusion and approach conflict resolution. In the first narrative she approaches the conflict resolution using communicative strategy (*Alex tries to call her and Alex sends many messages to her*) while in the second narrative Cindy employs the combination of communicative and physical strategies (*Alex sends messages to her; he tries to call he and He goes to Kai's house to fix the problem; buys some flowers*). Furthermore, in the first narrative Cindy uses a causal connector *because* to causally relate the reasons that Kai did not answer Alex to the Kai's cognitive and emotional state (*because she is very upset and doesn't want to talk to him*), while in the second narrative such causal connection is absent and the relationship of the cognitive and affective states of the interlocutors in the vignette is ambiguous. Namely, in the second narrative, the proper clause: *but she doesn't reply to him*, is not causally related to the cognitive affective state of the other as it is in the first narrative.

These differences of interpersonal relatedness, also referred to as *addressivity* (Bakhtin, 1986) enacted in language, indicate varied ways of managing diverse self-society relations. Managing diverse self-society relations is especially important in an environment like New York City, which is a socio-cultural context defined by hyper-

diversity. Thus, one of the working hypotheses examined in this work can be formulated to say that: in order to function in such a context, youth must develop *relational flexibility* through active participation in activities involving diverse communities of minds, such as one's own (known) cultural groups and other (less known) cultural groups.

Zone of Proximal Development is the Distance between Two Narratives:

One of many plausible theoretical explanations of these within-person differences – as we will see in more depth in subsequent result chapters – is to view them as a manifestation of varied use of sense-making, across two relational dimensions, enacted in language and narrative. Viewed from this perspective, we see differences in narrative responses to different versions of the same task as manifesting varied ways of making sense by an individual towards different cultural/ethnic groups across diverse socio-cultural contexts of his/her activities. Such explanation is consistent with Vygotskian theory and can be expanded upon by invoking the theoretical construct of zone of proximal development (ZPD) as well as recent theorizing by Daiute (in press; 2011) regarding the concept of ‘in-between’ narratives. Vygotsky (1978) explains ZPD as “*the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers* (1978, p.86). In the case involving the development of immigrant youth or their U.S. born peers, the distance between actual level of development and potential level of development cannot simply be viewed as a contrast between independent versus interdependent problem solving. In interactions with their own cultural group and interactions with other cultural groups, youth are *interacting* with others and developing through these interactions. Rather, we

can see this difference as the distance in developmental level as determined by problem solving (in other words of making sense) in relatively known cultural milieu and developmental level as determined by problem solving in relatively unknown and unfamiliar cultural milieu. This slight shift in focus of the relations inherent in ZPD from independent vs. interdependent functioning towards a more general interpersonal orientation at both ends of the zone, fits well with a more applied definition of ZPD also formulated by Vygotsky and expressed in relation to process of learning: *Human learning presupposes a specific social nature and process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them*” (Vygotsky, 1978 p.86).

Much as we have seen previously through more concrete examples involving building of material structures – tools allow humans to engage into interpersonal action and subsequently (if used correctly and for a right purpose) can lead to the development of higher psychological functions. Likewise, social milieu surrounding a community of minds, together with all of the knowledge, roles, norms and values inherent in the practices of that community of minds, act as auxiliary means for cultural development of the individual and can lead toward higher psychological functions.

This study explores the process of sense-making by looking at the development of youth growing up in New York in 2010. New York City is a setting where phrases such as *‘specific social nature’* or *‘process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them’* often have quite ambiguous meanings and can be very hard to define. For, *‘those around them’* are today quite diverse, they constitute and interact with very different others who have sometimes diverging or even clashing expectations, values, norms, roles or scripts for development. Similarly, mobile technology has introduced a

myriad of new mediums through which interpersonal relationships can play out, adding new empirical questions to processes involved in the social nature of human learning.

From the perspective of socio-cultural theory, defining the processes of acculturation and enculturation in relation to immigrant youth (Phinny, 2003; (Milstein & Lucic, 2004) helps to clarify the differences between the various *relational dimensions* involved in relational flexibility and helps to conceptualize developmental process in relation to two broad communities of minds, those of immigrants' own cultural group and host society. On this view, enculturation is viewed as a process embodied by the activities of immigrant in relation to and with individuals from their own cultural group (such as parents, relatives, ethnic/cultural organizations). Acculturation, on the other hand, is seen as a process of development within the community of minds of the members of the host society (such as teachers, school, peer groups etc.).

Using this distinction, Milstein and Lucić (2004) explore developmental effects of migration and adjustment of immigrants to a new society immediately following immigration, by studying college students in New York City, who have migrated to the United States as children. Their study points to interpersonal interactions of immigrant children with their parents, school peers, and teachers as three possible points of interaction between the processes of acculturation and enculturation in development. Immigrant children of the school age period (between the ages of 6 and 12) are seen as especially vulnerable to conflict between enculturation and acculturation, given that they can quite often find themselves confused and unable to make a choice between sometime conflicting cultural roles and norms communicated to them by their parents and by their teacher. Processes of acculturation and enculturation are thus seen as distinct and can

either operate in concert or clash as the individual's *relational dimensions* in the developmental context, thus possibly introducing a lot of confusion in the activity pattern of the developing individual.

This research will attempt to capture the effects of the possible conflict between the enculturative and acculturative dimensions by examining the projective narrative structure(s) and their differences, produced by immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers. In this research, I presume that narrating is an active process and that narratives are cultural meanings and interpretations that guide perceptions, thought, interaction, and action (Daiute, 2004). That is, the way people narrate their activities is dialogical in nature and it influences how they perceive past and prepare for future events. Narrative analysis includes multiple referential meanings that point to objects, people, events and evaluative meanings that indicate why the story is being told (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). On this view, the narrative structure and form present in projective narratives regarding interpersonal interactions of youth should reveal the effects of the interplay between these two *relational dimensions* by emphasizing qualitatively different ways of sense-making towards the know and familiar community of minds in comparison to sense-making of unknown and unfamiliar cultural group.

Referential Action and Evaluative Consciousness: Two Narrative Modes

In order to form a narrative structure, the narrator has to specify the location of narrative time in relation to the present. There are three options for this – actions could have taken place in the past, they could be ongoing in the present, or could be anticipated as occurring in the future. Seen through the temporal relationship of clauses, and the focus on time, narrative spans across developmental context to include the landscapes of

consciousness, action (Bruner, 1986; Daiute, 2010). Given that the unfolding of actions through time is implicit in all definitions of narrative, a narrative approach is very well suited for the investigation of the developmental process of sense-making. In this research, by narrating about their activities with different communities of minds, youth attempt to understand their situated interactions and anticipate their future. In this process, the language that they use to bind the words together in narrative space and time (Daiute & Lucić, 2010; Ricoeur, 1984) offers us great deal of information about the process of sense-making in relation to a particular community of minds to which narrating is directed.

Narrative often serves the function of establishing a point of personal interest for the narrator in relation to the context and his/her activities. Labov and Waletzky's (1967) narrative analysis distinguishes two distinct narrative functions: evaluative and referential. Referential function in narrative, usually a narrative core, relates to actions frequently organized as canonical events (Bruner, 1990) and often pre-scripted ways. Referential core of a narrative usually carries a referential meaning, in other words it answers the question of how something is done or what happens(ed) in general (Daiute & Nelson 1998). However, as Labov and Waletzky (1967) point out a good narrative is not comprised only of referential meaning because "a narrative that contains only an orientation, complicating action, and result is not a complete narrative. It may carry out the referential function perfectly, and yet seem difficult to understand. Such a narrative lacks significance: it has no point (p.29)"

Evaluation, on the other hand, serves to establish some point of personal interest for the narrator in relation to his/her activities. Evaluative devices individuate the

narrative, by introducing specific and non-canonical unexpected happenings- they usually tells us why something is done. However, given that evaluation is often self-referential and frequently implicit (Daiute, 2010) it is rarely stated explicitly in language. Evaluation often appears through the accidental, sporadic and unintended use (at least consciously) of narrative elements, such as repetitions, negations, metaphor, cognitive or affective words. Evaluation, as situated rather than absolute (Daiute & Nelson 1997) serves to signal the meaning of narrative for the narrator. Evaluation offers listener information about the narrator's point of view.

This dual function of narrative has also been described by Bruner (1986). According to his view, language allows the bi-directional dialectical interaction of the two landscapes which lead development: landscape of consciousness and landscape of action. Socio-cultural activities of the individual unfold in the interpersonal landscape of action – while the goals, motivations, intentions, beliefs, affect and values motivating these activities are interpreted in the landscape of consciousness. According to Bruner, through the engagements in the interpersonal activity within a culture, persons acquire the ability to reflect and interpret in order to further direct their activities and their development.

Building on the notions of reference and evaluation, Daiute & Nelson (1997) further sharpen the tools of narrative analysis by describing a valuable distinction between scripts and stories with regards to narrative structures. Although dialectically related, scripts and stories differ in a number of formal ways. It is these differences which provide a number of tools for formal narrative analysis. *Scripts* emerge out of the referential function of narrative and represent narrative genres, the skeletal general action

sequence, and a normative notion of the ways that things are done or should be done. In scripts the temporal and logical sequence is most often linear, where A leads to B and then to C. Most often, scripts represent the way things should be, or the way that they are usually done, and it is in that sense that Daiute & Nelson (1997) speak of scripts as incorporating the ways of the culture. Thus, scripts, from the perspective of the narrative analysis and the perspective of this study have an important acculturative function. They introduce the novice youth to the ways of the unknown culture and once again, much like tools in classical Vygotskian theory and examples, act as external auxiliary means allowing development to occur.

Scripts however lack the individual components that offer the narrator's point of view – they also do not offer information about narrator's thoughts and feelings regarding the event. This function is performed by stories. *Stories*, would not be what they are if there were no scripts, however they differ from scripts in a number of ways. Stories individuate the general script by way of the specific non-canonical unexpected happenings (Daiute & Nelson, 1997, p.208). Stories evaluate happenings within the narrative from the narrator's point of view (Daiute & Nelson, 1997, p.208).

Because narratives are usually told in answer to some stimulus from outside, to establish some point of personal interest for the narrator (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) and to depict events with characters interacting, usually around some 'trouble' in the setting (Amsterdam & Bruner, 2002) narrative analysis is a useful tool in our attempts to explicate how youth make sense of their diverse and technologically mediated interpersonal interactions. Given the frequent need to solve problems in daily life, developmental process often involves making sense and working through a conflict, which

some theories consider (Piaget, 1968) a major catalyst to development. To capture this personal and ‘troubling’ nature of narrative in relation to developmental setting, this research explores the *landscapes of conflicts* as theorized by Daiute (2010).

Research Questions of the Study:

To briefly sum up a few points emphasized in this chapter: a basic assumption in this research is that youth develop by engaging in the process of making sense, a process with many subprocesses, as Nelson (1998) notes. The idea of socio-cultural mediated development and sense-making is supported by research that has shown that language is the primary symbolic tool that mediates developmental process, a catalyst for development (Nelson 1998; Daiute, 2010). In this research too, development is seen as enacted through language that individuals use to narrativize their experiences in reference to the landscape of action and at the same time evaluating the landscape of consciousness as explained by Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Bruner (1986). Persons use narrative to a) communicate with others and b) construct event representations based on experiences with events and c) construct activities and enact their own thoughts and feelings relationally. On this view, language is seen as the multipurpose developmental tool that serves the following functions: a) allows youth people to enter into discourse with both *acculturative* and *enculturative* processes by engaging with diverse communities of minds that surround them b) allow for the experiences with diverse communities of minds to become represented intrapersonally and c) allows the enactment of thoughts and feelings relationally.

The present study focuses on exploration of the landscape of consciousness in relation to the landscape of activity of immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers, as they

both are related to the process of sense-making of diverse and text-mediated interpersonal interactions. By employing the methodology of narrative analysis put forth by Labov and Waletzky (1967) this study aims to answer the following five research questions:

1. Do immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers, growing up in an increasingly multicultural U.S. society, use different categories and qualities of evaluative language in projective narratives to make sense of their diverse interpersonal interactions?
2. Given that sense-making and relational complexity are relational processes, are thoughts and feelings of immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers about interpersonal interactions enacted differently across diverse relational dimensions in projective narratives towards diverse interpersonal audiences?
3. Are there formal between group differences in projective narratives of U.S. born youth and immigrant youth? If so, what are those differences?
4. Are there formal within-group differences in projective narratives of these two groups of youth toward the members their own cultural group and towards the other cultural group? If so, what are those differences?

More specifically, formal differences explored in this question are operationalized in terms of narrative fluency (narrative length) toward the two relational dimensions as well as the differences in narrative affect, cognition, causal connectors, logical/hypothetical pronouns, intensifiers, evaluative adjectives, negations, inclusion of the self in the narrative, and outsider's perspective.

5. Do immigrant and U.S born youth use different conflict resolution strategies to approach interpersonal conflicts across different relational dimensions? If so, what are those differences?

More specifically, differences in conflict resolution strategies toward two relational dimensions to be explored in this question are operationalized as of physical, communicative, psychological strategy.

Chapter III

METHOD

This chapter presents the research design, design of the workshop materials such as the vignettes used in the study to elicit narratives, data collection process and data analysis process of my dissertation study. In order to answer the research questions of this study in the attempt to make manifest the processes of sense-making and acquisition of shared meaning for youth growing up in a diverse developmental context of today's New York , this research combines qualitative and quantitative modes of inquiry and analysis. As I have explained in prior chapters, this study investigates the process of sense-making by youth across diverse and technologically mediated interpersonal interactions in order to give answers to research questions by analyzing the language and narrative construction that youth use to mediate their interactions and flexibly enact their thoughts and feelings across their developmental spectrum. In order to provide a context which allows for exploration of these processes empirically, the research design of this study sought to create an experimental condition which invites the participating youth into an active process of sense-making through narrating.

Research Setting:

All of the participants in this study were recruited through their involvement with New-York Historical Society (N-YHS). N-YHS is an organization dedicated to preservation of city's history and is located on New York City's Upper West Side. In conjunction with their regular museum mission, N-YHS organizes Saturday Academy in cooperation with *Gilder Lehrman* Institute for American History, twice a year. Saturday

Academy is a program which involves a series of six to eight extracurricular courses for high-school students from New York's metropolitan area. During an average semester, roughly about 200 students attend seven consecutive Saturday morning courses taught by college professors and seasoned high-school teachers. Topics of these courses deal broadly with the history of New York City, however, the angles from which history is approached vary greatly from course to course. Out of six to eight courses which are offered, students choose to attend two courses. Saturday Academy is free of cost for all students enrolled in New York City's public and private schools, and every student who successfully completes a series of two courses is awarded a certificate of participation. Students generally use these certificates to improve their chances of entering a University of their choice, so it can be said that Saturday Academy at N-YHS draws highly motivated students from a wide range of social classes.

Between 2006 and 2009 I designed and taught a course on History of Immigration to New York City at N-YHS. The goal of my course was to engage students in thoughtful reflection of the contemporary demographic and historical transformation of New York City by looking at the history of immigration over the past 100 years. The demographic composition of students in my classes ranged a lot from year to year, and students were generally diverse. From what I could tell – at the time when I was conceptualizing this dissertation study – roughly about half of students who attended my courses over those three years were born abroad, while the other half were U.S. born youth. Overall, Saturday Academy attracts motivated students, who are willing to engage in extracurricular activities during the weekend. Students who came to Saturday Academy attended a variety of schools across New York City, ranging from specialized

public high-schools (i.e. Stuyvesant HS, Brooklyn Tech, LaGuardia HS, and Townsend Harris HS) regular public high-schools (Eleanor Roosevelt HS, Edward R. Murrow etc.) and private high-schools (Dolton HS, St. Agnes HS) to name just a few.

Overall design of the study, which will be explored in more depth throughout this chapter, followed the following timeline and procedure: During the Spring semester of 2009, I conducted a pilot study which looked at the pragmatics of the text-messaging conversation of youth in New York City. Spontaneously composed interpersonal text-messages of 5 youth, spanning over 2 days, were collected by photographing the screens of their cellphones. Data was analyzed during the Summer and Fall semesters 2009 and formal properties of interpersonal interactions were examined using the protocols of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, 1972). Based on this pilot study, and a number of examples involving miscommunicated meanings embedded in the interpersonal discourse of youth, a vignette depicting an ambiguous text-messaging interaction between two fictional characters, Alex and Kai, was created. In the study, the vignette was embedded, using a short written prompt, among two relational dimensions. Two relational dimensions are defined as 1) interactions with members of participants' own cultural/ethnic group and 2) bi-cultural interpersonal interaction involving members of participants' own cultural/ethnic group and a member of other cultural/ethnic groups (for immigrant youth, this dimension involved native members of the U.S. society while for U.S. born youth this dimension involved immigrant youth). Projective narrative data in response to three questions aimed at engaging participants into the process of sense-making along the two relational dimensions was collected.

Recruitment of Participants:

During the Spring semester of 2010 and throughout the process of recruitment and data collection, I did not teach at Saturday Academy, nor was I in any other regard affiliated with the N-YHS. At the time when I worked on conceptualizing the study, I contacted my former colleagues at N-YHS and I enquired about the possibilities of recruiting participants for the study from students enrolled in Saturday Academy. The education department at N-YHS allowed me to recruit potential participants by handing out flyers (See Appendix XY) which briefly explain goals and requirements of the study. Together with flyers, students also received two consent forms. Given that most of the participants in the study were under the age of 18, consent forms asked for a written consent by their parents, and their own consent to participate in the study.

On a gray and wet Saturday morning in March, I distributed the flyers to all students attending Saturday Academy as they were entering the building and signing in for the day. As I handed out the flyers, I briefly mentioned to all students that I am a doctoral candidate at The Graduate Center and that I am collecting data for my dissertation study. Flyers instructed students that a workshop will be held on the last Saturday in March, and that they should contact me if they are interested in participating in the study, or if they have any questions related to the study. As compensation for their time, they were offered two certificates to AMC movie theaters.

Also, part of recruitment was conducted directly in N-YHS classrooms. Out of six courses which were held that semester, two instructors allowed me to visit their classrooms – toward the end of the class period – and to speak to their students directly about my study. Here, I introduced myself briefly to students and again explained to them

the criteria for participation in the workshop, and aims of my study. I mentioned that their participation would aid scientific study of youth development and interpersonal communication. Students briefly asked questions about the study, such as: Could they bring a friend? Is there an alternative date on which they could participate? My answers to both of these questions were- *yes*. They could bring friends as long as consent forms were signed, and that a workshop on an alternative date will be scheduled.

Data Collection:

In order to collect the data for this study, I organized two data-collection workshops for the participants. I held the first data collection workshop on March 20th of 2010, at the offices of Department of Psychology at The Graduate Center. During this first workshop, 12 youth participated in the study. This group consisted mainly of one single group of friends, who came together to the workshop. This group was mainly composed of recently arrived immigrant youth who came to the United States during 2009 and 2010 – that is, a year or less than a year before the workshop. Out of these 12 youth, 3 arrived to the United States from Japan, 5 from China, 3 from Dominican Republic and 1 from Ivory Coast.

The second data collection workshop was held on April 10, 2010, again at The Graduate Center. This time, N-YHS explicitly requested that I also include U.S. born youth in my workshop, so as to allow all of their students to be included in the study and not to be selective on the basis of youth's immigration status. This shift in the basis for recruitment resulted in a greater number of participants. Namely, during the second workshop, 32 youth participated. Thirteen of these 32 participants were immigrant youth, coming from a range of different countries outside of the United States: 1 from

Dominican Republic, 1 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2 from Grenada, 1 from St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 1 from Trinidad and Tobago, 1 from Armenia, 1 from China, 1 from Ukraine, 1 from Argentina, 1 from Egypt, 1 from Poland and 1 from Korea. On the other hand, 19 out of 32 were U.S. born youth. Eleven out of 19 U.S. born youth were born and raised in the five boroughs of New York City, 4 did not specify their city of birth, 1 was born in Southampton, NY, 1 was born in Boston, MA, 1 in San Jose, CA, 1 in Fairview, OH and 1 in Morristown, NJ.

The same data collection procedures were followed in both workshops. On both occasions participants were told that during the workshop they will answer questions about their peer-relations and how they use text-messaging to communicate with their peers and family. At the beginning of the workshop, all participants were greeted by the researcher and asked to fill out the General Information Form (GIF) (see Appendix A). GIF included 25 short demographic questions as well as questions related to their use of technology to mediate interpersonal interactions. GIF asked each participant to indicate their gender, year of birth, country and city of birth, year of arrival to the United States, and if they arrived to the United States together with their family or alone. U.S. born youth were instructed to skip over questions related to immigration status. Also, GIF asked participants a number of simple binary (yes/no) and Likert-scale questions related to text-mediated interpersonal communication, such as: do you text-message on your cell phone? do you have internet access on your cell phone? and, approximately, on an average day how many text-messages do you send? over the past week, how many times were you involved in interpersonal conflict via text-messaging?

In total – during two workshops – 44 youth participated in this study. Twenty-five of the 44 participants were immigrants to the United States and 19 were U.S. born youth. Ages of participants ranged between 15 and 20 years of age. Mean age of the U.S. born participants was 17.3 years while the mean age for immigrant youth was 17.1 years. At the time of their participation all youth who took part in this study resided in New York City. Also, at the time of their participation, 36 out of 44 participants indicated attending New York City's public schools, 5 were attending private schools and 3 were in their first or second year at college. Length of time spent in the United States by immigrant youth ranged from a few months to 16 years. The mean number of years spent in the U.S. was 6.17 at the time of the study; however two distinct groups of immigrant youth are noted. Eleven out of 25 immigrant youth were recent arrivals to the United States having spent less than 3 years in the country. Fourteen have been in the U.S. more than 5 years.

Participants in this study were tech savvy. According to their answers to the self-report questions, technology plays an important role in mediating their interpersonal interaction with friends and family. 91% of participants indicated having their own personal computer and 63 % are using some form of instant messaging system as means of interpersonal communication. All of the participants in the study reported having a cell-phone and texting on a daily basis. 14 % of participants reported sending more than 50 text messages on an average day, while 47% reported sending more than 10 and less than 50 messages on an average day. Overall, U.S. born youth reported sending more messages than did immigrant youth, however, this difference was not statistically significant.

Youth also answered questions about the nature of their SMS interactions. Overall, there were no reported differences in their weekend and weekday texting habits. 42% of participants in this study reported sending more text-messages during weekdays while 42% indicated that they send more text-messages on weekends than during the weekdays. However, it is interesting to note that immigrant youth reported sending more text-messages over the weekends, while U.S. born youth reported sending more text-messages during the weekdays. Overwhelmingly, youth reported using text-messaging more frequently to communicate with their friends than with their family.

Only 33% of youth said that they use SMS to communicate with their mothers and 25% to communicate with their fathers. Communication with parents using SMS was more frequent among U.S. born youth than among immigrant youth. For example, 50% of U.S. born youth reported using SMS to communicate with their mothers in comparison to 17.4% of immigrant youth. Overall 46% of participants reported using text-messaging to communicate with their relatives such as aunts, uncles and distant cousins. At the same time, 76% of participants reported getting into an interpersonal conflict with a peer via texting during the past week.

After participants filled out the GIF, they were asked to read two versions of a short vignette depicting a largely benign interpersonal conflict between two non-gendered characters named Alex and Kai. Instructions to participants were included on the sheet depicting the vignette. Participants were allowed to take as much time as they needed for their responses. In general, participants answered the questions following the vignette in 20 to 25 minutes. In order to control the order effect of the two versions of the vignette, the reasons for which will become more apparent later, participants were

divided into two groups – Group A and Group B. Participants in Group A received the prompt to answer the questions for the vignette embedded among the members of their own cultural/ethnic group first (see Appendix B), while the participants in Group B received the prompt to answer the questions for the vignette embedded in bi-cultural interaction first (see Appendix C). After they completed this part of the task, participants were given a 10 minutes break which they took and subsequently they were given the instructions to complete the second part of the task. This time Group A received the prompt to answer the questions for the vignette embedded in bi-cultural interaction, while Group B received the prompt to answer the questions for the vignette embedded among the members of their own cultural/ethnic. This way, both groups (A and B) answered the questions for the vignette embedded among both relational dimensions.

Designing the Activities for the Workshop

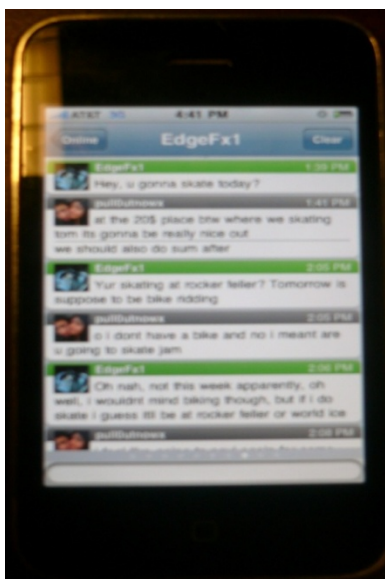
Building on New York City youth's mediated technological communication I anchored the activities for the study in a realistic vignette modeled on ethnographic data. The vignette, around which most of the activities of the workshop were focused, was constructed on the basis of the data collected for a smaller pilot study of interpersonal text messaging of New York City's youth which I mentioned earlier. I conducted this pilot study during the fall and spring semester of 2009 while preparing my dissertation proposal. Spontaneously composed interpersonal text-messages of 5 youth, spanning over 2 days, were collected by photographing the screens of their cellphones. This pilot study was essentially a qualitative analysis of the sequential structure of the exchanges collected. Data was analyzed for length and content of messages as well for the pragmatics of communication such as turn-taking and adjacency pairings within social

practices. Pragmatic aspects of text-messaging were analyzed with the approach of conversation analysis.

While the term ‘conversation’ usually refers to face-to face exchanges, conversation analysis started in the 1970s as a series of landmark studies on telephone calls (Sacks, 1972; Schegloff, 1979; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) and has recently informed a great number of studies on mediated conversation. Conversation analysis has been successfully used by Baron (2006) and Simpson (2005) on instant messaging, Hutchby and Barnett (2005) on cellphone conversation; Herring (2004) on text-only computer mediated communication; Kurvinen (2003) on multimedia message services; Schonfeldt and Golato (2003) on web chats; Garcia and Jacobs (1999) on chats; and Rintel et al. (2001) on IRC conversations. In these studies, conversation analysis has served as a common framework to track similarities and differences across various communicative modes.

Figure 1 (below) shows data point from the pilot study that depicts a development of one spontaneously composed interaction among two friends *EdgeFex* and *Outnows*. This interaction was chosen to be used in the example because it is relatively characteristic, in both the content of discourse and normative in form, of text-message mediated interpersonal interaction among youth who provided the data for the pilot study. As you will see from the example, text-messaging discourses are organized in conversational turns, they are time coded, and both the content and the form are constructed in response to the social and environmental affordances and constraints. On the left side of the example you can see the photograph of the actual phone screen, which

depicts the interaction, while on the right side you can see the verbatim transcript of the interaction.



Transcript:

EdgeFx1 1:39pm: Hey, u gonna skate today?

Outnows 1:41pm: at the 20\$ place btw where we skating tom its gonna be really nice out we should also do sum after

EdgeFx1 2:06pm: Yur skating at rocker feller? Tomorrow is supposed to be bike riding

Outnows 2:06pm: o i don't have a bike and no I mean are u going to skate jam

EdgeFx1 2:08pm: oh nah, not this week apparently, oh well, i wouldn't mind biking though, but if i do skate i guess ill be at rocker feller or world ice

Outnows 2:08pm: I feel like going to pavl again for some reason nd would pavl be open with how hot it is? the ice at world ice is ok....

EdgeFx1 2:06pm: Pavl is air conditioned, but its not opened anymore on Friday nights the ice at world ice is really funky

Outnows 2:31pm: i mean on saturday i think its over treazed

EdgeFx1 2:33pm: Lol, oh well, I think ill go to rockerfeller today if I end up doing nuttin

Outnows 4:01pm: ok, lol but tom we should go to pavl

EdgeFx1 4:06pm: Dependes if the crew don't end up biking all day if everyone wants to bike than im all for biking, I got a lot of spares too, if you need to borrow one, but youll have to ride it back to my place lol brb subway

Figure 1: Development and progression of one spontaneously composed interpersonal SMS interaction.

Looking in some detail at this interaction will allow us to get a better sense of the dynamic of text-messaging and begin to understand some of the psychological operations involved in the process of interacting, communicating and making sense of this often ambiguous mode of interaction. According to conversation analysis, each action is organized into turns and action sequences by way of social practices, such as the turn-taking system and the adjacency pairs. As we can see from the example, the interaction between *EdgeFx1* and *Outnows* is organized along 11 conversational turns, 5 adjacency pairs and a conclusion.

A conversational turn consists of a single contribution by one participant, after which another participant can take the floor. In SMS exchanges, turns have “a technical definition with little ambiguity” (Simpson, 2005, p.345) and consist of a single sent message. In the example above *EdgeFx1* initiates the interaction and provides the first conversational turn by asking his friend: *Hey, u gonna skate today?* This is, at the same time, the initiating action sequence in the interaction. An action sequence emerges because one action acknowledges some resources made available by the previous one and makes some other resource available to those after it (Heritage; 1984; Sack, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) so that, action unfolds in a coherent, sequential succession. Initiating an action sequence by the *EdgeFx1* requires a response from *Outnows* for this interaction to be meaningful. Answering this question *Outnows* replies by saying “*at the 20\$ place btw where we skating tom its gonna be really nice out we should also do sum after*”. While the initiating message contains only an initiating pair of the action sequence, the reply is more complex because it contains a response 1) *at the 20\$ place* – which serves as a reply to the initial question, and a second action sequence in the form of a question 2) *btw*

(by the way) *where we skating tom*. Adding to this, *Outnows* also adds an evaluative component to his message when he says- *its gonna be really nice out we should also do sum* (something) *after*.

Looking at the interpersonal quality of this interaction we can say that up to this point *EdgeFx1* and *Outnows* have been communicating smoothly, as the meaning of each conversational turn appears to be clearly understood. Or to put it alternatively in the language of conversation analysis, in each conversational turn the initiating message A receives a response B. However in the conversational third turn we begin to see how ambiguous and sometimes confusing text-messaging interaction can become. *EdgeFx1* replies to the action sequence from the second turn *btw where we skating tom* by saying *Yur skating at rocker feller? Tomorrow is supposed to be bike riding*. We can see from this response that clearly there is some misunderstanding between our two texters as to whether tomorrow is supposed to be a ‘bike riding day’ or ‘skating day’. As we continue to follow the conversational turns further, we can see how both *EdgeFx1* and *Outnows* try to make sense of this ambiguity. The interaction proceeds as following:

4th Turn ***Outnows 2:06pm:*** *o i don't have a bike and no I mean are u going to skate jam*

In his answer *Outnows* indicates to *EdgeFx1* the reason why he will not go biking tomorrow – namely because he doesn’t have a bike. He also attempts to clarify the location of skating tomorrow – the skate jam.

5th Turn ***EdgeFx1 2:08pm:*** *oh nah, not this week apparently, oh well, i wouldn't mind biking though, but if i do skate i guess ill be at rocker feller or world ice*

EdgeFx1 responds to the question about going to the skate jam with a negation, *oh nah, not this week apparently*, while still indicating that he would rather go biking tomorrow.

However, it seems that EdgeFx is possibly willing to go skating, but not at the skate jam.

He would prefer to go to ‘*rocker feller or world ice*’

During the following five conversation turns the interaction proceeds, and Outgrows and

EdgeFx1 continue their negotiations about whether to go biking or to go skating

tomorrow:

6th Turn **Outnows 2:08pm:** *I feel like going to pavl (noun) again for some reason nd (and) would pavl be open with how hot it is? the ice at world ice is ok....*

7th Turn **EdgeFx1 2:06pm:** *Pavl is air conditioned, but its not opened anymore on Friday nights the ice at world ice is really funky*

8th Turn **Outnows 2:31pm:** *i mean on saturday i think its over treezed (crowded)*

9th Turn **EdgeFx1 2:33pm:** *Lol, (laughing out loud) oh well, I think ill go to rockerfeller today if I end up doing nuttin (nothing)*

10th Turn **Outnows 4:01pm:** *ok, lol but tom we should go to pavl*

The 11th conversational turn, two and a half hours into the conversation, contains both a resolution and a coda. In this turn *EdgeFx1* attempts to offer a compromise in order to resolve the situation. Under the pressure of time, and also of arriving subway tunnel, the reference to which is embedded in the message, *EdgeFx1* uses a physical strategy to resolve the situation and offers one of his spare bikes to his friend, while also mentioning that he will eventually have to return it. At the end of the conversation, coda *brb subway* (I’ll be right back subway tunnel is approaching) acts as a final clause which returns the narrative to the time of speaking, grounds in in socio-spatial environment and precludes a potential question, "And what happened then?" (Labov, 1997).

11th Turn *EdgeFx1 4:06pm: Dependes if the crew don't end up biking all day if everyone wants to bike than im all for biking, I got a lot of spares too, if you need to borrow one, but youll have to ride it back to my place lol
brb subway*

The Vignette

As I mentioned earlier, the vignette used for the purposes of data collection in this dissertation study was constructed following the form and structure of text-message mediated interpersonal interactions collected pilot study. The actual vignette used in the study depicts a text-messaging interaction between Alex and Kai, two non-gendered characters. Their interaction is organized along 8 conversational turns, 5 of which are produced by Kai and 3 which are produced by Alex. Characters are depicted as trying to plan a meeting and are involved in somewhat ambiguous interpersonal dynamics intentionally constructed in a way which should elicit a sense-making related question: What is going on here?

The content of the vignette illustrates a frequent conflict occurring in text-messaging interaction and contains both the normative A-B sequence, that is an initiating message A and a response B, and an instance where the normative A-B sequence has been broken. This break in the A-B sequence, in the final conversational turn, was introduced into the vignette in order to increase the ambiguity of this largely benign conflict by adding a formal conversational character which is often indicative of problems. Namely, leaving a text-message unanswered is – in the etiquette of SMS discourse – frequently interpreted as rude (Kasesniemi & Rautiainen, 2002) and is often indicative of content problems or relationship problems (Larsen, 2005). In this way, the break in A-B sequence also serves to direct the process of sense-making toward form and

sequence of the text-message interaction in the vignette. Given that – like a Purloined letter which always arrives at its destination – the formal aspects of SMS discourse communicate as loudly and clearly as does the content of messages, insertion of the break in A-B sequence in the form of A-A' into the vignette was meant to add a formal component to the already ambiguous content. Participants were instructed to read the vignette and answer the questions below:

Kai 10:59:31am : Hey, when u r comin over? Let me know, cause I wanna plan
 Alex 12:36:23pm : Like around 6 ill b there
 Kai 12:41:39pm : I thought that you were coming earlier? Why didnt you let me know?
 Alex 12:42:59pm : Yea sorry for the late response I was sleeping
 Kai 12:43:34pm : You could have let me know yesterday?
 Alex 12:44:28pm : I was going to but my phone was dead
 Kai 12:49:32pm : This isn't the first time you're standing me up like this
 Kai 12:52:36pm : Don't you have anything to say??

After reading the vignette, the participants were asked to narrate their response to following questions:

1. What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages?
2. What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages?
3. What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?

Questions guiding the narratives were constructed so as to direct the attention (and the projective narratives) of the participants toward the underlying meaning in the

interactions and in order to expose the *relational dimensions* and relational flexibility as theorized by Daiute (2010) in relations to both the vignette and the implicit audience. As Daiute (2010) notes the idea behind the *relational flexibility* is that “writers and thinkers, like speakers, direct language to audiences who are sometimes implicit, such as others who may judge us, as well as to actual audiences in the immediate context (p.123).”

I constructed the above questions for the purpose of engaging the participants into the process of sense-making, in order to explore how youth anticipate and predict thoughts, feelings and plan for actions among diverse others and how they formulate approaches to conflict resolution. Projective narratives constructed in response to these questions have the ability to offer us a wide array of information about the context-embedded sense-making process by youth. As Nelson (1997) notes, sense-making is an important developmental process as well as a skill, because “to know and to interact with other people requires predicting their actions, their reactions to one’s own actions, and their interactions with other social beings, including oneself” (p.292). For these reasons, narrative prompts ask participants to express their own views of thoughts and feelings of characters in the vignette. Given that one can never know with certainty the thoughts and feelings of another, especially if that another is a fictional character in a vignette, my design seeks to solicit projected thoughts and feelings of participants in order to explore, how are their thoughts and feelings enacted differently across two relational dimensions? In the similar vein, question number 3 asks the participants to bring the vignette to the resolution and to state, what, in their opinion happened next?

The conceptual idea explored in the work - represented below in figure 2 - is to examine the extent to which will the vignette yield differences in projective narratives

across the two relational dimensions when embedded among two different communities of minds. Hypothetically, youth involved in this study could narrate their responses to the two different communities of minds (relational dimensions) by not varying their projective narratives much, as it is represented on the left, or by varying their projective narratives to a greater degree, as it is represented on the right.

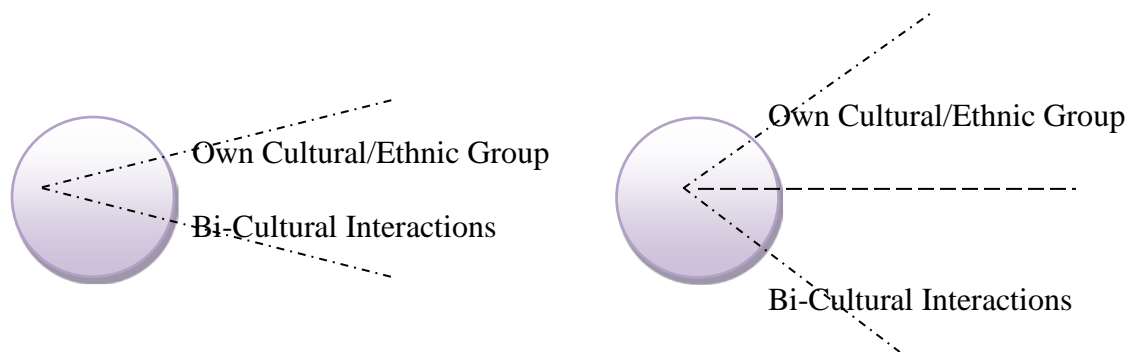


Figure 2: Conceptual Sketch of Relational Complexity/Flexibility

In order to engage the participants of the study to reflect on the interactions across two relational dimensions, two prompts were used to embed the vignette and provide additional context that would give direction to the sense-making process. These prompts were also provided as the means of constraining the conflict to a particular group and in order to provide additional background information about the context and potential audience for the response. The rationale for this approach is to be found in Bakhtin's theorizing of 'addressivity'. As Daiute (2010) points out "because we select what to say, what not to say, and how to say it in relation to our views about the expectations of these audiences, they become part of each text (p.123)".

Prompt A:

The above conflict has occurred between friends Alex and Kai- *Kai (age 16) and Alex (also age 16) who have both immigrated to New York City from _____,* together with their families 2 years ago. With this information in mind, answer the following questions:

Before responding to prompt A, immigrant youth were instructed that both Alex and Kai have immigrated from the country of their own origin. Thus, if the participant was an immigrant from Jamaica, the blank field would be filled in with Jamaica. Similarly, if the participant was an immigrant from Ivory Coast, the blank field would be filled in with Ivory Coast.

On the other hand, in Prompt A, U.S. born youth were instructed that both Alex and Kai are U.S. born youth.

Prompt B:

The above conflict has occurred between Alex and Kai- *Kai (age 16) was born in New York City and has been living here whole life. Alex (also age 16) was born abroad and has immigrated to New York City from _____* together with family 2 years ago. With this information in mind, answer the following question.

Before responding to prompt B, immigrant youth who participated in the study were once again instructed to fill in the blank field with their own country of origin, effectively making Alex an immigrant to the U.S of participant's own ethnic origin. On the other hand, U.S. born youth were instructed to fill in the blank filed with the country of origin of the last immigrant that they encountered in their daily activities.

Responses:

Overall, youth who participated in the study found the vignette fun, they could relate to it, and were eager to respond. They frequently enquired about Kai's and Alex's gender and the type of their relationship. I responded to these types of questions by saying that they were free to assign any gender or relationship status to Alex and Kai.

Three different modes of written responses are noticed by looking broadly at the narratives: reflective mode, and two modes resembling text-messaging format. By and large the responses by participants were reflective. Reflective mode – or genre – is often described as exploratory, tentative and personal (Bean, 2001; Fulwiler & Young, 1982). The essential nature of reflective mode is the emphasis on the connections between the materials as well as the connection between the material and the writer's individual psyche (Bean, 2001). As it is show in the example below, participants took the time to explain in their own words what Kai and Alex thought or felt, they did not use short-hand or truncated words as they frequently do in text-messages, and elaborated on their answers by using examples, or going thought different scenarios:

1. What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages?

Kai was thinking that Alex was intentionally standing her up. She was probably angry and let down. Perhaps she relies on Alex a lot. It seems that she would act this way for one of two reasons: ① Alex actually does stand her up a lot or ② Kai has some time of issue with abandonment (or something of that nature) and tends to be clingy.

As you can see from the example above, the participant responds to the question by clearly and precisely articulating the answer, using full sentences and reflecting on different reasons for Kai's behavior. Other times, however, narrative responses looked less like formal narrative structures and often contained multiple proprieties characteristic of the text-messaging discourse. The first of the text messaging modes emulated the formal properties of the SMS such as number of words per line, and number of characters per response. On the other hand, the second mode, emulated the visio-spatial properties of SMS, such as organization on the page and number of words per line.

In this mode, formal properties of the text-messaging discourse are highlighted. On the other hand, while thoughts and feelings were expressed they were not elaborated very much. And the mode of writing looked condensed, short-handed, and following the mechanics of text-messaging discourse with regard to number of letters per line and number of characters per message and frequency of deleted words. As show in the example below which contain four lines with approximately 25 characters on each line and 104 characters in total:

2. What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in the message?

Alex is ~~frustrated~~ annoyed with
Kai is ~~at~~ clinging to him/her.
He feels guilty and that he is
forcing himself to hang out.

Other times, however, responses were barely legible and somewhat convoluted, yet even with these types of responses the formal properties of text messages were noticeable in

terms of visuo-spatial organization of text on the page, and the number of words per line.

An example of such approach to narrating can be seen below:

3. What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?

I'm not sure the conflict was resolved
in the first place so I don't
know how and if the
conflict was resolved
in the end.
However, I would hope
that Alex would be
able to explain his
reasoning to Kai, and
after Kai promises to not
get so angry at him,
Alex says to
come on time.

Overall, data from this study indicate that the reflective mode was the predominant feature of responses among U.S. born youth, who either because of their better familiarity with English language or because of school practices that encourage reflective writing, used this mode of writing more frequently than did immigrant youth. Immigrant youth, on the other hand, answered the questions following the vignette using the writing mode which is similar to the SMS form, and featured shorter responses and frequently deleted, rewrote or scribbled words.

Analytic Strategies and Coding of Narrative Responses:

As we have established in the second chapter of this work, narrating is a process in which individuals make sense of the events, identify those that are worth telling about, reflect on the significance, and in the process create a particular self (for a review of this approach see Daiute, 2010; Freeman, 2004; Lightfoot, 2004). At the same time, narrating is also a

social-relational process in which the narrators often communicate certain events differently depending on the audiences and circumstances that surround the process of narrating (Bakhtin, 1986; Daiute, 2010). The writers thus always select which events and actors to include, how to organize the events in the narrative and how to connect these events to their perceived expectations of the audience.

As I also mentioned in the theory chapter of this dissertation (chapter 2) narrative analysis frequently distinguishes between the *referential* and *evaluative* function in narrative. To briefly review, referential elements in narrative often provide a narrative core and carry a referential meaning. In other words referential elements answer the question of what happens(ed) in general or how something is/was done (Daiute & Nelson 1997). Evaluation, on the other hand, serves to establish some point of personal interest for the narrator in relation to his/her activities. Evaluative properties individuate the narrative, by introducing specific and noncanonical unexpected happenings – it usually tells us why something is done and can often, implicitly or explicitly, tell us why a particular story is told at a particular time to a particular audience.

Narrative analysis of the data in this study focuses on the evaluative function. Studying evaluative elements in narratives opens the door to the exploration of sense-making and relational flexibility because these processes are seen as highly personal and involve understanding intricacies of the relationship between oneself and one's developmental context. On this regard, thirteen different narrative codes were used in order to explore how youth involved in this study made sense of the situation in the vignette, how they conceptualized thoughts and feelings of others, and how they approached conflict resolutions with their diverse peers. Eleven of the codes used in this study focus specifically

on evaluative narrative elements. These codes are: logical/hypothetical words, causal connectors, intensifiers, evaluative adjectives, metaphors, negations, self-revealed, repetition, as well evaluative devices which are indicative of internal states, such as cognition and affect.

In addition to ten codes for evaluative elements named above, three additional codes were used to explore the conflict resolution strategies used by youth to resolve the conflict in the vignette. These three codes are: communicative strategy, psychological strategy and physical strategy. Written responses from the participants were analyzed, and scores were assigned based on how many times a particular code appeared in the narrative. In addition to these analytic categories, I also analyzed narrative length, expressed by overall word use by a particular participant in a particular narrative towards either of the two developmental contexts. The reason for focus on the aggregate measure such as length of the narrative is that sometime “more is more” (see Hoff-Ginsber, 1992 and Walters et al.1992) that is, longer narration is sometimes an excellent measure of narrative complexity (Peterson & McCabe, 1983).

By applying these tools of narrative analysis to projective narratives written by the participants, I sought to answer the research questions of this study. To briefly recap, my aim is to examine the projective narratives in order to understand whether thoughts and feelings of immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers about two versions of the vignette (representing diverse relational dimensions) were enacted differently? Also, my aim is to explore whether immigrant youth and U.S born youth approach interpersonal conflicts across different relational dimensions using different resolution strategies? If either of these two questions turns out to have positive answers, and narratives of youth

towards two relational dimensions do differ, my aim is to establish formal within-group and between-group differences in projective narratives of these two groups of youth using the 14 narrative codes described above.

In the following tables you can see frequently appearing words for each of the 14 categories mentioned above. After the presentation of analytic categories, I will illustrate a full analysis of the narrative response, in order to show the detailed, rigorous and dynamic nature of the coding practices used in this study

Table 1: Frequently Coded Evaluative Elements in Narratives

Following evaluative elements frequently appeared in the narratives of youth (For a complete list of codes see Appendix D)

Logical/ Hypothetical Words	Causal Connectors	Intensifiers	Evaluative Adjectives	Metaphors	Negation	Self- Revealed	Cognition Words	Affect/ Emotion words
Assume probably if could have might may could be might be perhaps possibly as though supposedly most likely	because since so therefore then that indicates this/that	really always even every-time again always oh bit just any	big small ruined short different pushy curt honest rude forced serious disrespectful preoccupied demanding good wrong polite	stood his ground guts to tell standing me up knock the light out of him brushing him off she is so cold like a fridge	not don't doesn't but not no wouldn't couldn't doesn't unforthcoming unwilling not caring unlike unable	I me mine my	think know believe consider plan planning ahead learn, confused understand acknowledge forget explain seek	happy bothered sad disrespected rude upset worried want like overwhelmed sad enjoying tired anger apologize annoyed anxious abandoned

Following words/phrases indicative of communicative, psychological and physical resolution strategy were frequently used in narratives by youth participants:

Table 2: Frequently Coded Conflict Resolution Strategies (For a complete list of codes see Appendix D)

Communicative Strategy	Psychological Strategy	Physical Strategy
have a talk screamed at him curse him told him said sorry texts back called respond to they're resolve are facebook telephoned	let it go adopt to forgive continue to still be mad accepted the apology cannot help but smile just become fine was upset for a little promising to change gets over	both of them met buys flowers then hang out played together goes to his house buys some flowers meet face a face shook hands

Analysis:

Written data collected in this study were analyzed using the Atlas.ti program for qualitative data analysis. Atlas.ti is a program that is frequently used by researchers to systematically analyze complex phenomena in text and multimedia data. This program provides tools to locate, code and annotate data material. I started the data analysis process by first establishing the 16 codes used in this study in the program. Each written response was then analyzed using a word as a unit of analysis.

In other words, during the coding procedure, the unit of analysis was word rather than clause or sentence. For example, each time 'because' appeared in the text, it was coded as causal connector. If 'because' appeared more than once in a projective narrative – as is the case in narratives written by Catcho, 16 years old male from Grenada below – it was coded as a causal connector every time it appeared.

For example of coding procedures, please consider the written responses by Anton to questions following the vignette:

What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages?

Kai thought that Alex did not want to go with him. Kai feel very sad because he knew that Alex will not show up.

What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages?

Alex knew that he wasn't going to meet with him. He feel sad but he didn't care very much because he don't enjoy being with Kai company. Alex felt as if Kai felt that of him as someone who wasn't very significant enough.

What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?

So, both of them have a talk and both stop inviting each other to go out.

Words such as *so*, *then*, *therefore* and frequently *since*, were coded as causal connectors. So, conceivably, a participant who used *because* two times in his narrative and a participant who used once *because* and once *so*, would both end up with a score of 2 for causal connectors. In the narrative above, Catcho used *because* twice and *so* once, therefore she ended up with a score of 3 for causal connectors.

An interrater reliability analysis using the Kappa statistic was performed to determine consistency among raters. Interrater reliability is a measure used to examine the agreement between two people (raters/observers) on the assignment of categories (Landis & Koch, 1977). It is seen as an important measure in determining how well an implementation of some coding or measurement system works. Interrater reliability in this study was conducted with two raters for all of the codes on 25% of the data. This sample of the data included both narratives by U.S. born youth and immigrant youth. The interrater reliability for two raters was found to be strong, Kappa = 0.87 ($p < 0.001$).

Narratives of youth in response to questions following the vignette vary in length. Some answers are short while others are longer. In order to account for the frequency of occurrence of a particular evaluative device in a narrative, data is presented as the rate of occurrence of particular evaluative device in narrative. Applying this principle to the narrative by Anton (above), we would divide the total number of words in his answer to the question with the number of causal connectors that he used in his writing. In this case, total number of words used to answer the three questions is 83. Because he used three causal connectors in his writing, total number of words 83 would be divided by total number of causal connectors used, which would be 3. This method would give the final number of 27.67 words, indicating that Catcho uses one causal connector once in every

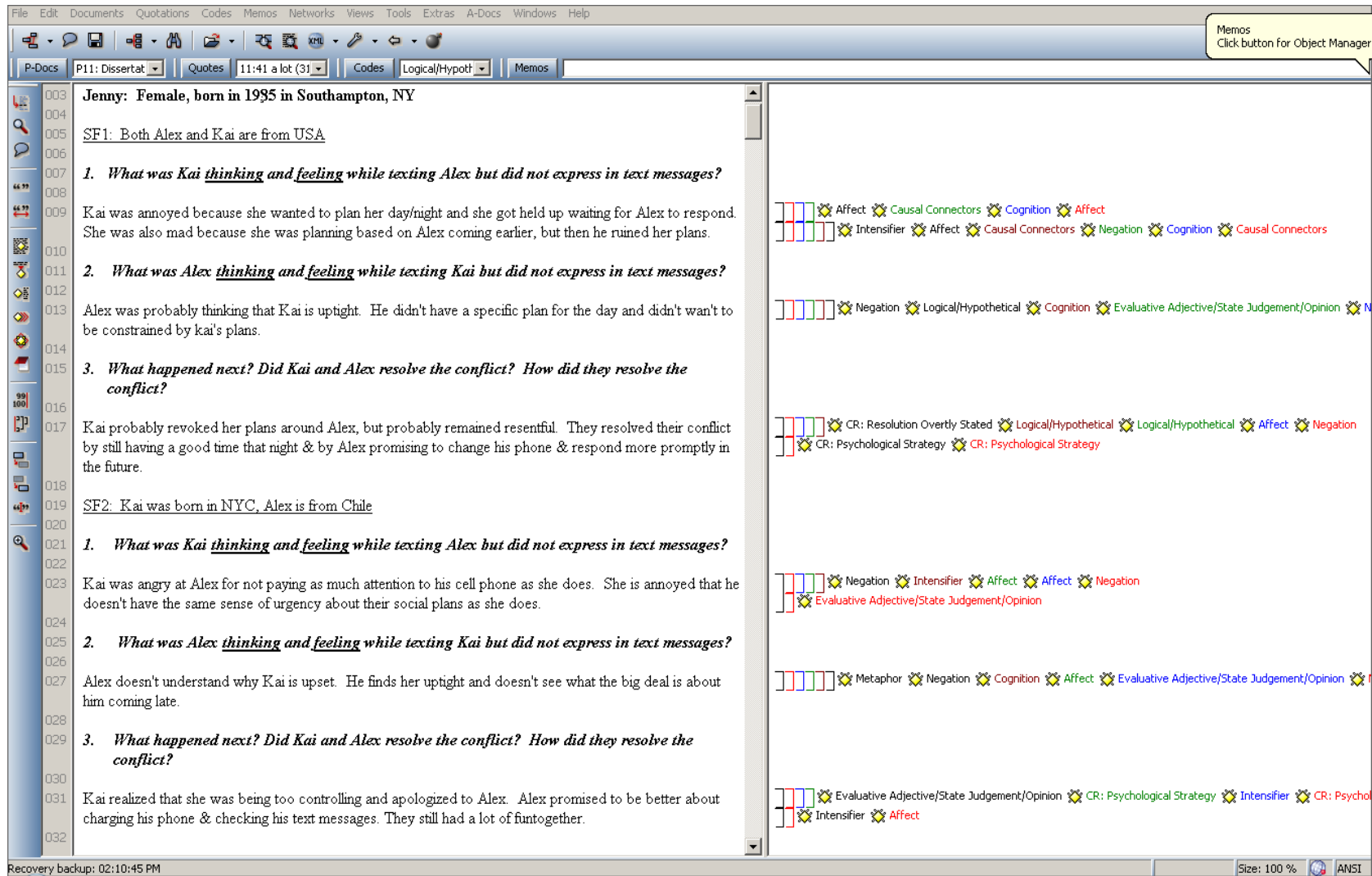
27.67 words. An important thing to mention regarding this method is that higher numbers indicate less frequent use of evaluative devices in narrative while lower numbers indicate more frequent occurrence. For example, had Catcho used four causal connectors in this response, the frequency of occurrence of causal connectors in his narratives would be 20.75 words, indicating that he uses a causal connector every 20.75 words.

Alternatively, had Catcho used two causal connectors instead of three, the frequency of occurrence would be 83 words total divided by 2 causal connectors, which is 41.5 words.

In the next section, in order to better explain the process of data analysis I will illustrate the process of coding for the written responses by Jenny, one of the participants in the study: Also, it is very important to be explicit about the coding at this point given that inter-rater reliability was not conducted due to the specificity of narrative coding, which were grounded in well-established socio-linguistic categories. Jenny, born in 1995 in Southampton, NY was one of the U.S. born youth who participated in the study.

Figure 3 illustrates the data coding procedure for using the Atlas.ti program. On the left side of the page you can see the transcript of Jenny's answers to the questions of the study, and on the left side you can see the codes which were assigned for different words that Jenny used to compose her answers. Also, answers to the three questions under the subfield of SF1: Both Alex and Kai and from USA are in response to Prompt A, where the SMS vignette is embedded in the interactions among the members of participants' native culture, whereas the answer to the three questions following the subfield SF2: Kai was born in NYC, Alex is from Chile are in response to Prompt B, where the SMS vignette is embedded in bi-cultural interactions, such as those between the U.S. born youth and immigrant youth, or vice-versa.

Figure 3: Sample of qualitative data coding in Atlas.ti



From the example above we can see the process of data coding in Atlas.ti. On the left hand side of the screen you can see the transcription of the narrative responses written by the participant, and on the right side of the screen you can see the narrative codes assigned to the words written by the participant. Furthermore, we can see that in her answers to the questions embedded in prompt A, the social field of her own group, that is U.S. society, Jenny answered the three questions using the following narrative components:

Evaluative Elements:

Causal Connectors:	3	‘because’ ‘because’ and ‘then’;
Affect Words:	4	‘annoyed’, ‘wanted’, ‘mad’ and ‘resentful’;
Cognitive Words:	4	‘plan’, ‘planning’, ‘thinking’ and ‘plan’;
Negations:	4	‘but’ ‘didn’t’ ‘didn’t’ and ‘but’;
Logical/Hypothetical:	3	‘probably’; ‘probably’ and ‘probably’
Evaluative Adjective:	1	‘uptight’

Conflict Resolution Strategies

Psychological:	2	‘remaining resentful’ and ‘promising to change’
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On the other hand, in response to the same vignette and in answer to the same questions, this time embedded in the interaction between the U.S. born youth and an immigrant youth, Jenny constructed her narrative using different evaluative elements and used different conflict resolution strategies. In response to the prompt B, Jenny used the following elements:

Evaluative Elements:**Causal Connectors: 0****Affect Words: 3** 'angry' , 'annoyed' , 'apologized';**Cognitive Words: 2** 'understand' , 'realize';**Negations: 4** 'not' , 'doesn't' , 'doesn't' , 'doesn't' , 'doesn't' ;**Logical/Hypothetical: 0****Evaluative Adjective: 5** 'uptight' , 'controlling' , 'better' , 'as much';**Intensifiers: 2** 'a lot' , 'a big deal'**Conflict Resolution Strategies****Psychological: 2** 'realized' and 'promising to be different'

As we can see from this example, Jenny uses different words to describe what Kai and Alex might have thought and felt but did not express in their text-messages, and varies her answers as Kai and Alex are successively embedded among different ethnic/cultural groups. When aggregate by mutually exclusive groups of participants, such as immigrant youth and U.S. born youth, such difference form interesting, and often statistically significant patters, that indicate varied ways of sense-making and varied ways of resolving conflict for interactions among diverse groups. While there are a lot of similarities in the narratives of immigrant and U.S. born youth, they often differ significantly with regards to the degree of relational flexibility which is enacted in the projective narratives toward the various communities of minds. As we will see in the result chapters that follow, immigrant youth often alternate their position in respect to the different prompts in the vignette in order to differently address different audiences. In

other words they enact relational flexibility and often use different narrative tools to make sense of the situation in the vignette. These narrative tools vary are used differently depending on which community of minds is the projective narrative referring to and addressing. On the other hand, you will see in the following results chapters, that U.S. youth do not adjust their projective narratives as much as immigrant youth do. They hold their position much more constant across various communities of minds and do not enact *addressivity* as much according to the cultural origins of the characters in the vignette.

CHAPTER IV

Results:

Within Group Differences in the Enactment of Evaluative Devices and Conflict Resolution Strategies in Projective Narratives by Youth

As we established in the first two chapters, the specific reason for this study is to enrich our understanding of how youth growing up in New York City make sense of their interpersonal interactions – and how they resolve interpersonal conflicts – in heterogeneous developmental context where diverse interpersonal interactions are mediated and enacted through discursive activities via text messaging. As I have explained in the third chapter of this dissertation, my research questions are specifically focused on use of evaluative elements in narratives of youth who participated in this study. Evaluative elements have frequently been used by developmental researchers and socio-linguists to explore how children, youth and young adults, make sense of their activities and socio-cultural context (Bruner 1986; Bruner & Lucariello, 1989; Daiute, 1993; Daiute, 2010; Daiute & Lucic, 2010; Daiute & Nelson, 1997; Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Nelson, 1997; Peterson & McCabe, 1983). More specifically, when enacted in narrative, evaluative elements, offer us information about the narrator's stance in relation to multiple audiences and indicate, albeit often implicitly, why he/she is narrating a particular event at a particular time.

Data analysis focusing on evaluative elements has a potential to offer researchers a point of entry into the subjective experience of participants and thus enable us to make manifest their process of sense-making in relation to the developmental context (Daiute & Nelson, 1997). However, rather than means for searching for some reified, inherent or

natural self, evaluative elements offer us a way to see the subjective experience of our participants in narrative and portrayed across diverse *relational dimensions* in daily activities, as theorized by Daiute (2010). Thus, used as means for delineating the process of sense-making into the constitutive elements, evaluative devices make apparent the relationship between the individual and his or her experience of a diverse socio-cultural context. According to the socio-cultural theory, these social relationships serve as the basis for psychological development (Vygotsky, 1978).

Analyses of the evaluative elements that youth used in their projective narratives, prompted by the vignette (described in detail in Chapter 3) allowed me to examine the within group differences in the process of sense-making of immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers. My analysis focused on the relation of two narratives produced by individual participants to each other as well as in relation to two diverse groups which constitute their developmental context and allow various speaker-listener positions and *relational dimensions* to emerge. As we have seen in the second chapter, defining the processes of acculturation and enculturation (Phinny, 2003; Milstein & Lucić, 2004) helps to shed some light on the differences between the various *relational dimensions* and to conceptualize development (particularly development of immigrant youth) as an interpersonal process, in relation to two broad communities of minds. In this study, two broad communities of minds for immigrant youth are operationalized as: one's own cultural group (well known) and U.S. cultural group (less well known). On this view, enculturation is viewed as a process embodied by the activities in relation to and interactions with individuals from one's own cultural group (such as parents, relatives, ethnic/cultural organizations). Acculturation, on the other hand, is seen as a process of

development within the community of minds comprised by the members of the host society, in this case U.S. born youth, and embedded in interactions with them. Thus, by delineating diverse *relational dimensions* of the activities and directing participants' process of sense-making toward the two interactive dimensions allowed me to analyze the use of evaluative devices within a particular dimension and to compare their sense-making process by looking at the between group differences across diverse relational dimensions.

In this chapter I will provide the findings of my analyses for within-group differences among two mutually exclusive categories of participants, immigrant youth and U.S. born youth, by looking at their use of evaluative devices in narratives. In other words, I present the findings for the analysis of the projective narratives toward two different *relational dimensions* for both immigrant youth and U.S. born youth. For immigrant youth, we will look at differences/distance in projective narrative in relation to own cultural/ethnic group and projective narratives in relation to U.S. born group. For U.S. born youth, we will look at differences/distance in projective narratives toward other U.S. born youth and in relation toward immigrant youth. While the differences in narratives toward relational dimensions will be presented as with-group differences, the dialectical relationships of these differences and varied patterns of the use of narrative evaluations by U.S. youth and immigrant youth, will allow for the between group comparison of these differences. In the next chapter, we will turn our attention to formal analysis of differences in projective narratives between these two groups of youth. In other words, Chapter 4 will focus on differences and similarities in projective narratives of youth across the two relational dimensions, while analysis in Chapter 5 will turn our

attention to differences and similarities between the two groups: immigrant youth and U.S. born youth.

What follows is a presentation of results based on qualitative analysis of the use of evaluative devices and approaches to conflict resolution in projective narratives. These results of data analysis will be discussed in relation to sense-making process by youth in the attempt to answer two out of four research questions of this study. The first question that these analyses aim to answer is: Are there formal, between group differences, in projective narratives of U.S. born youth and immigrant youth? Are there formal within-group differences in projective narratives of these two groups of youth toward the members their own cultural group and towards the other cultural group? More specifically, formal differences explored in this question are operationalized in terms of narrative fluency (narrative length) toward the two fields and differences in narrative affect, cognition, causal connectors, logical/hypothetical words, intensifiers, evaluative adjectives, negations, and inclusion of the self in the narrative. And, the second question that these analyses aim to answer is: Do immigrant youth and U.S born youth approach interpersonal conflicts using different resolution strategies? And, do these youth approach conflicts in two social field using different resolution strategies? More specifically, differences in conflict resolution strategies explored in this question are operationalized as of physical, communicative, psychological strategies?

As I explained in the previous chapter of this work, qualitative analysis of evaluative elements in narrative by the participants was carried out over the course of few months and included a very detailed and meticulous coding procedure. Using Atlas.ti – a program for qualitative data analysis – I coded all of the narrative responses of my

participants. Ten codes corresponding to evaluative devices were used in this process: logical/hypothetical words, causal connectors, intensifiers, evaluative adjectives, metaphors, negations, self-revealed, repetition as well evaluative devices which are indicative of internal states, such as cognition and affect. Repetition was subsequently removed as an analytic code, given that participants in this study used this device in their narratives very rarely.

It is my hope that by looking at differences and similarities in ways that youth use evaluative devices in their narratives we will be able to get a sense of the ‘big picture’ and begin to delineate the similarities and differences in the process of sense-making between and among these two groups of youth.

Within Group Differences among Immigrant Youth:

Evaluative Devices

Language used by immigrant youth to construct projective narratives points towards significant differences in their sense-making and variability in their use of conflict resolution strategies, in particular toward different cultural groups. Exploring the hypothesis that youth develop relational complexity to manage their diverse interpersonal interactions, data suggests that immigrant youth, in particular, employ greater effort to make sense of their developmental context than do their U.S. born peers. They carefully craft their narratives in order to meet their developmental needs across diverse developmental contexts.

At a first glance, these findings may not be surprising because immigrant youth often assume the position of an absolute novice in the U.S. culture (Akhtar, 1995; Milstein & Lucic, 2004, Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). For this reason, they

may need to make more effort and exert more psychological energy toward the understanding of their developmental context, than their U.S. born peers, because immigrant youth are relatively less acquainted with how things work in their developmental context. However, there is a subplot to this story. The pattern of differences in the use of narrative evaluations and conflict resolutions strategies seems to suggest an interesting psychological mechanism reminiscent of a Shakespearian twist, which involves the interplay of affect, cognition and causation that immigrant youth may develop in response to pressures of growing up in the new and largely unknown social environment.

In order to examine the coding patterns of the data gathered for this study, a 2 x 9 ANOVA was employed. Nine categories of the ANOVA included logical/hypothetical words, causal connectors, intentions, evaluative words, metaphors, negations, self-revealed, cognition and affect. Means and standard deviations for each analytic category are presented in table 3 below. Each of these nine categories was tested for both relational dimensions (narrative contexts) that framed the projective narratives of youth, own cultural group and bi-cultural interactions. The interaction for Narrative Context X Evaluative Devices was not statistically significant. However, upon inclusion of participants immigration status (immigrant Yes/No) as a covariate, the interaction Narrative Context X Evaluative Device X Immigration Status was significant $F(1, 39) = 2.436, p = 0.035, \eta^2 = 0.378$. This difference indicated that the use of evaluative devices in projective narratives should be further investigated by examining the data sample by immigration status (immigrant Yes/No).

Table 3: Summary statistics for mean rate of occurrence (in words) of narrative devices as a function of participant group (immigrants vs. US born) and narrative context (own ethnic/cultural vs. bi-cultural interaction). Standard deviations in parentheses.

Narrative Devices	Immigrant Group		US Born Group	
	Own Culture	Bi-Culture	Own Culture	Bi-Culture
Logical/Hypothetical	27.66 (15.60)	36.34 (16.97)	28.48 (16.28)	28.82 (16.53)
Causal Connectors	26.72 (15.35)	33.83 (13.73)	45.60 (16.41)	42.55 (15.18)
Intensifiers	17.54 (13.86)	15.68 (11.96)	29.88 (18.97)	30.42 (17.11)
Evaluative Adj.	27.13 (13.29)	33.52 (17.14)	33.28 (18.78)	31.85 (15.67)
Metaphors	29.35 (11.08)	40.83 (13.67)	50.83 (12.81)	49.40 (8.01)
Negations	13.76 (10.70)	15.54 (9.09)	16.56 (11.18)	19.33 (14.98)
Self-revealed	30.62 (15.18)	38.21 (14.74)	45.77 (18.07)	46.65 (13.46)
Cognition	14.76 (10.62)	19.41 (13.17)	23.92 (17.62)	23.82 (17.27)
Affect	14.07 (12.67)	7.91 (2.89)	8.83 (3.03)	12.22 (5.79)

For the U.S. born participants, 2 x 9 ANOVA testing for the interaction of Narrative Context X Evaluative Devices did not yield statistically significant results. This finding indicates that regardless of narrative context that framed the projective narrative responses by participating U.S. born youth, as a group they did not use evaluative devices differently across two cultural contexts. Figure 4, which can be seen on the next page, illustrates the homogeneity in the use of evaluative devices across two cultural contexts by U.S. born youth. In the figure, you will notice a line graph with markers for frequency with which evaluative words appear in narratives of U.S. born youth toward two relational dimensions. You will also notice that, with the exception of affect, the use of most evaluative devices across two relational dimensions is identical, or roughly equal.

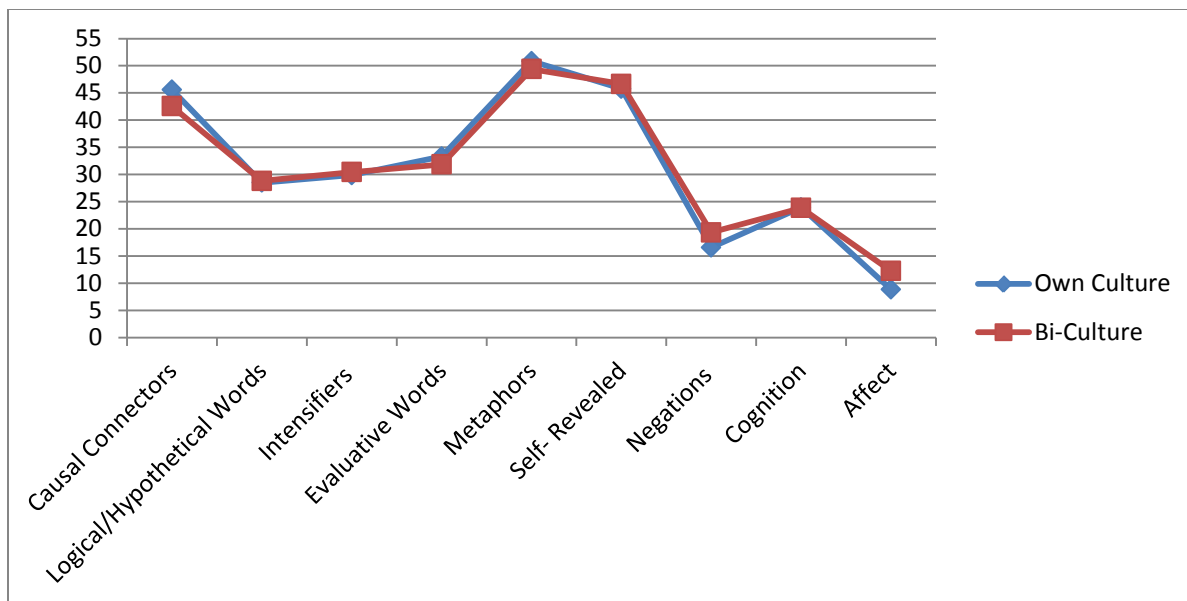


Figure 4: Line graph with markers representing mean rate of occurrence (in words) of evaluative devices by U.S. born youth in projective narratives towards members of their own culture and bi-cultural interactions.

Their immigrant peers, on the other hand, used evaluative devices differently to construct their projective narratives across two relational dimensions. 2 X 9 ANOVA testing for the interaction of Narrative Context X Evaluative Devices among immigrant born youth shows a significant effect of narrative context $F(1,39) = 3.775$, $p = 0.17$, $\eta^2 = 0.699$ on evaluative devices. Figure 5, which can be seen on the next page, illustrates the heterogeneity in the use of evaluative devices across two relational dimensions by immigrant youth. In the figure, you will notice a line graph with markers for frequency with which evaluative words appear in narratives of U.S. born youth toward two relational dimensions. With the exception of intensifiers and negation, most other categories of evaluative devices vary in frequency with which they are used across the two relational dimensions.

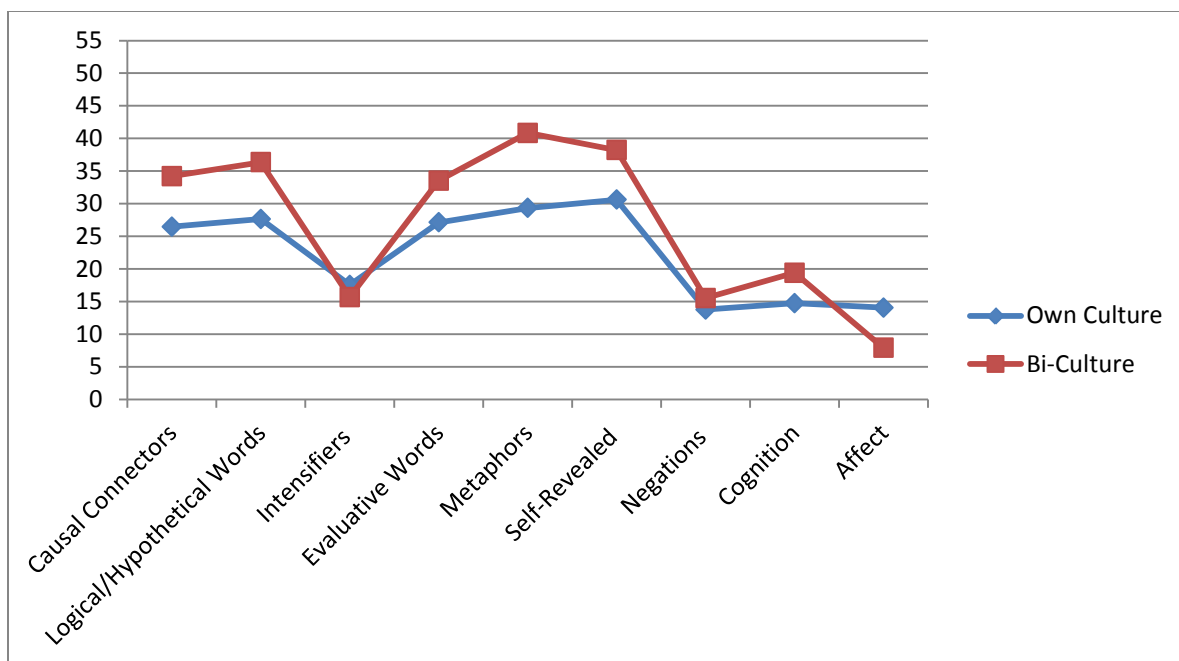


Figure 5: Line graph with markers representing the mean rate of occurrence (in words) of evaluative devices by immigrant youth in projective narratives towards members of their own culture and bi-cultural interactions.

In this chapter, we survey the results for main effects of relational dimensions (narrative context) on the use of evaluative devices and the implications of interaction effects in between these two narrative contexts for each group of participants separately, while in the next chapter we will turn our attention to main effects of participation group (immigrant vs. U.S. born) on the use of evaluative devices. In general, immigrant youth used more narrative tools to make sense of ambiguous situations embedded in the cultural framework of their own cultural group, than they did when the same situation was embedded in the interactions with their American born peers. Immigrant youth wrote significantly longer narratives in response to the vignette embedded among interactions with peers from their own cultural group ($M=83.64$ words; $SD=41.69$) then in response to the vignette embedded in the interaction with their U.S. born peers ($M= 70.91$ words; SD

= 36.30). This difference in narrative length was statistically significant at $t(20)=2.301$, $p=0.032$. Because narrative length has been shown by researchers to be a reliable predictor of narrative complexity (Peterson & McCabe, 1983; Hoff-Ginsber, 1992; Walters et al.1992), we can also say that immigrant youth wrote significantly more complex narratives in response to their own cultural group. This finding indicates that, throughout the process of their development, immigrant youth have become well enculturated and hence better equipped to make sense of their interpersonal interaction with the members of their own cultural group. They simply have more tools to understand the position of the other(s) and to explain that position to oneself, when the other(s) are members of their own culture/ethnicity.

Greater narrative complexity is also noticeable when we consider the results for the use of other evaluative devices which were employed by immigrant youth in their narratives in relation to their own cultural/ethnic group. Namely, they used more logical/hypothetical words per narrative, such as *if, probably, perhaps, he might have or she may* in relation to the vignette embedded among peers from their own cultural/ethnic group ($M=27.66$) than in relation to the vignette embedded into the interactions with their U.S. born peers ($M=36.34$). A closer inspection using a paired sample T-test reveal that the difference between two relational dimensions for immigrant youth is statistically significant at $t(20) = - 3.348$ $p<0.03$. Also, immigrant youth used more causal connectors per narrative (words such as *because, so, the, therefore and since*) to construct their narratives embedded among the members of their own immigrant group ($M=26.72$) than in their responses to the vignette embedded in the interactions with their American peers, ($M=36.34$). A paired sample T test conducted for this variable reveals a statistical

significant differences for use of causal connectors in narratives embedded among members of participant's own cultural/ethnic group than in narratives and narratives embedded in bi-cultural interaction $t(20) = -2.937, p = 0.047$. In other words, immigrant youth used more causal connectors in projective narratives toward their own cultural/ethnic group than in narratives embedded in bi-cultural interactions with their U.S. born peers.

To illustrate these statistical findings with a simple example, consider the answers by Merima to the second question in the vignette: *What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages?* The first narrative is in response to the vignette where Alex and Kai are both Bosnian immigrants to the U.S., while the second narrative is in response to the vignette where Kai is born in the U.S. and Alex is Bosnian. Underlined in the narrative is a logical/hypothetical word probably and causal connector because:

What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages? (Both Alex and Kai are Bosnian immigrants to the U.S.)

Why Kai is making a Big Deal, it's not Alex's wedding. Alex has guts to say sorry & give OK reason, he felt that was enough. Alex probably doesn't know Kai very well because if he did I don't think this would have happed.

Now compare that narrative response with the response by Meriam regarding the same situation embedded in the interaction with a U.S. born peer:

What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages? (Kai is U.S. born and Alex is Bosnian immigrant to the U.S.)

Alex is saying "is this guy my family member, why is he making a big deal, why so sensitive in this country & are they always open to talk about how they feel."

In her first response, Merima uses the logical/hypothetical word probably before expressing her opinion of the situation *'doesn't know Kai very well'* in order to qualify her answer in the realm of probability. She then goes a step further and causally connects this statement to her own opinion of the situation *'I don't think this would have happened'* using the causal connector *because*. On the other hand, in response to the same question embedded in interaction with U.S. born youth, Merima does not use hypothetical words or causal connectors, but rather expresses her opinion of the situation in very stern terms, relaying this time on ventriloquation/quoted speech and cultural understanding to implicitly express her opinion and ask a question *"is this guy my family member, why is he making a big deal, why so sensitive in this country & are they always open to talk about how they feel."* Thus, as we can see in this example – and also in Table 3 – immigrant youth in this sample are frequently able to draw more on their cognitive abilities in order to make causal relations and hypothesize about the interpersonal interaction in the social context of their own cultural group than in interactions with host group, i.e. members of American society.

Furthermore, if we look carefully at the differences in Merima's narratives toward two groups of peers, the example also points towards yet another significant finding. Narratives of immigrant participants differed in the extent to which they reveal themselves in the position of the narrator, as it is enacted through the use of subjective pronouns in projective narrative along the two interactive dimensions. Namely, immigrant youth used pronouns in references to self, such as *I, I 'am, me, myself* and the possessive self-references such as *my* or *mine* significantly more frequently when they narrated their thoughts and feelings in response to the vignette embedded in interactions

among their own cultural/ethnic group ($M=30.62$) than they did in relation to the American group ($M=38.21$). Closer inspection using a paired sample t-test reveals a statistically significant difference at $t(20) = 3.086$ $p < 0.006$, indicating that immigrant youth, on average, feel significantly more comfortable to reveal themselves, their position, and simply go on the line to overtly express their viewpoint of the situation, in relation to peers from their own cultural/ethnic group, then in relation to their U.S. born peers. Comfort with the members of their own cultural/ethnic group may be one of the reasons for this large difference in the use of self-referential pronouns across the two relational dimensions.

While comfort plays a role in allowing some evaluative elements to emerge more prominently in narratives embedded in interaction among an immigrant's own cultural group, other evaluative elements emerge more in narratives relating to the interactions with the members of the U.S. society. Affect is one such element. Namely, immigrant youth used significantly more affective/emotional words per narrative in response to the vignette embedded in the interactions with their American peers ($M=14.07$) than they did in response to a vignette embedded in the interactions with peers from their own cultural/ethnic group ($M=7.91$). The ANOVA testing for difference in the use of affective words between immigrant youth and U.S. born youth reveals an interaction effect of narrative context and participant group, $F(1, 39) = 9.168$ $p = 0.004$, $\eta^2 = 0.190$. Closer inspection using a paired sample t test reveals that immigrant youth use affective words significantly more frequently to construct narratives embedded in their own cultural/ethnic group than they do when constructing narratives embedded in interactions with their American peers $t(20) = 2.155$. $p = 0.043$.

This difference in varied use of affect across the two relational dimensions is illustrated well with the following example. Participant Catcho, 16 years old male from Grenada, used 62 words in the answer to the question *What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages?* when this question was referring to the interaction among two immigrant youth from Granada. Out of 62 words used in the projective narrative, only 2 were affect words want and overwhelming, two were causal connectors because and no intensifiers were used. On the other hand, the answer to the same question looks rather different when we delineate different evaluative elements used by our participant embedded in the interaction with U.S. born youth. This time, in answer to the same question, out of 41 words, 5 were affect words feel sad, care, enjoy, felt, felt, one was causal connector because and two were intensifiers, very much and very.

What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages? (Both Alex and Kai are Grenadian immigrants to the U.S.)

Alex was thinking that he don't want to be bother with plan or any activities that Kai is making. As some point he would like to tell him but he didn't express it because he feeling overwhelming with the pression that Kai is give it to him. Also Alex don't respond because he don't know how to said no to Kai invitation.

What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages? (Kai is U.S. born and Alex is Grenadian immigrant to the U.S.)

Alex knew that he wasn't going to meet with him. He feel sad but he didn't care very much because he don't enjoy being with Kai company. Alex felt as if Kai felt that of him as someone who wasn't very significant enough.

As we see from the statistical analysis of the data - as well as the example above - immigrant participants in this study rely on affect significantly more frequently when

faced with a situation in which they are asked to make sense of interactions embedded in the cultural group of their U.S. born peers, then when they are simply making sense of interactions with their own cultural group. However, the real developmental question is why. Why do immigrant youth use affect to make sense of interactions with a relatively less known cultural/group while at the same time reserving the evaluative devices such as causal connectors and logical/hypothetical words for the interactions among their own cultural group? Do they use affect as an alternative way for knowing other's minds? Do they, as King Lear, a Shakespearian character who despite being deprived of sight still has an intact ability to make sense of what is going on around him, *see* and make sense-*sense feelingly*? Obviously, they have demonstrated the capacity to use a wide array of evaluative devices in their narratives – so why are there such drastic (and patterned) differences across two sets of narratives? A fuller answer to these questions will emerge in a bit, once we look at the data analysis for the narratives written by U.S. born youth. For the time being, let us turn our attention to yet another category along which the narratives by immigrant youth differ, the conflict resolution strategies used to bring the conflict to the conclusion.

Conflict Resolution among in Vignettes of Interpersonal Text Conflicts

As you can recall, the third and final question posed to the participants was: *What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?* Narrative responses by participants were coded for three distinct conflict resolutions strategies: physical strategy, communicative strategy and psychological strategy. As Daiute (2010) has shown in research with adolescents and youth across former Yugoslavia, conflict resolution, and overall *landscape of conflict* as situated

within interpersonal interaction, is seen as an important sub-process in the overall process of sense-making. As it was the case with narrative evaluations, once again, coding for approaches to conflict resolutions was done at the word level.

Consider for example, the answer by Young-Ah in response to the question: What happen next? Did Alex and Kai resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?

*Alex screamed at him, curse him out & told him stop being a baby, I said “sorry”. I'm not your girlfriend or your wife, no control please.
After few days, they went for a drink & Kai let it go.*

Based on the above answer, response by Young-Ah would be coded three times for communicative conflict resolution strategy, given that there are three instances where she approaches the resolution to the conflict by indicating a communicative strategy among the interlocutors (screamed, cursed and told). Also, this response was coded once for physical resolution strategy, (a drink) given that on this occasion our participant approaches conflict resolution by emphasizing a physical activity which Kai and Alex undertake in order to resolve the conflict. Additionally, let it go would be coded as psychological resolution strategy, given that Young-Ah indicates that Kai used a psychological action of “letting the feelings go” in the effort to resolve the conflict. According to this approach to analysis, the narrative response by Young-Ah would receive the following score: 3 for communicative strategy, 1 for physical strategy and 1 for psychological strategy to conflict resolution.

An ANOVA was performed for each conflict resolution strategy identified in method chapter, for both immigrant youth and U.S. born youth, for the effects of relational dimension (narrative context) on evaluative devices, as within-subject factors,

yielding a total of 3 ANOVAs. A number of statistically significant differences are noted for the use of two out of three conflict resolution strategies. Namely, physical and psychological strategy was used significantly differently by immigrant youth in narratives across various dimensions of interactions. The ANOVA reveals a main effect of narrative context for physical conflict resolution strategy $F(1,39) = 20.33, p = 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.343$ for narratives embedded among members of immigrant's own cultural/ethnic group $M = 17.52 (SE = 5.89)$ and narratives embedded in bi-cultural interaction $M = 9.69 (SE = 5.11)$. A closer inspection using a paired sample T-test revealed that immigrant youth, in particular, use physical strategy to approach conflict resolutions significantly more frequently for conflict embedded in interactions with their U.S. born peers than they did for the conflicts embedded among peers from their own cultural/ethnic group, $t(20) = 4.808, p = 0.001$. Additionally, youth who participated in this study employed communicative resolution strategy differently based on the context of use. The ANOVA testing for psychological conflict resolution strategy shows main effect of narrative context, $F(1, 39) = 7.27, p = 0.01, \eta^2 = 0.157$. Immigrant youth in particular used psychological strategy significantly more frequently when faced with conflicts among peers from their own cultural/ethnic group ($M=18.25$) than they did in when faced with conflicts with their U.S. born peers ($M=15.03$) paired sample $t = 3.005, p = 0.007$. While the use of physical and psychological conflict resolution strategy varied across the two relational dimensions, the use of communicative resolution strategy was almost identical both for the two groups of participants (immigrant vs. U.S. born) and for two relational dimensions (for results see Immigrant Group in Table 4 below).

Table 4: Summary statistics for mean rate of occurrence (in words) of conflict resolution strategies as a function of participant group (immigrants vs. US born) and narrative context (own ethnic/cultural vs. bi-cultural interaction). Standard deviations in parentheses.

Narrative Devices	Immigrant Group		US Born Group	
	Own Culture	Bi-Culture	Own Culture	Bi-Culture
Physical Strategy	17.52 (5.89)	9.69 (5.11)	21.27 (8.06)	24.50 (6.22)
Communicative	12.14 (6.62)	13.86 (5.49)	21.15 (9.11)	21.70 (8.05)
Psychological	18.25 (6.28)	15.03 (4.95)	21.27 (8.06)	23.57 (7.01)

As we saw earlier, the analyses of participants' narratives toward two relational dimensions reveal significant differences in their use of evaluative devices. Now, looking at conflict resolution strategies we are again faced with data which poses a host of new questions. The first of these questions is: Why do youth vary their conflict resolution strategies when attempting to narrate conflict resolutions with diverse groups of peers? As we can see in two examples below – these differences are visible qualitatively, even without the use of sophisticated quantitative data analyses. Consider for the moment the answers by Jenny, a 17 year old immigrant youth from Dominican Republic and Lan, a 18 years old immigrant youth from China to the third question in the vignette: *What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?*

Jenny's attempt at resolving the conflict which involves Dominican youth:

Maybe they can resolve the conflict. Alex can send the message to Kai. And say sorry to her.

Lan's attempt at resolving the conflict which involves Chinese youth:

Alex sends email and telephoned to kai to explained and said sorry many times after Kai was out of angry. So they resolve the conflict.

Notice how in both Jenny and Lan attempt to resolve the conflict by sending a message, either via the phone or as an email. They both narrate their conflict resolution strategies as involving communicative activities. Now, compare these with the answers to the same question, only this time Jenny and Lan are responding to the conflict involving U.S. born youth and an immigrant youth from their own group.

Jenny's attempt at resolving the conflict which involves U.S. born youth and Dominican youth:

They will resolve the conflict together. They can resolve the conflict face to face.

Lan's attempt at resolving the conflict which involves U.S. born youth and Chinese youth:

They meet in one's home and explain to each other carefully. They resolve the conflict by talk deeply and improve more recognised.

We can clearly see that both Jenny and Lan narrate their attempts at conflict resolution differently when they are attempting to resolve conflicts in bi-cultural interpersonal interactions. This time, both youth, who have arrived to the U.S. from quite different geographical locations, use physical strategy to resolve interpersonal conflicts. One of the hypothesis as to the underlying reasons for these differences may lie in the qualitative differences between the face-to-face communication and communication mediated via technology. Namely, research by Fortuna (2010) has shown that the absence of gestures in remote types of communications, such as email or SMS, has the potential to induce more tension into the affective states of the communicators than do interactions where communicators are facing each other. So, the question arises: Could the tensions which youth feel in technologically mediated interaction with their diverse

peers manifest themselves in narratives, as they deal with highly contentious matters, such as interpersonal conflicts? Once again, the answers to these questions become somewhat clearer when we consider the narrative analysis of the responses to the vignette by U.S. born youth.

Within Group Differences among U.S. Born Youth:

Evaluative Devices

In general, U.S. born participants in this study made fewer adjustments in their narratives across different relational dimensions, than did immigrant participants. Results for the use of evaluative devices among U.S. born youth across the two relational dimensions look rather homogenous when compared with those of immigrant youth. Looking at the statistical measures of evaluative devices, we can even say that narratives of U.S. born youth are quite similar across the two interactive dimensions. While U.S. born youth used evaluative devices rather frequently their use did not vary greatly between the narratives in response to the vignette embedded across two relational dimensions. Measures such as causal connectors, intensifiers and the use of cognitive words are close to equal across the relational dimensions in narratives among U.S. born youth. Only one category stands as different in the two sets of the narratives written by U.S. youth. This category is the use of affective/feeling words in narratives.

Namely, U.S. born youth focused on affect and used feeling words significantly more frequently in narratives toward their own cultural/ethnic group ($M=8.83$) than they did in the narratives which encompasses their interactions with immigrant youth ($M=12.22$), a closer inspection of these differences using a paired sample t test reveals a statistically significant result $t(19) = -2.828$, $p = 0.011$. Thus, similarly to their immigrant

peers, U.S. born youth varied their use of affect across the different interactive dimensions.

However, U.S. youth and immigrant youth varied the extent to which they used affect expressions across relational dimensions. Namely, U.S. born participants focused more on feelings as they attempted to make sense and narrate the situation in which Alex and Kai were presented as U.S. born youth, than they did when Alex was presented as U.S. born and Kai was thought to be immigrant. This difference leads us to believe that U.S. born youth rely more heavily on affect and emotional functions in their attempt to understand and conceptualize the perspective of the other, and in general make sense of text-mediated interpersonal interactions, which concern individuals who share their U.S. origins. On the other hand, while affect and emotional function still enter their narratives in response to the vignette embedded in interactions with immigrant youth, they do so significantly less frequently.

To illustrate this difference in affective enactment in narrative by U.S. born youth across two relational dimensions, consider two responses by Amanda who grew up on New York's Upper East Side, to the question: *What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages?* In her first response, Amanda is responding to the vignette where both Alex and Kai are presented as 16 years old U.S. born youth, while in the second response, Alex is Iranian and Kai is U.S. born:

What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages? (Both Alex and Kai are U.S. Born)

Kai is anxious and not confident in his relationship with alex. He is afraid of being abandoned and left alone on an evening. He cannot be alone whatever the reason - probably anxiety

What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages? (Alex is Iranian and Kai is U.S. Born)

Kai is perturbed that Alex is not responding- He is probably used to rapid responses and quick pace of New York and has no time for Alex's Iranian slow pace butt. He has plans and things to do.

Affective words are circled in the two responses above. We can clearly see that in explanation of thoughts and feelings of youth who share Amanda's cultural background, affect enters the narrative significantly more frequently (5 out of 33 words) than when Amanda narrates about a bi-cultural interpersonal interaction (1 out of 38 words). Also, we can further see that this trend is even more pronounced when we comparatively look at Amanda's answers to the second question

What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in the message? (Both Alex and Kai are U.S. Born)

Alex is defensive. he likes his friend but is kind of annoyed by kai's neediness. He doesn't respond quickly unless kai shows anxiety and demands a response. He is happy to see his friend but not desperate for the company.

What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in the message? (Alex is Iranian and Kai is U.S. Born)

Alex is responding slowly because he was legitimately a sleep. But also, he has no concept of a New York minute, because in his family things are paced slowly and you need to take time to enjoy life, unlike those damn speedy New York kids with their furious text-messages and demanding schedules.

Once again, as it was the case with the answers to the first question, focus on affect predominates in responses to the vignette embedded among the U.S. youth while it is largely absent in the answer about the interaction between U.S. youth and immigrant youth.

Use of other analytic categories such as logical/hypothetical pronouns, causal connectors, intensifiers, evaluative adjectives, metaphors, negation, self-revealed and cognition, did not vary significantly across different dimensions of social interactions. Analyses of conflict resolution strategies by U.S. born youth also indicate, once again, that they made fewer adjustments in their narratives across different relational dimensions, than did their immigrant peers. Statistical tests show no significant differences for communicative, psychological or psychological resolution strategy.

Interpreting Within-Group Differences

As we have seen from the summary of the findings above, U.S. born youth wrote rather similar narratives in response to the two relational, the interaction among other U.S. born peers and interactions which involve immigrant youth. Out of 9 analytic categories of evaluative devices which were explored, narratives of U.S. born youth across the two relational dimensions were different only with regard to one analytic category, the use of feeling words. Holding all other categories constant, over the two interactive dimensions, U.S. born youth overwhelmingly used feeling words to explain thoughts, feelings and actions of characters, and hence express their own thoughts and feelings, when Alex and Kai were presented as U.S. born youth. On the other hand, frequency in their use of affect to explain thoughts and feelings of Alex and Kai drops significantly when Alex is presented as immigrant. This finding leads me to believe that U.S. born youth rely more heavily on affect and emotions than other evaluative elements in order to make sense of, and explain thoughts and feelings of their peers with whom they share the same cultural origin.

Immigrant youth seem to have understood these narrative moves made by U.S. youth. With regards to affect which U.S. born youth used significantly more to explain the interactions with other U.S. youth, immigrant youth also use more frequently to explain their own interactions with U.S born youth. On the other hand, immigrant youth use affective linguistic devices significantly less frequently when they are asked to explain interactions with other immigrant youth. Across these types of interactions, immigrant youth used more cognitive functions in their attempt to understand thoughts and feelings of their immigrant peers and used logical/hypothetical words significantly more frequently to make predictions about what may or may not happen in a particular situation involving other immigrant youth, or to assume how Kai or Alex might react, think or feel. Also, they felt freer to reveal themselves by using self-referential pronouns, as well as to embed their viewpoint into narratives towards their immigrant group, thereby manifesting more comfort in these types of interactions and greater ability to cognitively conceptualize their own thoughts and feelings as well as the thoughts and feelings of others.

These findings suggest a developmental phenomenon present among immigrant youth, involving the interplay of the processes of enculturation and acculturation. This developmental phenomenon is, in the present research, made manifest by varied enactments of evaluative devices across relational dimensions. Findings in this chapter indicate that immigrant youth use different narrative tools and conflict resolution strategies to make sense of, and deal with interactions with diverse cultural groups which populate their heterogeneous developmental context. Furthermore, their sense-making

activities and understanding of their developmental context seems to be in a dynamic interplay with same capacities used by their U.S. born peers.

Immigrant youth seem able to coordinate diverse ways of interpreting interpersonal interactions across various relational dimensions. As we could see in the examples in this chapter, Merima, Catcho, Jenny, Lin and Young-Ah all vary their responses to the vignette along the lines of relational dimensions. They are able to, at the same time, interpret interactions with their own immigrant group and interactions with their U.S. born peers, and do so in culturally-sensitive ways which possibly allows them to better make sense of interactions with the particular community of minds that they are interacting with. We can assume that, overtime, immigrant youth have learned how to position themselves in response to other's from their own cultural/ethnic group, given that they have been going through the process of enculturation for much longer time than through the process of acculturation. Through this process, they have learned how to address others, as well as how to indicate their position and meaning in the narrative by using specific evaluative devices at particular moments in narratives (or discourse). However, a question arises about the capacity of these youth to understand, emulate, or otherwise tap into the narrative strategies used by U.S. born youth to make sense of their developmental context and interpret their interactions. Do immigrant youth learn to employ the strategies used by their U.S. born peers, in order to make sense of interactions with their U.S. born peers and resolve conflicts arising from interactions with them?

This type of acculturative learning, seen from the perspective of socio-cultural theory, would happen over time and through interactions, activities and experiences with U.S. born youth in their developmental context. As Katherine Nelson notes in her book

Language and Cognitive Development (1997), individual experience-based construction in collaboration with others, gradually incorporates the potential of social and cultural forms. Explaining further this process of experiential learning, she emphasizes the role of language when she writes that “shared meaning of the community [thus] gradually enter into the individual child’s knowledge representations and to a large, but nonetheless limited, extent take over the child’s mind (p.352)”. Thus, according to this view, Nelson notes that individuality is balanced with sociality. In our case, looking at the development of immigrant youth, we can say that developmental functions inherent in sense-making, and enacted in the use of evaluative devices, are balanced with developmental functions of diverse others in socio-cultural context, along the lines of acculturation.

Exploring this learning hypothesis further, additional steps in the analysis of the narratives by immigrant youth can potentially highlight some of the findings thus far discussed, and provide answers to these complex questions.

Differences in Narratives of Immigrant Youth by the Length of Time Spent in the U.S

Experiential learning through activities and with the aid of language takes time. One of the possible ways to approach answering questions such as: Do immigrant youth learn to employ same strategies used by their U.S. born peers, in order to make sense of interactions with their U.S. born peers and resolve conflicts with them - is to suppose that they acquire these skills overtime and through interactions with their U.S. born peers. On this view, immigrant youth would gradually and over time, under the pressures of acculturation, learn to differentiate various sense-making strategies used by their U.S. born peers and identify them as more different than those strategies used by their immigrant peers. Through participation in joint activities with their U.S. born peers, and

discursive interactions with them, immigrant youth would identify evaluative devices, such as affect as used by their U.S. born peers to make sense of their interpersonal interactions and resolve conflicts. According to this view, immigrant youth would then, again over-time, begin to use this knowledge in order to mediate interactions with their U.S. born peers. While I will speak about this developmental phenomenon as a learning process, it is hard to imagine that this complex process could take place consciously.

One of the ways to test this idea is to compare the narratives written by immigrant youth across two interactive dimensions, when the sample of immigrant youth is divided into two groups according to the length of time that they have spent in the United States. This data analysis was not planned at the beginning of the study. The reasons for it emerged only when the initial data analysis and interpretation were concluded. However, it is proving to be very informative. While the length of time, in and of itself, should not have much effect on development of youth, accumulated experience in interpersonal interactions, over time, within a heterogeneous developmental context, *should*. On this view, experience in interactions with their U.S. born peers, should be noticeable as a function of time spent in the United States, and should manifest itself as greater ability to understand, emulated and enact evaluative devices and conflict resolution strategies used by their U.S. peers.

The sample of immigrant youth who participated in this study can be split rather equally according to the length of the time that youth have spent in the United States. Out of 21 participants, 11 have spent less than 5 years in the U.S. (at the time of the study) while 10 have spent more than 6 years in the United States. When we split our sample in this way and analyze the narratives, some aspects of the acculturation/learning hypothesis

are confirmed. Namely, data show that participating immigrant youth who have spent less than 5 years in the U.S. use causal connectors significantly more frequently in their narratives toward other immigrant youth ($M = 18.06$) than they do in their narratives toward U.S. born peers ($M = 31.92$). This difference is statistically significant at $t(10) = -3.654$ $p < 0.04$. The same statistical analysis for immigrant youth who have been in the country for more than 6 years does not show statistical differences. In other words, the analysis of the data implies that the distance between the two relational dimensions is especially pronounced for newly arrived immigrants, and that this distance reduces with time.

Statistical analysis of data also show similar trend for the use of logical/hypothetical words, evaluative words, metaphors as well as for the use of self-referential pronouns, self-revealed, in narratives by immigrant youth. Immigrant youth who were in the county less than 5 years used more self-referential pronouns in their narratives toward other immigrant youth than they did in narratives with involving their U.S. born peers $t(10) = -3.254$ $p < 0.009$, more logical hypothetical words, $t(10) = -3.555$ $p < 0.005$, more evaluative words $t(10) = -2.440$ $p < 0.035$ as well as more metaphors $t(10) = -3.883$ $p < 0.03$. For means and standard deviations see Table 5. For visual representation of differences, see Figure 6. Once again, data does not show the same type of difference for immigrant youth who have been in the country for more than 6 years (Figure 7).

Table 5: Summary statistics for mean rate of occurrence (in words) of narrative devices as a function length of time in the U.S. (0-5 years in the U.S. vs. 6 + years in the U.S.) and narrative context (own cultural vs. bi-cultural interaction). Standard deviations in parentheses.

Narrative Devices	0-5 Years in the U.S.		6 + Years in the U.S.	
	Own Culture	Bi-Culture	Own Culture	Bi-Culture
Causal Connectors	18.06 (13.01)	31.92 (13.86)	36.25 (11.84)	35.93 (13.99)
Logical/Hypothetical	30.13 (15.43)	39.72 (15.93)	24.94 (16.15)	32.63 (18.14)
Intensifiers	21.93 (17.33)	19.15 (15.73)	12.72 (6.65)	11.88 (3.50)
Evaluative Adj.	29.97 (12.75)	41.57 (12.88)	24.01 (13.83)	24.66 (17.37)
Metaphors	31.27 (11.23)	44.54 (9.91)	27.23 (11.10)	36.75 (16.45)
Self-Revealed	27.82 (15.02)	36.75 (14.49)	33.71 (15.52)	39.81 (15.62)
Negations	10.89 (4.57)	13.88 (5.10)	16.92 (14.50)	17.36 (12.15)
Cognition	12.57 (5.14)	15.74 (11.57)	17.16 (14.46)	23.44 (14.23)
Affect	18.82 (15.98)	9.52 (3.05)	8.84 (3.90)	6.13 (1.23)

While the use of causal connectors, logical/hypothetical words, evaluative words, metaphors and references to oneself decrease in relation to the time spent in the U.S, the use of affect in narratives by immigrant youth increases. This is probably one of the most dramatic findings of this study, yet it should be interpreted with caution due to the relatively small number of participants and great linguistic variability of youth who participated. Namely, analysis of covariance ANCOVA indicates that, for immigrant youth, length of time spent living in the U.S. (tested as a continuous variable) predicts the

amount of affect words that they use in their narratives $F(1,19) = 9.89, p = 0.005$.

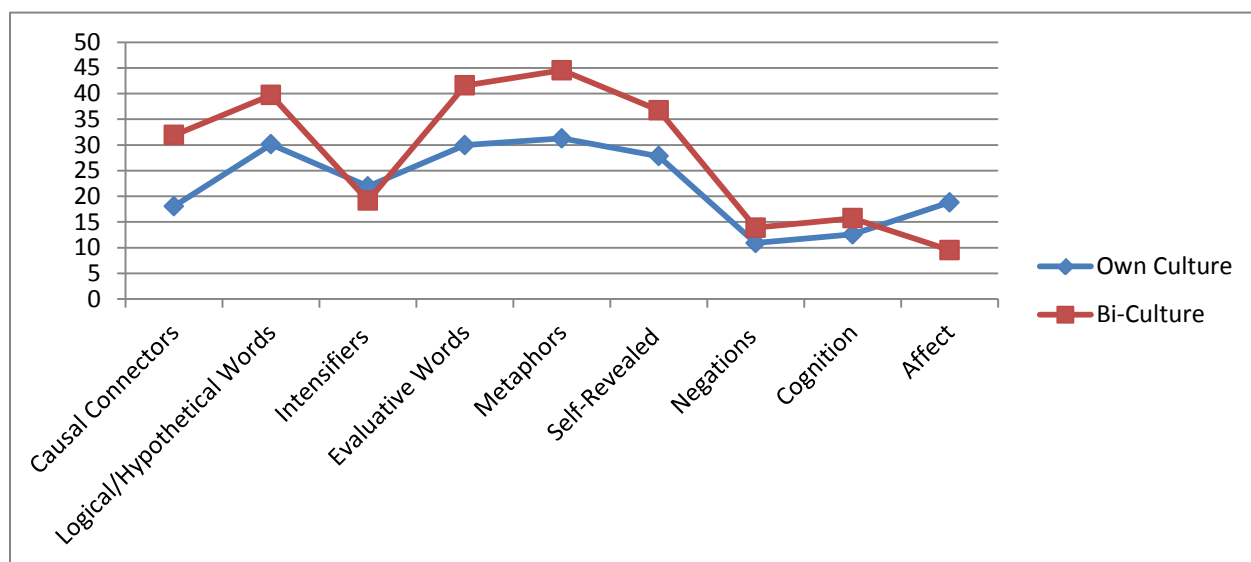


Figure 6: Line graph with markers representing the frequency of use of evaluative devices by immigrant youth who have spent less than 5 years or less in the U.S., in projective narratives towards members of their own culture and bi-cultural interactions.

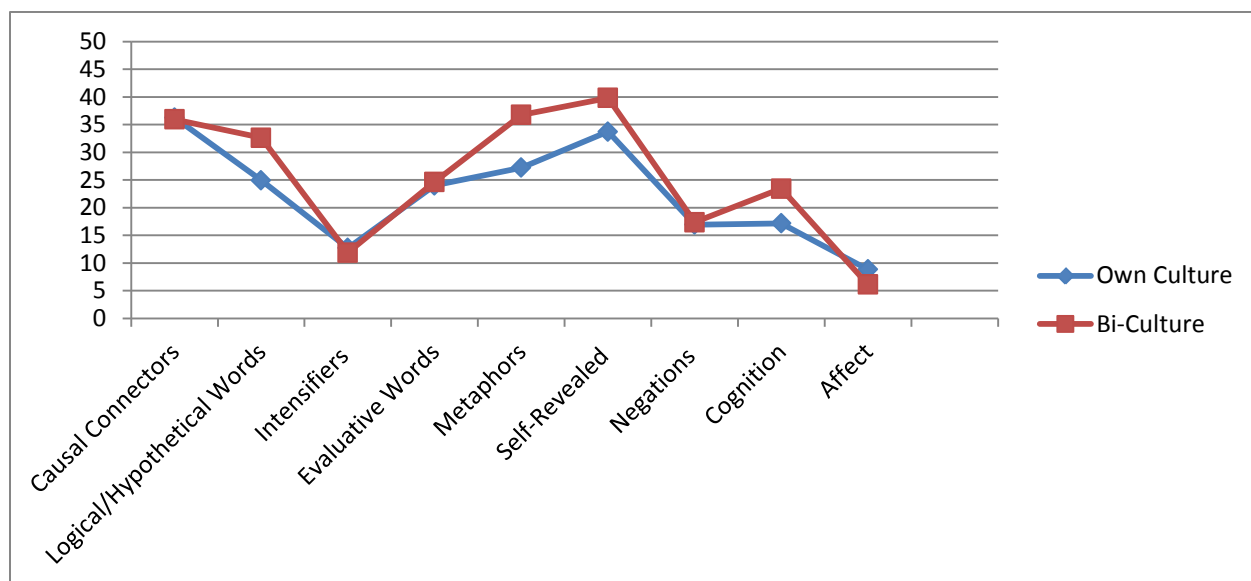


Figure 7: Line graph with markers representing the frequency of use of evaluative devices by immigrant youth who have spent more than 6 years in the U.S., in projective narratives towards members of their own culture and bi-cultural interactions.

Discussion

The analyses presented in this chapter show that immigrant youth use causal connectors, and indeed relate and logically connect parts of their explanation regarding thoughts and feelings of other, in order to integrate them into a coherent whole. They do so significantly more frequently when attempting to make sense of interactions occurring in their own cultural/ethnic group, than in interactions embedded with members of their host society. How would we explain this finding from relevant theoretical perspectives? It is interesting that one of the most plausible ways to theoretically interpret the findings regarding differences in narrative form of immigrant youth toward the two relational dimensions is by borrowing elements from both Piagetian and Vygotskian theory. Namely, in his book, entitled *Judgment and Reasoning in the Child* (1955/1958) Piaget explored the use of psychological connection, subordination of parts to the whole and logical justifications by looking at spontaneous speech of children and focusing on their use and understanding of words such as “because” and “since” – the same words which are in this study included under the category of causal connectors – in relation to the ability of children to relate individual parts with one another to form an integral whole. Furthermore, Piaget describes adolescence as a cognitive developmental stage which begins sometimes around 11 or 12 year of age, with the emergence of formal thinking, or as he called it “formal reasoning” or “formal operations”. By formal reasoning, Piaget meant hypothetico-deductive reasoning, and this cognitive form characterizes adolescence as a developmental stage and distinguishes it from that of childhood and the concrete operational period. In *Judgment and Reasoning in the Child* (1955/1958) explains hypothetico-deductive reasoning as central to formal operations:

Formal thinking is essentially hypothetico-deductive. By this we mean that deduction no longer refers directly to perceived realities but to hypothetical statements – i.e., it refers to propositions which are formulations of hypothesis or which postulate facts or events independently of whether or not they actually occur. Thus, the deductive process consists of linking up these assumptions and drawing out the necessary consequences. (1955/1958, p. 251)

For this reason, in this study, the use of logical/hypothetical words, such as *maybe*, *perhaps*, or *likely* can be seen as indicative of hypothetico-deductive reasoning, given that appearance of these words in narrative signals an attempt by the narrator to hypothesize about, infer and deduce about different elements connected to the psychological states and activities of characters in the vignette. According to Piaget, hypothetico-deductive reasoning emerges during adolescence and allows youth to engage their developmental context through formal deduction, which consists of: “drawing conclusions, not from a fact given in immediate observation, nor from a judgment which one holds to be true without any qualifications (and thus incorporates into reality such as one conceives in), but in a judgment which one simply assumes, i.e. which one admits without believing it, just to see what it will lead to. (p.69, 1955/1958)”.

Both of these functions, subordination of parts to the whole and hypothetico-deductive reasoning, were highlighted in narrative form by participating immigrant youth toward the members of their own cultural group, that is other immigrant youth. They are largely absent from narratives in response to interactions with U.S. born youth. This leads me to believe that, immigrant youth not only possess but also employ the ability to subordinate parts to the whole and form coherent and logical connections between

thoughts, feelings and actions and are developing age appropriate logical operations. But it also appears that these logical operations and subordinative reasoning are reserved for the members of their own cultural group. Why are these psychological functions enduringly absent from their narratives towards U.S. born youth?

As an attempt to understand this question, Vygotsky's notion of zone of proximal development (ZPD), provides some possible answers. Vygotsky describes ZPD as that difference between "*actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving*" and the higher level of "*potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers*" (p.86). As I mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, one of the ways to conceptualize the research design of this study is to see the narrative responses of immigrant youth to the vignette embedded among their own cultural/ethnic group, as *actual developmental level* from the perspective of their cultural development. Following this line of reasoning, their *potential developmental level* would be revealed in their narrative responses to the vignette embedded among bi-cultural interactions, which for immigrant encompass the interaction with the members of their host society. Given that immigrant youth are developing in the United States, and are thus *acculturating* to the rules, roles and norms of U.S. society, members of this society would be seen as more *capable peers* with regards to the normative ways of being and interacting in the U.S. society. Thus, one way to explain the absence of both causal connectors and logical/hypothetical words from their narratives in response to bi-cultural vignette is because these narrative functions are rather absent from the narrative repertoire of their U.S. born peers. Instead, U.S. born

youth focus more on affect to explain the thoughts and feelings of their U.S. born peers.

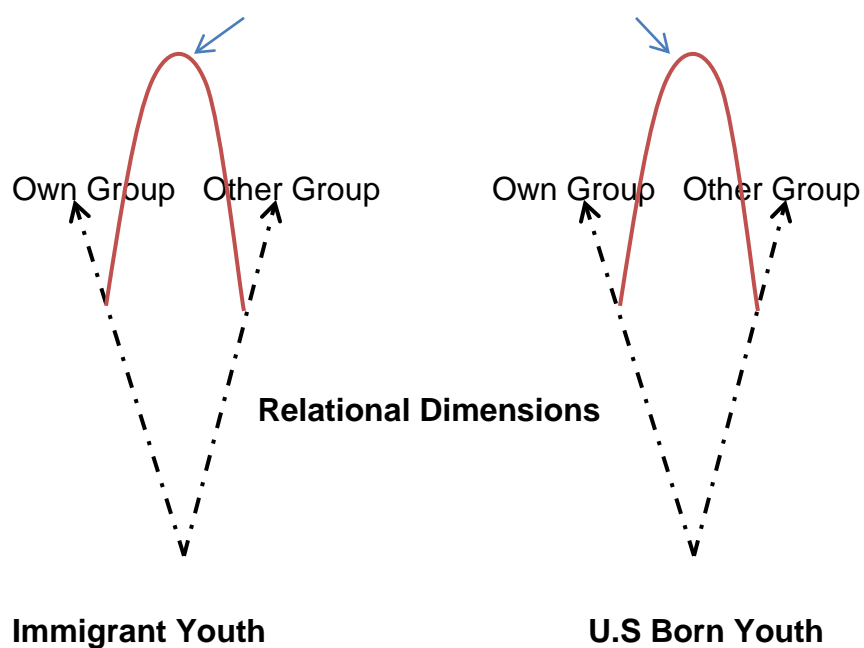
It appears that immigrant youth have figured this out.

CHAPTER V:

Between - Group Differences in the Enactment of Evaluative Devices and Conflict Resolution Strategies by Immigrant Youth and U.S. Born Youth

In the previous chapter, we saw that youth often vary their narratives across different relational dimensions. As Figure 8 shows, our analysis presented in Chapter 4 focused exclusively on the differences in projective narratives of youth toward two relational dimensions expressed in statistical analyses as effects of narrative context (narratives toward own ethnic/cultural group vs. bi-cultural interactions) and interaction effects in between these two contexts. In figure 8, the dotted lines represent the direction of projective narrating (i.e. across the two relational dimensions) while the full lines represent the focus of the analyses in the prior chapter. In other words, analyses of the data in the prior chapter focused on the differences and similarities in narratives of both immigrant youth and U.S. born youth toward text messaging across two relational dimensions. Through these analyses, we have seen that immigrant youth use significantly more logical/hypothetical words, causal connectors, and self-revelation when they are asked to interpret the situation in the vignette from the perspective of the members of their own cultural group, that is, when Kai and Alex are also immigrant youth from their own country of origin.

Figure 8: Chapter 4 - Within Group Statistical Analyses



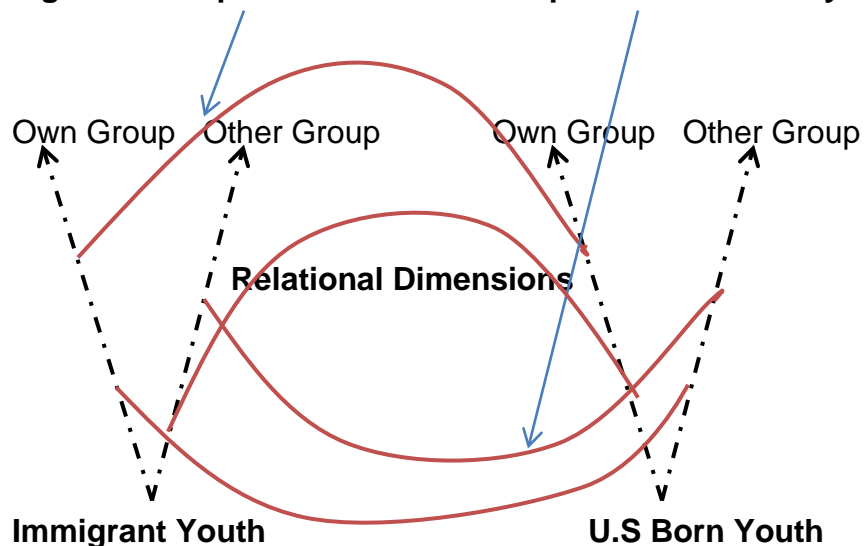
At the same time, immigrant youth who participated in this study used more affective/feeling words when narrating about bi-cultural interactions where Kai is U.S. born. Their U.S. born peers, who participated in this study, did not vary their narratives across the two relational dimensions as much as did immigrant youth. The only statistically significant difference between the two sets of narratives by U.S. born youth was significantly higher use of affective/feeling words in projective narratives towards their own cultural group comprised of other U.S. born youth.

In the concluding pages of chapter 4, through additional analyses of the data collected from immigrant youth, among other things we established that their use of affect in projective narratives involving bi-cultural interaction increases with the increase in the length of time spent in the United States. The longer the immigrant youth have resided in the U.S. the higher was their use of affective/feeling words in projective narratives that involve U.S. born youth. Armed with this data, we concluded that

immigrant youth, over time and under the influence of social interactions with their U.S. born peers acculturate to norms of interpersonal interactions among U.S. born peers. These interactions involve higher use of affective/feeling words as well as, less frequent use of logical/hypothetical words and causal connectors.

On the other hand, in this chapter, we survey the results of the analysis by looking at the differences and similarities between the narratives of U.S. born youth and immigrant youth directly, expressed statistically as main effects of participation group (immigrant vs. U.S. born) on the use of evaluative devices. As Figure 9 shows, the analyses examining the use of evaluative devices and conflict resolution strategies between two groups of youth will allow us to further tell the story of varied sense-making of interactions across varied relational dimensions, when compared directly to each other. Once again, just like in the previous figure, the dotted lines represent the direction of projective narrating (i.e. across the two relational dimensions) while the full lines represent the focus of the analyses in this chapter. In other words, while in the previous chapters we saw how youth made sense of their own interactions with two different communities of minds, in this chapter we see how different groups of youth, immigrant and U.S. born youth, made sense of their interactions with the same communities of minds such as interactions with the native group or bi-cultural interactions. This analysis is particularly interesting because it enables us to see different mechanisms and tools that these two groups of youth use in their projective narratives to make sense and approach conflict resolution within bi-cultural interpersonal interactions.

Figure 9: Chapter 5 - Between Groups Statistical Analyses



Differences in Narrative Length and use of Evaluative Devices:

Overall, in response to three questions following the vignette which asked participants to narrate about thoughts and feelings of two hypothetical characters named Alex and Kai, U.S. born youth wrote longer narratives than did immigrant youth. On average, U.S. born youth used 168.6 words (SD= 49.58) to give their own opinion of what the characters in the vignette may have thought or felt but did not express. In comparisons, their immigrant peers used 154.55 words (SD=73.74), or about 14 words less on average. These differences in length of narratives, narrative fluency and elaboration, is most likely due to the greater fluency in English among the U.S. born participants, as has been shown elsewhere (Silva, 1993). While levels of fluency varied among immigrant youth (ranging from rather limited to fluent), the length of their narratives was not significantly different than the narratives of U.S. born youth. As you could see from the examples used in the prior chapter (which were transcribed without

editing) immigrant youth are very articulate in their answers and use English well to express their views, thoughts and feelings regarding the situation in the vignette.

Table 6: Summary statistics for mean rate of occurrence (in words) of narrative devices as a function of participant group (immigrants vs. US born) and narrative context (own ethnic/cultural vs. bi-cultural interaction). Standard deviations in parentheses.

Narrative Devices	Immigrant Group		US Born Group	
	Own Culture	Bi-Culture	Own Culture	Bi-Culture
Logical/Hypothetical	27.66 (15.60)	36.34 (16.97)	28.48 (16.28)	28.82 (16.53)
Causal Connectors	26.72 (15.35)	33.83 (13.73)	45.60 (16.41)	42.55 (15.18)
Intensifiers	17.54 (13.86)	15.68 (11.96)	29.88 (18.97)	30.42 (17.11)
Evaluative Adj.	27.13 (13.29)	33.52 (17.14)	33.28 (18.78)	31.85 (15.67)
Metaphors	29.35 (11.08)	40.83 (13.67)	50.83 (12.81)	49.40 (8.01)
Negations	13.76 (10.70)	15.54 (9.09)	16.56 (11.18)	19.33 (14.98)
Self-revealed	30.62 (15.18)	38.21 (14.74)	45.77 (18.07)	46.65 (13.46)
Cognition	14.76 (10.62)	19.41 (13.17)	23.92 (17.62)	23.82 (17.27)
Affect	14.07 (12.67)	7.91 (2.89)	8.83 (3.03)	12.22 (5.79)

Significant main effects of participant group (immigrant vs. U.S. born) are noted for the use of intensifiers, metaphors and causal connectors. Additionally, marginal main effect of narrative context is noted for causal connectors, intensifiers, metaphors and self-revelation in narratives. The most pronounced of these differences, between the narratives by immigrant youth in comparison to the narratives by their U.S. born peers, is in how frequently they used intensifiers in the process of narrating answers to the questions in the vignette. On average, immigrant youth used intensifiers every 17.54 words for narratives in the context of their own cultural/ethnic group and every 15.68 words when constructing their projective narratives. In comparison, U.S. born youth

used roughly half as many: every 29.88 words for narratives embedded in interaction with U.S. peers and every 30.42 words for narratives embedded in interactions with their immigrant peers. This is a big difference. The ANOVA testing for the difference in the use of intensifiers between immigrant and U.S. born youth reveals a strong significant main effect of participation group $F(1, 39) = 9.620, p = 0.004, \eta^2 = 0.198$.

At this point, a number of questions arise regarding these differences. First and the most important of these questions for our inquiry is: how is the use of intensifiers in narrative structure tied to the process of sense-making? How does it relate to growing up in a diverse context? And, why do immigrant youth use intensifiers more frequently than their U.S. born peers who are growing up in the same developmental context, especially when writing about bi-cultural interactions? Looking at the differences in the use of intensifiers by the two groups of youth as well as the function of intensifiers in narrative can provide us with some answers to these questions.

Intensifiers are evaluative devices that appear frequently in narratives with personal meaning. Linguistically, they fall in the category of modifiers. Intensifiers, rarely make any contribution to the referential meaning in a clause or a narrative, but rather serve to give additional emotional context to the word that they modify and/or intensify. Frequently used intensifiers in the narratives by youth who participated in this study are the following: *oh, bit, just, any, always, even, every-time, again, always*.

Greater use of intensifiers by immigrant youth in comparison to their U.S. born peers points towards the desire of immigrant youth to emphasize their narrative explanations, intensify their perceptions of others' state of mind, embellish and place stress on their own thoughts and feelings in relation to their context. However, while the

use of intensifiers is significantly higher among immigrant youth, we cannot see a clear direction of in the use of intensifiers across two different relational dimensions as we did in Chapter 4, when we considered the use of affect in narratives. Also, as we saw in Chapter 4, U.S. born youth and immigrant youth do not vary their use of intensifiers across the two different relational dimensions.

Based on the results for within-group differences, surveyed in Chapter 4, we can rule out the learning hypothesis, which we successfully used to bring about a better understanding of the role of affect in narratives by immigrant youth, because intensifiers were not one of the category of evaluative devices which immigrant youth used differently based on the length of their residence in the U.S. Also, this time, we cannot say that immigrant youth have learned to use intensifiers through the interactions with their U.S. born peers, because their U.S. born peers don't use them all that much. Also, because the mean scores for the use of intensifiers among immigrant youth are almost identical across the two relational dimensions, as are their standard deviations, we can also rule out that this difference is produced due to a need to, consciously or unconsciously, direct their narratives toward diverse audiences.

This leads us to posit that the use of intensifiers among immigrant youth is either tied to 1) the social position that they occupy in their developmental context, or alternatively, 2) that use of intensifiers serves as tool for fusing and bringing into cohesion diverse psychological processes which subsequently play a role in interpersonal interactions by embellishing the characters in the narratives with psychological states such as cognition and affect. Regarding the first idea, that the use of intensifiers is tied to the social position that immigrant youth occupy in their developmental context: we can

propose that immigrant youth – who often develop in their host society from the perspective of an outsider (at least partially) – may feel the need to exert more psychological energy in explaining their view, position and perspective to others as well as to provide an additional emphasis on their sense-making process, then do their U.S. born peers. On this view, the use of intensifiers in their narratives can aid in the process of sense-making because intensifiers modify the referential meaning and provide an additional layer of emphasis in narrative of personal experience. Immigrant youth may simply want to be heard by others in their context, and they use intensifiers to this end.

The matter is more complex with regard to the proposition that intensifiers might serve as tool for fusing and bringing into cohesion diverse psychological processes which play a role in the interpersonal interactions by embellishing the characters in the narratives with psychological states such as cognition and affect. If we consider that, as Bruner and Lucariello (1987) explain in Nelson (1987), linguistic devices that occur in everyday speech and thinking, such as for example soliloquy, are present because human beings are often in need of the kind of ordering of thought that only language can provide. We can begin to extend this notion towards the use of intensifiers by immigrant youth in narratives. Namely, while for Bruner and Lucariello (1987) soliloquy has an inward orientation, in terms of helping to order and segment thoughts and feeling of an individual by overt linguistic expression, I am proposing that the modus operandi of intensifiers used in narratives by immigrant youth might be the exact opposite. What I am proposing is that immigrant youth use intensifiers in their projective narratives to assist and scaffold interpersonal others. In other words, in order to be understood by their peers, who may not be familiar with their position (especially in interpersonal

interactions), immigrant youth attempt to scaffold this understanding by frequent use of intensifiers. On this view, intensifiers would serve as a relational mechanism – by intensifying the affective valence of a narrative – and serve the purpose of drawing attention of the hearer to specific elements of narrative, speech or discourse expressed by immigrant youth. This is done in order to enable interpersonal others to muster their sense-making capacities toward understanding the position of the immigrant youth. To a large extent the explanation regarding the use of intensifiers by immigrant youth compliments and extends the findings from previous chapter regarding their varied use of affect across the two dimensions. It would only make sense that, in the process of adopting the discursive model used by U.S. born youth, immigrant youth become vigilant to the aspects of their discursive model not heard by U.S. born youth. In order to assist their U.S. born peers and make themselves understood, according to these findings, immigrant youth frequently use intensifiers in their narratives.

On the other hand, when crafting narratives toward their own cultural/ethnic group, immigrant youth used significantly more metaphors than did their U.S born peers when writing narratives about interactions with other U.S. born peers. Statistical analysis using ANOVA reveals a main effect of participant group (immigrant vs. U.S. born) $F(1, 39) = 25.025, p = 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.391$. On average, immigrant youth used metaphors every 29.35 words when narrating in the context of their own cultural/ethnic group and every 40.83 words when narrating in the context of interactions with their U.S. born peers while their U.S. born peers used metaphors every 50.83 words when narrating in the context of interactions with other U.S born peers and every 49.40 words when narrating in the context of interactions with their immigrant born peers.

Metaphors are figures of speech that use a concept, image, or an idea to express and point to a removed meaning. Metaphors are widely used in context to describe and construct a personal meaning (Johnson & Lakoff, 1980). Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson give several examples of daily metaphors we use, such as “argument is war”, “time is money” or “bigger is better” in order to indicate that metaphors are not only a linguistic category, but that an expression of metaphor indicates a symbolic construction of a principle. People frequently act upon and sometimes even live by such principles. Some of the frequently used metaphors in narratives by immigrant youth are the following: *Stood his ground*, *guts to tell*, *standing me up*, *knock the light out of him*, and *brushing him off*. Judging from the content, these metaphors indicate a very firm understanding of social relations and one’s own position with regards to these relations.

Data from this study indicate that immigrant youth, overall, use more metaphors in their narratives, in comparison to their U.S. born youth. They especially use metaphors when narrating about interpersonal relations among the group of peers from their own cultural/ethnic group. The reasons for these differences may be found in the function of meaning-making capacities of metaphors. On this view, immigrant youth may use metaphors more frequently in relation to a group of peers from their own cultural/ethnic group, because they are more familiar with the meaning-system among them, than with the meaning-system inherent in the interactions with their U.S. born peers. Familiarity with, and comfort in, interaction with peers from their own cultural/ethnic group, may allow immigrant youth to go a step further and create an additional layer of removed meaning, though the use of metaphors. On the other hand,

they may still be in process of acquiring a basic understanding of the meaning in bi-cultural interactions with their U.S. born peers, so that venturing into the uncharted territory of metaphorical and removed meanings may be perceived as dangerous and even risky.

Responses by Monique, 16 year old immigrant youth from Grenada to the second question in the vignette: What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages? illustrate well the use of metaphors in narratives of immigrant youth. When responding to the vignette in which the interaction is embedded with peers from her cultural/ethnic group, Monique writes: *Alex probably didn't want to spend time with kai, he stood his ground, and is just trying to brush him off. In a not too orthodox way.*

In this instance, Monique uses 3 metaphors (*stood his ground, brush him off, not too orthodox way*) in order to illustrate what Alex may have thought or felt but did not express in his text messages. In comparison, when narrating in response to a bi-cultural interaction between an immigrant youth and a U.S. born youth, Monique does not use very many evaluative words, and expresses her opinion in referential language, not relying on metaphors at all. This time she writes: *Alex might have been thinking that kai is annoying and over bearing and just don't want to be with him.*

***Differences in Use of Words to Indicate Psychological Internal States:
Affect and Cognition***

Expression of psychological states in narrative, such as those indicating cognition of the narrator or characters in the narrative (*think, know, believe*) and those indicating affect (*happy, bothered, sad, disrespected, rude, upset, worried*) is an important feature of any narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). Researchers have found that these expressions

often indicate the significance of the story (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Patterson & McCabe 1984; Daiute & Nelson, 1997). According to this view reference to internal states in narratives are often located around “high points”, or “suspension points”. A story builds up to a point through recapitulation of events and then often suspends the action at the crisis point while its importance is highlighted. Prior evidence indicates that psychological states are used by narrators to embellish favored characters in their narrative because these features bring characters to life as they speak for themselves (Daiute, 2010).

Focus on internal psychological states – cognition and affect – in projective narratives by immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers also shows differences when the narratives of the two groups of youth are compared with each other. While both immigrant and U.S born youth used cognition and affect frequently in their narratives, differences in use become apparent when we compare their use of words indicating internal states across different relational dimensions. When asked to explain Alex’s and Kai’s thoughts and feelings, within the context of their own cultural/ethnic group, immigrant youth focused predominantly on cognitive functions, and on average used cognitive words more frequently ($M=14.76$ for narratives with own cultural/ethnic group and 19.41 for narratives in bi-cultural interactions) in their narratives than did their U.S. born peers ($M=23.92$ for narratives with own cultural/ethnic group and 23.82 for narratives in bi-cultural interactions). On the other hand, immigrant youth, on average, used less affective/feeling words ($M=14.07$ for narratives with own cultural/ethnic group and 7.91 for narratives in bi-cultural interactions) in narratives towards interactions embedded among their immigrant peers than did U.S. born youth in narratives toward other U.S.

born youth ($M=8.83$ for narratives with own cultural/ethnic group and 12.22 for narratives in bi-cultural interactions). These differences and the relationship of cognition to affect are indicative of the dynamic process of sense-making by youth when observed on the within-group level.

As we saw in the analysis of narratives on the within-group level, in Chapter 4, immigrant youth appear to learn how to use affective words in order to explain themselves and their position when writing about bi-cultural interactions with their U.S. born peers. Simply put, the more experience they have interacting with U.S. born peers, the more they use emotional words in their narratives. On the between group level, we see, once again, that immigrant youth use fewer emotional/affective words to explain interactions among other immigrant youth from their own cultural/ethnic group, than do U.S. born youth to explain interactions with other U.S. born youth. At the same time, immigrant youth use more cognitive words to make sense of interactions with other immigrant youth than U.S. born youth use to make sense of interactions with other U.S. born youth.

Analysis of the types of psychological states used in narratives can tell us a lot about the psychological functioning of our participants. In order to get a sense the types of cognitive and affective words used by the two groups of youth I comprised Table 7. Frequently used cognitive and affective words with more than 20% difference in the overall usage by the members of two groups are presented. Grouped in this way, the table points to some of the major differences in the use of cognitive and affective words by the two groups of youth. A comparative analysis of words frequently used in narrative, shows that immigrant youth focused predominantly on process, active

engagement and attempts to understand the situation in which the characters in the vignette found themselves. They frequently used words such as understand (or not understand) and explain, while at the same time emotionally engaging with the situation and expressing sadness, worry, anger, sorry and want. On the other hand, U.S. born youth focused more on acknowledgement of ambiguity of the situation in the vignette, and frequently used words such as acknowledge, like (or not like) upset, demand and annoy. Furthermore, U.S. youth frequently stressed their need to plan.

Table 7: Between Group Differences of more than 20%
Frequently Used Words about Internal States: Immigrant Youth vs. U.S. Born Youth

<i>Words</i>	<i>Verbatim Example (original spelling)</i>	<i>Youth Who Used that Word (%)</i>	
		<i>Imm.</i>	<i>U.S.</i>
want	Alex doesn't really <u>want</u> to hang out with alex any more.	68%	45%
sad	Kai feel very <u>sad</u> because he knew that Alex will not show up.	27%	5%
anger	She may be feeling <u>angry</u> , upset or even <u>worried</u> when he didn't reply and now that he did the excuse that he is giving her is maybe not enough.	73%	40%
worried		27%	0%
sorry	Maybe, Kai will send her a message that she's really <u>sorry</u> about it.	50%	15%
understand	He doesn't <u>understand</u> what the big deal is.	52%	30%
explain	Alex thought it was not her fault, and she feeled sorry and she wanted to <u>explain</u> .	48%	15%
plan	Eventually they call each other up, argue some more, apologize and <u>plan</u> for another time.	36%	85%
demand	He doesn't respond quickly unless kai shows anxiety and <u>demands</u> a response.	0%	20%
forget	Alex probably <u>forgot</u> to respond or was actually sleeping.	0%	20%
acknowledge	If alex <u>acknowledges</u> that he/she didn't behave well & was more clear about own plans & desires in the future, sure.	0%	20%
upset	He may be feeling pressured or <u>upset</u> as to how kai is behaving or he may even feel annoyed at her many questions.	31%	80%
like	He does not <u>like</u> being forced into anything.	27%	50%
annoyed	Kai was <u>annoyed</u> because he couldn't make plan smoothly.	27%	55%

The analysis of the frequently used psychological states also indicates that immigrant youth use words in reference to the internal states of anxiety/uncertainty when narrating their feelings about the interactions across the two relational dimensions.

Words such as sad, angry, worried, sorry or phrases such as ‘he doesn’t understand’, which are found to occur more frequently in narrative of immigrant youth, may indicate that they often feel anxious and uncertain when interpreting interpersonal interactions. Given that they used these types of words more frequently than did their U.S. born peers, at least by 20% in terms of raw usage; it becomes apparent that immigrant youth are much more anxious/uncertain to offer interpretations about others in their context than are U.S. born youth.

In comparison, U.S. born youth frequently used words indicative of expectation/entitlement and position of power. In their narratives, U.S. born youth frequently used words such as *demand*, *upset*, *annoyed* and phrases such as *need to plan*, indicating that they have well formulated expectations of others in their context, that they are aware of the scripted sequence for proper and normative interpersonal interactions, and expect others to relate to them in a predictable way. Deviations from the norm, such as not texting a friend on time, are often interpreted as rude by U.S. born youth, and an explanation is demanded in response. Because they use these types of words more frequently than did their immigrant peers, we can say that U.S. born youth are operating from the perspective of expectation/entitlement and position of power in their interpersonal interactions, more so than are their immigrant peers.

By looking at the response by Brigitte, a 16 year old teen from Corona, Queens to the first two questions following the vignette of interpersonal text-message communication between Alex and Kai we can get a clear sense of this aspect of narratives. In response to the first question, What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages? – for the interaction embedded among

other U.S born peers, Brigitte writes: *Kai seems anxious and then very irritated and disappointed.* Judging by this sentence, Brigitte seems confident in her interpretation of Kai's thoughts and feelings. Also she does not use any hypothetical or self-doubting words to describe her opinion. This mode of answers continues in response to the second question: What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages? Brigitte now writes: *Alex seems carefree. He was probably still sleepy or preoccupied.*

Similar type of self-assured response is noticeable when Brigitte is narrating about interactions embedded among bi-cultural peers. To the first question, she now responds: *She is irritated.* And in answer to the second question, she writes: *He is relaxed, probably feeling like Kia is overreacting.* As we can see, only at this point does assumption enter her narrative. While up to this point, the expression of the psychological states of the characters was clear, direct and unqualified, she now writes that Alex is thinking/feeling that Kai is probably overreacting.

When we compare Brigitte's answers to those of her immigrant peers, we often see a different pattern. From the beginning of their responses to the questions about conflict resolution, immigrant youth are more careful and often uncertain when crafting narratives about thoughts and feelings of others. If we once again consider the answer from Monique, a 16 year old immigrant youth from Grenada, we can see this uncertainty and carefulness expressed through her choice of words. In response to the first questions, embedded in interactions among other Grenadine youth, Monique writes: *Kai was probably thinking that Alex may not show up but he just wanted to confirm. He could have also been thinking that alex is not a reliable person and might be rethinking his*

friendship. As opposed to Brigitte, who seems self-assured of Kai's thoughts and feelings, Monique is much more tactful when expressing her views and qualifies her answers more frequently than Brigitte does. She uses words and phrases such as *probably, may not show up, could have also been* and *might be* to qualify her response and indicate that she is not so sure, and even uncertain of the thought/feelings of others. Also, in response to the second question embedded in interaction with U.S. born youth, Monique continues this trend. This time she answers: *Perhaps she thought that he have not time for the family and do not want to associate with them. I sense a lot of anger from Kai toward alex possibly for standing him up so many time*. Once again, Monique is careful to indicate Alex's thoughts and feelings. She uses self-referential pronoun when she writes – *I sense a lot of anger* – to indicate that the point of view in narrative is her interpretation of Kai's feelings, and not necessarily the real or objective matter of how they might be feeling. In summary, these examples tell us that: while we can never know with certainty what others are thinking and feeling, immigrant youth seem to be more conscious of this fact than do their U.S. born peers.

***Approaches to Conflict Resolutions:
Differences between U.S. Born Youth and Immigrant Youth***

When compared as groups, data indicate that, overall, immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers employed diverse conflict resolution strategies with similar frequency, as they attempted to narrate their answers to the questions: *What happen next? Did Kai and Alex resolve their conflict? How did they resolve their conflict?* The only statistically significant difference in their approaches to conflict resolution is noted for physical strategy. Immigrant youth overwhelmingly approached conflict resolution by using physical strategy for conflicts embedded in bi-cultural interactions with their U.S. born

peers. They frequently wrote about “going over to Kai’s house” “buying flowers” “meeting up for a drink” or even “slapping each other” as they narrated their views about conflict resolutions strategies between an immigrant youth and a U.S. born youth.

Testing for the difference in the use of physical resolution strategy, using an ANOVA we notice a main effect of participant group (immigrant vs. U.S. born) $F(1, 39) = 34.71, p = 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.471$.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the difference in the use of physical resolutions strategy to resolve conflicts in bi-cultural interpersonal interaction is frequently employed, and even favored, by immigrant youth. However, while this trend is prevalent at the point of their arrival to the U.S., the use of physical conflict resolution strategy decreases with time. So, can one of the reasons as to why immigrant youth chose to use physical conflict resolution strategy when dealing with conflicts in interactions with U.S. born youth be because U.S. born youth use physical conflict resolution strategy more frequently than other conflict resolution strategies to resolve conflicts with each other? According to the data that we surveyed earlier in Chapter 4, we cannot assume that immigrant youth have learned to resort to this strategy though their interactions with their U.S. born peers. While the empirical data analyzed in this study do not support this learning hypothesis in connection to the approaches to conflict resolutions due to the small number of participants in this study and hence the small sample size used to conduct statistical analysis, this empirical question still remains open.

Summary and Discussion

Survey of the data from this chapter enables us to answer two research questions defined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Specifically, question 3 of this study asked: Are

there formal differences in projective narratives of U.S. born youth and immigrant youth, and are there differences in narratives of these youth toward the members of the social field of their own cultural group and the social field of other cultural group? More specifically, formal differences explored in this question were operationalized in terms of narrative fluency (narrative length) toward the two fields and differences in narrative affect, cognition, causal connectors, logical/hypothetical pronouns, intensifiers, evaluative adjectives, negations, inclusion of the self in the narrative, and outsider's perspective. Also, question 5 asked: Do immigrant youth and U.S born youth approach conflicts using different resolution strategies? And, do these youth approach conflicts in two social field using different resolution strategies? More specifically, differences in conflict resolution strategies explored in this question were operationalized as of physical, communicative, psychological strategies.

Addressing question 3, significant differences between the two groups of youth were noted for 5 out of 9 analytic categories which were investigated. Based simply on this fact, we can conclude that the narrative form used by U.S. born youth and narrative form used by immigrant youth differ when we consider their use of evaluative devices. The greatest difference between the narratives written by immigrant youth and U.S. born youth was noted for the use of intensifiers.

The findings presented in this chapter emphasize a number of important theoretical points operationalized in this study. For one, the findings indicate that immigrant youth and their U.S. born peers narrate about diverse and technologically mediated interpersonal interaction in different ways. Youth used different narrative strategies to explain what Kai and Alex might have thought or felt by did not express in

their narratives. Also, youth sometimes drew on different ways to resolve interpersonal conflicts. All of the findings in the study lead us to conclude that immigrant youth have a greater range of rational flexibility when it comes to differentiating the audiences to whom the narrative is directed. Different from their U.S. born peers, immigrant youth frequently show their ability to craft different narratives in order to meet the diverse needs of their heterogeneous developmental context. Analysis of the psychological states used in narratives also points out that, while U.S. born youth have more strict expectations of their interlocutors in interpersonal interactions, and often express their needs with the sense of entitlement, immigrant youth seem weary and carefully when relating to both the members of their host society and members of their own cultural group.

CHAPTER VI:

Conclusion and Implications

This dissertation research has been conceived at the intersection of personal interest and academic curiosity. The perspective of a youth growing up in a foreign and unfamiliar society is very familiar to me. I first came to the United States due to the political and social instability in former Yugoslavia when I was 17 years old. Migrating at a young age to a large, dynamic and very complex society was a great personal challenge for me. The effects of that experience bewilder me even today.

Following initial confusion, it took me many years to even begin to make sense of the situation that I found myself in and to situate it in time and space. And I needed to make sense of it in order to continue my development mindfully and to be able to make choices in line with my expectations for the future. During this personal process of sense-making, a scholarly interest in the development of youth emerged through my study of psychology. Studying psychology through the lens of Vygotskian theory made me aware of the intricate relationship between the socio-cultural context and individual development. While theoretically illuminating, I sometimes found the definitions of developmental context used in research rather rigid and constraining. Also, I felt that we as researchers were frequently failing to encompass a variety of factors that I felt I knew had a strong effect on my own development. Also, during this period I realized that we can learn a lot about our society, or any society for that matter, by looking at the adolescents who are trying to find their way in it.

Adolescence and young adulthood are a time of flux in a lifecycle of an individual and an incredibly plastic period with malleable potential. This period in the life-cycle has been referred to as the *identity period*, *coming of age period*, and *second individuation*-thus hinting at the fact that an important process of development, a great transition, occurs during adolescence. Erik Erikson (1968) one of the pioneers in the study of adolescence describes it as “that period of life cycle when each youth must forge for himself some central perspective and direction, some working unity, out of the effective remnants of his childhood and the hopes of his anticipated adulthood; he must detect some meaningful resemblance between what he has come to see in himself and what his sharpened awareness tells him others judge and expect him to be (p.14).” This conceptualization defines adolescence as a good starting place for the exploration of changes in American social fabric and their effects on development. We can learn a lot by studying this period of development, given that adolescence is a period when youth develop a heightened sense of awareness of interpersonal relations to others and ensuing from these relationships a sense of diverse social structures of their society.

The main research questions of this study had as their aim the exploration of how youth, growing up in a plural, multicultural and increasingly interconnected U.S. society use language to enact relational flexibility as they are actively engaged in sense-making of their developmental context, as well as how they approach conflict resolutions across diverse developmental contexts. As we saw in the first chapter of this work, what we traditionally call a *developmental context* can be better described as a developmental spectrum or a developmental plateau, especially if we consider it from the perspective of today’s youth. By using the word plateau, I do not want to invoke a structuralist notion

of a developmental stage or a developmental level, rather what I have in mind here is a something more social, a convergence of diverse axis of our social bonds in a horizontal plane (Daiute, 2012). In comparison to the word context, which in its nature implies a bounded radius – with a barrier that inherently separates one context from another – a plateau is a more fluid and biomorphic notion of developmental world which exerts an influence over an individual through his or her interactions with diverse others. In a 21st century society, where diverse interpersonal interactions are increasingly becoming a norm, the ability to flexibly relate with others, and to learn from these interactions, is of paramount importance. On this view, it is also highly unlikely that a child, or a youth could acquire relational flexibility from parents, given that they developed in a more heterogeneous world where technological mediation of social life was a topic of science fiction movies rather than an actuality of life. However, whether or not relational flexibility is acquired solely through interactions with same age peers – a developmental notion stretching back to Piaget’s understating of effects of egalitarian discourse on development of concrete operational thought – or whether interactions with parents, and their guidance and expertise, also play a role in this process, is at this point an open empirical question worth investigating.

I believe that the shift, which I am attempting to describe here, a shift from a developmental context to a more encompassing paradigm, is already with us. It is reified in the materiality of our social life (Heft, 1989) a technological materiality which increasingly affords interactions with diverse others. In particular, this shift is due to the obliteration of traditional geographical, physical and temporal boundaries that held together our traditional implicit and explicit understanding of what is a *developmental*

context, how it is constituted, and essentially what effects it has on the development of an individual.

In socio-cultural theory, the general idea behind context-sensitive mediated development was articulated well by a pioneer of ecological research, Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) who defined development as a “lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with his environment (p.2)”. In comparison to 1979, today we understand the meaning of environment as something quite different than what it used to imply in the years before technology mediated much of our social life. The essence of this difference is probably best expressed by invoking the term of *immateriality*. As opposed to thirty years ago, youth today develop in a mobile world in which the movements of people, things, information and ideas are central to people’s lives so much so that it has been suggested that our understanding and theories of place, activity and context have to be reexamined (Urry, 2007). More than ever in our history as a species, environment today includes technologically mediated spaces - such as internet and mediated interpersonal networks - as much as it does traditional material spaces such as streets, parks and schools and other built environments. Similarly, social interactions that used to be visceral, and based on proximity and propinquity, are becoming increasingly immaterial through mediation of technology.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes the ecology of human development as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls: “At the inner most level is the immediate setting containing the developing person. This can be the home, the classroom, or as often happens for research purposes – the laboratory or the testing room. (p.3)”. He was truly a pioneer, but it is not the function of the pioneer to say the last

word, but to say the first. And that is often the most difficult step. In the similar vein, as I have explored in chapter 2, much of socio-cultural theory of the past focused on describing the development as an iterative process of vertical movement, where a naïve child would develop slowly and through participation in activities with more capable adults. Through this process a child would appropriate cultural tools and scripts inherent in the activities that he/she participates in. After adults would hand down the cultural scripts, they would more or less complete their developmental task. In this scenario, a child would gradually move up from the role of the absolute novice to the role of the semi-novice and finally even higher, to the role of the equally capable and active peer in social activities. These processes would also, according to canonical theory, be customarily followed by a gradual re-examination of cultural scripts and alteration of those scripts in light of new social and technological changes. In other words, a growing child would discard what does not work and replace it with new knowledge.

Although I have tried to do so in the first chapter of this work, it is never easy – of course – to construct a critical assessment of a condition that is overwhelmingly present. I believe that only in the hindsight, looking back on this era after yet another revolution which will bring about even greater changes to our social lives – and yet another in the series of continuous future shocks – we will be able to see clearly how our lives are different today in comparison to two or three decades ago. While the numbers behind the proliferation of new media in our lives tell only half of the story, it is a story worth telling. New media has rapidly permeated many aspects of our lives over the past decade. By 2010 more than 28% of world's population, roughly 2 billion people have connected to internet from their homes. The numbers across different countries and

continents varies greatly, with 77% of North Americans and 58% Europeans having access to internet in comparison to 10% of Africans. Over the past decade the number of users worldwide has grown by 444% and by staggering 2357% in Africa and 621% in Asia. Currently, 3.3 billion people subscribe to mobile phones worldwide, roughly about half of the world's population. *Effects* of this technological revolution on our social lives are the other part of the story, waiting to be told.

The difference that I have aimed to emphasize in this work, by engaging critically in both theoretically and through research, at our understanding of the idea behind the meaning of *developmental context*, is the gradual shift from the vertical developmental process towards an increasingly (although not solely) horizontal process. This shift has, I believe, come about in the past decade – seemingly out of nowhere – due to technological inventions which increasingly allow inexpensive, widely available and almost simultaneous interpersonal interactions across diverse developmental settings. The effects of this change in our social lives are profound. One of these changes is to be located in our increasing ability to interact with diverse others, the ability which I have tried to described in this work.

As our society continues to get more diverse and increasingly urban, this trend will continue. In addition to the increase in mediated communication, the population of the U.S. is becoming increasingly urban and increasingly diverse. As of 2011, about 250 million Americans live in or around urban areas (Ascher, 2011). What more, by 2042 minorities will make up more than 50 percent of the entire U.S. population (Bernstein & Edwards, 2008). These two fact combined mean that more than three-quarters of the U.S. population shares just about 3% percent of the U.S. land area, and that quite soon

more than 50% percent of the inhabitants of these 3% will be minorities. Despite the recent slowing of our economy, immigration to the United States is still growing. This growth is evident by the arrival of immigrants from the countries of south-east Asia, which were previously sparsely represented in the immigrant landscape of the United States. The highest percentage growth of the total immigrant population by country of origin in New York City from 2000 to 2010 was noted for immigrants from Bangladesh, 341% and Pakistan 225%.

One of the few persuasive lessons of postmodernism is that the juxtaposition of diverse and seemingly incongruent elements can be fun and occasionally instructive. In this spirit, I have taken some of the new elements (such as increasing diversity and technological mediation of social life) that I could discern within our contemporary society – and guided by the metaphor that mind is in the society – attempted to juxtapose these elements with our understanding of our developmental process. At the beginning of this process, it was my belief that by examining the development through activities mediated by language and cultural tools we can arrive at an important understanding regarding effects of diversity delivered via *time-space compression* and hence the interconnection of various contexts on development in order to, once again situate the mind in a society.

Summary of Findings

Defining the theoretical construct of *relational flexibility* allows us to – rather elegantly – explore the psychological function which is important for the functioning of an individual in the time when social life is compressed in time and space. As I have mentioned above, relational flexibility is in this work defined as context-sensitive

extension of perspective-taking in diverse and contentious circumstances (Daiute, 2010; Daiute & Lucic, 2011). According to prior theory and findings from narrative psychology, it was formulated that relational-flexibility develops through participation in context embedded activities simultaneously with two or more communities of minds. This study has shown that depending on the prior psychological history, two groups of individuals can develop psychological capacity to flexibly relate to various communities of minds that surround them, to a greater or a lesser extent. Namely, by looking at the findings from this work, we saw that immigrant youth have a far greater ability to alter their thoughts, feelings and expectations of others, as well as to craft narratives in order to meet complex psycho-social demands more than do their U.S. born peers. Also, in this research we saw that immigrant youth have a greater ability to enact varied conflict resolution strategies to resolve conflict with diverse communities of minds.

As the findings from both chapters 4 and 5 show, briefly summarized in the Table 8 below, immigrant youth have a capacity to vary their thoughts and feelings across the interactions with their own cultural group and the bi-cultural interpersonal interactions with their U.S. peers. Plus and minus signs in the table below indicate greater or lesser degree of enactment of different evaluative devices across the two relational dimensions. You will note that for immigrant youth, pluses and minuses are more or less, distributed across the two relational dimensions. On the other hand, looking at the columns which represent the use of evaluative devices by U.S. born youth, we can see that they predominantly reserve evaluative devices for interactions among their own cultural group.

Table 8: Relational Complexity among Immigrant and U.S. Born Youth

	Immigrant Youth	U.S. Born Youth	Immigrant Youth	U.S. Born Youth
Analytic Categories	Interactions with own Cultural/ethnic group		Bi – Cultural Interpersonal Interactions	
Relational Dimensions				
Narrative Length (Elaboration)	+	+	-	-
Logical/Hypothetical Words	+	=	-	=
Causal Connectors	+	+	-	-
Intensifiers	-	+	+	-
Evaluative Adjectives	-	+	+	-
Metaphors	+	+	-	-
Negation	+	+	-	-
Self-Revealed	+	+	-	-
Cognition Words	+	+	-	-
Affect/Emotion words	-	+	+	-
Outsiders Perspective	-	+	+	-

According to the findings from this study, we can see that the extent of relational flexibility varies between U.S. born and immigrant born youth. These differences are likely due to the different life experiences that these two groups of youth have had. Immigration is a complex psycho-social process. While some families or individual children immigrate to the United States for opportunities like education, many of our immigrants leave their homelands because of economic hardships, natural disasters, or

political oppression. Such differences in “sending factors” of the context of exit (Guarnaccia, 1997) are relevant to child/youth development, but “receiving factors” of the context of reception (Guarnaccia, 1997) in the United States also present myriad challenges for children in their formative years. Namely, immigrant youth have had to make a larger psychological journey in their development, in comparison to their U.S. born peers, and in this process had to make sense of their new developmental context and to articulate themselves in it.

However, even in the case of immigrant youth we can see that the ability to relate flexibly did not magically appear. Findings in chapter 4 point us toward understanding relational flexibility as a learned psychological function, mediated through participation in discursive activities with different communities of minds. On the other hand, we also see how discursive practices and narratives allow the society in which they are told to define its criteria of competence and define the frame for learning, as we can see on the example involving the use of emotions in the narrative of U.S. born youth. Given how important the ability to relate flexibly across interactions with various communities of minds can be for the youth growing up in increasingly global 21st century, relational flexibility as an educational process, can become the center of research and practice especially considering the importance of underlying skills for civic engagement in democratic societies.

Limitations of the Present Study and Implications for Further Research

As I have attempted to explain above, narrating is a process of sense-making for individuals and a developmental medium. When we define language as a cultural tool that mediates individual-society relationships, rather than as a mere transmitter of

information, we inquire into the dynamics of social relations and social change (Daiute, 2010). Therefore, studies which situate the exploration of human development, by looking at the narrating as a dynamic developmental confluence where various axis our social bonds meet, have a potential to further develop on the notion of relational flexibility. My study is just one attempt in the direction of demystifying the process of development of youth at the beginning of 21st century.

There are a number of limitations of the present study. Chief among them lies in the relatively small number of participants. While we have learned a great amount by looking at the narratives of 44 youth who participated in this study, undoubtedly we would have learned a great deal more had the number of participants been larger. Reasons for the relatively small number of participants largely lie in the fact that this is a dissertation work which was carried out with very limited funds and relative ineptness of the researcher at carrying out large scale research projects. This was my first independent research project. Had the number of participants in the study been greater, the explanatory power of the data analysis would have yielded more interpretations.

For one, I am particularly disheartened that the analysis of the narratives by immigrant youth did not involve more participants. For this reason, the processes involved in their enactment of relational flexibility, and the capacity to use emotions in their narratives, had to be restricted to sub-group analysis of only 21 participants, 10 in the group of immigrants who have spent more than 6 years and 11 who have spent less than 6 years in the United States. I really wish that these numbers were greater, so that the learning hypothesis could have been further investigated, and perhaps confirmed with

more reliable findings. In the future, I certainly intend to peruse further research in this direction.

Along these lines, it would also be interesting to open for the analysis the use of evaluative devices and conflict resolution strategies by different ethnic groups. What I have in mind here is an analysis of differential enactment of evaluative devices and conflict resolution strategies by different ethnic groups. In particular, I believe that it would be important to explore the differences between native and non-native English speakers. For example, do immigrant youth from English speaking countries, such as Jamaica, Grenada, India and Bangladesh enact different evaluative devices in their narratives to explain interpersonal interaction than do their immigrant peers from the non-English speaking countries such as China, Mexico and Ecuador?

Immigrant youth from non-English speaking countries frequently have a different level of fluency in English language. Given that all of the narratives used for the analysis in this study are English based, it would have been very interesting to examine youth with different second language abilities. At the same time, this type of comparison would be another litmus test for the questions regarding whether or not relational flexibility is learned and acquired through participation in communities of minds or not? A working hypothesis for this line of future research is that non-native English speaking immigrant youth with better fluency in English language have a greater reach of relational flexibility in comparison to their immigrant peers who have a more limited knowledge of English.

Another one of the possible sup-group analysis with regards to the use and acquisition of relational flexibility by immigrant youth, in comparison to the U.S. born youth, would have been to compare different groups by the cultural proximity of their

native culture to that of the U.S culture. Societies, such as Brazil or Argentina and the United States, for example, share much more in common than do the U.S. and China or U.S. and Japan. One of these differences is inherent in relative heterogeneity vs. homogeneity of a society. Much like the United States, Brazil and Argentina are also immigrant established countries where the diversity of populations is prevalent. China and Japan are, in comparison, more heterogeneous societies.

Socio-economic status and racial background of youth could also play a role in their ability to relate flexibly to their diverse peers. For example findings from studies which looked at interpersonal interactions of African American persons in a larger context of a diverse U.S. culture (Cross, 1991; Davidio et al, 2011; Davidio, 2010) certainly points toward different intergroup attitudes and relations expectations for in-group versus the out-group interpersonal interactions, and in a direction of a greater need for '*buffering*' and code switching against the impact of negative race—related stigmatization or stereotypes. However, due to the relatively small number of participants in the present study, the development of relational flexibility along these dimensions is an open empirical question.

There are also a great many more technologies used by today's youth to interpersonally interact with others than were explored in this work. Chief among these are email, instant-messaging, and a host of other voice over internet protocol (VoIP) technologies such as Skype which allow synchronous, video and voice communication with others. Some of this technology is already available on cell-phones.

It will be interesting to extend this line of research by incorporating and examining, for example, the effects of Skype on social life. One of the functional

features of text-messaging communication, and one of the prime reasons that I have chosen to embed my study in that text-messaging, is because text-messaging is an asynchronous form of interpersonal interaction. In asynchronous interpersonal interaction, as I have explained in chapter 3 above, there is plenty of space for ambiguity, and miscommunication, much more so than in synchronous interactions such as telephone call, where a person could quickly and effortlessly ask for clarification. The reason why I chose to embed by study in an asynchronous communication medium is because I believe that it is precisely the asynchronicity that exacerbates the need for sense-making and hence helps to make manifest the relational flexibility in narrative responses. However, it would be interesting to relate this concept to the synchronous communication, especially if it involves video, and examine its related effects on the development of relational flexibility.

There are other possible effects that technology brings to bear for us who study human development than those involving mediated communication with diverse others. And these effects too are worth investigating. For one, internet today allows young people access to unprecedented amount of information. Quite often the amount of information available to an individual is a great deal more than any of us can bear, let alone process. In circumstances where there we encounter *too much information in too short a period of time*, sense-making and overall world view held by an individual, become essential for ordering, predicating and in general figuring out what to do with all those information, and how to best use them in order to better oneself.

18. When confronted with a difficult situation with another person, how would you typically try to resolve the situation?

- Face to Face Communication Social Networking (Myspace, Facebook)
 Cell Phone (talking) (IM) Instant Messaging
 Cell Phone (text-messaging) It depends on how the conflict started
 Email

19. Approximately on an average day, how many text-messages do you send?

- None
 10 or less
 11 to 20
 21 to 30
 31 to 40
 41 to 50
 more than 50

20. Do you send more text messages over the: Weekend Weekday

21. Do you send more text messages to your: Family Friends

22. Do you text message with your: (check all that apply)

- Mother Yes No
 Father Yes No
 Siblings (if any) Yes No
 Relatives (such as cousins, aunts, uncles etc.) Yes No

Appendix B: Text-Messaging Vignette A (Own Cultural Group)

Please read the following vignette of a conflict which occurred over text-message and answer the questions below:

Kai 10:59:31am : Hey, when u r comin over? Let me know, cause I wanna plan
Alex 12:36:23pm : Like around 6 ill b there
Kai 12:41:39pm : I thought that you were coming earlier? Why didnt you let me know?
Alex 12:42:59pm : Yea sorry for the late response I was sleeping
Kai 12:43:34pm : You could have let me know yesterday?
Alex 12:44:28pm : I was going to but my phone was dead
Kai 12:49:32pm : This isn't the first time you're standing me up like this
Kai 12:52:36pm : Don't you have anything to say??

The above conflict has occurred between friends Alex and Kai- Kai (age 16) and Alex (also age 16) who have both immigrated to New York City from _____, together with their families 2 years ago. With this information in mind, answer the following questions:

1. What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages?

BLANK SPACE

2. What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages?

BLANK SPACE

3. What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?

BLANK SPACE

Appendix C: Text-Messaging Vignette B (Bi Cultural Interactions)

Please read the following vignette of a conflict which occurred over text-messages and answer the questions below:

Kai 10:59:31am : Hey, when u r comin over? Let me know, cause I wanna plan
Alex 12:36:23pm : Like around 6 ill b there
Kai 12:41:39pm : I thought that you were coming earlier? Why didnt you let me know?
Alex 12:42:59pm : Yea sorry for the late response I was sleeping
Kai 12:43:34pm : You could have let me know yesterday?
Alex 12:44:28pm : I was going to but my phone was dead
Kai 12:49:32pm : This isn't the first time you're standing me up like this
Kai 12:52:36pm : Don't you have anything to say??

The above conflict has occurred between Alex and Kai- Kai (age 16) was born in New York City and has been living here whole life. Alex (also age 16) was born abroad and has immigrated to New York City from _____ together with family 2 years ago. With this information in mind, answer the following questions:

1. What was Kai thinking and feeling while texting Alex but did not express in text messages?

BLANK SPACE

2. What was Alex thinking and feeling while texting Kai but did not express in text messages?

BLANK SPACE

3. What happened next? Did Kai and Alex resolve the conflict? How did they resolve the conflict?

BLANK SPACE

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