

“I felt left out because she picked another friend to take my place”:

Psychological Mindedness and Belongingness in Children’s Narratives

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CONTENTS

Signature Page	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Contents	iv
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vi
Abstract	vii
Introduction	1
Methods	15
Results	27
Discussion	66
References	81
Appendix A: KidsTalk Protocol	87
Appendix B: List of Prompts	88
Appendix C: Participation Rates	89
Appendix D: Belongingness Questionnaire	90
Appendix E: Coding Manual	95
Appendix F: Correlation Tables	101
Appendix G: Individual Profiles for Average and Change Scores	111

List of Tables

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Reliability of Belongingness Questionnaire	22
Table 2: Descriptive Statistics and Inter-Rater Reliability for Narrative Measures	25
Table 3: Frequency of Exclusion and Inclusion Stories Placed in Different Settings	27
Table 4: Frequencies of Average and Change Scores for Psychological Mindedness and Perspective-Taking Variables	38
Table 5: Frequencies of Participation Rates, Total Stories, and Change Scores for Psychological Mindedness and Perspective-Taking for the Children Who Did and Did Not Improve	39
Table 6: Belongingness Pre-Scores with Participation and Choice to Participate	101
Table 7: Psychological Mindedness in First Three Stories with Participation and Choice to Participate	102
Table 8: Psychological Mindedness in First Story with Participation and Choice to Participate	103
Table 9: Perspective-Taking in First Three Stories with Participation and Choice to Participate	104
Table 10: Perspective-Taking in First Story with Participation and Choice to Participate	105
Table 11: Belongingness Change Scores and Counselor Assessment Scores with Participation and Choice to Participate	106
Table 12: Psychological Mindedness Change Scores with Participation and	107

Choice to Participate

Table 13: Perspective-Taking Change Scores with Participation and Choice	108
--	-----

to Participate

Table 14: Psychological Mindedness in First Story with Date of Entry	109
--	-----

Table 15: Perspective-Taking in First Story with Date of Entry	110
--	-----

List of Figures

Figure 1: Alexander's Average Scores over 14 Stories	41
--	----

Figure 2: Alexander's Change Scores	42
-------------------------------------	----

Figure 3: Maddie's Average Scores over 24 Stories	45
---	----

Figure 4: Maddie's Change Scores	45
----------------------------------	----

Figure 5: Julie's Average Scores over Six Stories	49
---	----

Figure 6: Julie's Change Scores	50
---------------------------------	----

Figure 7: Violet's Average Scores over 21 Stories	52
---	----

Figure 8: Violet's Change Scores	53
----------------------------------	----

Figure 9: Emma's Average Scores over Six Stories	56
--	----

Figure 10: Emma's Change Scores	57
---------------------------------	----

Figure 11: Owen's Average Scores over 22 Stories	60
--	----

Figure 12: Owen's Change Scores	60
---------------------------------	----

Figure 13: Anna's Average Scores over 26 Stories	64
--	----

Figure 14: Anna's Change Scores	64
---------------------------------	----

Figure 15: Amount of Times Children Chose to Participate and Not Participate in	89
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KidsTalk

Abstract

“I felt left out because she picked another friend to take my place”:

Psychological Mindedness and Belongingness in Children’s Narratives

by

Eliza Hendrix

A defining feature of the elementary school years is the development of peer relationships. These relationships are facilitated by developing psychological mindedness – the tendency to attend to motives, thoughts, emotions, and traits – and perspective-taking – the tendency to attend to these four psychological qualities of the self and other. Narrative is a critical tool in making sense of experiences, and children come to understand people’s psychological states as they share their own stories. The present study examined 317 personal narratives told by children in the 1st through 6th grades at a summer camp located at a private elementary school in Memphis, Tennessee. These narratives were collected through a story-sharing program known as KidsTalk. Stories were coded for the four features of psychological mindedness and for perspective-taking. Using a mixed methods approach, I examined themes of exclusion and inclusion in stories children shared about a variety of experiences in multiple settings. Two major results showed both an effect of KidsTalk participation on attention to emotion, a component of psychological mindedness, as well as an effect of the program on the overall camp culture. Children whose first participation in KidsTalk was later in the program had higher levels of psychological mindedness in their first stories than the first stories of peers who attended KidsTalk from an earlier date. This is consistent with previous research, suggesting that the implementation of KidsTalk promoted a narrative culture that encouraged story-sharing practices. Implications for educational practice and suggestions for future research are discussed.

“I felt left out because she picked another friend to take my place”:

Psychological Mindedness and Belongingness in Children’s Narratives

When I was on a play date, I had two friends. And they – we were about to go to bed and watch a movie and I really felt left out, because they kept on wanting to like share popcorn, sit by each other and I had to like do it with my sister because she wanted to do it too. And I really felt left out because it was supposed to be all three of our play dates, not the four of us and not two of us. It wasn't fair. I was left out.

– Maddie, 2nd grade girl

This story told by a 2nd grade girl, Maddie, clearly demonstrates the difficulty children experience as they learn to find a place in their social world, especially in the management of peer relations. She began by setting the scene with two people whom she identified as friends with whom she was having a play date. She introduced the ‘trouble’ in the story by describing her own feelings (“I really felt left out”) and the motives of her friends and her sister (“they kept on wanting to share popcorn” and “she wanted to do it too”). Maddie reiterated her own feelings (“I really felt left out”), and then went on to make a moral assessment. Her sister was not “supposed to be” a part of the date, but rather, it was meant to be for the three friends – not two (excluding the author), and not four (including the sister). She concluded the story by framing this as a matter of justice (“It wasn’t fair”). In contrast to her first two mentions of feeling left out, her final assertion declared, “I was left out.” The story allows us to see that Maddie is attentive to her own feelings, to others’ motives, and that she understands social exclusion as an injustice and social inclusion as a critical part of friendship. Stories such as this are common in elementary school as children attempt to navigate relationships with others

and situate themselves in their social world (Wainryb, Komolova, & Brehl, 2014).

Further, it is through the creation and sharing of these stories that children can explain their world and learn to make sense out of their everyday experiences (Davidson, Walton, & Cohen, 2013).

This study is grounded in the theory of Bruner (1990) who argued that narrative is a critical part of a 'cultural toolkit,' providing a primary way that people make sense of their lives and organize their social interactions. It is in the practice of story sharing, ubiquitous in human communities, that children come to understand how members of their cultural communities make sense of human behavior. In telling their own stories, they come to make a place for themselves in a social world.

My study examines children's stories along two paths. First, narrative is an important tool that can be used to reveal how children construe the challenges they face in their social world. In a descriptive and interpretive analysis, I report how children talk about their experiences in an effort to learn how they understand what it means to belong and to be left out. A second feature of my work looks at narrative as a critical skill in helping children establish and maintain a sense of belongingness in their social worlds. I examine how narrative practice facilitates an author's ability to identify the motives, thoughts, and feelings of themselves and of other people in order to help them develop skills in social relations and peer adjustment. My work is situated in a summer camp where I have been a participant and staff member for three years. As I seek to address theoretical questions about narrative development and social development, I will also respond to the needs of the staff and camp administrators for an ongoing assessment of the effectiveness of the programming.

In this paper, I first discuss narrative theory and how story-telling fosters the development of human relationships. Next I review previous research on peer adjustment, followed by research examining the linkages between peer adjustment and narrative in elementary school-aged children, which I refer to as middle childhood in this paper. Finally, I present an overview of the current study, including my research questions and my mixed methods approach.

Narrative Theory

My work has relied heavily on a social constructivist theory of child development articulated by Bruner (1990). His concept of folk psychology is the set of beliefs that ordinary folks hold about people's internal states – their desires, thoughts, beliefs, and feelings – which comprise their personhood, or what makes them tick. Members of a cultural community share a folk psychology that includes their common sense notions about what events and behaviors need to be explained, what behaviors are considered morally acceptable, and what makes people think and act the way they do. This last feature is the focus of the present study. Bruner argued that paying attention to what ordinary people believe about how the mind works is important and interesting in the field of psychology. Further, he proposed that the best way to go about doing this is through the study of narrative development because story-sharing practices are the primary way that a folk psychology develops and gets transmitted to the next generation in cultural communities.

Bruner (1990) argued that narratives are comprised of two levels or 'landscapes.' At the first level, the *landscape of action*, the story-teller describes the sequence of events in the story – the who, what, when, and where. All stories have these components, but

more mature narratives develop the second level which he called a *landscape of consciousness*. Here, the narrator also tells the audience about the “why” – the motives, thoughts, and emotions of the self and other characters in the story. Narrative form, with this two-level feature, encourages people to think psychologically. Bruner asserted that narrators explain the events of the story by positing actors’ motives, and this entails explanations of human behavior that rely on attributing thoughts, emotions, and traits to the self and others. These elements comprise a concept known as psychological mindedness, which is a critical part of a folk psychology. Bruner argued that we ‘get into each other’s heads’ by identifying with characters in stories. In turn, we learn to take the perspectives of the story characters, whether they are of the self, other characters, or the collective behavior of the self and other.

The Role of Story-Sharing in Maintaining Human Relationships

Sharing personal narratives facilitates the creation of a coherent description of a sequence of events that happened, enriched by further insight about these events. It allows us to foster an understanding of our true meanings and feelings associated with these experiences and relationships with other characters in the story. Researchers such as Kellas and Trees (2006) have shown how narrative encourages sense making, not necessarily in the retelling of a factually accurate event, but in creating a reality that is acceptable to both the teller and the listener. Story-makers must be able to structure the event with an explanation for behaviors of the characters. These explanations are important in fostering human relationships for two reasons. First, they encourage the development of psychological mindedness, which is the tendency to think about how motives, thoughts, feelings, and traits influence behaviors (Davidson et al., 2013).

Second, they encourage the development of perspective-taking, which is the ability to understand the experiences of the self and other (Chung & Slater, 2013). The importance of narrative development to the development of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking skills has been noted in previous theory and research (Bruner, 1990; Dray, Selman, & Schultz, 2009; Walton, Davidson, & Harris, 2015). Attention to the motives, thoughts, emotions, and traits of the self and others is key in narrative development as well as in social development overall because it allows authors to better understand those around them, helping them navigate their social worlds effectively (Dray et al., 2009).

Bamberg (2004) described how through narrative, we position ourselves as characters in our stories in relation to other people, which is critical in understanding our role in the world. Bruner (1990) argued that by choosing which experiences to narrate and how to express them, children create representations of themselves. This is very closely tied to the concept of belongingness because we must be able to tell and share stories in order to develop the foundations of friendship with others. The ability to explain how we see things, why we did what we did, and tell our side of the story is crucial in managing conflicts and other social interactions with other people. Although researchers including Dunn (2004) and Bierman (2004) have studied the importance of friendship in childhood and adolescence and its relation to building a sense of belonging and interpersonal relationships with others, none have examined narrative in this process. Engel (1995) discussed the crucial role of narrative in sharing experiences with others and managing social relations. However, very few other researchers have explored the relationship between narrative and peer adjustment, which is one focus of this paper.

Previous Research on Peer Adjustment

Previous research has examined peer adjustment in relation to psychological mindedness as well as in relation to perspective-taking. The studies that noted the importance of psychological mindedness did so under a variety of names including social understanding, social cognition, mind-reading, mindfulness, and theory of mind (Beitel, Ferrer, & Cecero, 2005; De Rosnay, Fink, Begeer, Slaughter, & Peterson, 2014; Dray et al., 2009; Slaughter & Perez-Zapata, 2014). Many of these studies asked children ranging from ages five to fifteen about the internal states of characters presented in hypothetical scenarios (Boseovski, Lapan, & Bosacki, 2013; Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, Gasser, & Malti, 2010; Shaw, Wainryb, & Smetana, 2014), while other studies with adolescents and young adults used questionnaires with self-report scales (Beitel et al., 2005; Bierman, 2004). Hundreds of studies have examined children's developing inclination to think about other minds. Further, reviews of this research by Harris, de Rosnay, and Pons (2005) included dozens of studies that showed a connection between this developing skill and other social skills. Many similar studies have produced findings suggesting that attention to own and others' psychological states is related to social adjustment in children ranging from ages eight to eleven (Bosacki, 2000; Grazzani & Ornaghi, 2012).

A recent study in this vein by De Rosnay et al. (2014) evaluated the links between conversational skills of 129 children ages five to eight and tests of theory of mind. Children were tested individually by a teacher on a variety of tests. They received a theory of mind battery that mostly consisted of standard false belief tasks, which examined the children's ability to recognize and understand beliefs and perspectives of others that were different from their own. They also completed a test of emotion

understanding and a test of language ability. Additionally, their teachers completed a Mindful Conversational Difficulties Scale (Peterson, Garnett, Kelly, & Attwood, 2009) to assess conversational competence. They found that children's theory of mind was significantly correlated with mindful conversational skills. The researchers concluded that children who demonstrated an understanding of others as mindful beings displayed better conversational skills than their peers who did not have high levels of theory of mind. These findings increase confidence in the present study's assertion that psychological mindedness is related to peer adjustment in middle childhood.

During the 1970's, Selman (1971) proposed a cognitive developmental model of peer relations in middle childhood, in which an increased level of perspective-taking is critical in the formation and management of friendships. He argued that this relationship between perspective-taking and peer adjustment stems from children's developing abilities to recognize that others have perspectives different from their own. This attention to the aspects of others' perspectives – their motives, thoughts, and feelings – allows children to understand and appreciate how their own behaviors may impact others and vice versa. In essence, they are coming to understand the intricacies of managing relationships with others in their social world.

Grounded in Selman's (1971) theory, many researchers have noted the importance of perspective-taking (Abrams, 2011; Abrahams, Selman, & Stone, 1981; Selman & Jaquette, 1977). Most of these studies utilized experimental methods with random assignment to different groups in order to assess the perspective-taking skills of children ages six to ten in relation to in-group and out-group biases and found that these biases influenced the prediction of their own and others' behaviors (Abrams, 2011). In

other studies, perspective-taking was examined by providing children with information that their peers did not have and asking them to make predictions about their peers' responses, affirming Selman's (1971) proposals that perspective-taking skills develop in a series of age-related levels from ages four to twelve (Abrahami et al., 1981; Selman & Jaquette, 1977). Understanding the thoughts, motives, and emotions of others is a crucial component of friendship. This perspective-taking fosters children's understanding of minds and perspectives other than their own, critical in the development of social understanding.

Some researchers have focused on perspective-taking abilities in participants much older than children in elementary school. In one such study, Chung and Slater (2013) assessed undergraduate participants' abilities to understand and identify with stigmatized characters in a scene from a movie. The researchers focused on social acceptance, identification, and a perspective-taking measure that consisted of six items that encompassed the participants' ability to understand the characters' motives, emotions, thoughts, and overall experiences. Researchers found that perspective-taking encouraged social acceptance of the characters in that the participants who displayed high perspective-taking were more likely to view these characters as individuals who were facing challenges as opposed to stigmatized members of an out-group. These findings suggested that the ability to understand others' thoughts, emotions, and motives facilitated feelings of social acceptance of other people. This study is noteworthy because it underscored the importance of perspective-taking skills in undergraduate students, suggesting that the development of these skills is important well beyond the elementary school years.

Although some research has found that high levels of perspective-taking in children increased their intergroup bias, which is the tendency to show more favor towards in-groups as opposed to out-groups (Abrams, 2011), many studies have demonstrated the potential benefits of developing the ability to understand perspectives of the self and other in the management of social relations (Abrahami et al., 1981; Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005; Iannotti, 1978). In one such study by Abrahami et al. (1981) on social understanding in middle childhood, 24 girls in the 2nd through 5th grades were divided into four groups and took part in a 12-week program about cooperative play. The girls worked on different types of projects together for an hour and a half after school for four days a week throughout these twelve weeks. The researchers used a Social Action Resolution Strategies Interview to assess how the participants chose to approach and attempt to resolve real conflicts that arose during the activities within their groups throughout the duration of the program. The participants were asked specific questions about the conflicts and were then given scores based on their demonstration of self-other and peer-group relationships in their answers and suggestions for conflict resolution. They found that the children who scored high in the action-resolution strategy interview by choosing to resolve conflicts cooperatively as opposed to unilaterally displayed high levels of social understanding. These findings indicated that understanding and recognizing the opinions, beliefs, and feelings of the self as well as others, concepts closely related to psychological mindedness and perspective-taking, may be necessary in order for children to suggest effective resolution strategies when faced with interpersonal conflicts.

Many researchers have studied social adjustment and the importance of a sense of belonging in middle childhood (Bierman, 2004; Dunn, 2004). For example, Bierman explored the immense impact that the formation or destruction of friendships can have on a child's socio-emotional development and mental health in middle childhood. Much of her research focused on ways to create interventions that effectively addressed social opportunities for children and how these interventions could help in navigating peer relations. Like Bierman's work, much of the research that has developed ways of assessing children's peer adjustment has been through the use of ratings, structured interviews, and questionnaires (Abrahami et al., 1981; Beitel et al., 2005; Bosacki, 2000). This research has contributed valuable information about children's social adjustment and belongingness, but there is still much to be learned by examining what children say in their own words and how they construe their own experiences. Narrative may serve as a unique tool to examine social adjustment through what children say, but it has been relatively unexamined. My work in this study sought to do this, and the next section will look at studies that included narrative work in connection to social relationships and peer adjustment in middle childhood.

Previous Research on Narrative and Peer Adjustment

Recently, Aldrich, Tenenbaum, Brooks, Harrison, and Sines (2011) examined children's fictional narratives with a specific emphasis on their attention to self and others' perspectives and the use of evaluative speech in relation to the ability to create a coherent narrative and convey the story's emotional themes to an audience. They found age-related differences in that younger children (ages five and six) understood that different information was available to different characters, suggesting that they simply

recognized others' perspectives. However, older children (ages seven and eight) were able to actually take on these perspectives of others and recognized that others also had this perspective-taking ability. In contrast to a study of fictional narratives, other researchers have examined children's narrative accounts of their own experience with peer conflict, and one such study is described below.

Wainryb et al. (2014) asked 84 children, ages seven, twelve, and seventeen, to provide narratives about times they had been excluded (the 'victim') and times they had excluded someone else (the 'perpetrator'). The researchers coded the stories for exclusionary behavior, perpetrator's reasons, victim's emotions, and indicators of conclusions to the stories. They found that when children were the perpetrators in their narratives, they tended to talk more about their reasons for why they excluded someone else more so than the emotions of the victim in the story. In contrast, when the children were the victims, they focused on their emotions as opposed to the reasons they were excluded. Despite these differences, the researchers emphasized that almost all of the narratives, regardless of whether they were from the perspective of a perpetrator or a victim, included some talk of exclusionary reasoning. Wainryb et al. argued that these findings may have been due in part to children's desire to find justification behind peers' behaviors, particularly those that may be hurtful or cause sadness. This study is also noteworthy because the coding focused on the psychological states of the self and others (perpetrator's reasons and victim's emotions), which is another key aspect of peer adjustment in middle childhood.

Research from our lab by Stagg (2007) found that psychological mindedness increased in children's stories with increased participation in story-sharing. In this study,

Stagg implemented a story-sharing program known as KidsTalk at a health and wellness center in Memphis, Tennessee. KidsTalk was designed to encourage the sharing of narratives with a group and to foster a narrative culture for the children at this community center. In the first part of a KidsTalk session, the participants came together in a group setting and shared their stories with one another. In the second part, each child individually dictated his or her story with an adult facilitator in order to create a written version of the narrative. Over a nine-month period of running this program several times a week, Stagg collected and analyzed 365 narratives from the children who attended KidsTalk. Results indicated that increased participation in KidsTalk was associated with increased frequencies of complex moral evaluations and conflict resolution strategies in the children's stories, as well as attention to the experiences and perspectives of themselves and others, which is a key component of psychological mindedness. She also found that KidsTalk fostered a narrative culture among the children at this wellness center, both for the children who participated throughout the entire nine months, as well as for those who dropped into the program at some point after its launch. She found that those whose first time participating in KidsTalk was during the last three months of the program displayed higher levels of attention to the experiences of the self and others in comparison to the children whose first stories came in the beginning of the program. This suggested that a narrative culture had developed at the community center outside of the KidsTalk sessions in that the implementation of such a program led to richer narrative practice for the center, even for those who had not yet participated. In the present study, I expected to see similar findings and to extend Stagg's research with a different population of children in a different social context.

Two additional studies in our lab have contributed to our understanding of the role of psychological mindedness in peer relations. First, in the first year of a two-year longitudinal study, Gist, Wuerfel, Walton, and Cohen (2011) counted the reports of own and others' thoughts, emotions, and motives. These counts were used to create a *scope of consciousness* variable which measured the number of perspectives the children reported in their stories. The children responded to three prompts asking them to write about personal experiences with peers. In addition, the researchers gathered measures of peer adjustment with measures including peer nominations and self-ratings of social self-efficacy. They examined the scope of consciousness variable as a predictor of these self and peer reports about their social lives. Their results showed that children whose stories included more perspective-taking scored higher on the measures of peer adjustment than the children who included less perspective-taking. Children with high scope of consciousness scores were more likely to be nominated as most popular, and they were also less likely to be nominated as least popular, in comparison to their peers with low scope of consciousness scores. These children who demonstrated high perspective-taking were also likely to be nominated by their peers as the children who showed others respect and who received respect from others. The researchers concluded that narrative practice may improve children's perspective-taking skills, which then may facilitate social development during middle childhood.

At the end of the next year of this longitudinal research, Walton, Wuerfel, Kansal, and Cohen (2013) were able to show that psychological mindedness in children's stories predicted a sense of belonging in the next school year. Psychological mindedness, which was part of a larger measure of landscape of consciousness, was assessed by counting

how often the children mentioned, described, or explained the emotions, thoughts, or psychological traits of the self or others. Peer adjustment was assessed with a loneliness questionnaire (Asher, Hymel, & Renshaw, 1984) and with peer nominations of liking (Masten, Morison, & Pellegrini, 1985). These researchers found that the children with strong psychological mindedness in Year 1 were more likely to have friends and were less likely to be lonely in Year 2 than those who did not display strong psychological mindedness in their narratives, even after adjusting for the level of peer adjustment in Year 1. Thus, there is growing evidence that psychological mindedness is extremely important in the growth of peer relations (Walton et al., 2015).

The Present Study

In my role as a camp counselor for this project, I was responsible for implementing a story-sharing activity known as KidsTalk for elementary school-aged children during summer camp. I described to the camp supervisor and the school principal the evidence from earlier research of benefits of such a program in facilitating dialogue in a collaborative setting and helping the children foster healthy relationships with one another. The camp administration was eager to implement this programming for the children as an optional activity in the afternoons. Although the highest standard for program evaluation, with random assignment of children to an experimental or control group, was not feasible for the camp setting, I was able to collect data while implementing this program that allowed me to address questions generated by developmental theory and also to provide useful feedback to the camp and school administrators. Included in the psychologist's toolkit, along with the ability to do randomized controlled experiments, is a set of methods for doing close, descriptive and

interpretive analyses of small groups and of individuals (Esterberg, 2002; Freeman, 2004; Willig, 2013). My work used both qualitative and quantitative analyses, seeking to provide close interpretive descriptions pertinent to understanding this setting and to discern differences and patterns that may generalize to other settings.

The current study sought to understand children's understanding of belongingness and peer relations through a story-sharing program. I hoped to achieve two goals: first, to replicate the work reviewed above showing a relationship between narrative practice and the development of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking. Second, I hoped to replicate the work showing a relationship between peer adjustment and psychological mindedness and with perspective-taking. Part of the analysis was an interpretive study of the children's descriptions of their experiences in their own words. Another part involved a quantitative assessment of the features of their stories that were expected to increase with story-sharing experience as well as relate to their sense of belongingness. This mixed methods approach was especially appropriate in light of dual goals of contributing to the programming decisions made by the camp staff and of increasing our understanding about narrative and social development.

Methods

Setting

A data set of 317 stories was collected from children who attended Woodland Presbyterian School's summer camp known as BLAST. Woodland is a private elementary and middle school in East Memphis, Tennessee that serves predominately upper-middle class children from mostly non-Hispanic white and African American families in the Shelby County area. BLAST offers day camp, before and after care, as

well as several enrichment camps throughout the summer. The majority of the children were also students at Woodland, though there were some who attended other local elementary schools. Families could send their children to camp on a daily or weekly basis, resulting in varying amounts of camp attendance. For example, some children only came to camp one or two days all summer, others were there for one week, and others came on a fairly regular basis, some attending almost every day. Moreover, some children came to camp as a form of before or after care in combination with an enrichment camp, so they would only be at BLAST for one or two hours a day. Because our program known as KidsTalk was held for a total of four weeks, there were often different children who were available to participate on a weekly, if not daily, basis.

BLAST included several structured activities throughout the day such as organized games, arts and crafts, cooking, and science. In the afternoon, there was some free time when the children could choose to read, play with Legos, or play on a computer, Wii, or PlayStation. It was during this free time that stories were collected through KidsTalk.

Participants

The campers ranged in age from those entering Junior Kindergarten through 6th grade, but only those entering 1st through 6th grade in the fall of 2014 were recruited for this study. This study included 26 children total with 13 males (50%) and 13 females (50%). In terms of grade distribution, children in grades 1 through 6 could interact and partake in the same activities during some parts of camp, such as in the afternoons when KidsTalk was held. For the purposes of this study, participants were organized into two groups – 1st and 2nd grade as one group and then 3rd through 6th grade as another. This

reflected the way they were grouped overall in most camp activities, and therefore aligned with the social experience for campers. There were ten children in 1st and 2nd grade (38.5%), including six girls (23.08%) and four boys (15.38%), and there were sixteen children in 3rd through 6th grade (61.5%), including seven girls (26.92%) and nine boys (34.62%).

Procedures

Consent and recruitment. On an average day, there could have been anywhere from 10 to 40 children in this age group present at camp. All the children were invited to participate in KidsTalk, but only the stories of those who received parental consent in accordance with the Rhodes IRB approval were kept for this study.¹ Consent forms with a description of the study were distributed to all parents, and only six families did not return the permission slip.

Implementation of KidsTalk. The program known as KidsTalk was held every day at summer camp beginning in mid-June for a total of four weeks. These sessions were incorporated into ordinary camp activities and were an option for campers who wished to participate. A typical session consisted of six or seven children and myself as the facilitator. The group sat together in a circle, and I began the session with an open discussion of the research and the purpose of KidsTalk, explaining that this was a project for the group to share stories and experiences in order to learn from each other. I explained that I wanted to learn what it was like to be a kid their age (see Appendix A for exact protocol). I answered any questions the children had and then offered a story prompt, such as “Tell me about a time you helped someone,” or “Tell me about a time

¹ There were seven children who received parental consent and were invited to KidsTalk, but never wanted to come to a session. These children ranged in camp attendance from three to 28 times.

you were scared” (see Appendix B for the full list of prompts). The prompts were selected from a list of 129 prompts that have been used in previous implementations of KidsTalk. I organized them according to topic (*e.g.*, emotion, health and safety, activity, etc.), and I also paired some of the prompts (*e.g.*, “A time you broke something” and “A time you fixed something”). I selected prompts in an effort to balance my opportunities to solicit stories about serious topics with more upbeat stories while also choosing interesting and engaging prompts in order to maintain an enjoyable atmosphere at KidsTalk. After I presented the prompt, the children took turns sharing stories. Audio recordings were made of each session, and the recordings were silenced for those children whose parents did not give consent. In addition, whenever a child’s name (present or absent from the session) was mentioned, the recording was edited to silence the name. All audio sessions were professionally transcribed through the company TranscribeMe, and any names were replaced with the first initial only. When I present stories here, I have substituted similar names to those used by the children.

Children had the opportunity to participate in KidsTalk, on average, every other day they were present at camp. KidsTalk sessions were held in the afternoons, a time of day during which children were free to choose between KidsTalk, reading, playing with Legos, or playing on a computer, Wii, or PlayStation. Since the number of opportunities for KidsTalk participation varied, I recorded the number of days each child was present, the number of times he or she was invited to participate in KidsTalk, the number of times he or she declined to participate, the number of times he or she actually participated, and the number of stories he or she contributed. All children were invited to KidsTalk, and 15 of the children (57.7%) participated 50% or more of the time they were present at camp

and available to join the KidsTalk session. Five of those children had 100% participation rates. The remaining 11 children (42.3%) participated less than 50% of the time they were present at camp. See Appendix C for each child's rate of participation.

Collection of pre- and post-belongingness data. I distributed a belongingness questionnaire (described below) to participants before or directly after their first session of KidsTalk, as well as at the end of summer camp. This was used to assess the children's sense of belonging and connectedness at BLAST. The questionnaires were given in groups of two or three, or in some cases individually, in a quiet room. The items were read aloud for the younger children, and the older kids were able to read and answer the questions independently. Although there was no time limit for completing the survey, the children typically took around 5 to 10 minutes to complete it with the younger children taking slightly longer since the items were read aloud for them. The pre-questionnaire score is missing for one participant, and another participant did not take either the pre- or post-questionnaire because he was only present at camp for one day. However, both of these children contributed stories through KidsTalk, so they are still included in my analyses.

Participant observation. In addition to facilitating KidsTalk, I worked as a counselor in BLAST summer camp as I have for the past three years. In this way, I became a participant observer and was able to observe and interact with the kids throughout camp, not only within the KidsTalk setting. I worked at BLAST in the afternoons for about four or five hours each day during the summer. This involved organizing activities for the kids, doing arts and crafts projects with them, and playing games with them. Camp counselors form special relationships with children, and I got to

know these children well. I learned a great deal about their preferences at BLAST as well as their interests in extracurricular activities. To supplement my observations, I also kept detailed field notes about various components of the project, including camp attendance rates, KidsTalk participation, dates of survey completion, and the children's participation in other camp activities and enrichment camps outside of KidsTalk. This information helped guide the qualitative part of my analysis of the data.

Participant observation is an important methodology in qualitative research because it allows the researcher to develop strong familiarity with the participants and gather important information about them (Evans, 2012). Previous research has demonstrated the value in this approach when working with a specific population of participants and trying to better understand them within their cultural context, such as in ethnographic studies (Lareau, 2011; Pascoe, 2011; Rios, 2011). Through my role as a participant observer in the present study, I engaged closely with the members of the camp setting, especially the children. I gained valuable information about the participants in my study and utilized these observations about the children in my descriptive and interpretive analyses of their stories.

Measures

Belongingness questionnaire. This questionnaire was a compilation of two instruments used in previous research, with five additional items created specifically for the BLAST setting (see Appendix D for full questionnaire). All 16 items from the Loneliness Questionnaire were used (Asher et al., 1984). This is a self-report measure of the degree to which children feel satisfied with peer relationships, and it has been shown to have strong reliability and predictive validity in previous studies of elementary school

children (Davidson et al., 2013; Jackson & Cohen, 2012; Jobe-Shields, Cohen, & Parra, 2011; Schoffstall & Cohen, 2011). Children responded on a 1 to 5 scale for items such as “I have nobody to talk to at BLAST” and “It’s easy for me to make new friends at BLAST.” The belongingness questionnaire also included a 9-item Camp Climate sub-scale adapted from the Davidson et al. (2013) school adjustment measure. Examples of these items are “People care about each other at BLAST” and “I feel safe at BLAST.” Finally, a 5-item Activity Preference sub-scale assessed children’s preferences for different camp activities such as arts and crafts, reading, or playing in the gym. These items were interspersed in an attempt to minimize reactivity to the more psychologically sensitive questions.

In an effort to determine the effectiveness of the belongingness questionnaire, I assessed reliability of the pre- and post-scores, and I also looked separately at the components of the scale. I summed the sixteen items taken from the Loneliness Questionnaire, I summed the nine items adapted from Davidson et al. (2013) which I termed the Camp Climate scale, and I also summed the five items that I developed to assess preferences for BLAST activities which I termed the Activity Preference scale. Table 1 reports Cronbach’s alphas for each. Although reliabilities were acceptable for the Loneliness and Camp Climate pre- and post-questionnaires (ranging from 0.62 to 0.88),² we found very little variation in the scores in this population of children.

² The alphas for the Activity Preference Scale are not included in this range because these items were meant to be measured separately since they assessed children’s preferences on different types of camp activities.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Reliability of Belongingness Questionnaire

Scale Component (possible ranges)	Mean	SD	Observed Range	Cronbach’s Alpha
Loneliness Pre (scored 16 – 80)	70.62	8.26	50 – 80	0.88
Loneliness Post (scored 16 – 80)	69.32	8.62	54 – 80	0.88
Camp Climate Pre (scored 9 – 45)	38.69	3.86	30 – 45	0.62
Camp Climate Post (scored 9 – 45)	38.71	4.69	29 – 45	0.87
Activity Preference Pre (scored 5 – 25)	11.06	4.21	5 – 20	0.59
Activity Preference Post (scored 5 – 25)	11.52	3.52	5 – 19	0.40

Counselor assessment. A counselor assessment of peer adjustment was developed as a supplementary measure of the children’s peer success at BLAST. After the last day of camp, the camp director assessed each child on a seven-point scale on the following item: “How well has this child gotten along with other children at BLAST?” The scores ranged from five to seven with the mean being 5.97 (SD = 0.67).

Narrative Measures. Based on previous research in our lab, we identified four components of psychological mindedness to be coded in the narratives. Two coders independently identified each instance of these four variables in a subset of stories, and reliabilities assessed with Pearson R correlations ranged from 0.95 to 0.98. We counted the number of times in each story that the author attributed motives or intentions, thoughts, emotions, or traits to the self, any other character, or to the “collective.” Collective motives, mental states, emotions, or traits were reported using the first person plural, indicating that the instance was attributed to the author and other characters in the

story. Because the psychological mindedness categories were not mutually exclusive (e.g., “He is really smart” describes both a mental quality and a trait), we developed an order of coding, as reflected by the order of the subsections below, so that no instance was coded into more than one category (see Appendix E for the order in which we coded). See Table 2 for examples and reliabilities of each variable, as well as the mean frequencies per story per child which represent their average reports of each variable across all of their stories. Appendix E contains the coding manual used for the four components of psychological mindedness.

Motive. References to own, other, or collective motives or intentions fell in this category. These included goals, efforts towards a goal, denying or negating a goal state, and reasons for doing something. This also included occasions in which the author clearly noted the lack of an intention (as when something was labeled as accidental) or a failure to understand why another character did something. We counted separately references to motives attributed to the self, other, and collective, and we summed across these categories to create a total motive score for each child. Inter-rater reliability was achieved with a Pearson R correlation of 0.95.

Mental. Reports about own, other, or collective mental activities, mental states, and mental traits were included in this variable. Noun forms of mental activities (e.g., thoughts, ideas), states of consciousness (e.g., alertness, dreaming), cognitive emotions (e.g., surprised, confused), and mental traits (e.g., smart, forgetful, curious) were counted. We counted separately references to the self, other, and collective, and we summed across these categories to create a total mental score for each child. Inter-rater reliability was achieved with a Pearson R correlation of 0.95.

Emotion. References to own, other, and collective emotional states, emotional behaviors, and emotional traits were counted in this category. This included emotional experiences (*e.g.*, homesick, heartache) and most instances in which “to feel” was used, except for when it described the perceptual state of touching. We counted separately references to the self, other, and collective, and we summed across these categories to create a total emotion score for each child. Inter-rater reliability was achieved with a Pearson R correlation of 0.98.

Trait. Reports about character traits of the self and other were included in this variable.³ These were descriptions of a quality of personality or temperament that endured over time. Emotional traits (*e.g.*, “He was a sad kid.”) and mental traits (*e.g.*, “He was a confused kid.”) were not counted because they were included in the emotion or mental state categories. We counted separately references to the self, other, and collective, and we summed across these categories to create a total trait score for each child. Inter-rater reliability was achieved with a Pearson R correlation of 0.96.

Perspective. Since we coded for self, other, and collective for each of the four components, we were able to sum across those categories to create total self, other, and collective perspective scores for each child. The self score for a child was the sum of the motive self, mental self, emotion self, and trait self counts. The other score was the sum of the motive other, mental other, emotion other, and trait other counts. The collective score was the sum of the motive collective, mental collective, emotion collective, and trait collective counts.

³ No child ever reported a trait of the collective (self and other).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Inter-Rater Reliability for Narrative Measures

Variable	Example	Range	Mean	SD	Inter-coder Pearson R
Motive	Self: I accidentally made it on the big basket.	0 – 4	1.67	0.95	0.95
	Other: Some of the kids were reaching out trying to grab the butterflies.				
	Collective: We wanted to get front row seats, so we went there early.				
Mental	Self: I think they were Indian masks. I don't know .	0 – 6	1.80	1.24	0.95
	Other: I asked what I could do and they just completely ignored me.				
	Collective: So we just went out in the hall and pretended we were there.				
Emotion	Self: I went back to my seat and my face was really bright red .	0 – 7	1.07	1.33	0.98
	Other: My friend's sister is a cry baby though.				
	Collective: And it was the fourth day so we got sad .				
Trait	Self: 'Cause I was a kind friend .	0 – 2	0.21	0.42	0.96
	Other: So, she would be a really big tattletale .				

Data Analysis Plan

Narratives were coded using Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis software program, by a team of researchers. Two strategies were implemented in order to assure reliability of our coding. The first strategy involved independent coding of stories by two members

of the research team, trained to identify variables that have been assessed in previous research from our lab (Davidson et al., 2013; Gist et al., 2011). We identified the four components of psychological mindedness described above, we developed a coding manual, and we achieved inter-rater reliability between two independent coders.

A second strategy involved open coding and consensus coding, a process in which other members of the research team and I made several passes through the data, identifying themes and noteworthy features that emerged in the stories. We met weekly to discuss stories as a team and come to a consensus about how to understand and interpret them. This is a method described by Way (2011) as an interpretive community, critical in the accomplishment of a qualitative analysis because it allows a group to make and share meaning together. We paid special attention to talk related to belongingness and peer relationships, specifically identifying setting (*e.g.*, home, school, camp) in our passes through the data. Our team coded for these variables and themes and also utilized the power of the Nvivo software to explore relationships between themes, patterns in the data, and to identify specific instances of the variables both at the story and child levels.

In the first section of my results, I report story-level descriptive analyses of the children's talk about belongingness. Following this, I discuss my statistical procedures as exploratory assessments of my belongingness measures. These procedures were also used to look for relationships between participation in KidsTalk and the development of narrative skill, reflected by the children's reports of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking. Finally, I present an interpretive analysis of specific stories, focusing on the effectiveness of KidsTalk for individual children.

Results

How Did Children Talk About Belongingness?

Children described instances of belongingness throughout the 29 sessions of this study, sometimes when prompted to do so but many times spontaneously. I defined belongingness as any time the child recognized either exclusion from or inclusion in a group, such as friends, a class, camp, or even family. In both categories, the child could either be the one experiencing the exclusion or inclusion, or the one doing the excluding or including. Some specific themes that appeared in the exclusion stories were injustice, mocking, ignoring, hurt feelings, or not having fun. In contrast, inclusion was often marked by either niceness or having fun with the group. Our team identified 56 (17.67%) stories that included talk about belonging, 18 describing inclusion and 38 describing exclusion.

Members of our research team coded the settings of each story, so we were able to see how these were related to the presence of belongingness themes. Settings included camp, community, family, friend, home, school, sporting event, other, or no location specified. To clarify the difference between the settings of family and home, “home” referred to whenever the children told stories that specifically took place in their place of residence, whereas “family” could refer to a story about visiting relatives, for example. Table 3 shows these belongingness stories according to the settings the children identified in them.

Table 3

Frequency of Exclusion and Inclusion Stories Placed in Different Settings

Setting	Exclusion (N = 38)	Inclusion (N = 18)
Camp	4 (10.53%)	2 (11.11%)

School	11 (28.95%)	3 (16.67%)
Family	0	0
Friend	4 (10.53%)	2 (11.11%)
Home	10 (26.32%)	2 (11.11%)
Community	2 (5.26%)	1 (5.56%)
Sporting Event	0	1 (5.56%)
Other Setting	4 (10.53%)	5 (27.78%)
No Setting Specified	3 (7.89%)	2 (11.11%)

The children identified a variety of settings in their narratives, as seen in Table 3. The frequencies in this table suggest a few interesting patterns. Among the narratives classified as exclusion stories, the most common settings were school and home. While school may be an expected setting in which exclusion could occur, the 10 exclusion stories that took place at home were surprising. Many of these were about conflicts with siblings, while a few others were about hosting a sleepover and feeling left out. In comparison, the most commonly appearing settings in inclusion stories were school and other, which in this case included a few stories about trips to amusement parks or vacations at the beach. These descriptive analyses of the story settings revealed interesting information about the locations the children chose to describe when they talked about themes of belongingness.

Prompts that evoked belongingness themes. Children’s stories included themes of belongingness, both in sessions in which the prompt requested these themes (*e.g.*, “Tell about a time someone was mean to you”), and in sessions in which the prompts

were not directly related to inclusion or exclusion (*e.g.*, “Tell about a time you tried something new”). There were 28 prompts used throughout KidsTalk, and one of them – “a time you felt left out” – was used in two separate sessions with two different groups of children. Three of these 28 prompts specifically requested themes of belongingness: “a time you had a conflict with a friend,” “a time you felt left out,” and “a time someone was mean to you.” Of the 56 belongingness stories, 29 (51.79%) came from these sessions. In addition, there were 16 prompts that were not directly about belongingness but that still elicited the other 27 (48.21%) stories that included themes of inclusion and exclusion. Belongingness themes appeared in 19 of the 28 prompts, meaning that only nine prompts did not elicit any talk of belongingness. This underscores the importance of these themes of inclusion and exclusion for the children since they often chose to bring up these types of stories even when the prompt did not specifically ask them to do so.

Stories about belongingness. Similar to the opening story of this paper about the sleepover, many of the children’s stories about belongingness included several reports of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking. However, even for those that did not, they included reports of conflict and feelings of exclusion from their peers, allowing us to see how children understand belongingness in their own words. Below are two examples of stories in which the authors identified themes of belongingness. Instances of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking are shown in bold.

Example 1: Rebecca, 2nd grade girl

So, I was playing on the playground and Ally and Charlotte were playing and I asked if I could play, and they said I couldn’t play. And I told the teacher, and

they got really mad at me. And then they started saying mean things to me and everything. They just like wouldn't let me play on the playground.

This story was told by Rebecca, a 2nd grade girl who participated in KidsTalk six times and contributed nine stories total. In my camp observations, I found that she typically got along well with her peers and was very well-behaved and outspoken about her ideas. Though this story displayed only one instance of psychological mindedness, we are able to infer Rebecca's distress about the event she described. She asked two of her classmates, Ally and Charlotte, if she could join in their game. However, after they excluded her ("they said I couldn't play"), she told the teacher in an effort to enlist the help of an adult in this conflict with her peers. This only exacerbated the situation because the girls got angry at Rebecca ("they got really mad at me" and "they started saying mean things to me"), furthering the audience's sense that she felt excluded. She concluded the story by saying that they "just wouldn't let me play on the playground," despite her efforts to ask nicely and, when that failed, to get an adult involved. Compare this story to the one below, in which another 2nd grade girl described a more positive peer experience.

Example 2: Anna, 2nd grade girl

So one time during school, we were on the blacktop, and my friend Paige fell, and she like hurt both of her knees. And I helped her up, and I bandaged her knees for her. We went in, and I got the first-aid kit, so I put Band-Aids on both of her knees. And **I think** she might have hurt something else, but **I really don't know cause** it was like in the middle of first grade or something like that. Cause she fell.

Like **I really wanted** to help her because I – **cause I was a kind friend, so I wanted** to do something kind.

This story was told by Anna who participated in KidsTalk 11 times and told 26 stories total. Through my camp observations, I found her to be very energetic and usually fairly skilled in recognizing the psychological states of others, particularly in her stories she contributed to this study. She began this story by identifying a peer as one of her friends, Paige, who fell during recess. We then see Anna provide information about what a friend ought to be like when she explained how she helped Paige after this injury (“I helped her up,” “I got the first-aid kit,” and “I bandaged her knees for her”). She was explicit about her definition of what a friend should be with her closing statement (“I really wanted to help her because I was a kind friend, so I wanted to do something kind”). For Anna, being a friend means helping when a friend is hurt and doing kind deeds. This is a strong example of belongingness because it allows the audience to understand what a friend should be through the eyes of a child. This story is only a glimpse into the richness of this data set. Below I describe the various statistical analyses I performed, followed by an in-depth, interpretive examination of the children’s stories.

Effects of KidsTalk

In this section, I detail the various quantitative analyses I performed in looking at the relationships between my belongingness measures, my psychological mindedness and perspective-taking variables, and the overall effects of KidsTalk. First, I explore the relationship between the children’s belongingness scores and their attention to psychological mindedness and perspective-taking at the beginning of the program to see whether the initial scores on these variables were independent from participation in

KidsTalk. Next, I investigate the effects of KidsTalk participation on my belongingness and narrative measures through a series of MANOVAs and Pearson R correlation analyses. Finally, I report the effects of KidsTalk participation in relation to the date of entry into the program.

Independence of initial scores from KidsTalk participation. I wanted to determine whether the frequency of participation in KidsTalk was related to the pre-test belongingness scores or to any of the narrative measures assessed in the first stories the children told. I created a variable called “chose KidsTalk” which represented the proportion of the times the children were present at camp (their opportunities to participate) to the times they decided to come to KidsTalk (their amount of participation). A Pearson R correlation analysis was performed to see whether the three components of the belongingness pre-questionnaire correlated with the amount of participation or the choice to participate. None of the pre-test scores correlated significantly with amount of participation or with the choice to participate (see Appendix F for all correlation tables). This indicated that initial belongingness did not significantly influence children’s inclination to participate in KidsTalk sessions.

Similarly, I wanted to determine whether children’s levels of participation in KidsTalk or choice to participate were related to their levels of psychological mindedness at the very beginning of the program. I averaged the four psychological mindedness scores – motive, mental, emotion, and trait – over the children’s first three stories and correlated those scores with the number of times they participated as well as the choice to participate and found no significant correlations between these variables (see Appendix F). This analysis eliminated the seven children who contributed fewer than three stories.

In order to include those children, I looked at correlations between amount of participation and choice to participate with psychological mindedness in only the first story. Here, I found that only total psychological mindedness from the first story significantly correlated with amount of participation ($r(24) = -0.40, p < 0.05$). This showed that the children with the highest total psychological mindedness in their first story participated in KidsTalk less often than those who started with lower scores. None of the individual components of psychological mindedness significantly correlated with the choice to participate.⁴

I performed a similar correlation analysis looking at the three perspective-taking scores – self, other, and collective – from the first three stories and the number of times children participated as well as the choice to participate and found no significant correlations between these variables (see Appendix F). I also looked at correlations between just the first stories and amount of participation. Reports of other were negatively correlated with participation ($r(24) = -0.43, p < 0.05$), but not with the choice to participate.⁵ There was a marginally significant correlation between the choice to participate and reports of the collective in the first story ($r(24) = 0.39, p = 0.05$). This showed a tendency for children who made more first person plural reports in their first story to participate in KidsTalk more often. None of the other perspective-scores were significantly correlated with either amount of participation or choice to participate.

⁴ Partial correlation analyses confirmed that there were no significant correlations when opportunity to participate was controlled.

⁵ Partial correlation analyses confirmed that there were no significant correlations when opportunity to participate was controlled.

Effects of KidsTalk participation on belongingness measures. In order to assess the effect of KidsTalk on belongingness, I created a change score,⁶ subtracting the pre- from the post-questionnaire for each child for each of the three components (Loneliness, Camp Climate, Activity Preference).⁷ I conducted two MANOVAs looking first for Grade (1-2, 3-6) and then for Gender (girl, boy) effects on these change scores and on the counselor assessment of peer adjustment.⁸ There were no significant Grade or Gender effects on these variables.

In addition to this, I ran Pearson R correlation analyses to see whether the belongingness change scores or the counselor assessment were related to the amount of participation in KidsTalk or the choice to participate.⁹ Neither the change scores nor the counselor assessment significantly correlated with either participation or choice to participate (see Appendix F).

Effects of KidsTalk participation on narrative measures. In order to assess the impact of participation in KidsTalk on children's psychological mindedness and perspective-taking in their narratives, I created change scores comparing the average narrative scores from their first three stories to their last three stories.¹⁰ I did this for the four components of psychological mindedness – motive, mental, emotion, and trait – and for the three perspective-taking measures – self, other, and collective.

⁶ In addition to the change score analyses, I used covariance analyses to assess effects on the final three scores after controlling for scores on the first three stories. In all analyses reported here, these covariance analyses produced the same patterns of results with nearly identical effects and *p* values.

⁷ Two of the 26 children did not have change scores for the belongingness questionnaires because one of them did not take the pre-questionnaire and the other one did not take either the pre- or the post-questionnaire.

⁸ There were not enough children to test for a grade by gender by change interaction.

⁹ Throughout, where I report correlation analyses of change scores, I did an alternate partial correlation analysis in which I partialled out the pre-score (average for the first three stories) from the correlations with the post-scores (last three stories). These analyses produced the same pattern of results.

¹⁰ In looking at the first and last three stories to create change scores, I excluded seven children from these analyses because they contributed fewer than six total stories. In most cases, these seven children told all of their stories in one or two sessions.

I conducted a series of MANOVAs looking first for Grade (1-2, 3-6) and then for Gender (girl, boy) effects on first the psychological mindedness change scores and then on the perspective-taking change scores.¹¹ There were no significant Grade or Gender effects on either of these sets of variables.

Additionally, I ran a Pearson R correlation analysis to see whether the psychological mindedness change scores correlated with amount of participation in KidsTalk or with the choice to participate. I found that the change in reports of emotion was significantly correlated with the amount of participation ($r(17) = 0.48, p < 0.05$). The more children participated, the more they increased in reports of emotions in their stories. None of the other correlations were significant (see Appendix F).

I also ran Pearson R correlation analyses to see whether the three perspective-taking change scores correlated with amount of participation in KidsTalk or with the choice to participate. I found that the change in reports of the collective was significantly correlated with the amount of participation ($r(17) = -0.48, p < 0.05$). The more children participated, the less they reported about the first person plural. None of the other correlations were significant.

Effects of KidsTalk on narrative culture. In order to see whether the implementation of KidsTalk created a culture of story-sharing in the camp, I analyzed the first stories of all the children looking to see whether the narrative scores in the first story differed depending on the date of entry into KidsTalk. I did a Pearson R correlation analysis of the four psychological mindedness components and the total psychological mindedness score with the day of the child's first participation. I found a positive correlation with the motive variable ($r(24) = 0.60, p < 0.001$) and with the mental

¹¹ There were not enough children to do a grade by gender by change interaction.

variable ($r(24) = 0.50, p < 0.01$). The total psychological mindedness score was also positively correlated with the date of first participation ($r(24) = 0.47, p < 0.01$). These findings show that the later the children began participating in KidsTalk (over the four weeks), the more psychological mindedness we saw in their very first story, suggesting that the children's participation in KidsTalk produced this change in the camp.

I ran another correlation analysis looking at the three perspective-taking scores and the date of first participation. I found a positive correlation between date of first participation and reports of the other ($r(24) = 0.61, p < 0.001$), demonstrating that the children whose date of entry into KidsTalk was later in the duration of the program were more likely to talk about the other in their first stories in comparison to their peers who began participating in KidsTalk from an earlier date.

In summary, I performed three major sets of analyses in this study. The first assessed the independence of initial scores from the tendency to participate in KidsTalk. I found no relationship between belongingness pre-scores and participation, nor did I find a relationship between the scores of narrative measures from the first three stories and participation. However, when I looked only at the children's first stories, I found that high psychological mindedness and reports of others' perspectives were related to less participation in KidsTalk. Additionally, children who tended to choose KidsTalk more often than their peers displayed higher reports of the collective perspective in their first stories. Second, I examined whether participation in KidsTalk was associated with developmental change in individual children. Though it did not have a significant impact on belongingness, it did have a positive effect on the emotion component of the psychological mindedness variable and a negative effect on the collective perspective.

My third set of analyses looked at the effect of KidsTalk on the overall camp culture. Here I found strong effects in that children whose date of entry was later in the program displayed high total psychological mindedness in their first stories, with the motive and mental components of this variable also showing this positive relationship, as well as a higher tendency to report the perspective of the other.

Descriptive and Interpretive Analysis

Along with the quantitative analyses described above which suggested that improvements in attention to emotion in the children's stories as well as a camp culture change were related to the implementation of KidsTalk, I performed careful readings of each child's stories. These close readings led me to discover patterns in the stories of the children who improved and did not improve over the four weeks. In a close interpretive analysis reported below, I identify features that distinguish those children who improved with participation in KidsTalk from those who did not. Our research team created profiles for each of the participants, graphing their overall average scores for motive, mental, emotion, trait, self, other, collective, and total psychological mindedness. We also graphed, for each child, the change scores from the first three to the last three stories on each of the variables. See Appendix G for all of the individual profiles. These profiles allowed me to sort my participants in several ways and to examine how stories clustered in different ways. I first ordered all of the profiles according to their overall average and change scores so that I could do close readings of the stories written by the children who changed the most and compare them to the children who did not change. See Table 4 for all means, ranges, and standard deviations of the average and change scores for my variables. I separated the children's profiles into two major categories – eleven children

who increased in total psychological mindedness ($M = 3.79$) and eight children who decreased in total psychological mindedness ($M = -2.33$). See Table 5 for the means, ranges, and standard deviations of the participation rates, total stories, and change scores for psychological mindedness and perspective-taking for the eleven children who improved and the eight children who did not improve. Among the eleven children whose total psychological mindedness scores went up, some improved about evenly on all or on most of the seven scores (motive, mental, emotion, trait, self, other, collective), whereas others made substantial improvements in only one or two of the seven. The eight children whose total psychological mindedness scores decreased over time displayed low average and change scores for most of the variables. Usually their scores hovered around zero with the exception of a few instances of substantially high or low scores. My close readings of the stories of individual children were guided by the examination of their overall profiles of scores.

Table 4

Frequencies of Average and Change Scores for Psychological Mindedness and Perspective-Taking Variables

	Averaged Over All Stories			Change from First Three to Last Three Stories ¹²		
	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
Motive	1.62	0.93	0 – 4.00	0.51	1.67	-2.33 – 3.67
Mental	1.79	1.26	0 – 6.00	0.47	1.90	-3.00 – 3.67
Emotion	1.03	1.35	0 – 7.00	0.23	1.03	-1.00 – 2.67

¹² Higher scores indicate a change in the positive direction.

Trait	0.22	0.42	0 – 2.00	0.00	0.40	-1.00 – 0.67
Self	2.75	2.27	0 – 11.50	1.11	2.60	-4.33 – 6.00
Other	1.54	1.16	0 – 5.00	0.21	1.66	-2.00 – 3.33
Collective	0.37	0.52	0 – 2.50	-0.11	0.42	-1.33 – 0.67
Total PM	4.66	3.53	0 – 19.00	1.21	3.57	-4.00 – 7.33

Table 5

Frequencies of Participation Rates, Total Stories, and Change Scores for Psychological Mindedness and Perspective-Taking for the Children Who Did and Did Not Improve

	Improved			Did Not Improve		
	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
Participation	8.64	3.96	4 – 17	8.25	4.56	3 – 17
Total Stories	17.82	8.11	9 – 33	13.00	8.45	6 – 26
Motive	1.61	1.27	-0.33 – 3.67	-1.00	0.62	-2.33 – -0.33
Mental	1.76	1.23	0.00 – 3.67	-1.29	0.98	-3.00 – -0.33
Emotion	0.30	1.16	-1.00 – 2.67	0.13	0.89	-1.00 – 1.67
Trait	0.12	0.31	-0.33 – 0.67	-0.17	0.47	-1.00 – 0.67
Self	2.61	1.69	0.00 – 6.00	-0.96	2.21	-4.33 – 3.00
Other	1.09	1.54	-2.00 – 3.33	-1.00	0.91	-2.00 – 0.67
Collective	0.09	0.26	-0.33 – 0.67	-0.38	0.45	-1.33 – 0.00
Total PM	3.79	2.05	0.33 – 7.33	-2.33	1.38	-4.00 – -0.33

What type of children benefitted from KidsTalk? The case-by-case analysis described above resulted in the selection of a group of eleven children who improved over the time of their KidsTalk participation as evidenced by their increases in change scores for total psychological mindedness ($M = 3.39$). Among these, I identified five for whom the benefit of KidsTalk was most striking. All of these five children displayed overall high total psychological mindedness change scores that were above or nearly above the 80th percentile for these scores. In addition, all of these children participated in KidsTalk at least seven times with the highest amount being fourteen, and they all contributed twelve or more stories with the highest amount being 33. This may suggest that high participation in KidsTalk, not only reflected by attendance but also by total number of stories, facilitated the strengthening of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking components for these individuals. Below, I present a case analysis of two children who are exemplars of this category of high-improvement based on my observations and on my close readings of their stories.

Alexander was a 3rd grade boy who participated in KidsTalk nine times and contributed a total of fourteen stories. In my camp observations, I found him to be well-behaved, creative, witty, and overall very well-adjusted. He got along with almost all of the other children in his grade, and also played well with children from other grades. Although many of his average scores were close to the sample means, his reports of the mental and self variables were somewhat higher than these means. He also demonstrated impressive positive changes for almost all of the psychological mindedness variables, excluding trait and reports about the collective (children typically did not score high in either of these categories). See Figures 1 and 2 for his average and change scores in the

psychological mindedness and perspective-taking variables. It is clear from his early and late stories that Alexander made progress throughout his time at KidsTalk. Below are his profiles, followed by his first story and his third to last story. The psychological mindedness and perspective-taking variables are shown in bold.

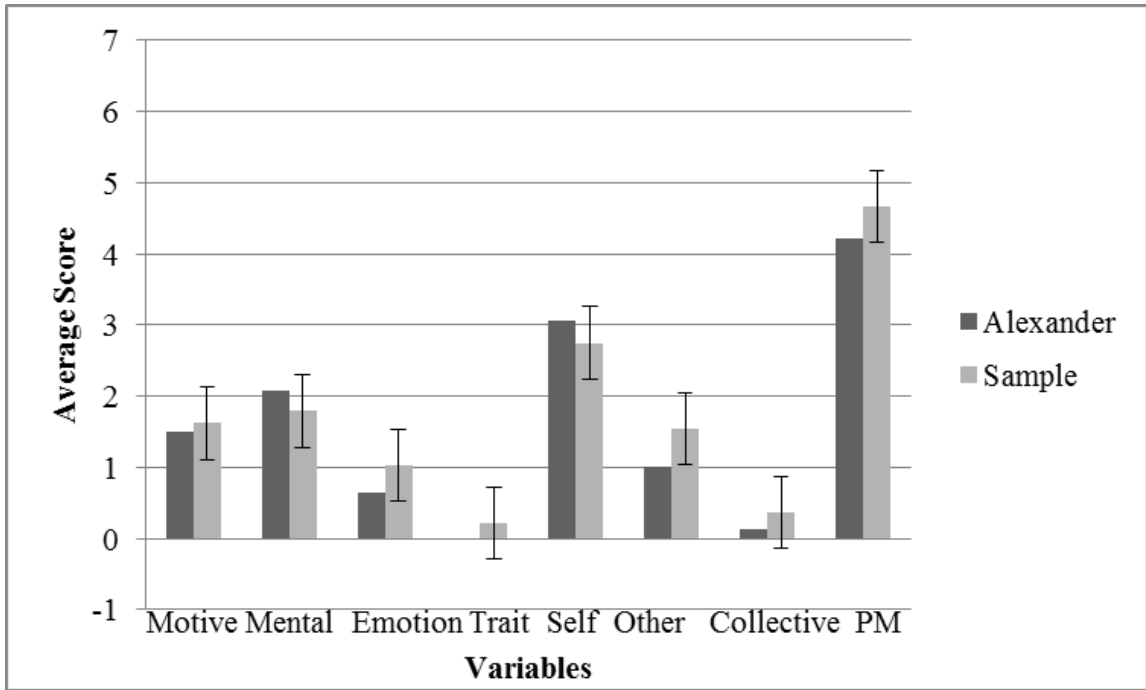


Figure 1. Alexander’s average scores over 14 stories.

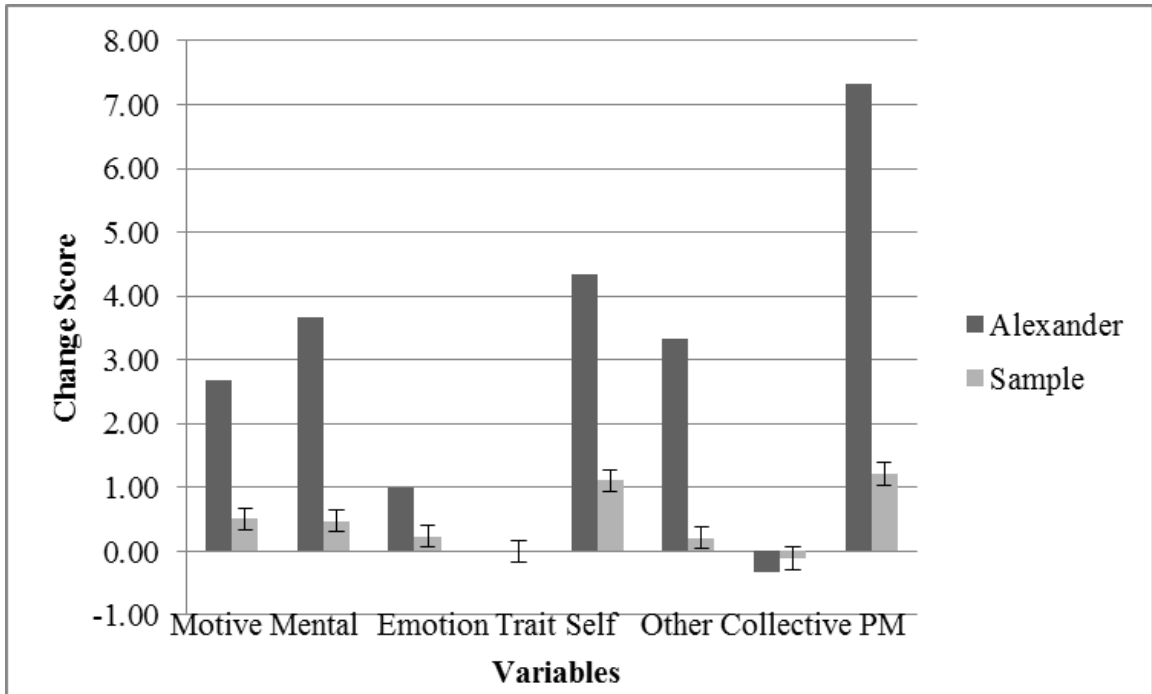


Figure 2. Alexander’s change scores.

Example 3: Alexander, 3rd grade boy

I went to the botanical gardens and we all – that’s all **I remember**. Yeah we – oh yeah. We went near the pond and we did some of those things – some kind of things. And **we** also were digging in the sand **to find** some things that this guy’s buried in it. And we made Indian masks. **I think** they were Indian masks. **I don’t know**. And – that’s it.

In his first story, which was in response to a time he went on a field trip, Alexander demonstrated an understanding that a narrative requires a sequence of events, or what Bruner (1990) calls a landscape of action. This became clear as he moved from one event to another (“we went near the pond” and “we were also digging in the sand”). He did not elaborate on these incidents, but the story did include four accounts of psychological mindedness (all of which were mental). However, three of them were referring to his inability to remember certain details about this class trip. Overall, his first

story was simple and displayed very little psychological mindedness. Next is his third to last story, which was in response to a time he fixed something, a prompt which typically focused children's attention on objects more than on relationships.

Example 4: Alexander, 3rd grade boy

One time I – **I mean** one time my mom, she was on a trip, she had this thing to carry her toothbrush and something else. And **she thought** it was broke **because she tried** everything to get it closed while she was at the hotel. And **I think** it was just kind of bent like that. And **I** wasn't there with her **because** she was on a business trip so whenever she got home, she said, "I might have to throw this away" I overheard and she was just talking to herself. And I said – I came in and said, "Can **I try to** fix it?" and she said, "Here, you aren't gonna be able to close it." I'm like, "I closed it." And she's like, "**I tried** everything!"

This story clearly demonstrated a leap not only as indicated by story length, attention to dialogue, and overall story construction, but also in references to the components of psychological mindedness. Alexander opened by explaining the back story – that his mom "had this thing to carry her toothbrush...and she thought it was broke because she tried everything." Just in these first few sentences, he set the stage by recognizing the thoughts and motives of another character. Next, he explained to the audience his ideas about how and why it was broken ("it was just kind of bent like that"), and also why he was not with her on this trip ("because she was on a business trip"), thereby setting us up for the next part of the story. He ended his narrative with the use of direct quotes to provide us with a clear account of their conversation and how he was able to fix the toothbrush holder ("I closed it"), as well as how surprised his mom was by this

success (“I tried everything!”). Alexander displayed an understanding of his own motives and thoughts in this story, as well as the motives and thoughts of his mother. He provided a clear sequence of events while also enriching them through the development of a landscape of consciousness. In comparing this story to his first, we can see good evidence of narrative development across his time at KidsTalk.

Maddie was a 2nd grade girl who participated in KidsTalk 10 times and contributed a total of 24 stories. My observations of this child lead me to assess her as very mature for her age, offering to help the teachers or counselors, while also stepping in to help her peers regardless of their age group. She was very sociable, and nearly all of her stories revealed a strong understanding and recognition of the thoughts, feelings, and motives of other actors. She had high averages for most components of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking. Notably, she was one of the only children who had a high average for reports about the other in comparison to the average when looking at the rest of the children. Moreover, she had a higher change score for reports about other than for reports about the self, demonstrating that she increased in talk about other characters in her stories more than she did in talk about herself. See Figures 3 and 4 for her average and change scores. Following these figures is her first story, which included no reports about the other, followed by an excerpt from a story she told in a much later session.

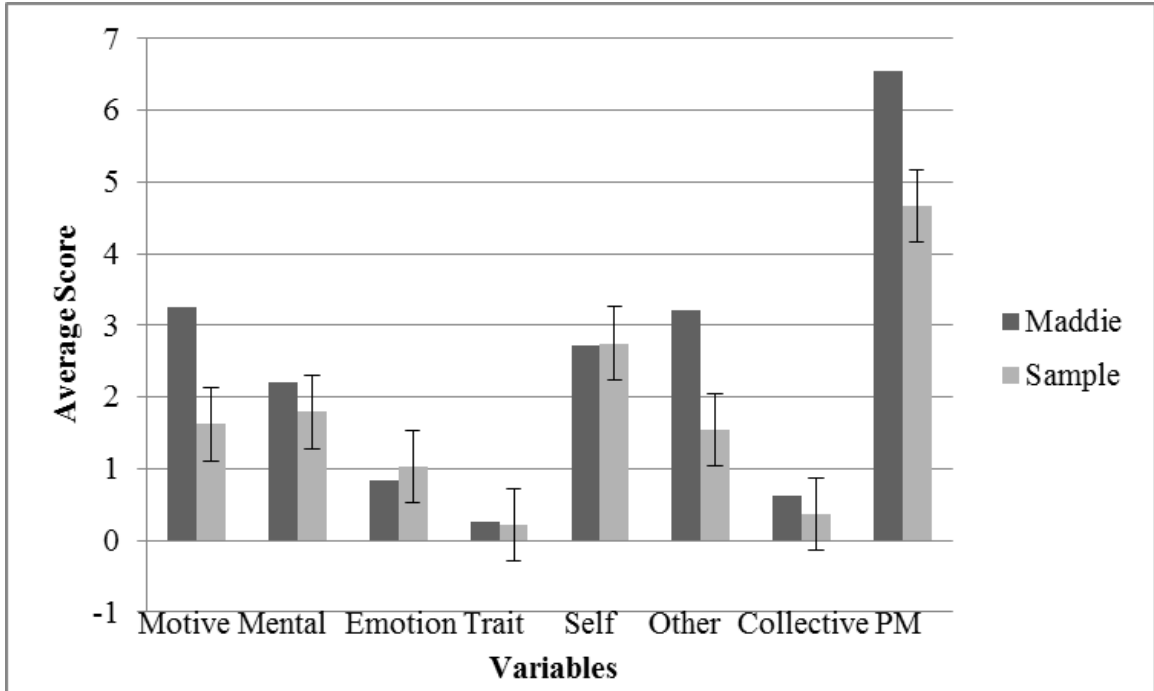


Figure 3. Maddie's average scores over 24 stories.

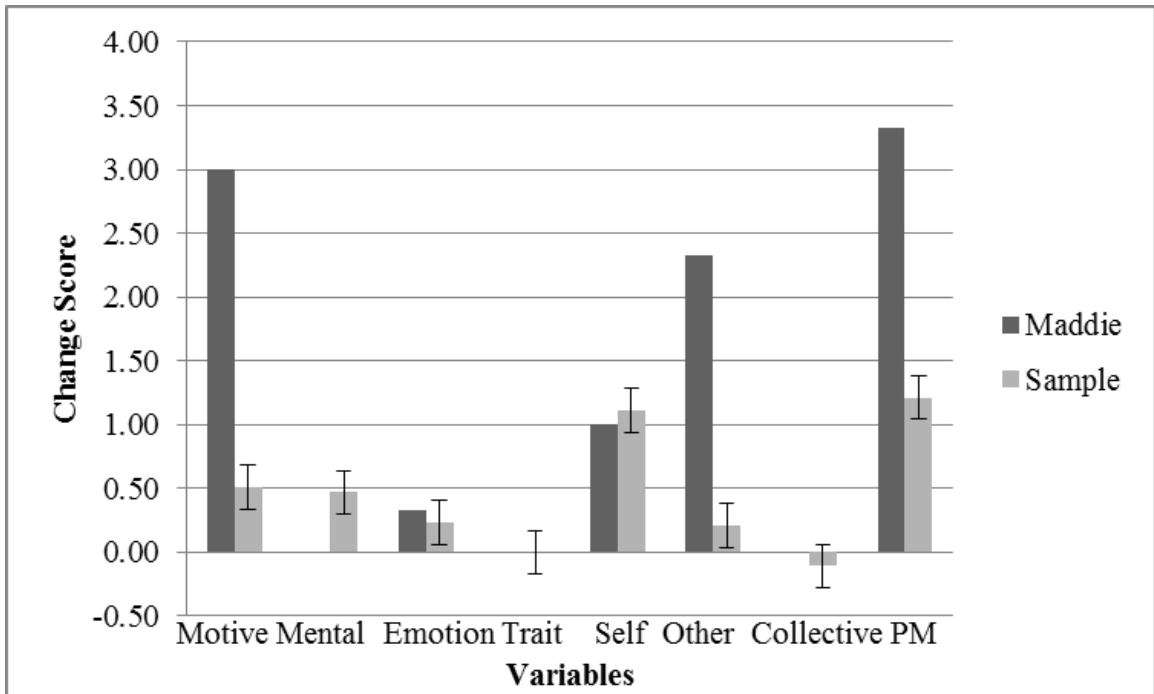


Figure 4. Maddie's change scores.

Example 5: Maddie, 2nd grade girl

A week ago I was at Seaside, Florida. And we were walking to town to get frozen yogurt. And when we were walking there they went in a store. And **I thought** they were following behind me and I went in a different store, and once **I looked back** to let them go past me, they were gone. So of course **I looked back** and I went out the door and started **looking** for them. But **I remembered** that they said that they were going to the frozen yogurt store, **so I** went to that frozen yogurt store and finally **found** them.

Though this narrative did include accounts about the actions of the other characters in the story, Maddie did not provide any information about their thoughts, motives, or feelings. She noted their behaviors and explained her own thoughts that occurred during the situation and how they guided her behavior (“I remembered that they said that they were going to the frozen yogurt store, so I went to that frozen yogurt store and finally found them”). This story demonstrated Maddie’s level of maturity in that she remained calm in a situation during which many others her age would be worried. She thought rationally about where they could be, and used these logical thoughts to resolve the ‘trouble’ of getting separated. Her lack of reports about the other is evident in this first story, especially compared to an excerpt from one of her stories that came much later in the program in which she described an event that was out of the ordinary and created conflict between her friends.

Example 6: Maddie, 2nd grade girl

Before it happened, we – it started in the afternoon. We had a couple of hours we went to Sydney’s house. Katie, Sydney, and me, and we went to Sydney’s house

to swim. And we were swimming. I was there first. So me and Sydney started swimming and diving for toys, and then Katie shows up. And **for some reason**, Katie had makeup on **because** she alw – she has a whole, like a whole room full of makeup. So **she doesn't dare** to just stay there, sitting there doing nothing without putting makeup on. So she has to put on makeup just for walking around the house, she has to put on makeup when **she's bored**. So she put on makeup and when she went underwater, she had mascara on and it dripped all down her face. It dripped all over her. And the water, **Sydney** got really **mad because** her pool was black water. **She** was really **mad**.

In comparison to the first narrative, this story is rich with accounts of the other's motives and emotions. Maddie opened with an explanation of the scene – a play date at a friend's pool – where one of her friends “shows up” after her. She then introduced the unordinary or non-canonical element to the story of this friend wearing makeup. She used irony to make a critique of Katie by explaining to her audience that she “doesn't dare” to not wear makeup, and that she has to put it on “when she's bored.” This represents an interesting attempt to experiment with sarcasm and introduce some humor into her story, elevating the level of sophistication even more. Maddie then introduced the event that became the conflict, which happened when Katie got in the pool, causing the makeup to “drip all down her face.” This in turn made Sydney “really mad because her pool was black water.” This author clearly demonstrated the motives and emotions of this actor in her story, and used these explanations to enrich the telling of a conflict. It is especially impressive because the author herself was not directly involved, and this ability to

understand and report about the psychological states of others is indicative of Maddie's progress throughout her time at KidsTalk.

What type of children did not benefit from KidsTalk? I examined eight children who demonstrated low change scores, often in the negative direction. All of these children decreased in total psychological mindedness ($M = -2.33$). Upon examination of the 107 stories contributed by these eight children, their change scores ranged from -4.00 to 3.00, all hovering around zero. I was able to sort six of these children into three main clusters. Two of these children acted differently during KidsTalk depending on whether or not their close friends were present, representing poor integration into the camp setting as a whole. Two other children were reserved, and this reflected their overall temperament and personality both in camp and even during the school year. Lastly, there were two children who displayed high participation and total story rates, were always very enthusiastic about attending and participating in KidsTalk, and were overall well-adjusted children. I am speculating that this could be a reason for their near-zero change scores – they were already very high-performing in terms of psychological mindedness from the beginning of their participation, leaving little room for improvement. Examples of each of these three types of non-improvers as well as their individual profiles are detailed below.

Children who were not well-integrated in camp. There were two children in particular who would only attend KidsTalk with a close friend, and then would contribute stories that were relatively low in psychological mindedness and perspective-taking. It is possible that these children failed to benefit from KidsTalk because their exclusiveness with their one friend limited their engagement with the other children as they shared their

stories with each other. Julie was one such child, a 6th grade girl who came to KidsTalk three times and told a total of six stories. She always attended KidsTalk when one of her neighbors or close friends was also going, and she tended to be fairly withdrawn at camp. My field observations showed her to be friendly and helpful in terms of assisting the counselors with setting up for art projects, preparing snack, and other small tasks around camp. She was one of the oldest campers there, and most children who were older did not attend camp as regularly as the younger kids. This may have influenced her small amount of participation, and even possibly her low change score of total psychological mindedness ($M = -4.00$). Julie also showed a psychological mindedness average across all of her stories that was in the 34th percentile ($M = 3.33$), as well change scores that were almost all negative or nearly zero. See Figures 5 and 6 for her average and change score profiles. Following those is an excerpt from one of her stories about a time something happened that was not fair, and it clearly exemplifies a sequence of events, but with little to no elaboration.

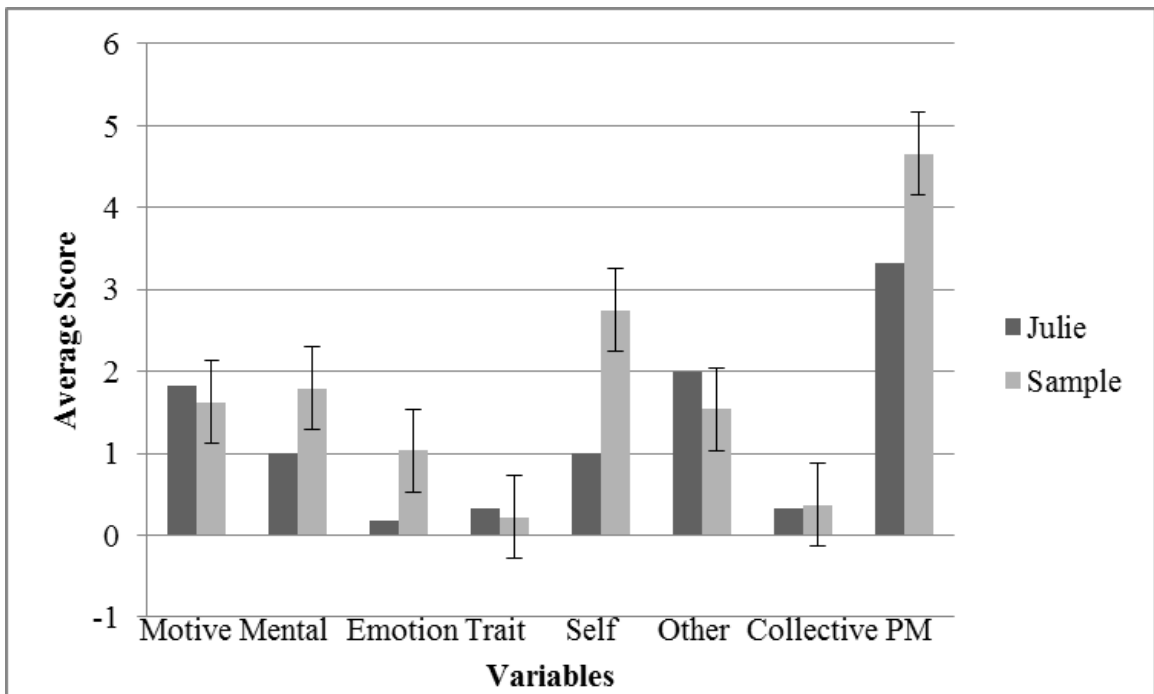


Figure 5. Julie’s average scores over six stories.

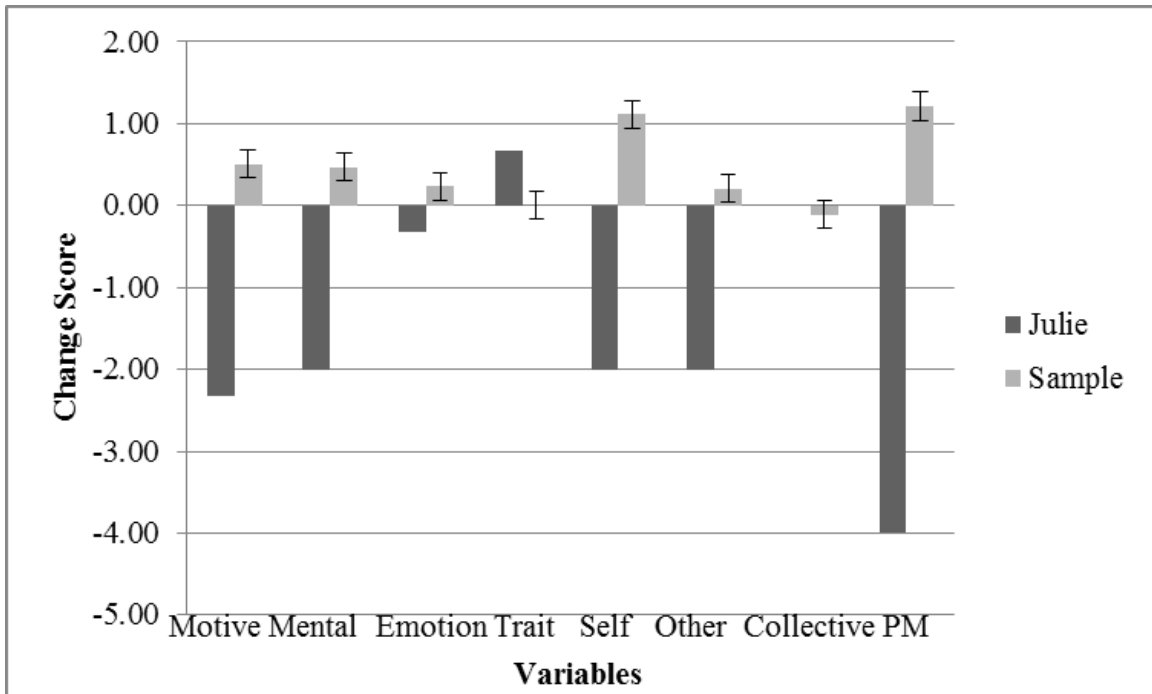


Figure 6. Julie’s change scores.

Example 7: Julie, 6th grade girl

And this guy behind me – so we were swimming and he just stops. And he just stops at the other end, and we had to swim a 160 which is four laps. So we swam the three laps and then he joined in on the end of the third lap **so he** could just swim back to the wall. And he did that multiple times. And every time my goggles would fill up with water, he would just pass and then he would come back, and then pass and then come back. So he would like, just cheat and stuff and it was really unfair.

Here, Julie recounted a story from swim practice in which one of her teammates was cheating. She first explained the specific set that the team was supposed to be doing, and then displayed one instance of positing a motive when she told the audience that this teammate joined in at the very end “so he could just swim back to the wall.” She followed this with a brief review of the events that followed, but with no explanation of

feelings or thoughts of herself or of any other characters in the story. She ended this narrative with a moral evaluation by concluding that “he would just cheat and stuff and it was really unfair,” suggesting that as a member of a team, he should have been abiding by the same rules and practicing along with everyone else, but his failure to do so created an unfair situation. This is an interesting example of a moral evaluation, but again, she provided hardly any accounts of the motives, thoughts, or feelings of herself or any other actor. This is a fairly representative story for Julie throughout her time at KidsTalk.

Another child who showed low psychological mindedness average and change scores was Violet, a 2nd grade girl who participated nine times and told 21 stories total, placing her at the high end of story contribution in comparison with the other children. Though a high amount of participation and story contribution was usually linked to high psychological mindedness, Violet was an outlier in this regard for a variety of reasons. First, she was the granddaughter of one of the camp directors, meaning she often had many privileges that other children did not have. Also, she was one of the few children who attended BLAST but was not a student at Woodland. Another camper, Lucy, was one of her closest friends, and they would often coordinate which days they were coming to camp so they could spend those days together. Violet was fairly sociable and playful, but could be reserved at times depending on whether or not her close friends, particularly Lucy, were there. She would also occasionally spend time in the camp office with her grandmother if she was bored or did not want to participate in camp activities. Almost all of her average scores fell within or below the 35th percentile, with her highest being reports about the self and total psychological mindedness. In addition, most of the change scores for the psychological mindedness and perspective-taking variables decreased from

her first three stories to her last three stories, except for talk about emotions and the self, which both increased slightly. See Figures 7 and 8 for Violet’s average and change scores. Following those graphs are two short stories, both of which serve as good representations of the types of stories she contributed throughout her time at KidsTalk. One is her second story and the other is her second to last story, and they demonstrate her lack of change in psychological mindedness from the beginning to the end of her participation.

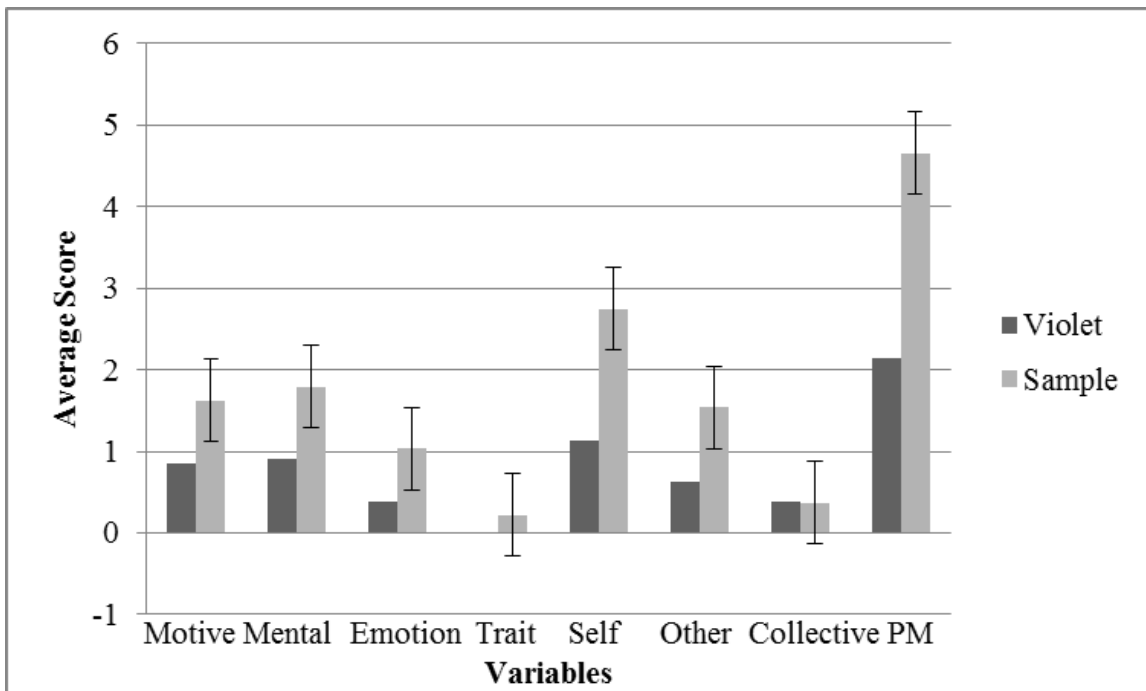


Figure 7. Violet’s average scores over 21 stories.

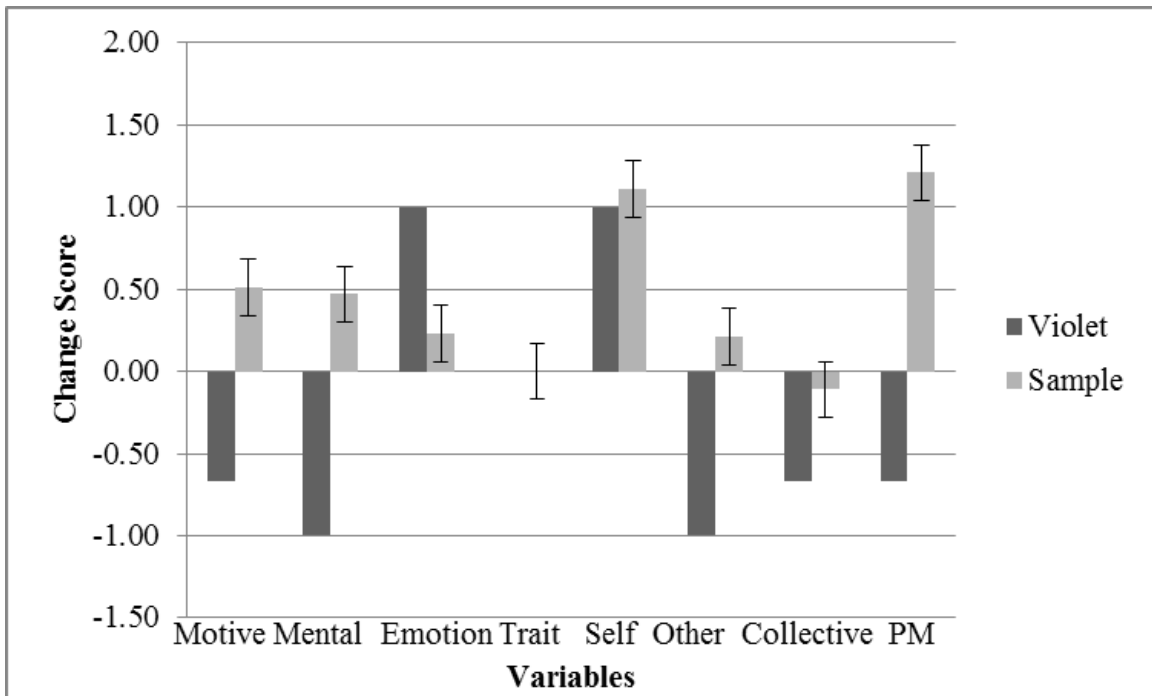


Figure 8. Violet’s change scores.

Example 8: Violet, 2nd grade girl

This is kind of like a fight and kinda not. There’s this girl in my class. **She** would make faces at me **for no reason**. Like if I told her something that was different, she would kind of make a face at me. And then once she made a face at me and then ran away. And I went back to her, and then she kept running away from me. And finally she stopped running away from me, and we had fun.

Violet told this narrative after being prompted to tell a story about a time she had a conflict with a friend. Although she did identify a conflict with a classmate, she seemed unsure of herself when she opened by explaining that this story “is kind of like a fight and kinda not.” She continued to reveal her uncertainty when she told the audience that this classmate would make faces at her “for no reason,” which was a statement about the motives of another character in the story (or in this instance, a lack thereof). This was the only instance of psychological mindedness in the story, and she then went on to recount

the landscape of action (“she made a face at me and then ran away,” “I went back to her,” “she kept running away”). She concluded her story by explaining that the classmate “finally stopped running away” and they were able to have fun together, but Violet did not report about the thoughts, emotions, or motives of herself or this actor in the story as the story ended, leaving the conflict resolution seeming abrupt and vague. Many of her other stories were similar in that she would quickly recount events, almost bashfully, and then conclude the story with a brief statement of resolution. Though her second to last story, listed below, did not involve a conflict with a friend, we can see a similar pattern in comparison to the story above in her attention to the landscape of action with very few reports of psychological mindedness or perspective-taking.

Example 9: Violet, 2nd grade girl

This was on Spring Break when I was in first grade. I was gonna get a cat that day, and I did. And so we went to like three places, but they didn't have cats, **so I started crying**, and finally I went to the House of Mews where my mom got her cat. And **we found** Meg, and she was so skinny when we got her. Now we've had her for a year, and now she's so fat.

As mentioned above, this story follows a very similar pattern in that Violet focused on telling the reader about the events with very little elaboration about thoughts, feelings, or motives of herself or other people in the story. She explained to the audience that she was going to get a cat, which stood as a declaration rather than a desire. Her first instance of psychological mindedness came when she said that she got upset upon realizing that the first three stores did not have cats (“but they didn't have cats, so I started crying”). Her only other instance of psychological mindedness came when she

said that she and her mom found their cat, Meg, at the House of Mews, but there was no further elaboration about what she thought or felt about her new cat. Her last few statements did not do much to conclude the story. Instead, they were descriptive sentences about the cat, and again, Violet ended her story abruptly. It was true that she was a likeable child who got along fairly well with most other children at camp. However, it may have been the case that her desire to come to camp and KidsTalk only when her closest friends were there may have influenced the types of stories she contributed because she did not feel well-integrated in the camp setting, which was then reflected in her stories that were low in the attention to her own and others' psychological states.

Those who were withdrawn. I identified two children who displayed low average and change scores as social outsiders. Most children were either part of a group or floated among various groups, but one child in particular, Emma, was an outlier. She was a 4th grade girl who participated eight times and contributed six stories. She was one of the only children who ever came to a session of KidsTalk and could not think of a story to contribute, and she actually did this four of the times she came to the program. Emma could be very withdrawn and reserved at times, often choosing to observe a situation or game being played rather than to participate herself. She was one of the children who would frequently sit out during games, both organized and informal, at camp, and she continued to show similar behaviors during the school year. She did get along well with her peers, but she was soft-spoken and often hesitated before joining a group of friends in an activity. Emma frequently stayed with me or one of the other counselors, preferring to stick with an adult and just talk or help prepare snack, for example, rather than play with

other campers. She had low averages for almost all of the variables (most were below or near the 45th percentile), except for reports of the self (76th percentile) and total psychological mindedness (53rd percentile) which were high. All of her change scores were negative (all fell below the 36th percentile) except for reports of the collective which was zero. See Figures 9 and 10 for Emma’s average and change score profiles. Following these graphs are two stories that she told about feeling left out in the same session, one after the other, and they were her last two stories.

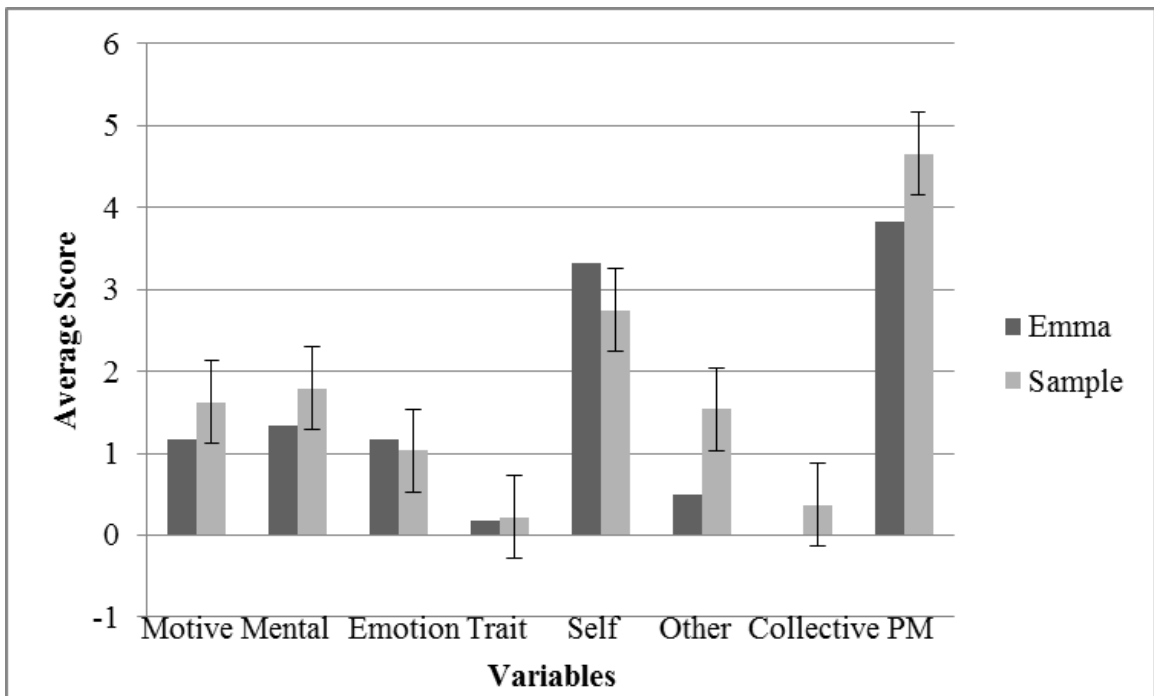


Figure 9. Emma’s average scores over six stories.

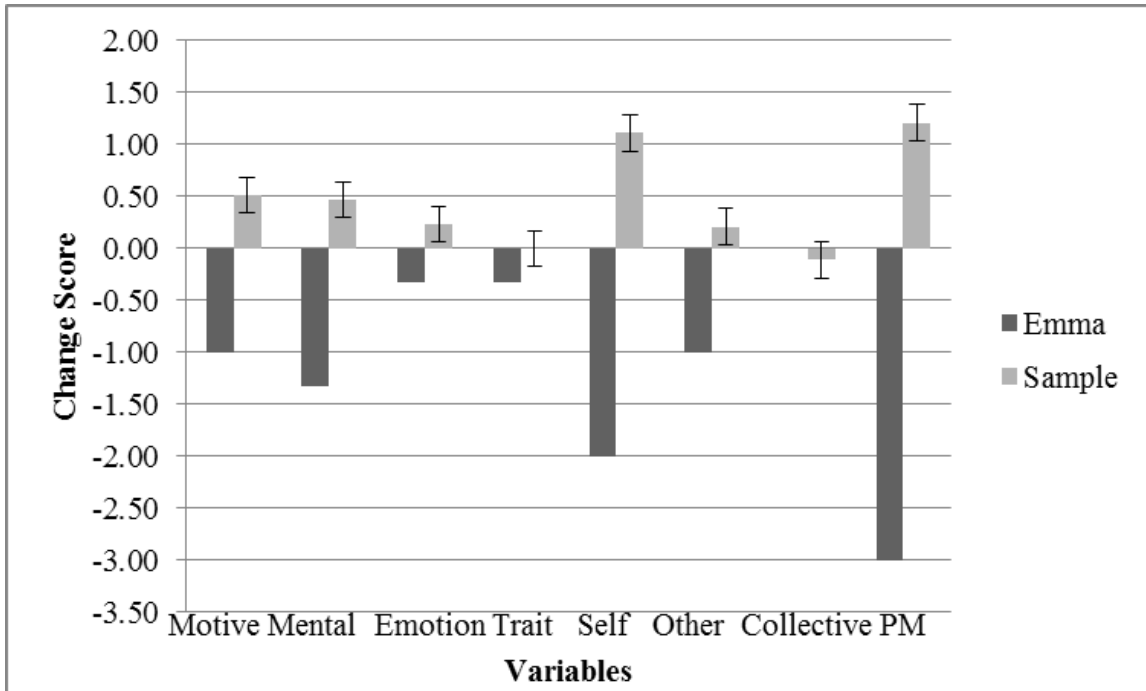


Figure 10. Emma’s change scores.

Example 10: Emma, 4th grade girl

So I had a sleepover with my neighbors, and **I was really bored**. And they were kind of just doing their own thing. And **I kind of felt left out because** they were just like doing it and they didn’t – well I mean it doesn’t go well with this topic so...I mean that was the wrong story to tell for me being left out...**I felt left out because** I mean, it was my sleepover.

Example 11: Emma, 4th grade girl

It was just them who were having a sleepover this time. And they didn’t tell me. And they said like they can – the person who had it could only invite two people, and so the two people were sisters. And so I didn’t get invited, and **I kind of felt left out once I had figured out** that they were having one.

In her first story about a sleepover with her neighbors, Emma began with two accounts of her own emotion as well as a reason for one of them (“I was really bored”

and “I kind of felt left out because they were just doing it”). Though she did provide these few instances of psychological mindedness, it is difficult as an audience member to fully understand her story because she was vague and often trailed off in her story-telling. She also stopped telling her story (“well I mean it doesn’t go well with this topic”), and she explained halfway through that it was not a good choice of story for this prompt, indicating that she was done. With some prompting from the facilitator, she concluded by repeating an emotion of the self she had previously stated (“I felt left out”), followed by a reason for this emotion (“because it was my sleepover”). It was never clear why she assessed this story as “not a good choice” for a prompt about feeling left out. After a few questions about possible stories from the other participants during this session, Emma asked if she could tell another story, which is the second one listed above. In this one, which was a little more organized and better constructed than the first, she told the listeners that this story was also about a sleepover with the same neighbors, but that this one took place at their house instead of hers. This is where we see the ‘trouble’ appear – the neighbors had a limited number of children they could invite, and Emma was not one of them (“the person who had it could only invite two people...and so I didn’t get invited”). She concluded this narrative with two instances of psychological mindedness – both reports of her own psychological states (“I kind of felt left out once I figured out that they were having one”). In this story, she described a common scenario of exclusion that many children experience during middle childhood. Even in examining both of these stories together, she depicted two sleepovers with the same people, one at her house and one at theirs, but both resulted in her feeling left out. These stories reflect her demeanor

outside of KidsTalk in that she was often withdrawn, tentative, and could be found playing or reading alone. These stories reveal much about Emma's character.

Those who were already exceptional story-tellers. There were two children whose total psychological mindedness average scores were high overall (both in the 80th percentile), but whose change scores either hovered around zero or were negative. These were children who were always very excited about coming to KidsTalk and almost always had more than one story to contribute during each session. It is likely that because these children were so high-performing overall in terms of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking, there was little room to improve, so their change scores appeared low. An analysis of their stories revealed that these children had highly developed narrative skills, which is evident in the stories below.

One of these well-adjusted children was Owen, a 5th grade boy who participated 17 times and told 22 stories total. He was very friendly, a high achiever academically, creative, and quick-witted. He got along with most of his peers, and he has demonstrated his skill in managing peer conflict and conflict resolution strategies as I have watched him grow over the past few years of knowing him. He loved coming to KidsTalk, and there were several instances in which he served as a role model for the younger boys in terms of participation in KidsTalk. Despite the fact that almost all of his change scores were near or below the 30th percentile, all eight of his average scores were near or substantially above the 73rd percentile. See Figures 11 and 12 for Owen's average and change score graphs. Most of his stories were high in examples of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking, and two examples are examined below his profiles.

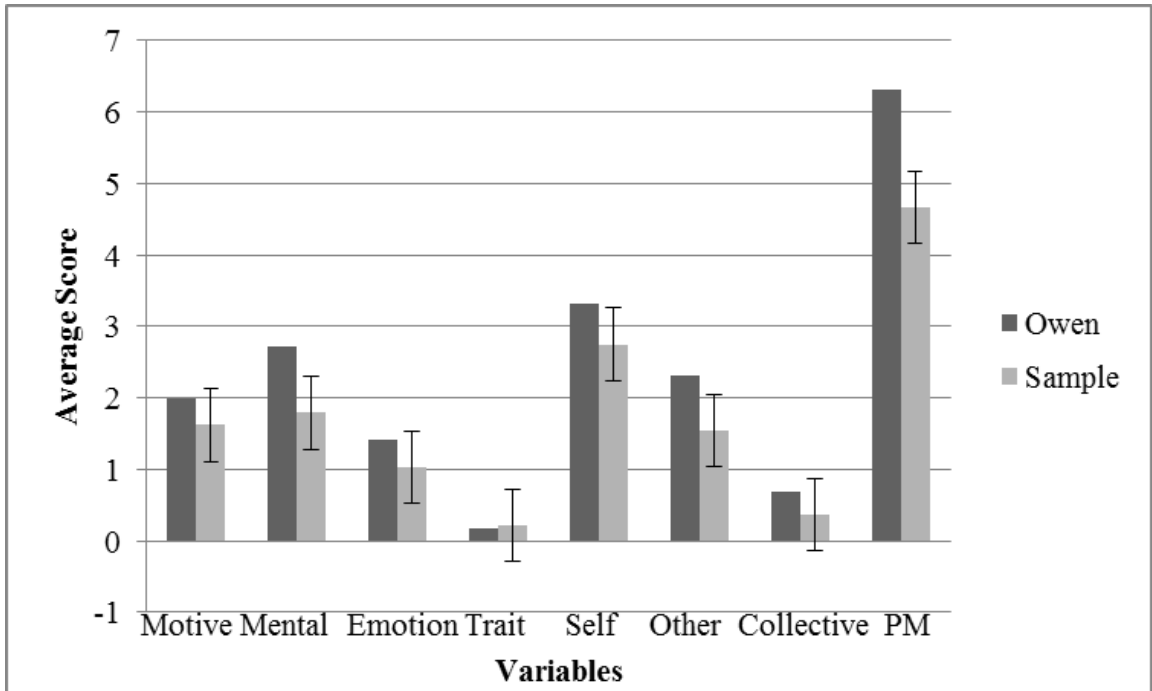


Figure 11. Owen's average scores over 22 stories.

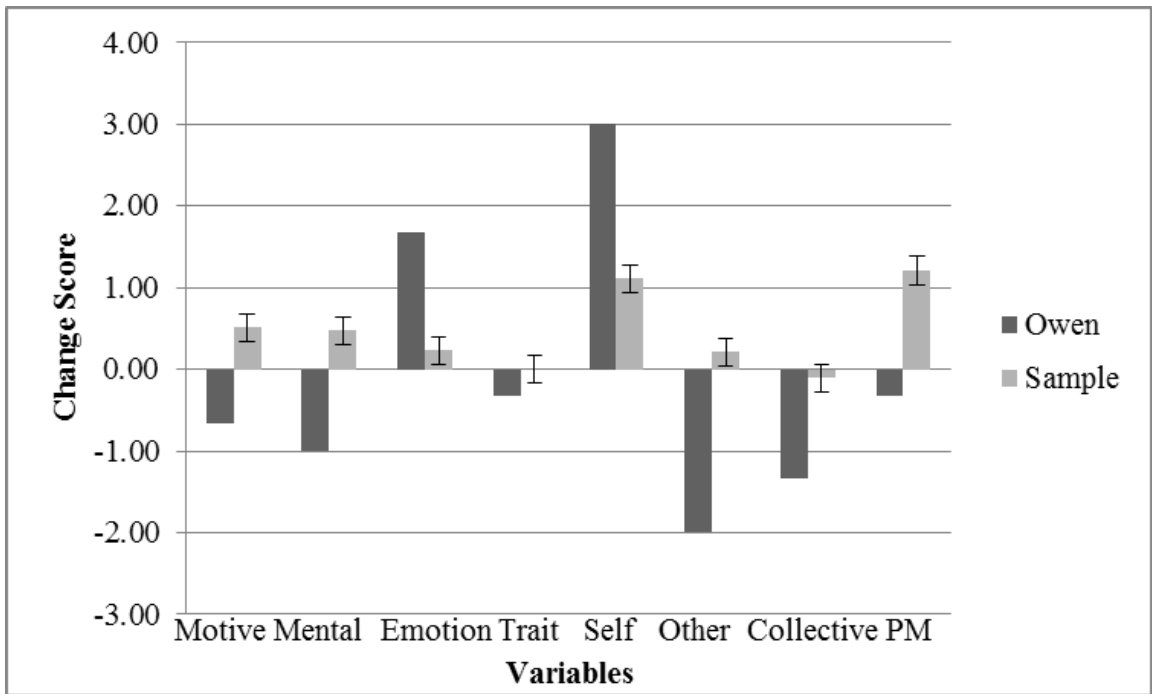


Figure 12. Owen's change scores.

Example 12: Owen, 5th grade boy

One time that I got lost was when my family went to the FedEx Forum to see the Memphis Tigers game. And it was during half time and I went to get some water, and I was done – and my grandfather came with me, and I was done drinking before him, and he was still drinking, so I started walking back to our seats and **he didn't know** where I was, and it turns out I took the long way back to our seats. And I was just sitting in – and when I got to the seats **I realized** that my parents weren't there, so **I just decided** to sit there **because** if **I searched** then I might go the wrong way and I'd just be chasing them around and around. **So that's why I just stayed** sitting in the seats, and **my dad** eventually **found me**. And **my mom** was **frantic**, I mean **she freaked out**, and **she was screaming at me**. [another child asks why she was screaming at him] **Because** I wandered off from my grandfather. So really, I wasn't lost. **My parents thought** I was lost and they were like **yelling**, “You could have been kidnapped by some **weird guy!**”

Owen began this story by giving the location and the reason for being there (basketball game at the FedEx Forum). He explained that he and his grandfather went to get a drink during halftime, and that because he finished his drink before his grandfather, he decided to go back to their seats. Owen was very logical and rational when explaining why he chose to do this (“I realized that my parents weren't there, so I just decided to sit there because if I searched then I might go the wrong way”). He presented many instances of motives, thoughts, and feelings of himself and of his parents and grandfather, all of which enriched this story. When his parents finally realized that he had been sitting in their seats all along and was not in fact lost, they were “frantic” and got very upset

with him (“screaming at me” and “they were yelling”). Owen displayed a very deep level of understanding at the end of the story when he said, “So really, I wasn’t lost. My parents thought I was lost and they were yelling, ‘You could have been kidnapped by some weird guy!’” He was able to explain to his audience that he was never really lost, but that his parents thought he was, thereby leading to their yelling at him which he quoted to give them a speaking role in his story. This story as a whole had several examples of complex usage of psychological mindedness and perspective-taking, as does the next story.

Example 13: Owen, 5th grade boy

One time that wasn’t fair was when – was when my family lost – lost one of the chargers and **we were all looking for it** and we can’t – and **we couldn’t find it**. And so the next day they said that I’m grounded, and I said, “**You don’t even know** it’s me!” Then **my dad started yelling at me**. And then, and then later that day after school, we said, “Maybe it’s in one of our pockets.” And then **my dad** went to his drawer and **checked** one of the pockets, and the charger was in there. Yeah, so he got the talk from my mom. [another child asked if he was still grounded] No, I wasn’t grounded. [another child asked if his dad said sorry] Yeah, he said sorry.

Here, Owen told a story after being prompted to tell about a time something happened that was not fair. He recounted a time when his family’s phone charger went missing for a few days. He reported a collective thought twice (“we were all looking for it” and “we couldn’t find it”). Collective mental states were rarely reported ($M = 0.22$ for the entire sample at the level of the child), and Owen fell in the 90th percentile with an

average score of 0.36 for reports of collective mental states. For the next part of the story, Owen introduced a moral dilemma – his parents chose to ground him without any evidence that it was his fault for the lost charger. He chose to quote himself to illustrate this response to injustice (“You don’t even know it’s me!”), to which his dad responded by yelling at him. He then explained that after a day at school, he came home to his parents suggesting that maybe one of them had put it in a pocket, and his dad, upon looking through his clothes, found the charger in one of his own pockets. Owen did not choose to focus on his own reaction to this discovery, but instead on his mom’s (“he got the talk from my mom”), thereby weaving some humor into his narrative. Both this story and the one above it portray Owen as a child who had highly developed narrative skills and was quite capable of creating a narrative and conveying with ease the various psychological states of himself as well as other actors in the story.

Another child whose average scores were high overall (almost all above the 50th percentile), but whose change scores were almost all negative (most below the 47th percentile) was Anna, a 2nd grade girl who participated 11 times and told 26 stories. See Figures 13 and 14 for her average and change score profiles. Anna was an upbeat, energetic girl who was very outspoken about the events in her life. Many of her stories focused on peer relations and depicted both the positive and negative aspects of managing friendships. Even when her stories were about conflicts with friends, siblings, or family members, she almost always paid attention to the psychological states of herself and the actors in the story, thereby enriching and working to make sense of these events. Below are Anna’s average and change score graphs, followed by one of her stories about a time she helped a friend.

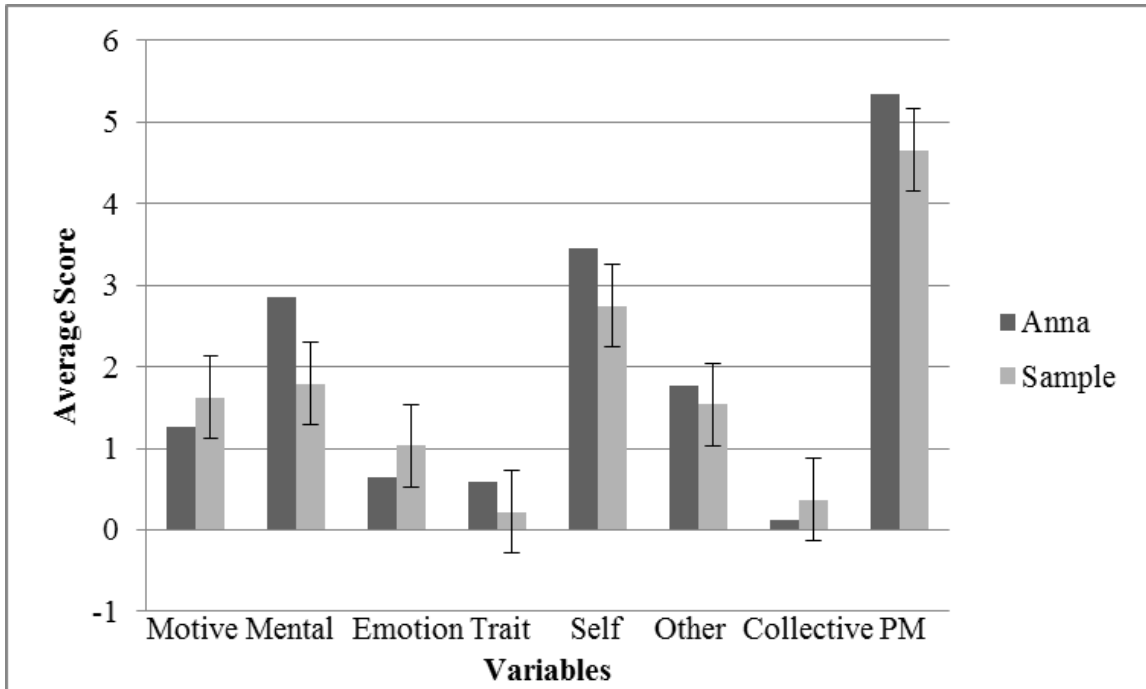


Figure 13. Anna's average scores over 26 stories.

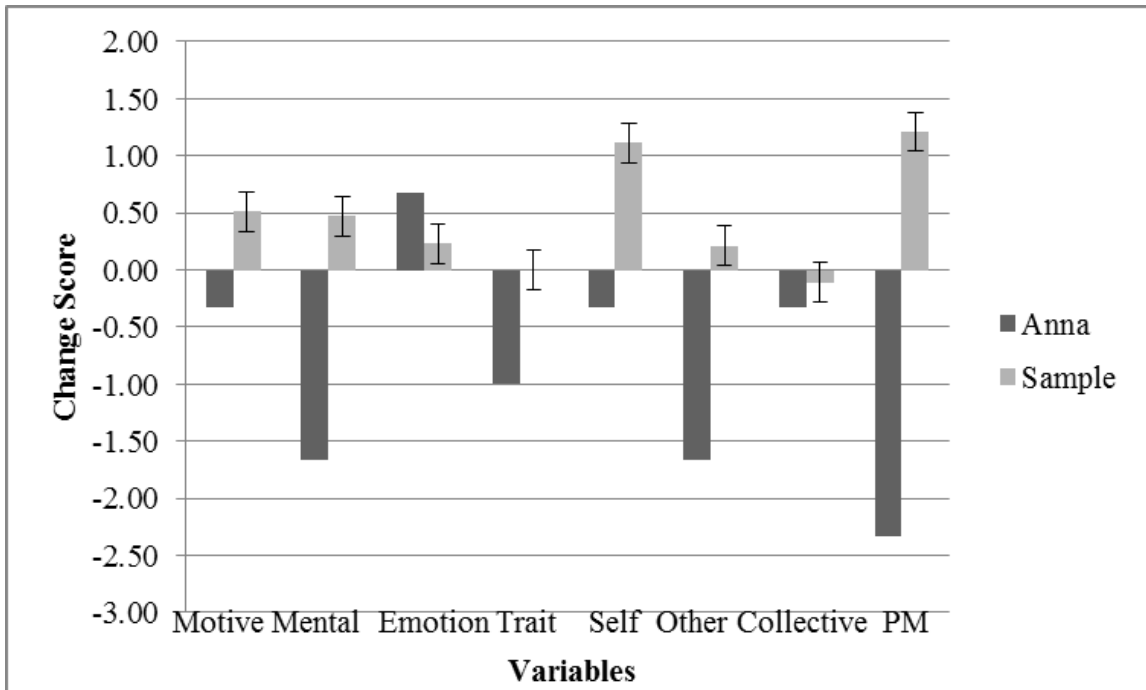


Figure 14. Anna's change scores.

Example 14: Anna, 2nd grade girl

So my neighbor, Alexis, **she didn't know** how to play basketball, and I asked my dad to lower the goal. And **I taught her – taught** her how to, like, shoot. It took a lot of practice, but it was worth it because **she really didn't know** how to play basketball, and **I wanted her to know** how to do it. **Because** she can run fast, and she can ride a scooter, and **I want** her to be like – she can play soccer, **I think**. So **I wanted** her to play basketball **so** she can be good at it. **So I taught** her how to play. It took 15 or 20 times before she could get the goal, and then she shot, like, seven goals after that. **She just kept trying**. And she was only, like, five.

Here, Anna responded to the prompt about helping a friend by talking about a time she helped her neighbor learn how to shoot a basketball. All of her examples of psychological mindedness were reports of motives and thoughts of both herself and another character in the story, which made sense for a narrative about wanting to teach someone something that they did not yet know how to do. She explained that it was difficult to teach her neighbor (“it took a lot of practice” and “it took 15 or 20 times before she could get the goal”), but she made a moral evaluation when she said that it was “worth it because she really didn't know how to play basketball.” In other words, teaching her friend how to do this had moral value. She even provided justifications for why she wanted to teach the neighbor to play (“she can run fast,” “she can ride a scooter,” “she can play soccer, I think”), essentially providing an evaluation of her athletic skills as a basis for her potential to learn how to play basketball. Anna explained that she simply wanted to teach her neighbor for the sake of helping her improve her skills (“so she can be good at it”), and that through much effort (“she just kept trying”),

her neighbor was able to shoot multiple goals successfully, even though “she was only, like, five.” She demonstrated her ability to attend to the psychological states of herself and others when telling about a time she engaged in a prosocial behavior by helping a friend. This is a very representative story for Anna throughout her time at KidsTalk.

Discussion

Summary and Interpretation of Results

My work has addressed two main questions about narrative practice and belongingness in children’s stories. I first explored narrative as a tool that reveals how children construe their challenges and experiences, and how their sharing stories with each other can shed light on how they understand exclusion and inclusion. Second, I examined narrative development as a skill that helps children establish and maintain a sense of belonging, especially through their attention to the psychological states of themselves and others. Children chose to talk about belongingness in their own words in a variety of ways. I identified 56 stories in this data set that portrayed instances of exclusion and inclusion. Interestingly, 19 out of the 28 prompts used in KidsTalk sessions elicited talk about belongingness, suggesting that these themes of exclusion and inclusion were truly important to the children.

The implementation of KidsTalk with my small sample as well as my 30-item measure of belongingness did not demonstrate a significant benefit of the program on children’s sense of belonging at BLAST. I believe that my measures of belongingness were not strong enough to yield significant findings, part of which may have been because the children were so well-adjusted throughout the duration of camp. In other words, the campers at BLAST were already happy and socially comfortable in this

setting, so the implementation of a story-sharing program did not significantly change these established aspects of the camp. Additionally, I believe that my measure of belongingness was not able to predict narrative skills because the children's scores on the pre-questionnaires were so high at the beginning of KidsTalk. There was a clear ceiling effect as seen by the mean score on the loneliness pre-test of 70.62 (SD = 8.26) out of a possible 80 (mean item score on the five-point scale was 4.41), and the mean score on the loneliness post-test of 69.32 (SD = 8.62) out of a possible 80 (mean item score on the five-point scale was 4.33), ultimately leaving little room to improve by the end of the four weeks of the program.

My results showed that participation in KidsTalk was related to one of my four measures of psychological mindedness in the children's narratives as evidenced by the increased reports of emotion with higher rates of participation. This suggests that the regular sharing of stories for these children may have prompted them to consider and talk about emotions of characters in their stories more so than they did before they began participating in KidsTalk. This supports the idea that KidsTalk promoted a collaborative environment of sharing stories and learning how to develop narrative skills and their attention to the landscape of consciousness through the process.

Though I did find this significant relationship between KidsTalk and talk about emotion, I also found that participation in this story-sharing program was negatively related to reports about the collective perspective in the children's stories. This finding is less easily explained, but it may be due to the fact that the collective perspective variable appeared very rarely in the stories. The range of collective reports per child was 0 – 15, and the mean per child per story was 0.37, with 18 (69.23%) of the children only

reporting the perspective of both the self and other jointly three or fewer times across all of their stories. By comparison, reports of self per child ranged from 0 – 90, with the mean per story per child at 2.75, with all of the children reporting their own perspective at least once. For the perspective of the other, the range per child was 0 – 77, and the mean per story per child was 1.54, with only 1 (0.04%) of the children never reporting the perspective of the other at all.

I replicated Stagg's (2007) findings of a narrative culture effect in that the later children's first stories occurred in the four weeks of KidsTalk, the higher their reports of motive, mental, others' perspectives, and total psychological mindedness were in their first stories. In other words, the children who dropped into KidsTalk later displayed high psychological mindedness and attention to the other characters in their first stories in comparison to their peers who started attending KidsTalk earlier in the four weeks. This suggests that these late-comers were able to develop their narrative skills outside of KidsTalk prior to entry in the program because they were involved in this camp setting where children were actively developing their story-telling abilities, and these abilities fostered the growth of a narrative culture at BLAST. This is a very encouraging finding because it underscores the benefits of establishing a story-sharing tradition in a setting like BLAST, something which is explored in more depth below. This finding suggests that even if children do not participate in a program like KidsTalk from the very beginning, they will still be able to benefit from the culture of story-sharing it fosters in the setting outside of KidsTalk.

The establishment of a narrative culture relates to Bruner's (1990) discussion of the importance of story-sharing in the transmission of culture. He argued that culture

happens when people come to share a folk psychology, or common sense about why people act the way they do. This develops as we tell and share stories with one another. Rogoff (2003) believed that culture can best be understood as a set of shared practices that members of a cultural community participate in together. One such practice is story-sharing, so when we observe the children in the present study participating in this practice and developing a narrative culture outside the program itself, we are seeing participants perpetuating the existence of a cultural community and actively developing a local cultural context at BLAST.

My statistical analyses showed evidence of improvements related to participation in KidsTalk, both for the individual children who participated most (in the amount of emotion talk in their stories) and for the camp as a whole over the course of the program (with improvements in overall psychological mindedness and in taking others' perspectives). To complement these statistical findings, my interpretive case analyses of specific children who did and did not improve in their reports of psychological mindedness allowed me to more fully assess these children's narrative skills and growth throughout the duration of the program. There were eleven children who showed improvements in their scores for the various components of psychological mindedness, and these were often children who participated seven or more times and contributed at least twelve stories. In other words, these were children who chose to participate in KidsTalk often and enthusiastically shared stories with the group. In contrast, there were eight kids who showed little to no improvement in their average and change scores, and I categorized them based on three major patterns I observed from examining their individual profiles (see Appendix G). The first pattern included children who were not

well-integrated into camp, which I defined as those kids who only came to KidsTalk when a neighbor or close friend was also attending. They were well-adjusted in certain friend groups at camp, but less so with the camp environment overall, and KidsTalk did not have a positive impact for them. The next group included children who were withdrawn. This section of my results highlighted one child in particular who often displayed very tentative, reserved behaviors both in her participation of KidsTalk as well as her overall demeanor in camp. The third and final pattern that I observed when looking at children who did not improve was those who were already exceptional storytellers. These kids had some of the highest participation and story contribution amounts. Moreover, they showed great enthusiasm in their attendance of KidsTalk and their sharing of stories. They encouraged friends to come with them, and also contributed stories that were almost always high in psychological mindedness. In summary, these interpretive analyses demonstrated the power of qualitative analyses by highlighting the progress and patterns that could be seen in individual or small groups of children.

KidsTalk in a Camp Setting

Part of the motivation for this study was to provide feedback to the camp and school administration about the effectiveness of KidsTalk programming. There are three major points relevant to a decision to continue KidsTalk in after-school and in camp programming in the future.

First, KidsTalk was an activity that the children enjoyed. There were many instances in which I announced to the children that KidsTalk would be starting soon, and was surprised to find children electing to come inside from other fun activities such as Water Day, a well-loved weekly event that involved playing outside, snow cones, and

water slides. Out of the 26 children who participated in this study, 15 (57.69%) of them chose to come to KidsTalk at least 50% or more of their possible opportunities to attend. There were often at least three to five other activities the children could choose to do at this time during camp, so the fact that the children were eager to sit in a circle and share stories about their personal experiences in a variety of domains is evidence that we should provide more opportunities for this kind of face-to-face engagement in their worlds.

Second, KidsTalk gave me an opportunity to see clearly that BLAST was a largely happy place with well-adjusted children. I found the children to be very encouraging and supportive of one another both inside and outside KidsTalk. In my facilitation of the KidsTalk sessions, I often listened to children tell stories about injustice or times they felt left out, almost always followed by affirmation or support from the other children in the group. Comments such as “Did he say he was sorry?” and “That really wasn’t fair” were common in response to peers’ stories about injustice and hurt feelings, for example. This kind of affirmation happened across age and friend groups. These supportive behaviors may be related to the findings of children’s increased talk about emotions as well as the finding of the development of a narrative culture, ultimately creating an environment in which attention to the psychological states of the self and others was encouraged.

Lastly, many of the prompts I used elicited light-hearted themes in the children’s stories. However, when I asked the children to talk about fairly serious matters (*e.g.*, experience of injustice, experience of feeling left out, experience of getting lost or injured), I found that they listened to each other attentively and told about their

experiences thoughtfully. I was impressed by how encouraging and supportive of one another they were and how seriously they took these prompts. For example, both sessions about “a time you felt left out” were much more subdued than those about getting a surprise or going on a field trip. The children recognized that feeling left out was a serious experience that they all shared, and that being supportive and listening to each other was especially important in this session. These observations demonstrated to me the importance of talking about serious topics with children. We should not be afraid to have these heavier conversations because they are truly important in children’s lives, and talking through their experiences fosters compassion and empathic listening in these groups of children. In light of interest expressed by the school and camp administration in continuing KidsTalk as an optional afternoon activity in the upcoming summer and after-school programming, my observations will be used to strengthen the implementation of KidsTalk and involve even more children in story-sharing.

Limitations

Part of my goal in implementing KidsTalk at Woodland was that I would be able to show a clear increase in psychological mindedness and perspective-taking with increased participation, and that this increase would be related to increases in a sense of belonging among the children. Three features of the study limited the extent to which I was able to realize these hopes.

Control group. This study did not include a control group of children who did not participate in KidsTalk. Instead, I compared children who participated frequently to those who participated less frequently. Ideally, the children would have been randomly assigned to participate never, a little, or a lot, but because the camp setting did not allow

for this manipulation, I was unable to create a control group. I was concerned about the possibility that the children who elected to participate most frequently were also the children who already had a strong sense of belonging or strong narrative skills. However, I am confident that the children's decisions to participate were not related to any systematic differences between them. Since I found no correlation between participation frequency and scores for the first three stories, I can conclude that the children who were highest in psychological mindedness from the beginning were not necessarily likely to participate in the program the most frequently. Rather, participation was mostly reliant on whether or not the children were present at camp which, as stated earlier, depended on a variety of factors including extracurricular camps, parents' schedules, and general interest. Taking all of this into consideration, it would have in fact been impossible to create a control group in this setting since I had no way of knowing which children would be at camp on which days. Many of the features that were not controlled in the implementation of this study (*e.g.*, how many times children participated in KidsTalk, which children attended the sessions together, and the types of prompts I used) are features that would vary in implementation of such a program in a natural environment, and this contributes to the external validity of this study.

Belongingness measure. My measure of belongingness was not sensitive enough to detect differences in this group of children. This most likely resulted from the children being so well-adjusted in the camp setting from the onset, so they showed very little change from the pre-questionnaire to the post-questionnaire after four weeks of program implementation. The loneliness scale has primarily been used in educational settings (Davidson et al., 2013; Jackson & Cohen, 2012; Jobe-Shields et al., 2011; Schoffstall &

Cohen, 2011), and I have not seen this measure used in a study that was conducted in a camp setting where a primary goal would be that the children have fun. Because camp staff may have been more attentive to and supportive of good peer relationships than we would see in a primarily educational setting, my belongingness measure may not have shown strong effects with this particular population of children.

Too few participants. This study included 26 participants, only 19 of them contributing at least six stories so that I could establish change scores. This limited my data in providing good statistical power for the tests I ran. This small N was largely a result of the overall small size of the camp, as well the variety in camper schedules and inconsistency of camp attendance. These factors limited me from having a large sample of children, evenly distributed by grade, on a regular basis. However, the amount of data I collected was more than the amount normally used for a qualitative analysis. I am confident in my descriptive and interpretive analyses of the children's stories, as they create a rich story for the overall narrative culture of BLAST.

Implications and Contributions

Educational practice. The culture effect I am suggesting from my results has important implications for educational practices. It is beneficial for educational programs, such as schools, after-care programs, and summer camps, to establish a tradition of story-sharing. Many classrooms include narrative-related activities such as writing individual narratives as a part of literacy instruction (Fang, 2011; Fitzgerald & Teasley, 1986). As a complement to the benefits of these types of activities, establishing a story-sharing tradition would focus on the collaborative creation and sharing of personal narratives among the members of the community. My research adds to previous work (Harrison &

Walton, 2009; Stagg, 2007; Walton & Brewer, 2002) and strengthens my confidence that some of the benefits of such a program become evident when narratives are shared in addition to being told or written individually.

Establishing a story-sharing tradition. In order for a successful narrative culture to be established in a community such as a school or camp, there are several features that must be met. Lundy (2007) argued that there are four key necessities in the successful implementation of such a program: space, voice, audience, and influence. First, a designated space where children can be heard is crucial to developing a narrative culture. Next, implementing practices that help the children feel safe, comfortable, and confident in expressing themselves and talking about their experiences with their voices is also critical. Though Lundy used audience to mean adults who listen to the children respectfully, having an audience that includes peers is also important. In this project, for example, KidsTalk was mostly an audience that consisted of peers, aside from me, and I observed on a daily basis the encouragement and collaboration of these children in the telling of their stories. An audience comprised of encouraging and respectful members of the community – both adults and peers – is the most promising type of audience for the successful development and strengthening of a narrative culture. Lundy's last component, influence, refers to the audience's willingness to respond to specific concerns that the children raise in their sharing of stories. Again, Lundy meant for this audience to be adults, but an audience of fellow children can respond to concerns in encouraging and important ways. A community in which children can talk and listen to one another and be encouraged to solve problems together is key as they work to develop a cultural

community. This may be just as important as encouraging adults to listen to children, if not more so.

Children as agents of change. Children have the power to effect change in their communities. In most of the research looking at peer relationships, it is clearly the adults who do the research, attempt to implement change in the children's social worlds, and ultimately hold nearly all the power. However, my research has increased my inclination to be respectful of children's power to be social change agents. The more they share and listen to each other's stories, the more likely they are to become attentive to each other's psychological states and nurture a supportive, even protective, community for the more vulnerable members. For example, the children who listened to Emma, the 4th grade girl who displayed tendencies of a withdrawn child, tell her stories about feeling left out at a sleepover might feel more inclined to include her and possibly even protect her from further rejection, particularly in comparison to the children who did not share stories in this way. As children share stories with one another, they develop their psychological mindedness skills and learn to attend to the motives, thoughts, and feelings of other members of their communities. This ultimately adds to the grounding for compassion, belongingness, and empathic listening, furthering the children's development of a cultural community. They act as agents of change by virtue of the fact that they are sharing stories, thereby demonstrating that they have the power to create a compassionate and just community for themselves in which children listen to each other.

For Future Research

Different types of settings. KidsTalk has been implemented in multiple settings, including after-school programs, camps such as BLAST, and community centers.

However, this story-sharing program has previously only been evaluated in a community center, so it may be that it has a bigger impact in some settings rather than others. Future studies could examine the impact of KidsTalk in multiple settings.

Pronoun usage. Pennebaker (2011) has produced interesting research about pronoun usage in different forms of speech, and this may be something worth examining as a measure of belongingness for future research that could be more sensitive than the belongingness questionnaire I used in the present study. The first person possessive pronoun “my” as well as the first person plural pronouns including “we,” “our,” and “us” may serve as strong indicators of possessions and feelings of belonging in children’s narratives. It could be interesting to examine the children’s use of these words, particularly in relation to themes of belongingness such as exclusion and inclusion, as well as what the pronouns are referring to (people, objects, places, etc.)

Narrative data and qualitative analyses. Much of the previous research that has attempted to look at psychological mindedness has created hypothetical scenarios and examined children’s responses to them. However, these studies did not consider the cultural context in any depth, which is a major factor in how children respond to these scenarios and make judgments in light of them. One of the strengths of KidsTalk and similar methods of data collection is the manner in which they allow us to look at the local cultural context. For example, it may be that we could learn more in the setting of a camp in which the context emphasizes having fun and maintaining strong bonds with peers, which would then have important implications for running the story-sharing program in an after-school setting. When we do research this way, it allows us to be attentive to features of the local cultural context, including how children are respected

and listened to by adults and peers, as well as how they expect to be treated by other members of their community and how their stories will be received. It is important that future studies keep this local cultural context in mind as they seek to learn more about how children develop and thrive in different settings, especially in light of a story-sharing program such as KidsTalk.

An aspect of future research that would be beneficial in improving a story-sharing program like KidsTalk would be to gather feedback from the children themselves about their experiences participating in the program. Understanding whether or not the children enjoyed KidsTalk and why they chose to come would provide valuable information about how to improve the program in the future. In addition, asking the children about their opportunities to share stories in situations outside of KidsTalk would be informative since it would reveal more about their story-sharing habits outside of a program specifically for the telling of narratives. From my observations, KidsTalk was successful across age and friendship groups, so it would be especially important if, for example, the children said that they do not often experience story-sharing in their normal friend groups, but that participation in KidsTalk was the main opportunity to do so. Exploring research ideas such as these would allow us to learn more about when participating in KidsTalk and listening to peers morphs into a social norm of showing respect. This would require longitudinal data, and it would be interesting to see how a cultural community could develop over time through the creation of a story-sharing practice.

In an attempt to see what happens to children before and after their participation in a story-sharing program such as KidsTalk, we need to develop a method of measuring the stories they spontaneously tell throughout the day. This could be achieved through the

use of recording devices for individual children. Especially in light of ongoing research in our lab that has been working on the development of an assessment of compassion and empathic responding, these methods would allow us to examine changes in friend groups as well as children's developing levels of empathy as they share stories. Research done by Keller (2006) with preschoolers might also motivate us to look at these stories told spontaneously throughout the day to examine themes or styles of speaking that the children may pick up from one another. This development of a local way of talking could be seen over time by examining my KidsTalk sessions chronologically. This type of research could potentially reveal information not only about the stories themselves but also about any communicative themes that may have emerged as a result of story-sharing.

A key component of empathic listening and responding is being part of a collaborative, supportive story-sharing community. One means of assessing this would be through a session-level examination of comments and responses that children make to one another's stories. The present study focused on the stories themselves, but the audio recordings I collected include these comments by other children. These comments might be a good starting point for future research on collaborative story-sharing, which would be critical in furthering the research on children's creation of cultural communities grounded in compassion, belongingness, and empathic responding.

Conclusions

As Bruner (1990) argued, narrative is a critical tool for making meaning out of the world around us and our social interactions with others. Telling and sharing stories is beneficial to children as they learn to make a place for themselves in their social worlds and develop the skills to maintain friendships with others. Since narrative encourages us

to think psychologically, it aids in children's attempts to understand the motives, thoughts, emotions, and traits of other people, as well as of themselves, when recounting an event in a personal narrative. This ability to position oneself and understand the reasons behind people's behaviors is critical, especially in middle childhood, because this is an important time when children must learn how to navigate their social worlds.

The establishment of a story-sharing community is critical as children learn to listen and respond to each other in such a way that they develop a cultural community. Providing them with opportunities to share experiences with one another allows them to develop compassion and empathic listening skills in a world where their face-to-face interaction is diminishing. The children who participated in the current study and the stories they contributed represent the importance of a collaborative story-sharing culture, underscoring the value of narrative as a tool for understanding and meaning-making and ultimately empowering these children to better understand their interactions with others in order to develop a strong sense of belonging.

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Appendix A: KidsTalk Protocol

Welcome to KidsTalk! This is all about sharing stories with each other. You know how, every day, you learn from what happens to you? Well, that's the idea behind KidsTalk – that by sharing our experiences with our friends, we can learn from each other. You guys all know that I'm a college student, right? I'm a college student, and I'm also a researcher. Does anybody know what a researcher is? [The facilitator allows some time for children to provide answers for what they think a research is]. So basically a researcher is someone who is curious and interested in learning new things. I'm researching what it's like to be a kid your age because things have changed since I was a kid. I'm going to record KidsTalk with my phone because I'm really interested in giving you guys a voice and hearing what you have to say about what it's like to be a kid your age. So the way KidsTalk works is we go around in a circle, and I'll give you a prompt or a topic. Then, I'll give my story, and then we'll go around and everyone can share a story if you can think of one. Or if you need some time to think, that's fine too. There's no time limit, and if we have enough time at the end, we can go back around and tell more than one story each. Also, this is the talking stick [shows the talking stick to the children]. We'll pass this around and when you're holding it, that means it's your turn to talk. We are going to be respectful of the person who's telling their story and give them our full attention, okay? Does anyone have any questions about my project or anything about what we will be doing before we start? [Facilitator answers any questions that the children have about the project, KidsTalk, the specific prompt, etc.]. So today we are going to tell about a time that [prompt]. Think about what happened from the beginning to the end, as much as you can remember. [Facilitator tells example story to begin the session].

Appendix B: List of Prompts

- 1) Tell a story about something that happened on a field trip.
- 2) Tell a story about a time you tried something new.
- 3) Tell a story about a time you or someone else got in trouble.
- 4) Tell a story about a time you or someone else did something dangerous.
- 5) Tell a story about a conflict you had with a friend. Tell about an argument, a fight or a misunderstanding.
- 6) Tell a story about a time you made something.
- 7) Tell a story about a time you helped someone.
- 8) Tell a story about a time you felt scared.
- 9) Tell a story about a big change that happened in your life.
- 10) Tell a story about a time you got lost.
- 11) Tell a story about a time something happened that was not fair.
- 12) Tell a story about a time you felt embarrassed.
- 13) Tell a story about a time you felt proud.
- 14) Tell a story about a time you felt left out.
- 15) Tell a story about a time you got a surprise.
- 16) Tell a story about a time someone was mean to you.
- 17) Tell a story about something that happened on the 4th of July.
- 18) Tell a story about a time someone cheated.
- 19) Tell a story about a time you visited relatives.
- 20) Tell a story about a time you cheered someone up.
- 21) Tell a story about a time you broke something.
- 22) Tell a story about a time you fixed something.
- 23) Tell a story about a time you helped someone younger than you.
- 24) Tell a story about a time you got hurt or hurt someone else.
- 25) Tell a story about a time you felt angry.
- 26) Tell a story about a time you felt happy.
- 27) Tell a story about a time you felt thankful.
- 28) Tell a story about a time you felt unthankful.

Appendix C: Participation Rates

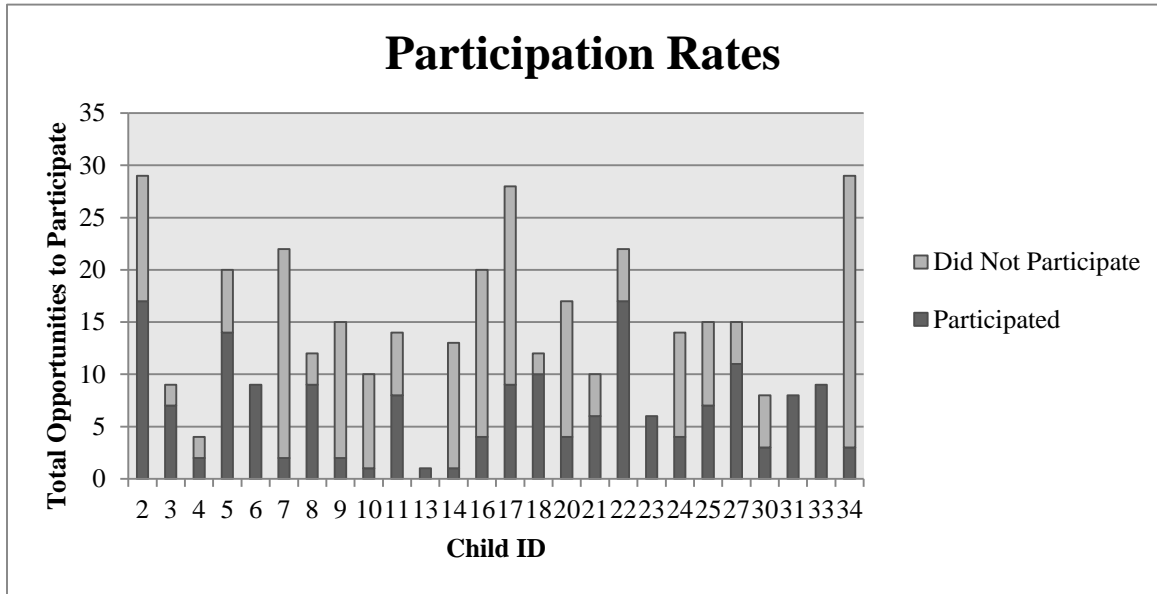


Figure 15. Amount of times children chose to participate and not participate in KidsTalk.

Appendix D: Belongingness Questionnaire

How's It Going at BLAST?**1. I like going to BLAST.**

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

2. I trust my friends at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

3. I like BLAST activities.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

4. I do not like being around my friends at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

5. My friends are kind to me at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

6. People at BLAST are mean to me.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

7. There are no other kids I can go to when I need help at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

8. I get along with the other BLAST kids.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

9. I like going to the Wii Room at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

10. It's hard for me to make friends at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

11. I'm good at working with other children at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

12. I'm lonely at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

13. I like arts and crafts at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

14. I feel left out at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

15. Counselors and students treat each other with respect at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

16. It's easy for me to make new friends at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

17. I don't have any friends at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

18. It's hard to get kids at BLAST to like me.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

19. I like going to the Lego Room at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

20. I have nobody to talk to at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

21. I have lots of friends at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

22. I don't have anyone to play with at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

23. I like playing in the gym at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

24. I don't get along with other children at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

25. I can find a friend at BLAST when I need one.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

26. I like going to Paper Planet at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

27. I feel alone at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

28. I am well-liked by the kids at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

29. People care about each other at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

30. I feel safe at BLAST.

always true true most of the time sometimes true hardly ever true not true at all

Appendix E: Coding Manual

Coding Process:

Listen to the entire story and read along with the transcript once before beginning to code. Then, code each story for each instance of the following variables (for ID and location, code the entire story, but for the rest, just code the instance). Code everything in the text of the transcription.

Psychological Mindedness

As you listen to the story and read the transcript through the first time, ask yourself about the author's attention to the psychological states of the characters in the story. Does the author report what he or she and other characters were thinking and feeling as the story unfolds?

Consider the following categories of psychological mindedness, and also note whether the instance is attributed to the self, other, or both self and other (we). Consider each section denoted by a Roman numeral separately (motives, emotions, mental states, and character traits), summing across the a, b, and c categories.

Consider the sections marked with Roman numerals in a "flow" sequence – *i.e.* if the instance does not count as a motive or intention (Roman numeral I), then move on to mental states and activities (Roman numeral II) and so on.

Highlight the word or words that indicate the motive, thought, emotion, or trait of any character in the story, and code those words to the appropriate NVivo code, as defined below. Generally, highlight only as much text as is necessary to indicate the child's meaning. If the motive, thought, emotion, or trait is negated, highlight the negation along with the word that indicates the psychological feature. If the author says a word or phrase that should be counted as psychological mindedness, but he or she does not finish the sentence (e.g. "Sometimes I **try to** – I like racing with my dogs in the backyard..."), still code that word or phrase.

"She **wanted** to ride her bike down the hill." In this instance, highlight "wanted" to indicate motive/intention of the character.

"He **didn't know** what was going on." In this instance, highlight "didn't know" to indicate a negation of a mental activity of the character.

- I. Reports about own, other, or collective motives or intentions (character's reason for doing something).
 - a. Any report that attributes to a character in the story a goal or effort towards a goal or that denies or negates a goal state.
 - i. Desiring, wanting, wishing, hoping for

- ii. Trying to, going for, seeking. Note: count “try” by itself when it indicates effort, **NOT sampling** (e.g. “I tried sushi for the first time” would not count, but “I tried riding my bike today” would count).
 - iii. Doing something on purpose or accidentally (only count mistakes when it signals intentionality, count “mean to” or “mean it” when this indicates intentionality, otherwise, see if “mean” counts as either a mental state/activity or a character trait)
 - iv. Expressions of “just kidding,” “not serious,” and “only joking” will count because it indicates the character did not intend something literally, but still recognizes what an intention is.
 - 1. Be careful with “serious” because it will sometimes count as an intention and other times will be a mental state (e.g. “I said I didn’t like her but I wasn’t being serious” would be coded as an intention, whereas “The teacher told us to get serious” would be a mental state).
- b. Any report of a character’s reason or cause for behavior or action. Noun forms will almost always count here (e.g. “We are not friends for multiple reasons”).
- i. “For,” “because,” “so,” “since,” and “to” count if the child or character uses it to explain someone’s reason for doing something or motivation for a particular behavior. Be careful that the word is being used to make a causal link, **not to show temporal order** (e.g. “I felt left out once I figured out that they didn’t invite me” in which “once” would not be coded).
 - ii. When the child begins a clause with “so,” ask yourself whether it makes sense to substitute “so therefore” or whether it makes sense to substitute “so then.” Code the former, but not the latter. Do not count “so” if one could reasonably substitute “and” without losing meaning.
 - 1. Code “He was mean to me so I didn’t invite him.”
 - 2. **DO NOT CODE** “My mom came to pick me up. So we went to pick up my dad. Then we went home.”
 - 3. **DO NOT CODE** “We went on this fieldtrip. So I was sitting by Joe.”

- c. Any report of a character NOT having a reason or not knowing why someone did something.
 - i. “I don’t know why I did it.”
 - ii. “She had no reason to say that.”
 - d. If a child reports a motivational state and indicates that it persists over time, this should only be coded as a motivation.
 - i. “He always wants to be the boss.”
 - ii. “She’s always trying to get me in trouble.”
- II. Reports about own, other, or collective mental activities, mental states, or mental traits. Specific examples and subtypes are described below, but a general decision rule is: If you can capture the child’s meaning by substituting a clear mental state verb, then the child’s locution should be coded in this category.
- a. Mental activities (e.g. thinking, guessing, wondering, noticing, remembering, knowing, believing [include “buying it”], imagining, learning, understanding, searching, proving, solving, finding/finding out, pretending, ‘getting it,’ dreaming, checking, etc.)
 - i. Verbs of perception (hearing, seeing, touching, smelling, tasting) will generally not be counted as mental state verbs, unless they are used metaphorically to indicate mental activity.
 - 1. The verb “to see” is frequently used to describe mental states. Use this decision rule to determine whether or not to code perception verbs: If it can be substituted with “understand” or “discern,” count it as a mental state [note: this is a good test for all counts of mental processes mentioned].
 - a. “I could see how she did it.” Here the child’s meaning could be paraphrased to “I could understand how she did it.”
 - b. **DO NOT CODE** “I couldn’t see the blackboard from the seat.” Here the substitute of the word “understand” would not capture the child’s meaning, so this instance of “see” would not be coded as a mental process.

- ii. Verbs of attention (e.g. listening, focusing, paying attention, watching, looking at/looking for, etc.). **Although verbs of perception should not be coded**, we will code verbs of attention, since these indicate mental processes.
 - 1. **For example, the verb “to hear” is describing a perceptual process**, but the verb “to listen” describes an active mental process.
 - 2. **The verb “to see” may describe a perceptual process**, but “to look at” describes an active mental process.
- iii. Verbs of decision-making (e.g. choosing, making sure, deciding, making up my mind, picking, etc.)
- iv. The verb “to mean” is tricky. It will count as a mental process if it concerns definition or significance, **but not if it concerns intention, in which case, it will be counted as a motive report**. The decision rule here should be: **Count “mean” as a motive if you can reasonably substitute the word “intend” and perceive the child’s meaning**. Otherwise, count it as a mental verb or trait in context. See below for other uses of “mean.”
 - 1. “It was red – I mean orange.”
 - 2. “That’s my meaning of respect.”
 - 3. **DO NOT CODE “I didn’t mean to break her pencil” as mental activity.**
 - 4. **DO NOT CODE “It didn’t mean anything.”** Always, the mental process or state must be attributed to a person in order to count.
- v. Noun forms of these mental activity verbs will always count. These most often occur with the verb “to have.”
 - 1. “I have red thoughts and blue thoughts.”
 - 2. “She has great ideas.”
 - 3. “He got the solution.”
- b. Mental states (e.g. confusion, seriousness, sleepiness, alertness, fogginess, boredom, dreaming, “acting/being” smart, stupid, etc.). This will include

any state of consciousness. This will also include cognitive emotions (surprised, confused, etc.).

- c. Mental traits (e.g. smart, stupid, clever, witty, forgetful, curious, etc.).
 - i. When an author indicates that a mental process or mental state is typical of the person described or is continuous over time or situation, this should still be coded as a mental trait (**not character trait**).
 - 1. “She always thinks about things too much.”
 - 2. “Everywhere he goes, he’s looking for trouble.”

III. Reports about own, other, or collective emotions.

- a. Emotional states (sad, happy, mad, etc.) or emotional experiences (homesick, heartache). There are many subcategories of these you should be alert for.
 - i. Any use of the verb “to feel,” except when it describes the perceptual state of touching, will count as an emotional experience.
 - 1. “I feel terrible,” “She felt responsible,” etc.
 - 2. **DO NOT CODE** “She felt the thick fur”
 - 3. **DO NOT CODE** “She was nauseated, hungry, etc.”
 - 4. But we WILL count “she felt nauseated, hungry, etc.” The author’s decision to use the verb “to feel” as part of the locution locates it as a psychological experience.
 - ii. Moral emotions (proud, embarrassed, sorry, etc.)
 - iii. **DO NOT CODE** for cognitive emotions (surprised, confused, etc.). **These will be counted in the mental category.**
- b. Emotional behaviors
 - i. Crying, laughing, missing, liking, loving, worrying, etc. Be careful not to imply with these.
 - 1. **DO NOT CODE** for most behaviors of aggression (e.g. “hitting” usually will not count), but other anger-related behaviors will count within context (e.g. “stomping my

foot,” “slammed the door,” “screaming at,” “yelling at,” etc.)

- ii. Behaviors that can be interpreted as having a psychological effect because they imply a psychological experience taking place for the author (e.g. ‘bugging me).

- 1. Be careful to code these according to the person who experiences the emotion, not to the agent who causes the emotion (e.g. “He was frightening me” should be coded as emotion of the self, not emotion of the other. “I was frightening him” would be coded as emotion of the other.

- iii. Resolution talk (e.g. ‘getting over it,’ ‘I’m sorry,’ ‘I cooled off’ because these imply psychological work taking place).

- 1. **DO NOT CODE for apologizing because this is a behavior (“I apologize” is a speech act whereas “I am sorry” is a report about an emotional experience)**

- c. Emotional traits

- i. Moody, cry baby, etc.

IV. Reports about own, other, or collective character traits. It is important to note that the first three components of this manual (motives/intentions, mental activities/states, and emotions) are all circumstantial in that they are happening in that instance of the story, compared to this last component which will almost always be description of a continuous trait of a character.

- a. Qualities of personality or temperament (e.g. shy, conscientious, friendly, mean, hot-headed). Include behaviors here (e.g. “He is mean” would count as well as “He was acting/being mean to me”). Be careful that emotional behaviors are coded in the emotion category (e.g. “she is always crying” would go under emotion).

- i. **DO NOT CODE when these trait words are used as actions or behaviors (e.g. “She was saying mean things” or “I did something kind” would not count).**

- b. **DO NOT CODE for physical traits (e.g. tall, fat, pretty, etc.).**

Appendix F: Correlation Tables

Table 6

Belongingness Pre-Scores with Participation and Choice to Participate in KidsTalk

		participated	choseKT	LonelinessPre	CampusClimatePre	ActPrefPre
participated	Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	-.178	-.145	-.175
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.329	.430	.338
	N	34	34	32	32	32
choseKT	Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	-.164	-.013	-.059
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.369	.946	.747
	N	34	34	32	32	32
LonelinessPre	Pearson Correlation	-.178	-.164	1	.672**	-.277
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.329	.369		.000	.125
	N	32	32	32	32	32
CampusClimatePre	Pearson Correlation	-.145	-.013	.672**	1	-.280
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.430	.946	.000		.120
	N	32	32	32	32	32
ActPrefPre	Pearson Correlation	-.175	-.059	-.277	-.280	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.338	.747	.125	.120	
	N	32	32	32	32	32

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7

Psychological Mindedness in First Three Stories with Participation and Choice to

Participate in KidsTalk

		participated	chose KT	motbegin	menbegin	emobegin	traitbegin	PMbegin
participated	Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	-.188	.376	-.221	.226	.166
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.441	.113	.363	.353	.498
	N	34	34	19	19	19	19	19
choseKT	Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	.024	.241	-.369	.178	.104
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.923	.321	.120	.466	.672
	N	34	34	19	19	19	19	19
motsum begin	Pearson Correlation	-.188	.024	1	.011	.191	.051	.589**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.441	.923		.965	.432	.837	.008
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
mensum begin	Pearson Correlation	.376	.241	.011	1	-.341	.243	.733**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.113	.321	.965		.153	.317	.000
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
emosum begin	Pearson Correlation	-.221	-.369	.191	-.341	1	-.085	.160
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.363	.120	.432	.153		.729	.513
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
traitsum begin	Pearson Correlation	.226	.178	.051	.243	-.085	1	.341
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.353	.466	.837	.317	.729		.153
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
PMbegin	Pearson Correlation	.166	.104	.589**	.733**	.160	.341	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.498	.672	.008	.000	.513	.153	
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 8

Psychological Mindedness in First Story with Participation and Choice to Participate in KidsTalk

	participated	chose KT	firststory mot	firststory men	firststoryemo	firststory trait	firststory PM
participated Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	-.337	-.228	-.335	-.235	-.374
Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.085	.253	.087	.238	.055
N	34	34	27	27	27	27	27
choseKT Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	.176	.258	.100	-.285	.197
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.380	.194	.619	.150	.324
N	34	34	27	27	27	27	27
firststory mot Pearson Correlation	-.337	.176	1	.468*	.519**	.266	.780**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.085	.380		.014	.006	.180	.000
N	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory men Pearson Correlation	-.228	.258	.468*	1	.508**	.097	.832**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.253	.194	.014		.007	.631	.000
N	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory emo Pearson Correlation	-.335	.100	.519**	.508**	1	-.023	.826**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.087	.619	.006	.007		.911	.000
N	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory trait Pearson Correlation	-.235	-.285	.266	.097	-.023	1	.193
Sig. (2-tailed)	.238	.150	.180	.631	.911		.336
N	27	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory PM Pearson Correlation	-.374	.197	.780**	.832**	.826**	.193	1
Sig. (2-tailed)	.055	.324	.000	.000	.000	.336	
N	27	27	27	27	27	27	27

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 9

Perspective-Taking in First Three Stories with Participation and Choice to Participate in KidsTalk

		participated	choseKT	selfbegin	otherbegin	collectbegin
participated	Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	.023	.099	.328
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.924	.686	.170
	N	34	34	19	19	19
choseKT	Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	.074	-.023	.239
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.764	.924	.323
	N	34	34	19	19	19
selfbegin	Pearson Correlation	.023	.074	1	-.233	-.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.924	.764		.338	.922
	N	19	19	19	19	19
otherbegin	Pearson Correlation	.099	-.023	-.233	1	.516*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.686	.924	.338		.024
	N	19	19	19	19	19
collectbegin	Pearson Correlation	.328	.239	-.024	.516*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.170	.323	.922	.024	
	N	19	19	19	19	19

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 10

Perspective-Taking in First Story with Participation and Choice to Participate in KidsTalk

		participated	choseKT	firststory self	firststory other	firststory collect
participated	Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	-.328	-.384*	-.034
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.095	.048	.868
	N	34	34	27	27	27
choseKT	Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	.125	.080	.396*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.535	.693	.041
	N	34	34	27	27	27
firststoryself	Pearson Correlation	-.328	.125	1	.332	.485*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.095	.535		.090	.010
	N	27	27	27	27	27
firststoryother	Pearson Correlation	-.384*	.080	.332	1	.373
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.048	.693	.090		.055
	N	27	27	27	27	27
firststorycollect	Pearson Correlation	-.034	.396*	.485*	.373	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.868	.041	.010	.055	
	N	27	27	27	27	27

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 11

Belongingness Change Scores and Counselor Assessment Scores with Participation and Choice to Participate in KidsTalk

		participated	chose KT	Loneliness Change	Campus Climate Change	ActPref Change	Counselor Assessment
participated	Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	-.098	-.108	.144	-.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.606	.572	.447	.803
	N	34	34	30	30	30	34
choseKT	Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	-.199	-.138	.072	.230
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.292	.468	.706	.191
	N	34	34	30	30	30	34
Loneliness Change	Pearson Correlation	-.098	-.199	1	.295	-.332	-.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.606	.292		.114	.073	.961
	N	30	30	30	30	30	30
Campus Climate Change	Pearson Correlation	-.108	-.138	.295	1	-.322	-.073
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.572	.468	.114		.082	.700
	N	30	30	30	30	30	30
ActPref Change	Pearson Correlation	.144	.072	-.332	-.322	1	-.149
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.447	.706	.073	.082		.431
	N	30	30	30	30	30	30
Counselor Assessment	Pearson Correlation	-.044	.230	-.009	-.073	-.149	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.803	.191	.961	.700	.431	
	N	34	34	30	30	30	34

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 12

Psychological Mindedness Change Scores with Participation and Choice to Participate in KidsTalk

		participated	chose KT	motive change	mental change	emotion change	trait change	PM change
participated	Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	.028	-.080	.481*	-.180	.089
	Sig. (2- tailed)		.000	.910	.744	.037	.460	.717
	N	34	34	19	19	19	19	19
choseKT	Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	-.141	-.271	.395	-.155	-.114
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.000		.564	.262	.094	.527	.643
	N	34	34	19	19	19	19	19
motive change	Pearson Correlation	.028	-.141	1	.798**	-.028	.111	.898**
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.910	.564		.000	.909	.652	.000
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
mental change	Pearson Correlation	-.080	-.271	.798**	1	-.071	.219	.911**
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.744	.262	.000		.773	.368	.000
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
emotion change	Pearson Correlation	.481*	.395	-.028	-.071	1	-.105	.226
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.037	.094	.909	.773		.670	.351
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
trait change	Pearson Correlation	-.180	-.155	.111	.219	-.105	1	.251
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.460	.527	.652	.368	.670		.301
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
PM change	Pearson Correlation	.089	-.114	.898**	.911**	.226	.251	1
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.717	.643	.000	.000	.351	.301	
	N	19	19	19	19	19	19	19

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 13

Perspective-Taking Change Scores with Participation and Choice to Participate in KidsTalk

		participated	choseKT	selfchange	otherchange	collectchange
participated	Pearson Correlation	1	.683**	.282	-.129	-.479*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.243	.597	.038
	N	34	34	19	19	19
choseKT	Pearson Correlation	.683**	1	-.163	.016	-.018
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.505	.949	.943
	N	34	34	19	19	19
selfchange	Pearson Correlation	.282	-.163	1	.270	.074
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.243	.505		.263	.765
	N	19	19	19	19	19
otherchange	Pearson Correlation	-.129	.016	.270	1	.381
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.597	.949	.263		.107
	N	19	19	19	19	19
collectchange	Pearson Correlation	-.479*	-.018	.074	.381	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.038	.943	.765	.107	
	N	19	19	19	19	19

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 14

Psychological Mindedness in First Story with Date of Entry

		session1	firststory mot	firststory men	firststory emo	firststory trait	firststory PM
session1	Pearson Correlation	1	.533**	.406*	.108	.149	.415*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.004	.036	.592	.458	.031
	N	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory mot	Pearson Correlation	.533**	1	.468*	.519**	.266	.780**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004		.014	.006	.180	.000
	N	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory men	Pearson Correlation	.406*	.468*	1	.508**	.097	.832**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.036	.014		.007	.631	.000
	N	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory emo	Pearson Correlation	.108	.519**	.508**	1	-.023	.826**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.592	.006	.007		.911	.000
	N	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory trait	Pearson Correlation	.149	.266	.097	-.023	1	.193
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.458	.180	.631	.911		.336
	N	27	27	27	27	27	27
firststory PM	Pearson Correlation	.415*	.780**	.832**	.826**	.193	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.031	.000	.000	.000	.336	
	N	27	27	27	27	27	27

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 15

Perspective-Taking in First Story with Date of Entry

		session1	firststoryself	firststoryother	firststorycollect
session1	Pearson Correlation	1	.233	.521**	.265
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.242	.005	.182
	N	27	27	27	27
firststoryself	Pearson Correlation	.233	1	.332	.485*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.242		.090	.010
	N	27	27	27	27
firststoryother	Pearson Correlation	.521**	.332	1	.373
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.090		.055
	N	27	27	27	27
firststorycollect	Pearson Correlation	.265	.485*	.373	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.182	.010	.055	
	N	27	27	27	27

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

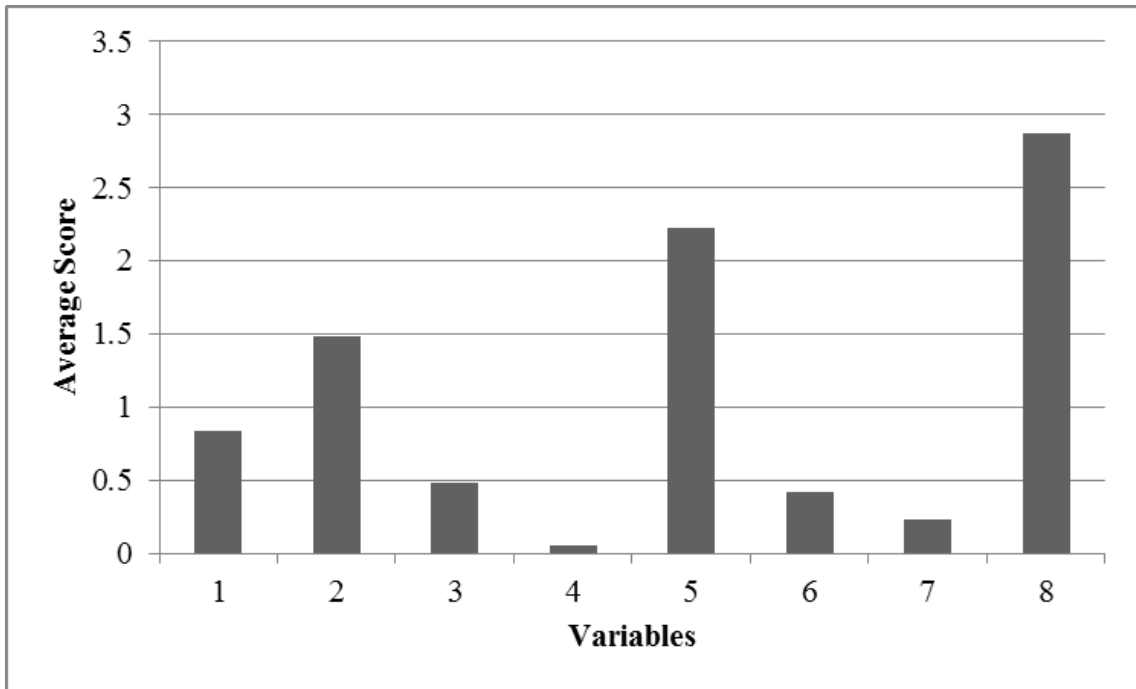
* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix G: Individual Profiles for Average and Change Scores

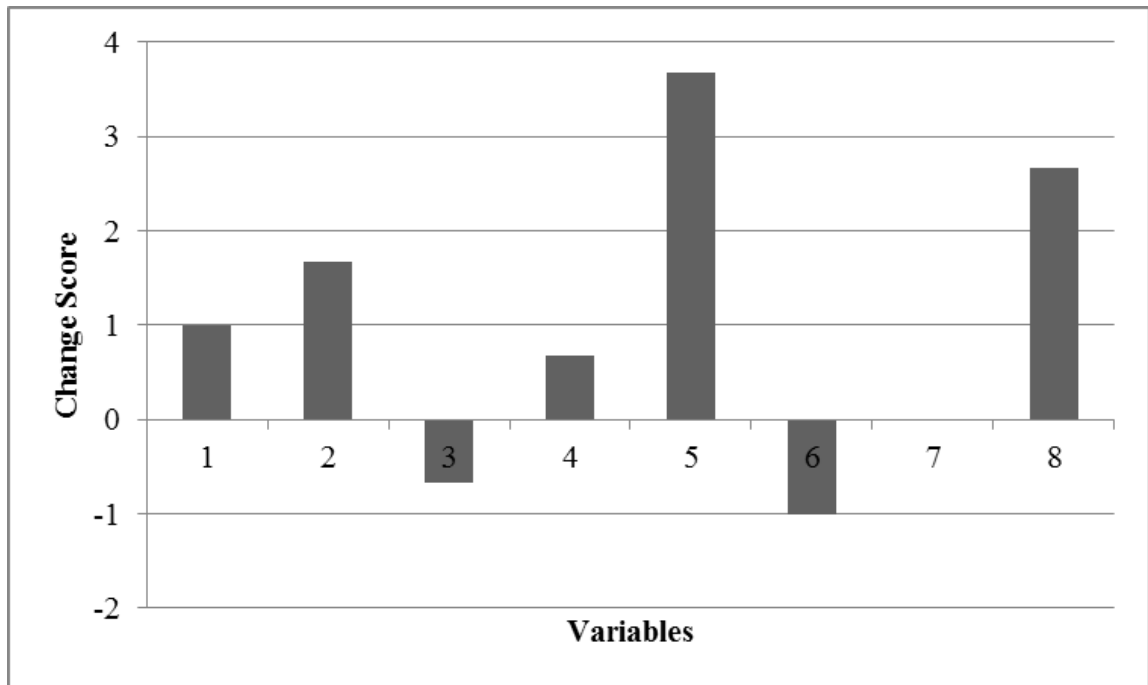
For each of these profiles, there are two charts – one for average scores and one for change scores. The numbers on the horizontal axis represent the average and change scores for the following variables for which we coded: 1 is motive, 2 is mental, 3 is emotion, 4 is trait, 5 is self, 6 is other, 7 is collective, and 8 is total psychological mindedness. There are a few children (004, 007, 009, 010, 013, 014, and 016) who did not have change scores because they did not have a total of 6 stories (first 3 and last 3) to create this score.

Child 002

Average Scores

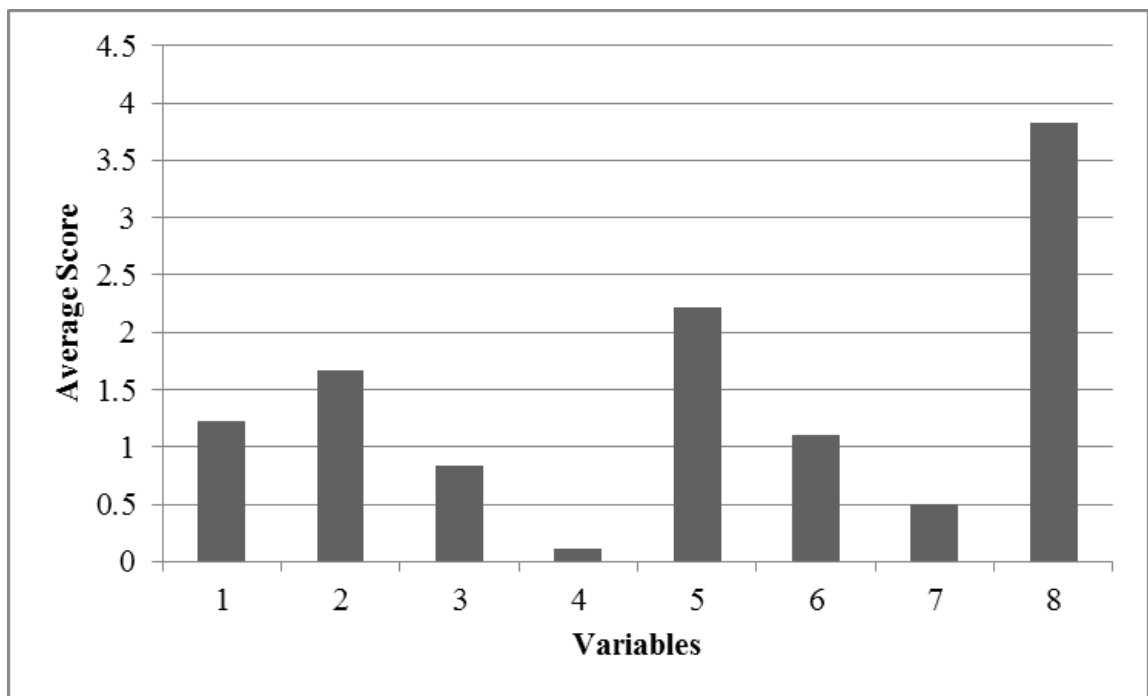


Change Scores

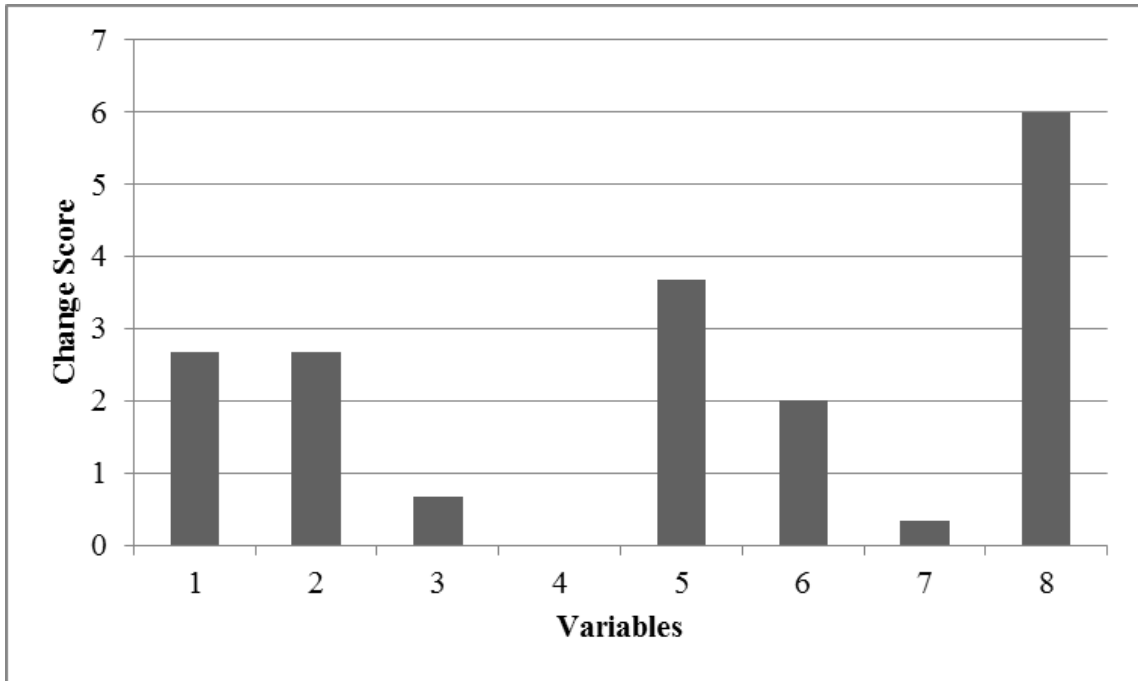


Child 003

Average Scores

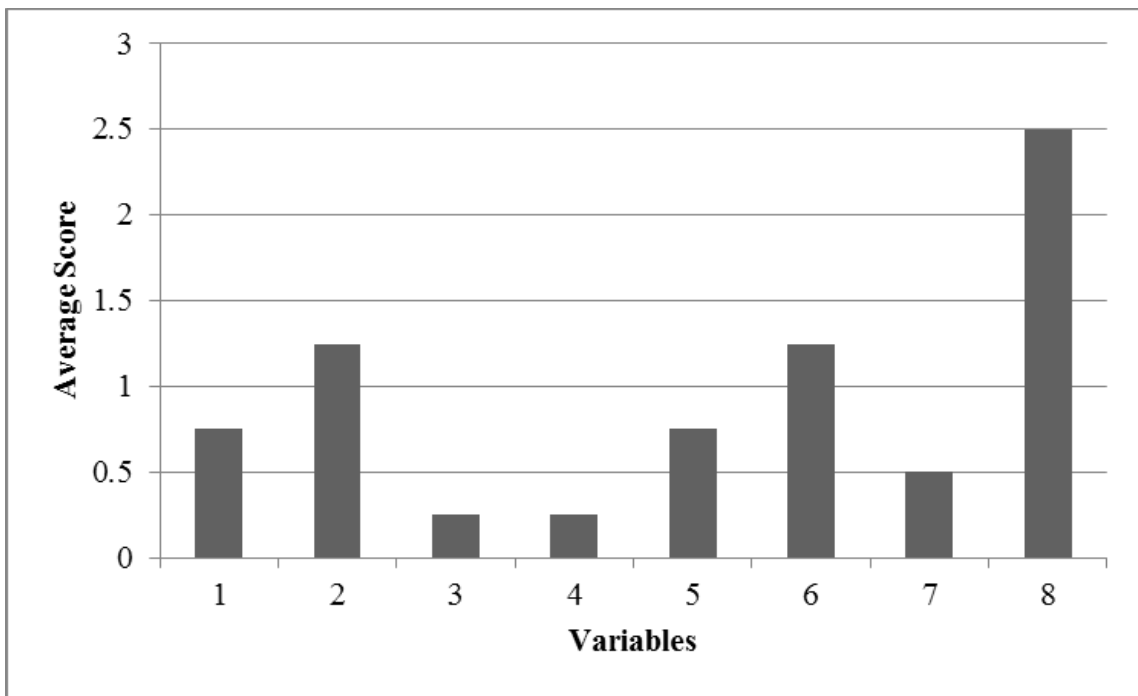


Change Scores



Child 004

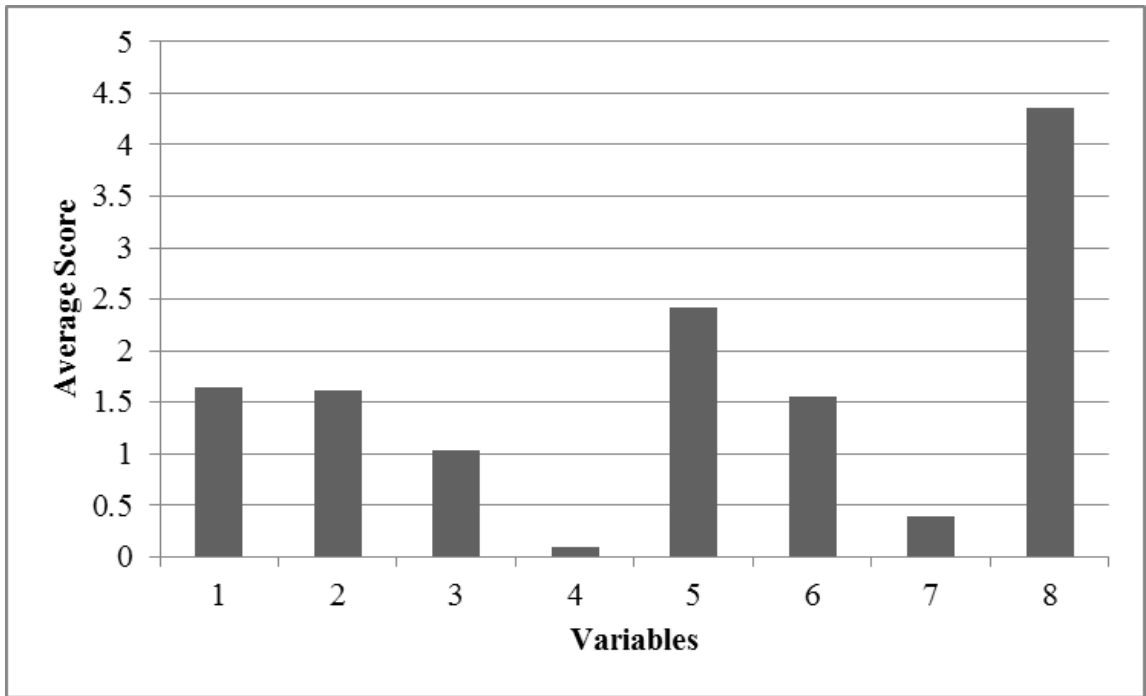
Average Scores



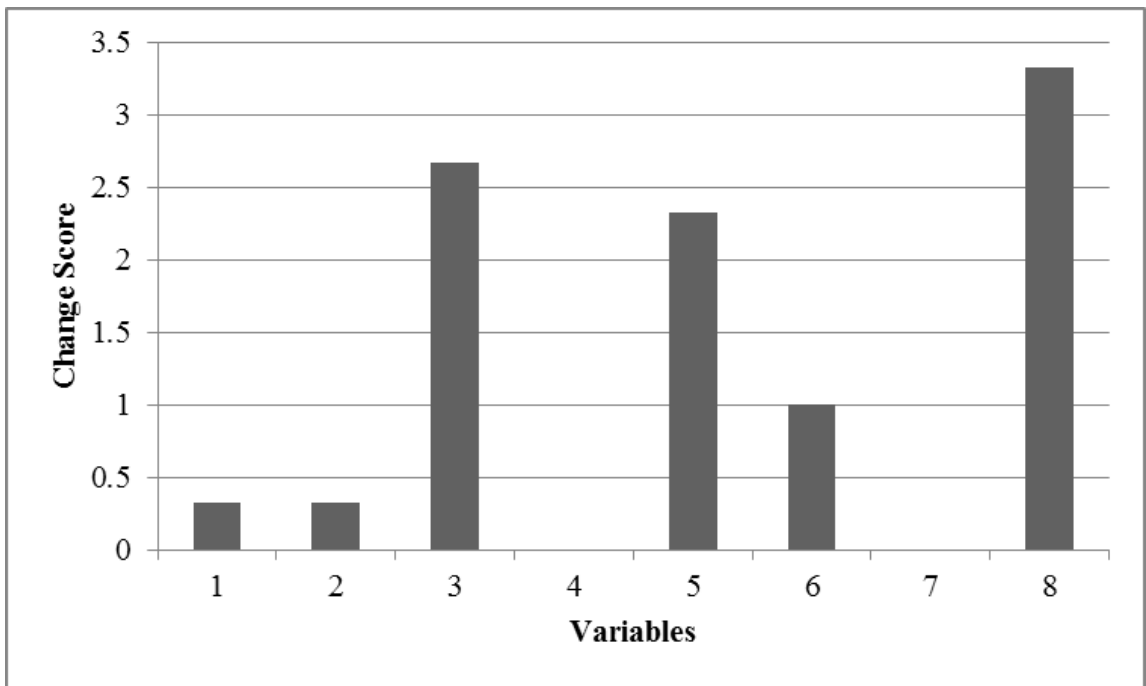
Change Scores – No Data

Child 005

Average Scores

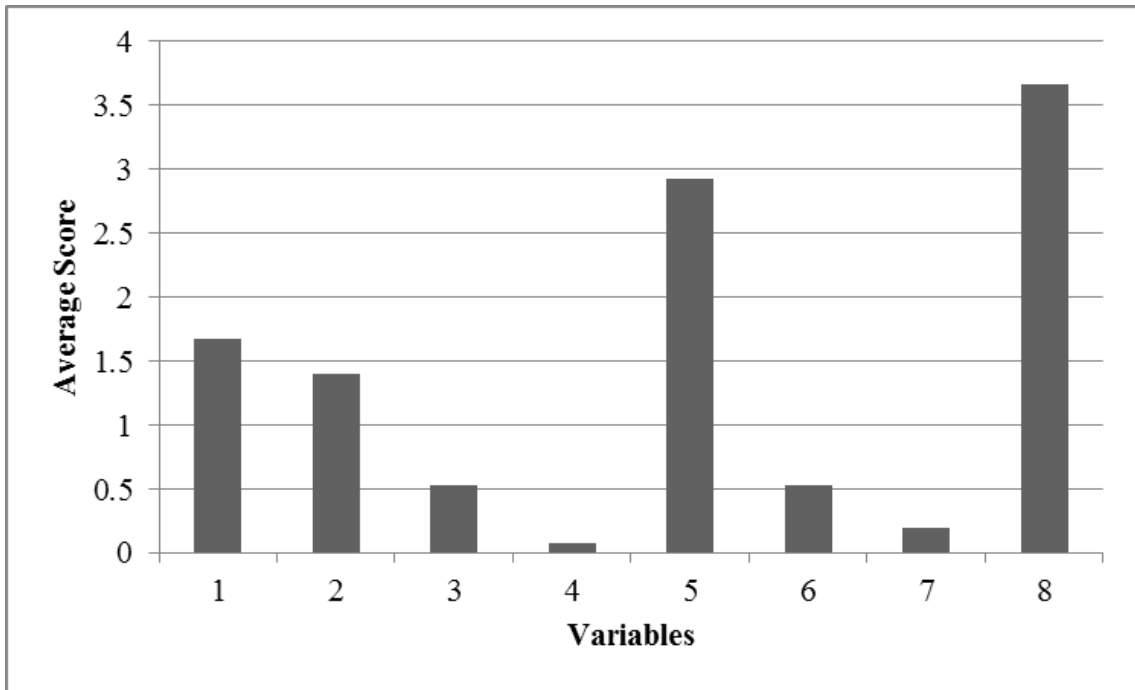


Change Scores

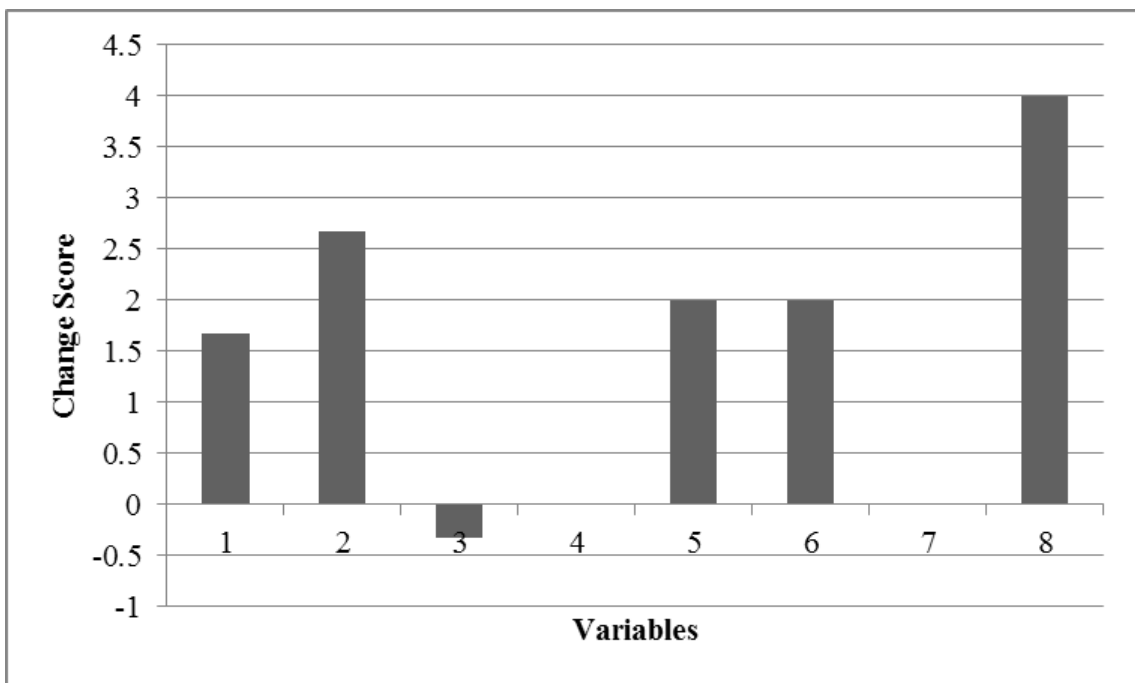


Child 006

Average Scores

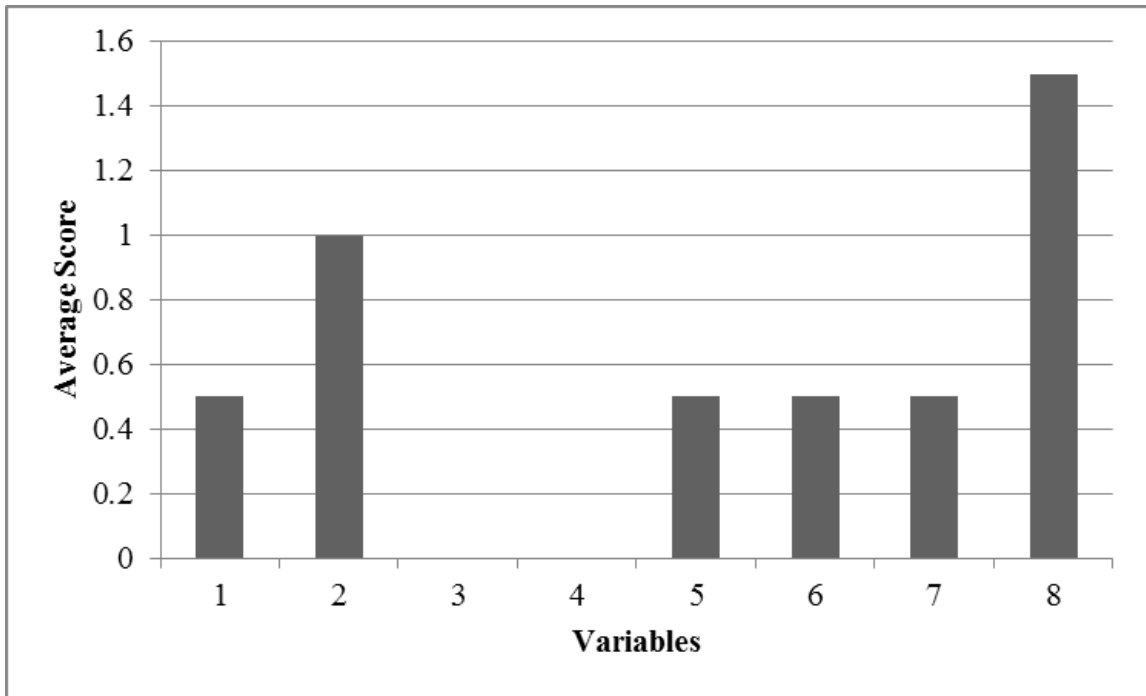


Change Scores



Child 007

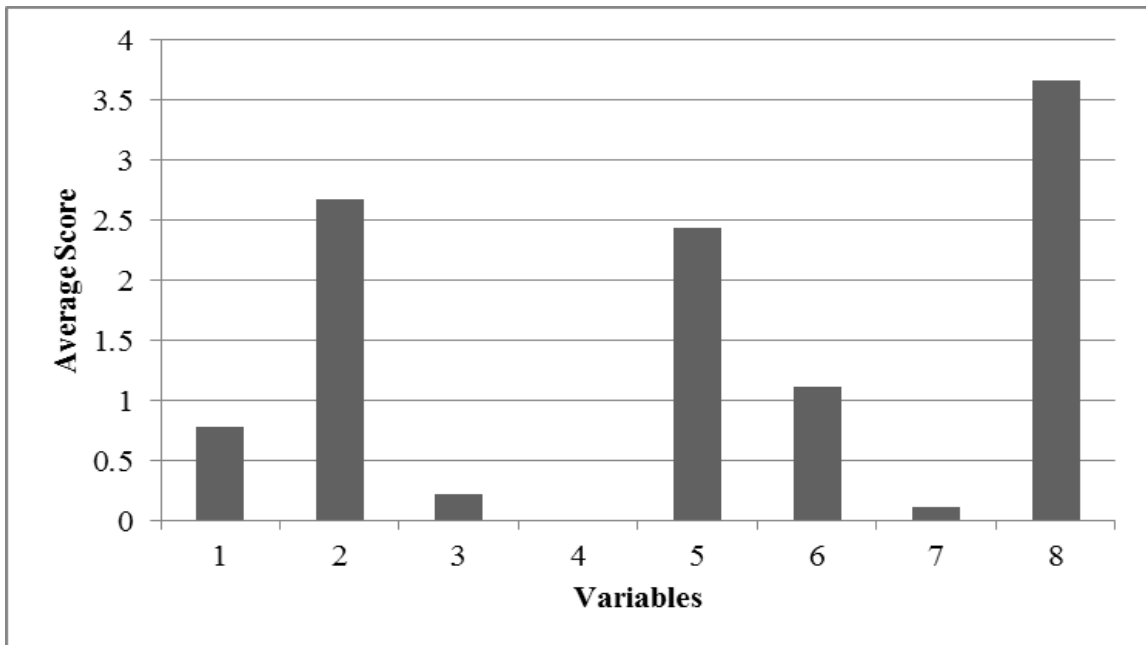
Average Scores



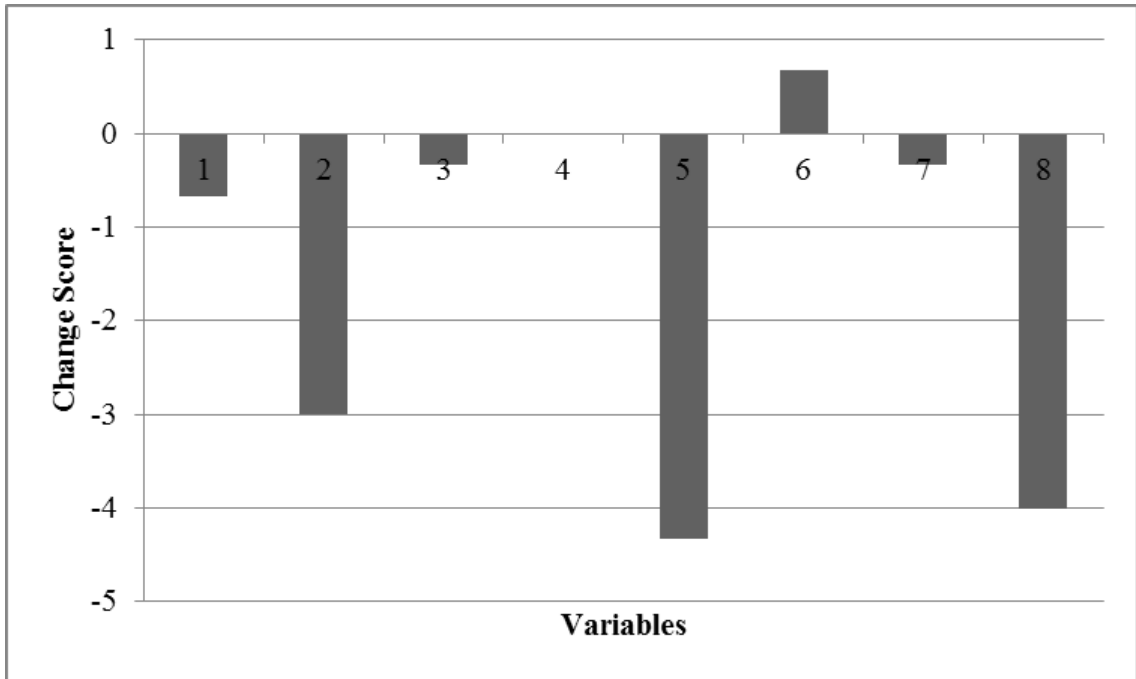
Change Scores – No Data

Child 008

Average Scores

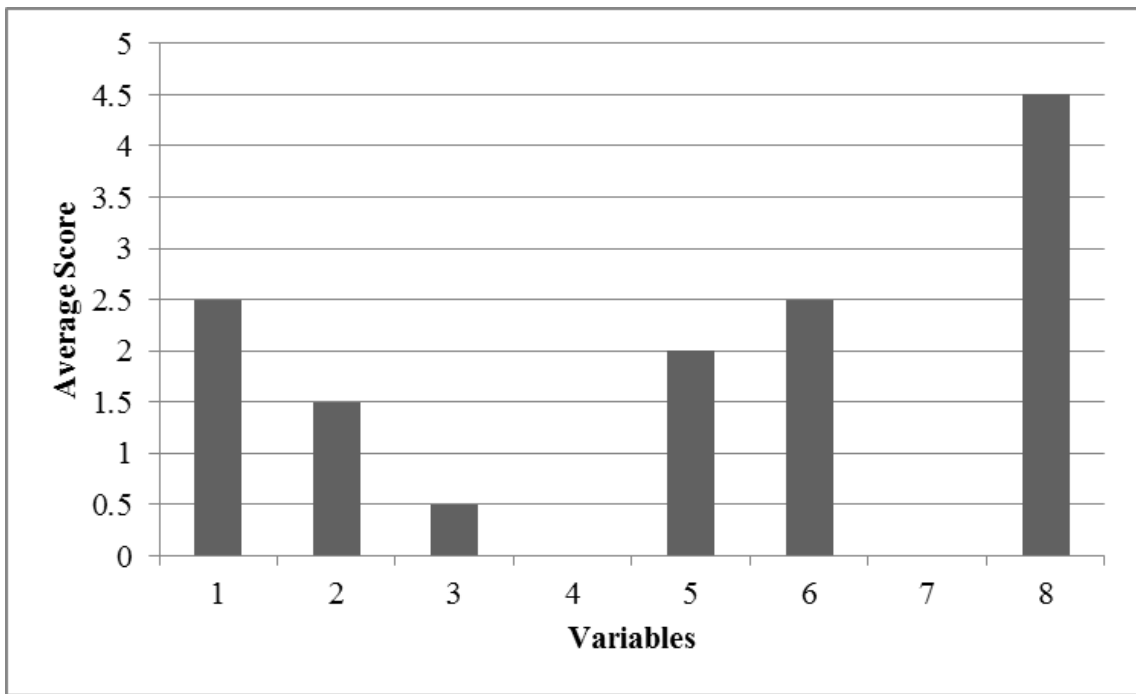


Change Scores



Child 009

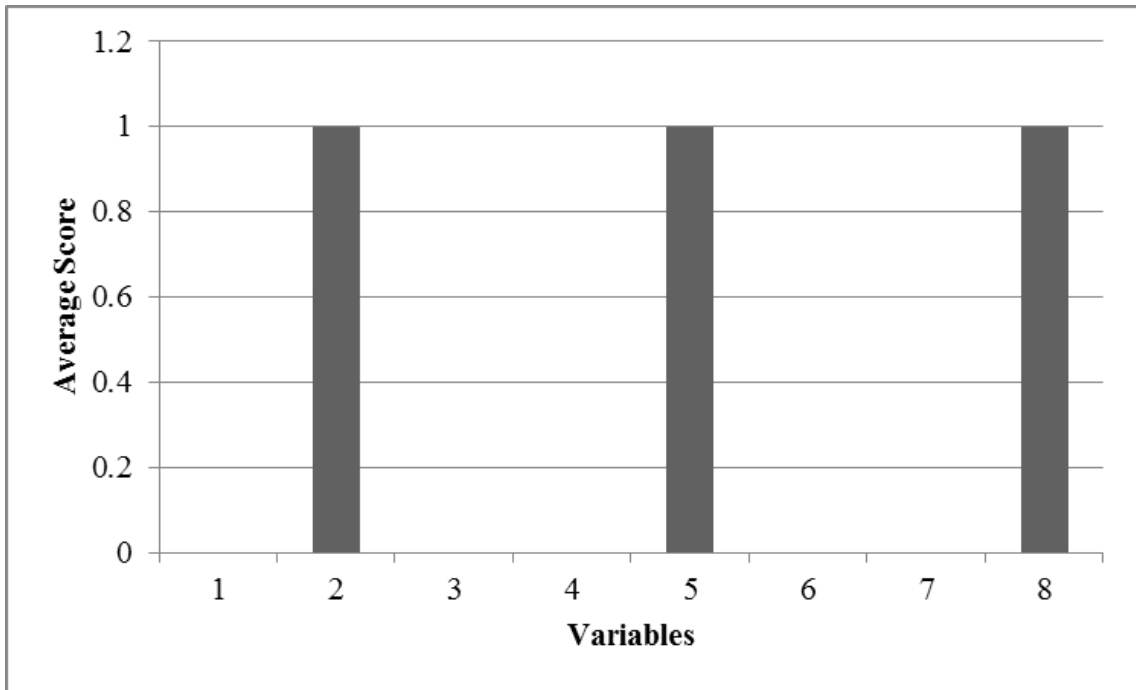
Average Scores



Change Scores – No Data

Child 010

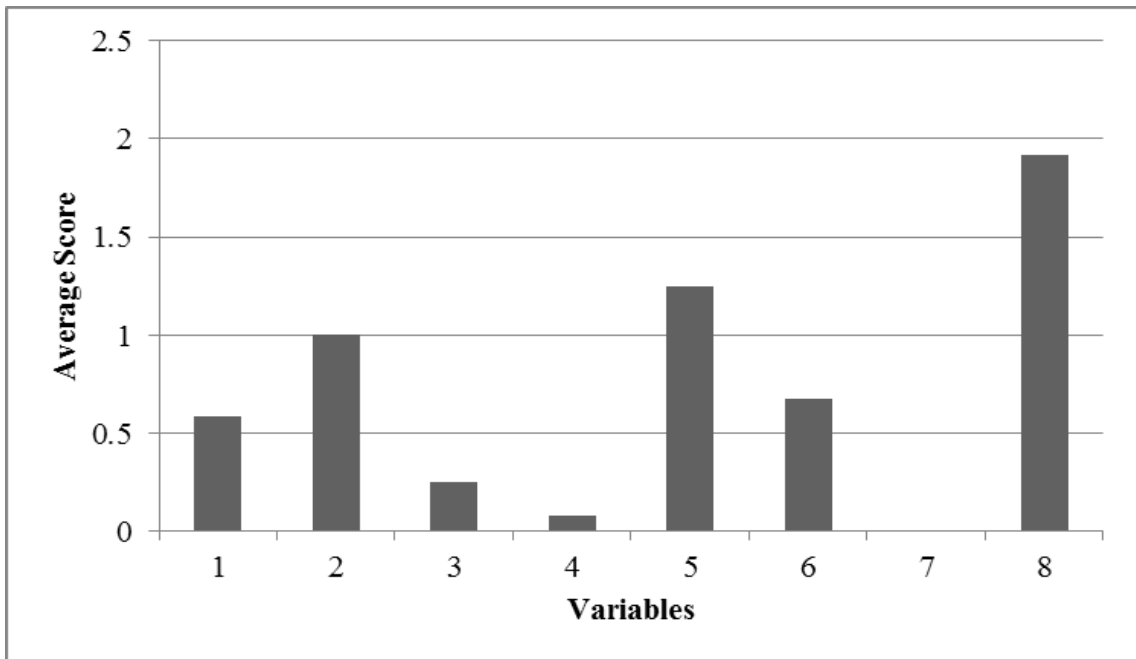
Average Scores



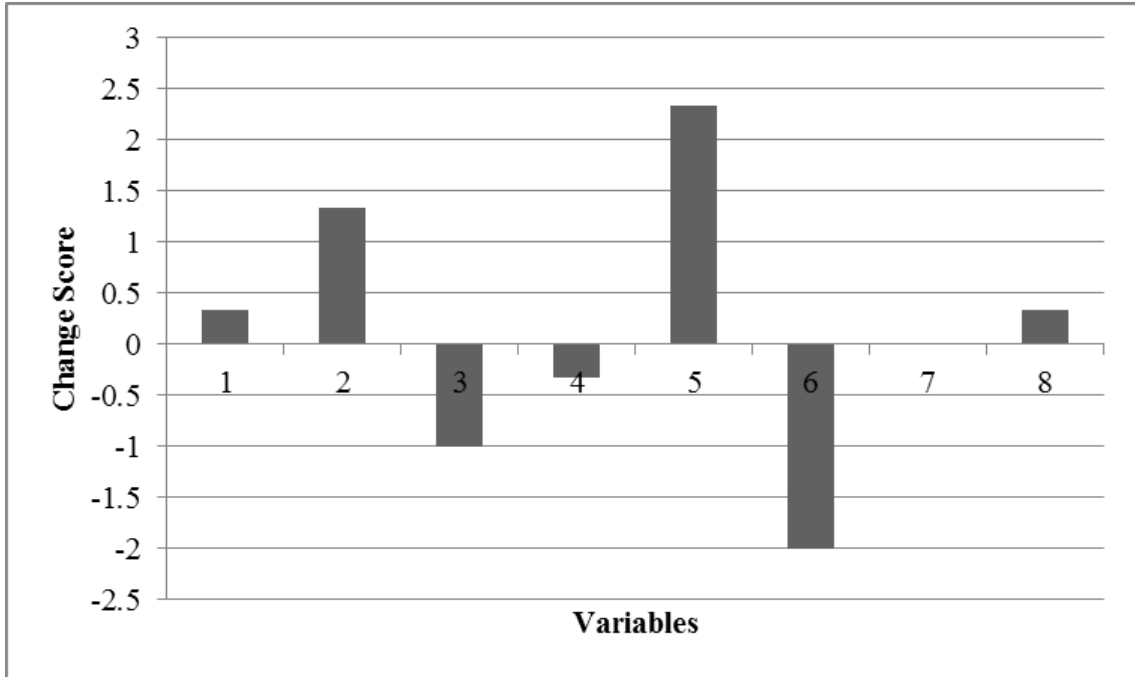
Change Scores – No Data

Child 011

Average Scores

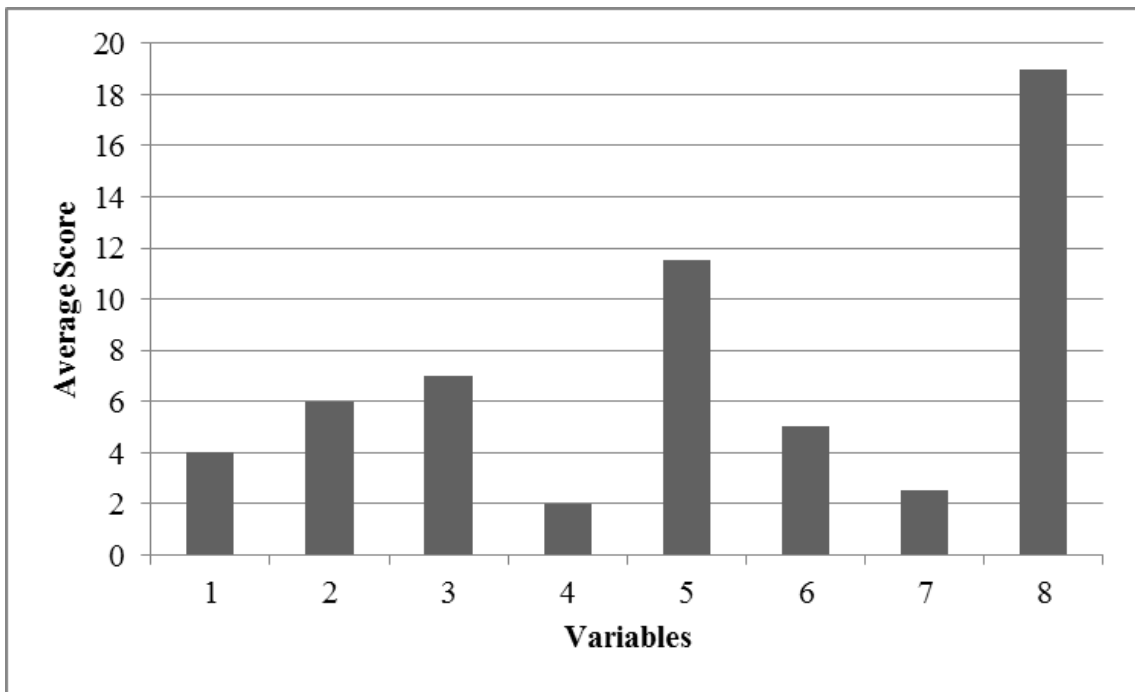


Change Scores



Child 013

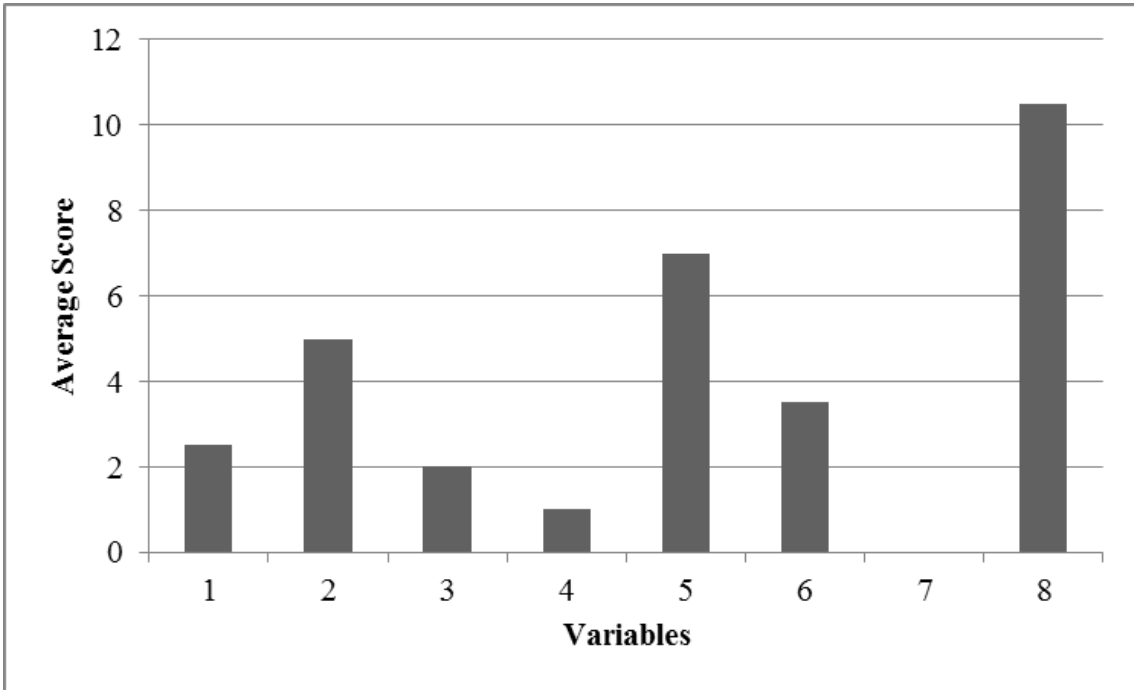
Average Scores (notice the changed scale – maximum score for this child is 19)



Change Scores – No Data

Child 014

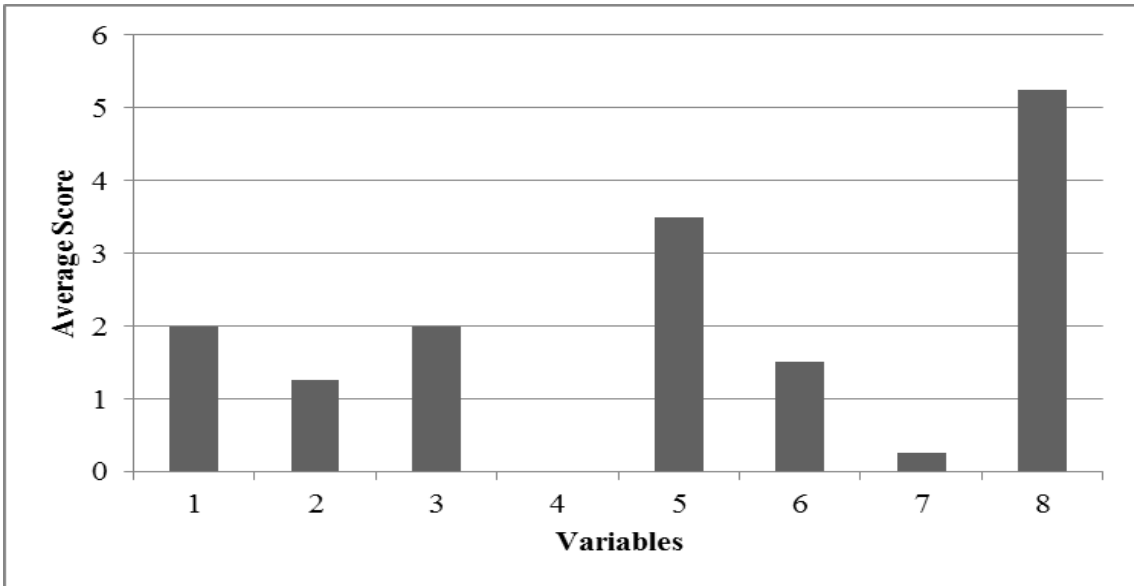
Average Scores (notice the changed scale – maximum score for this child is 10.5)



Change Scores – No Data

Child 016

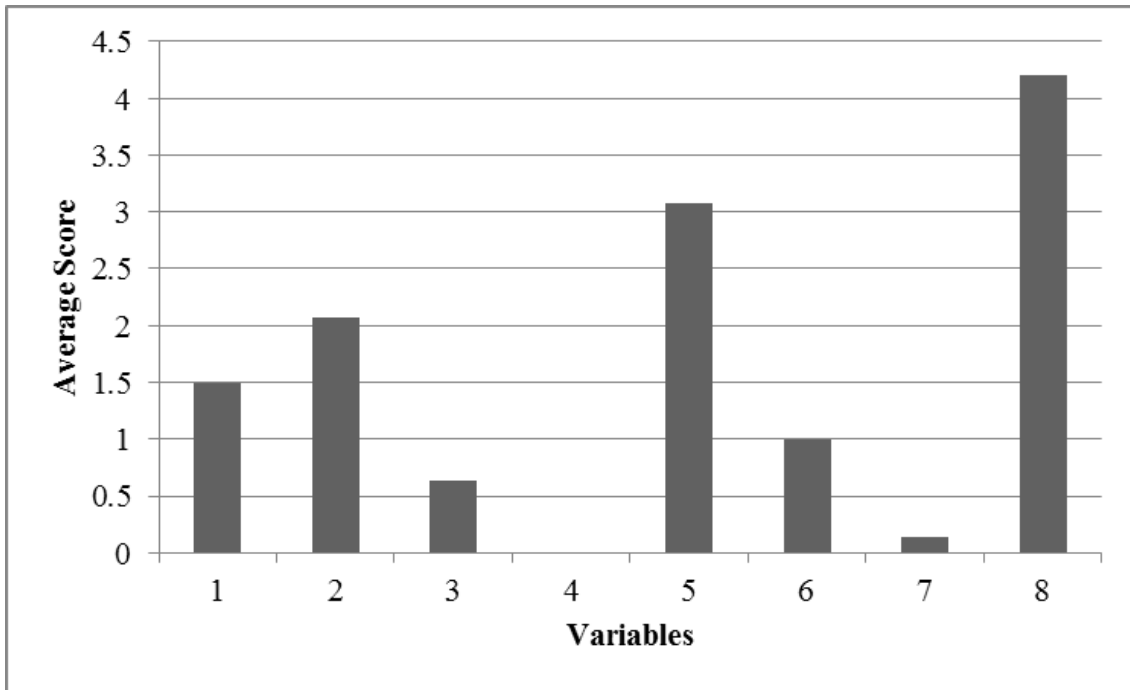
Average Scores



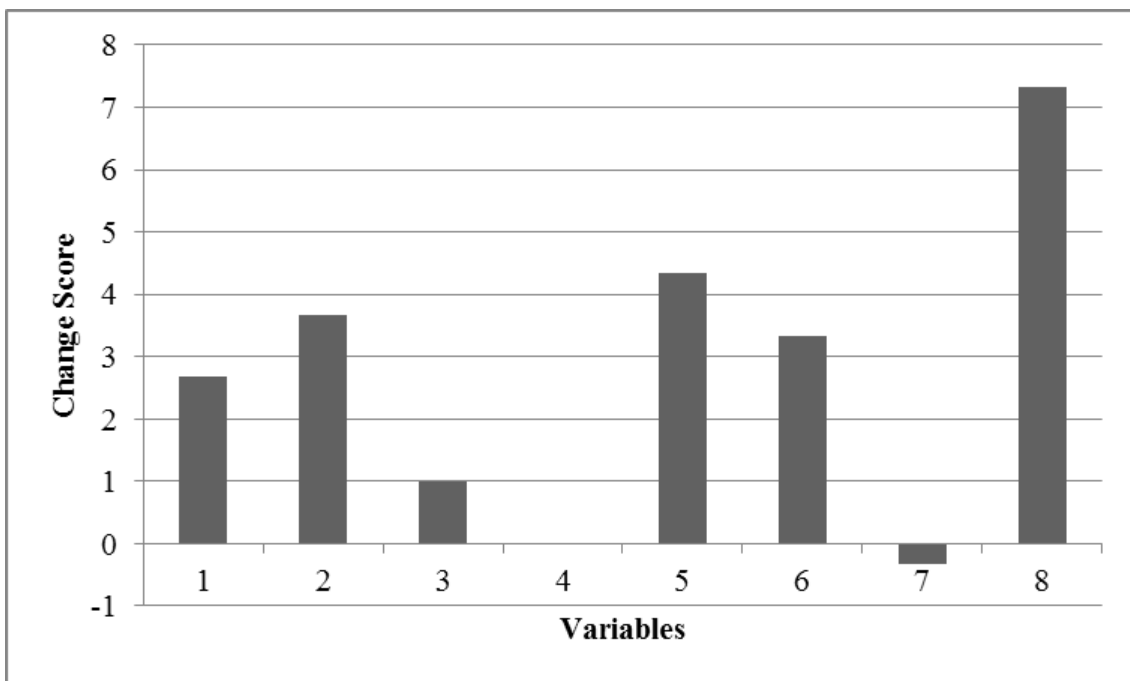
Change Scores – No Data

Child 017

Average Scores

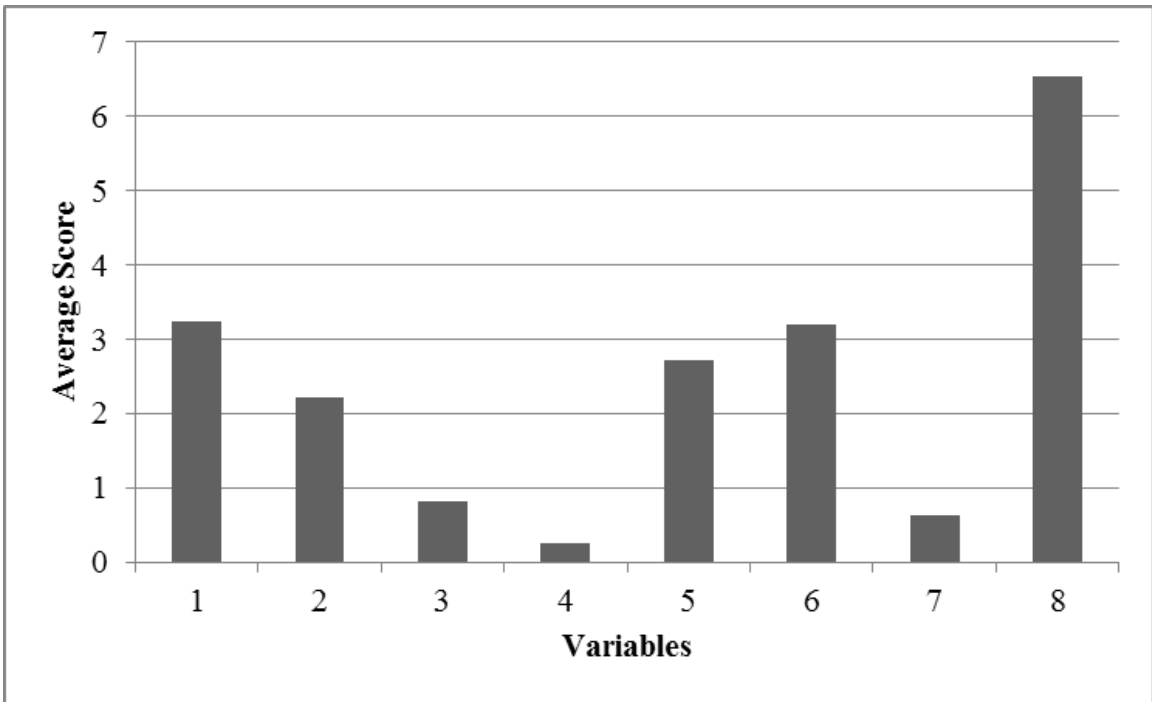


Change Scores (notice the changed scale – maximum score for this child is 7.33)

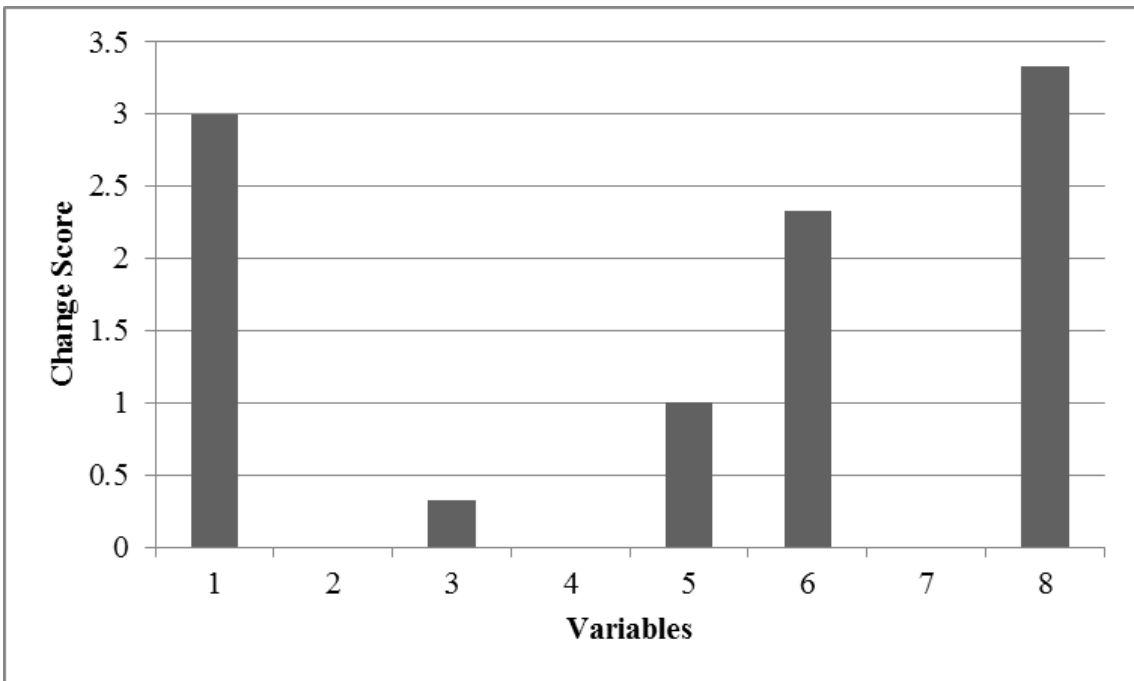


Child 018

Average Scores

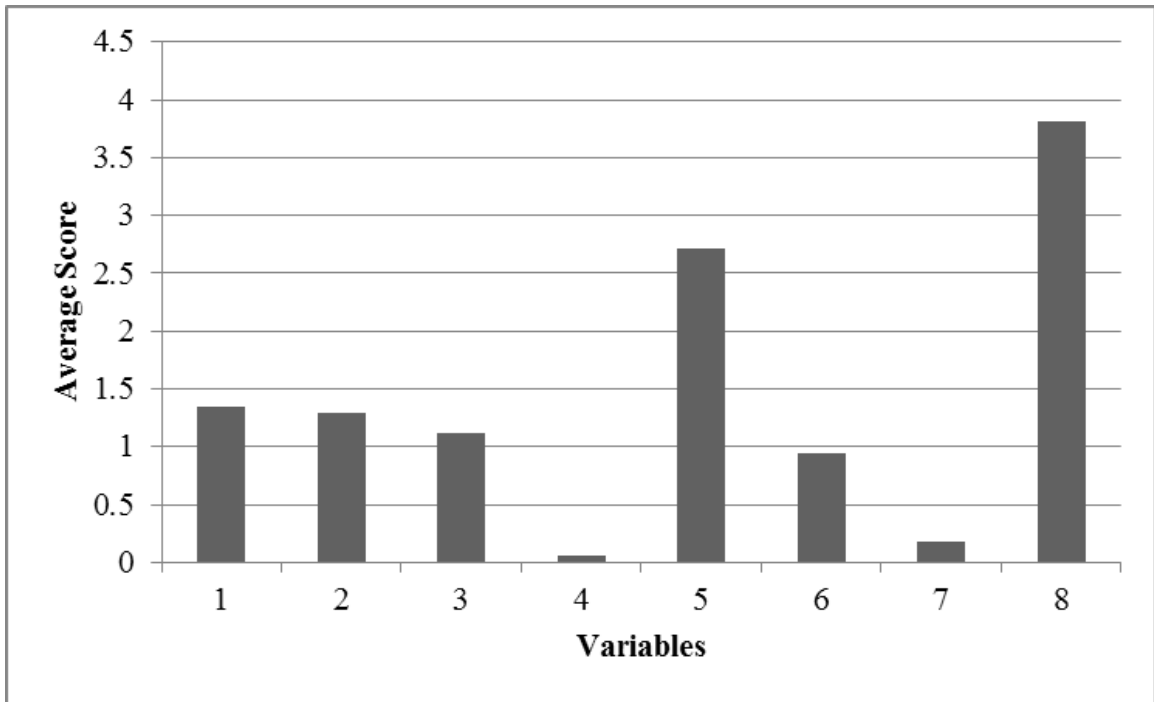


Change Scores

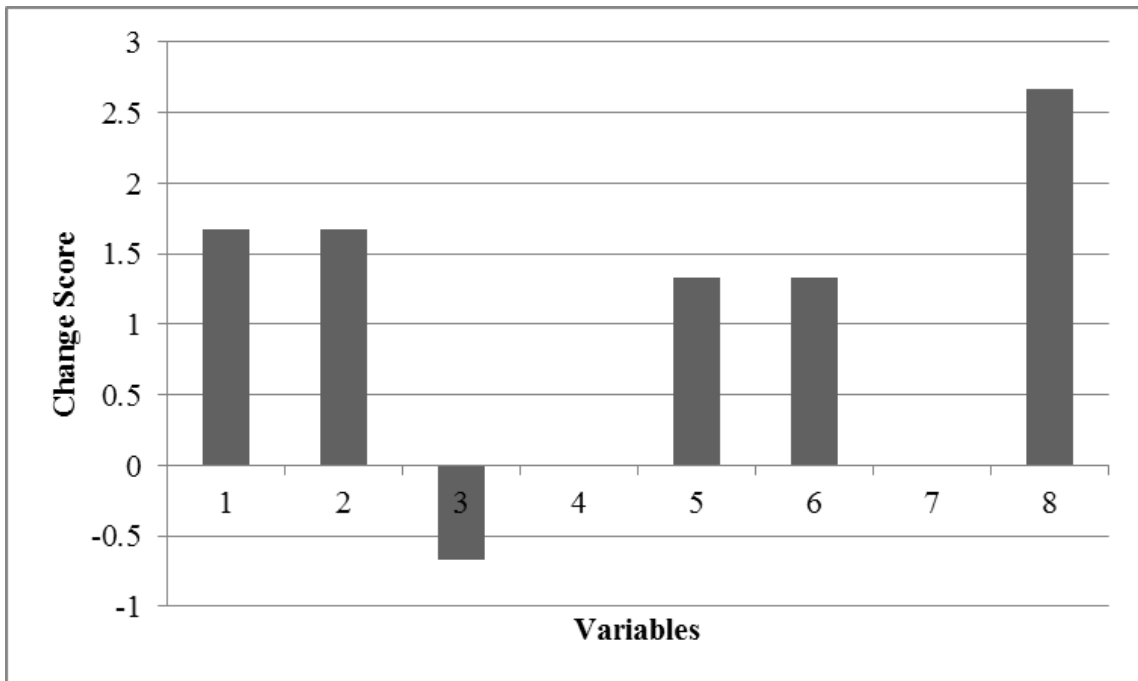


Child 020

Average Scores

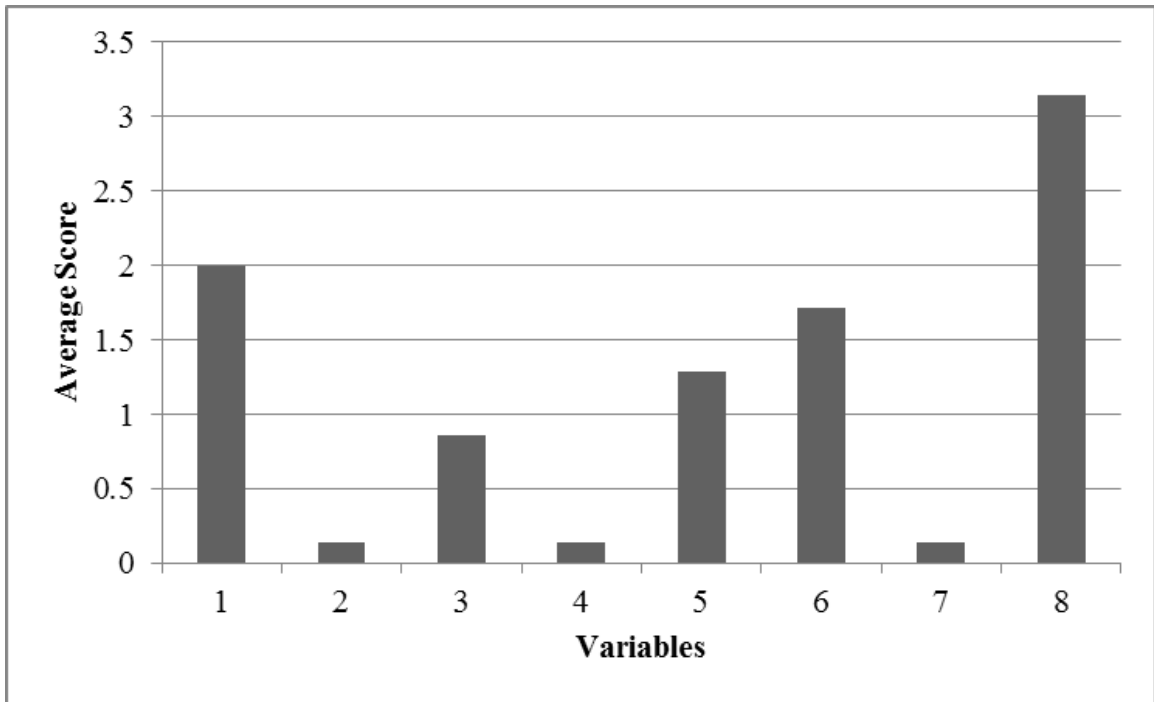


Change Scores

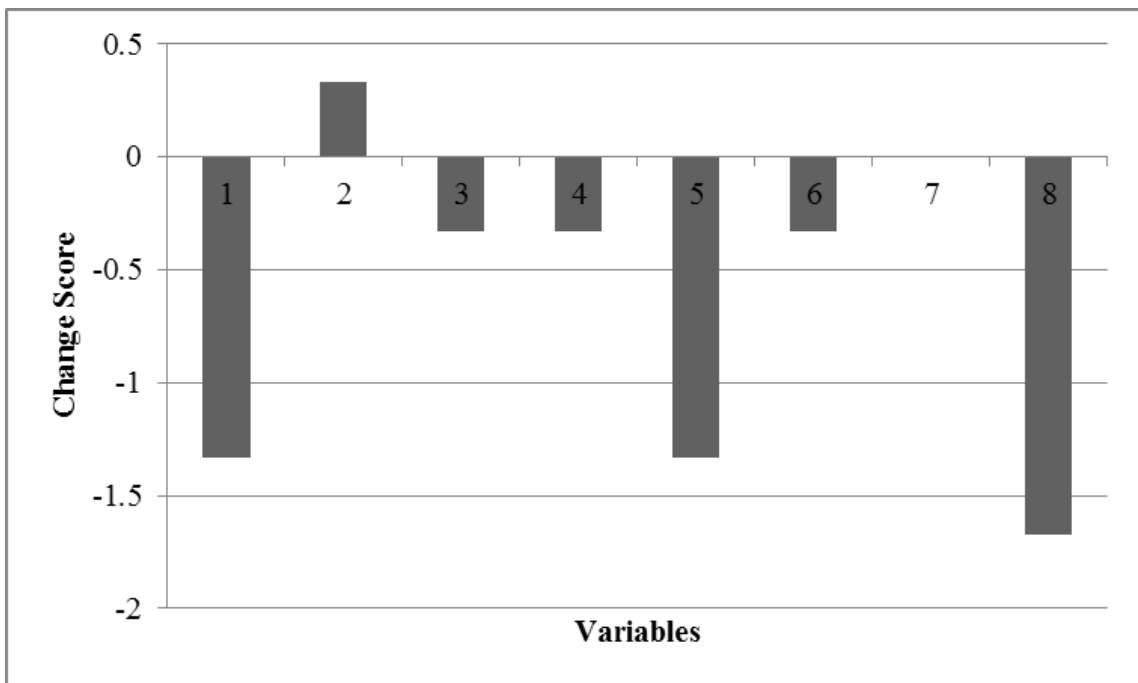


Child 021

Average Scores

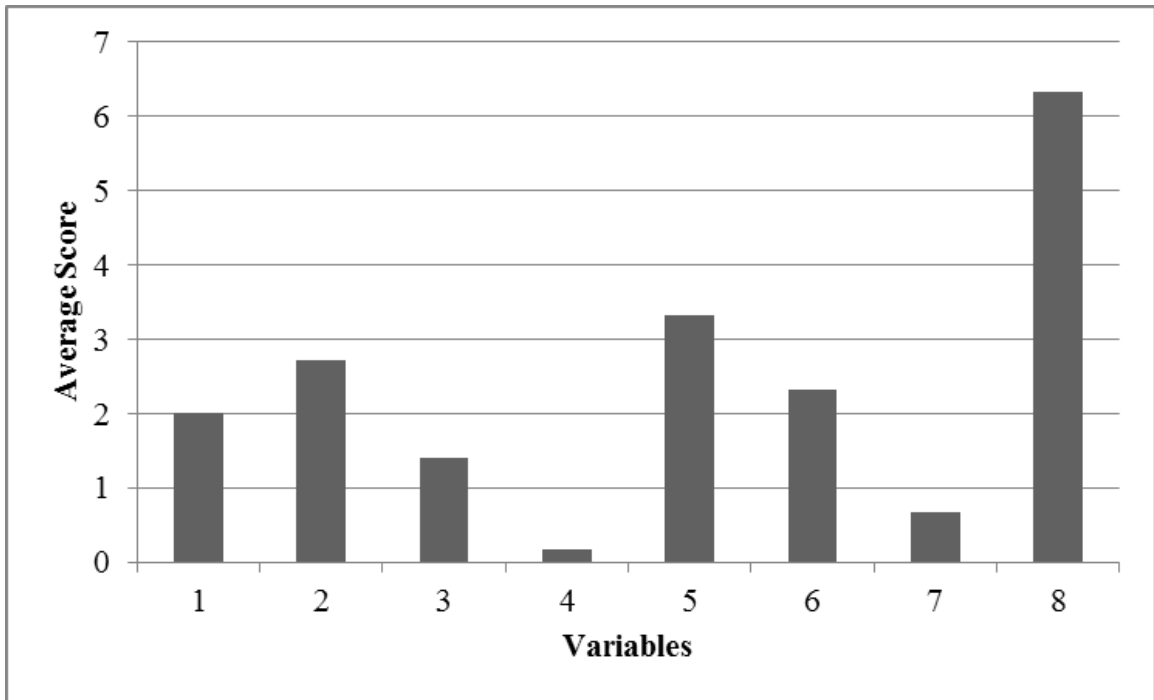


Change Scores

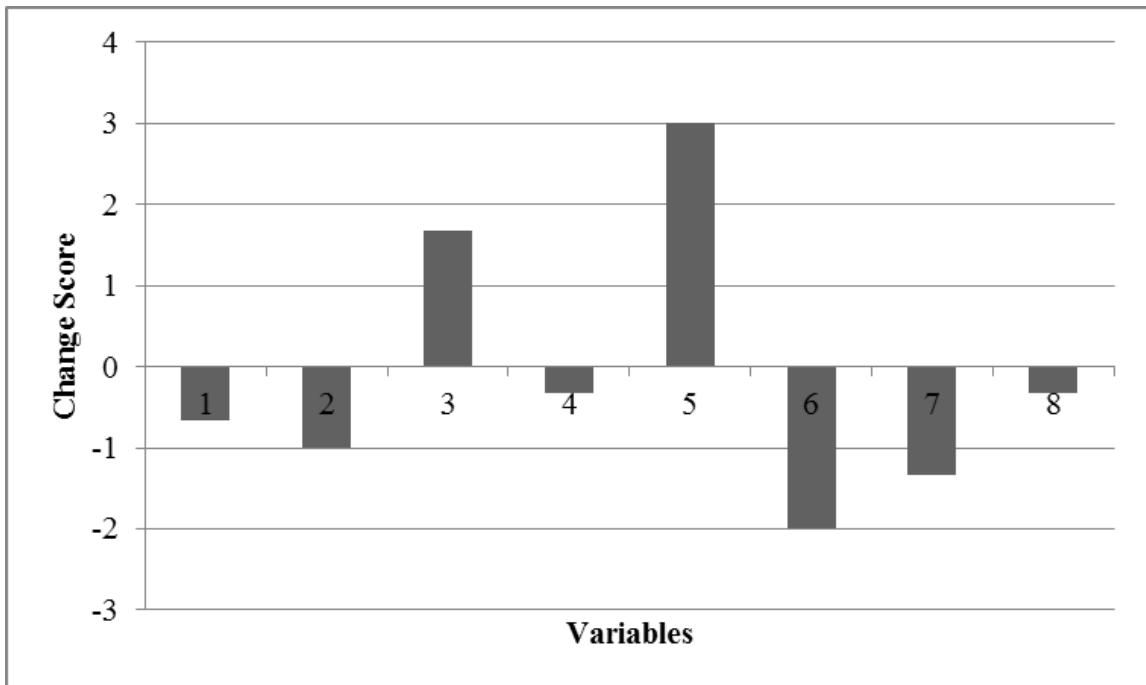


Child 022

Average Scores

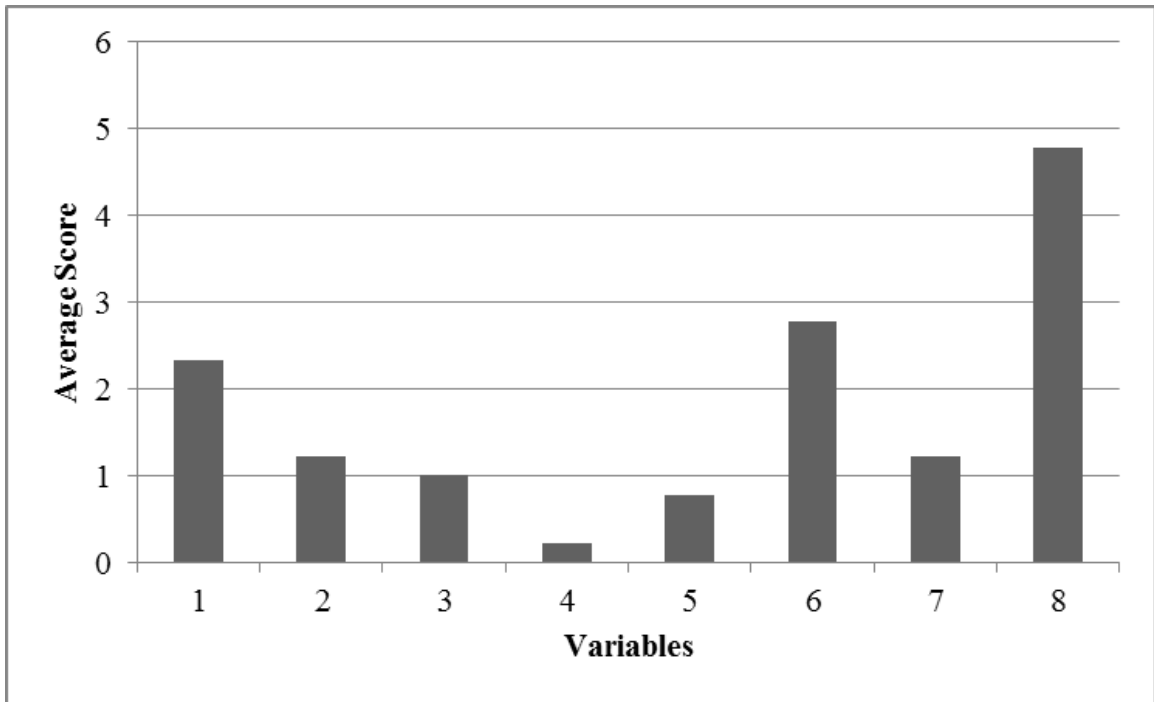


Change Scores

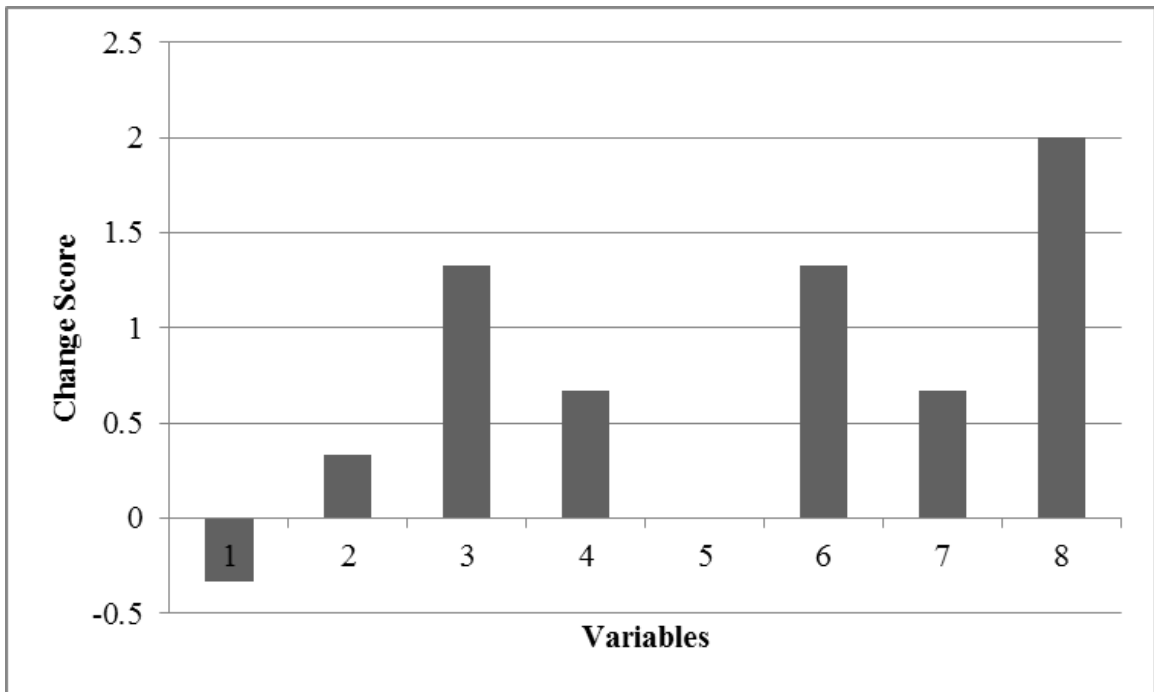


Child 023

Average Scores

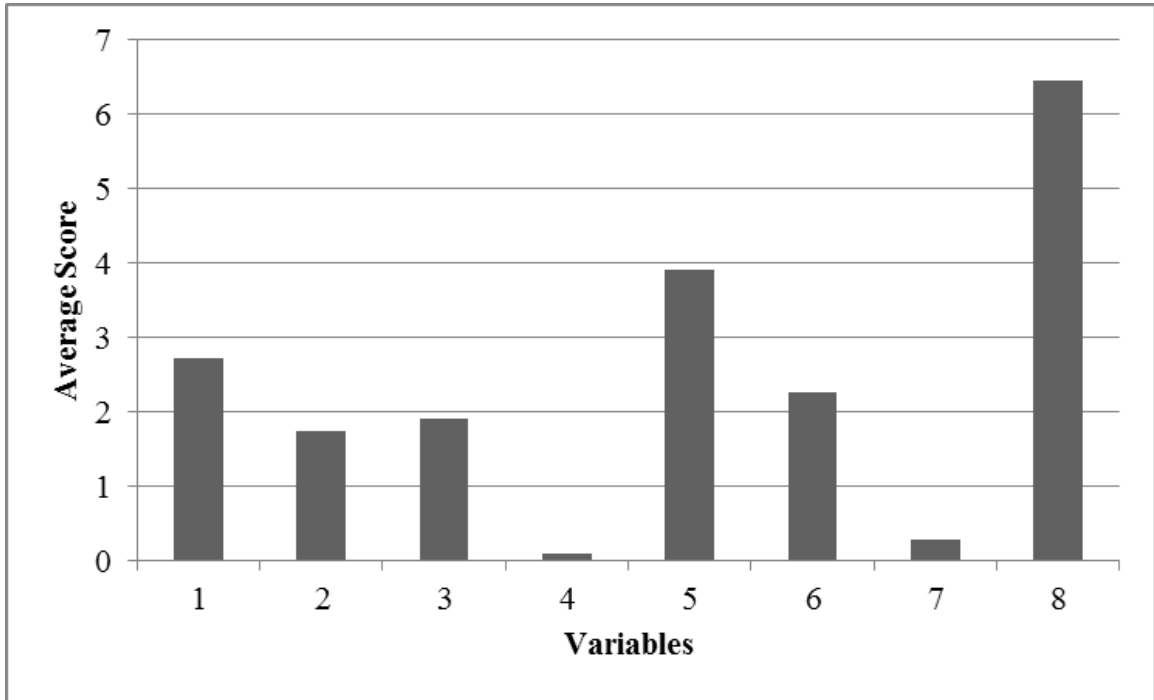


Change Scores

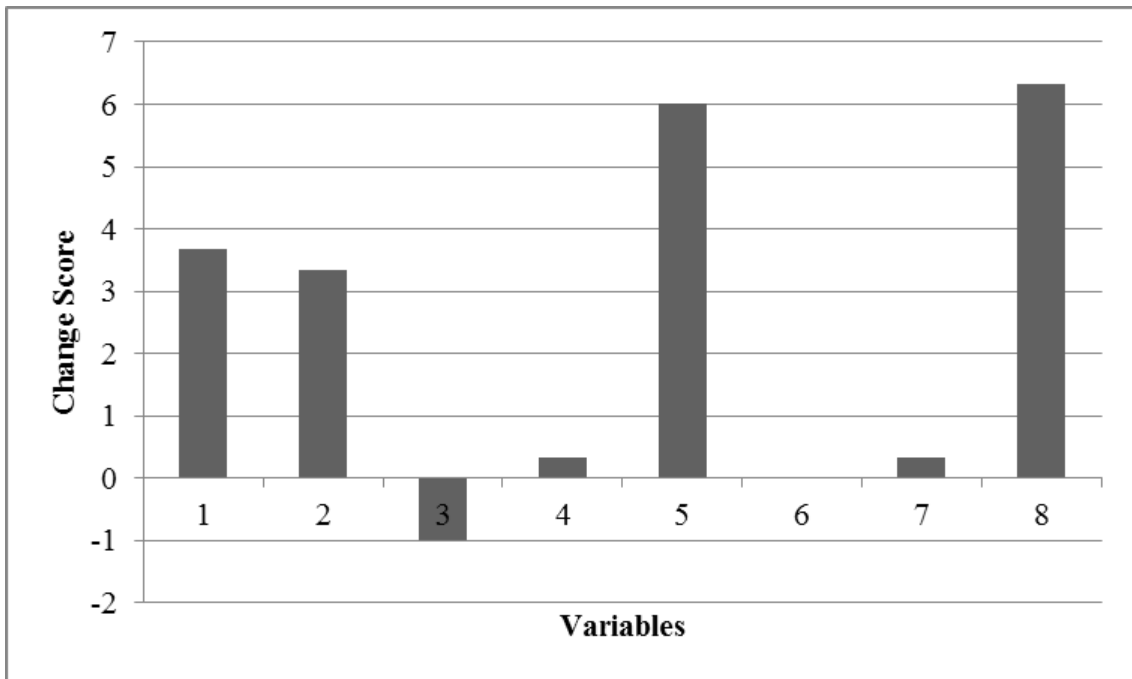


Child 024

Average Scores

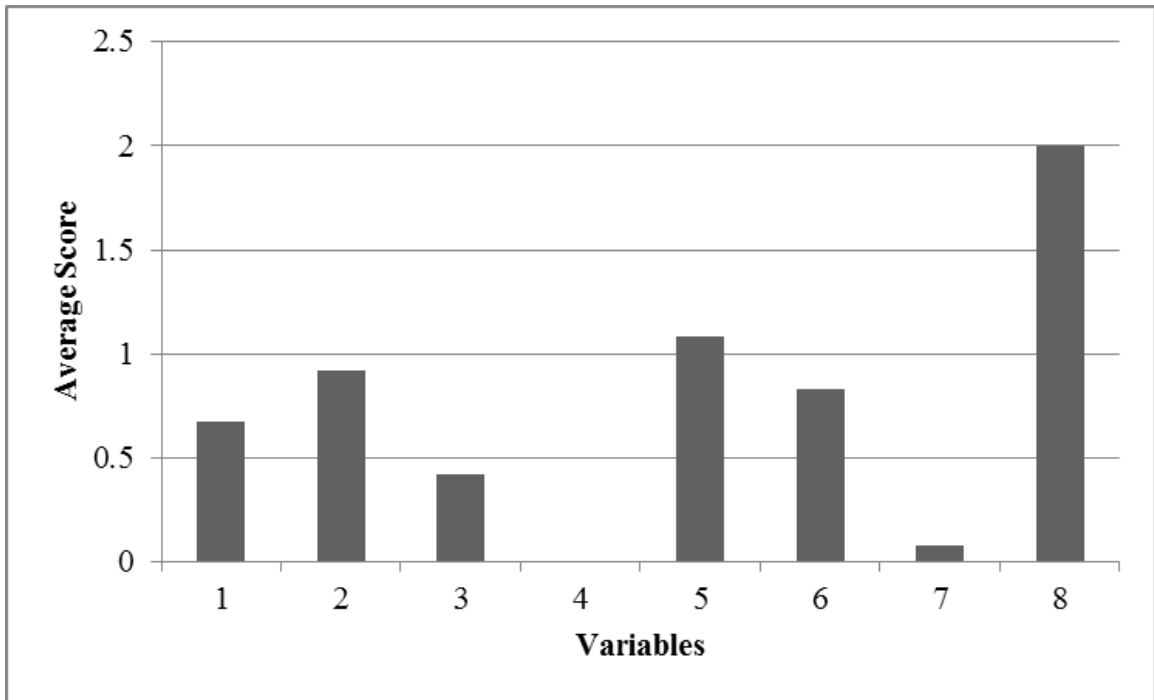


Change Scores (notice changed scale – maximum score for this child is 6.33)

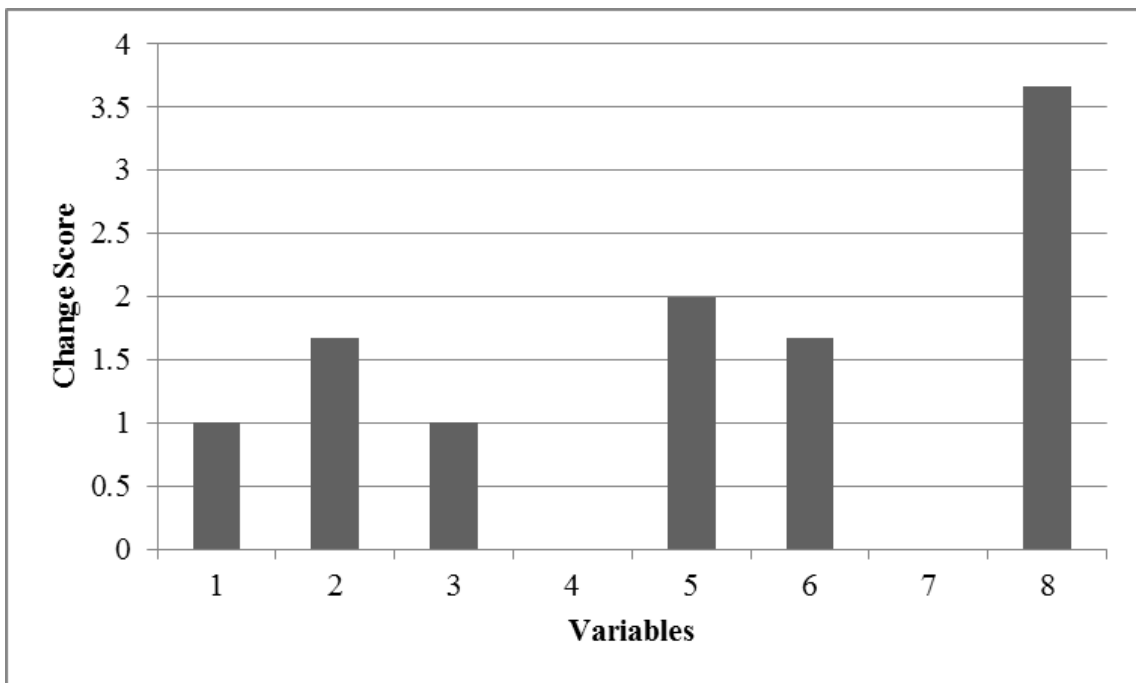


Child 025

Average Scores

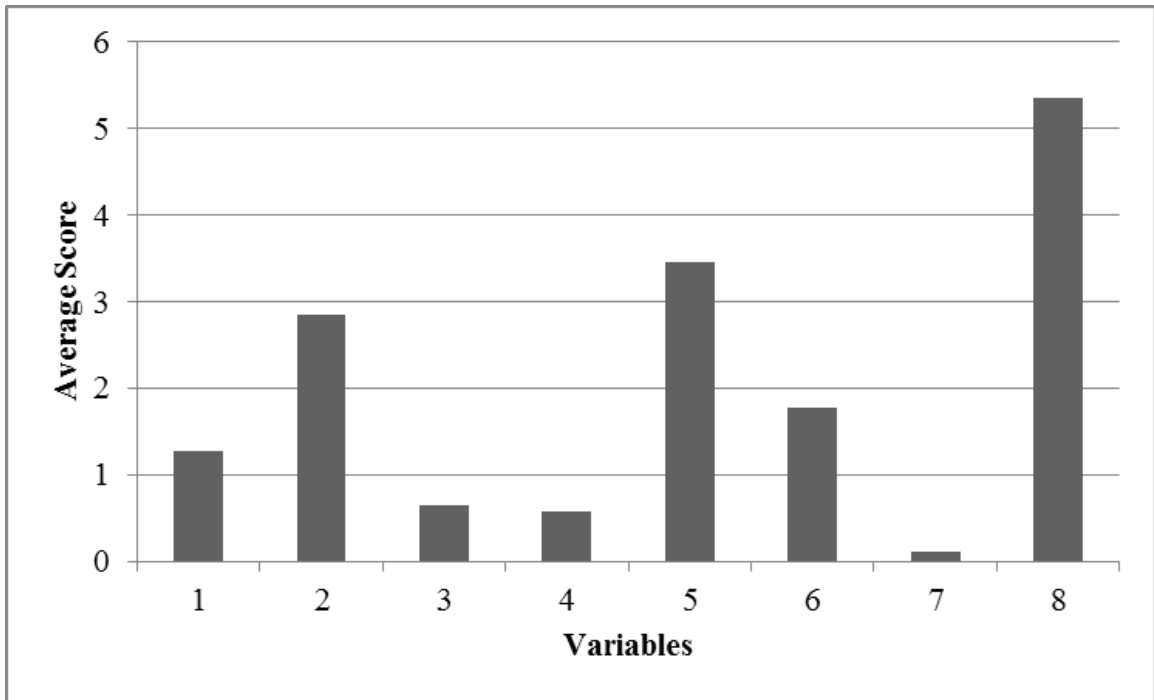


Change Scores

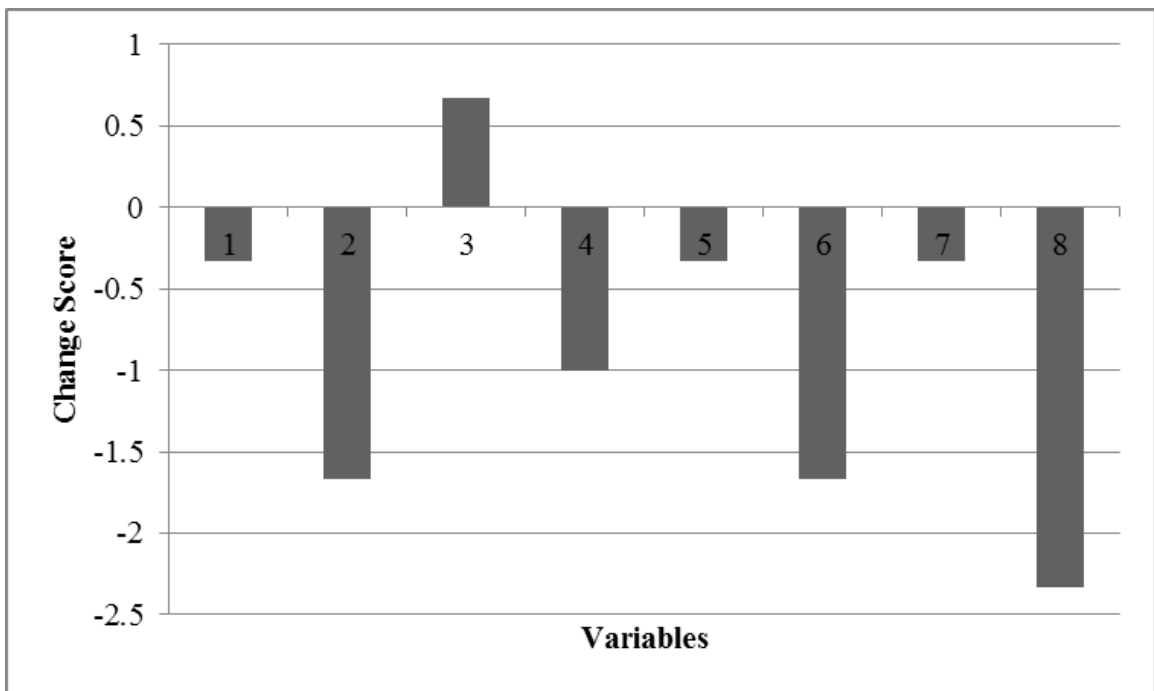


Child 027

Average Scores

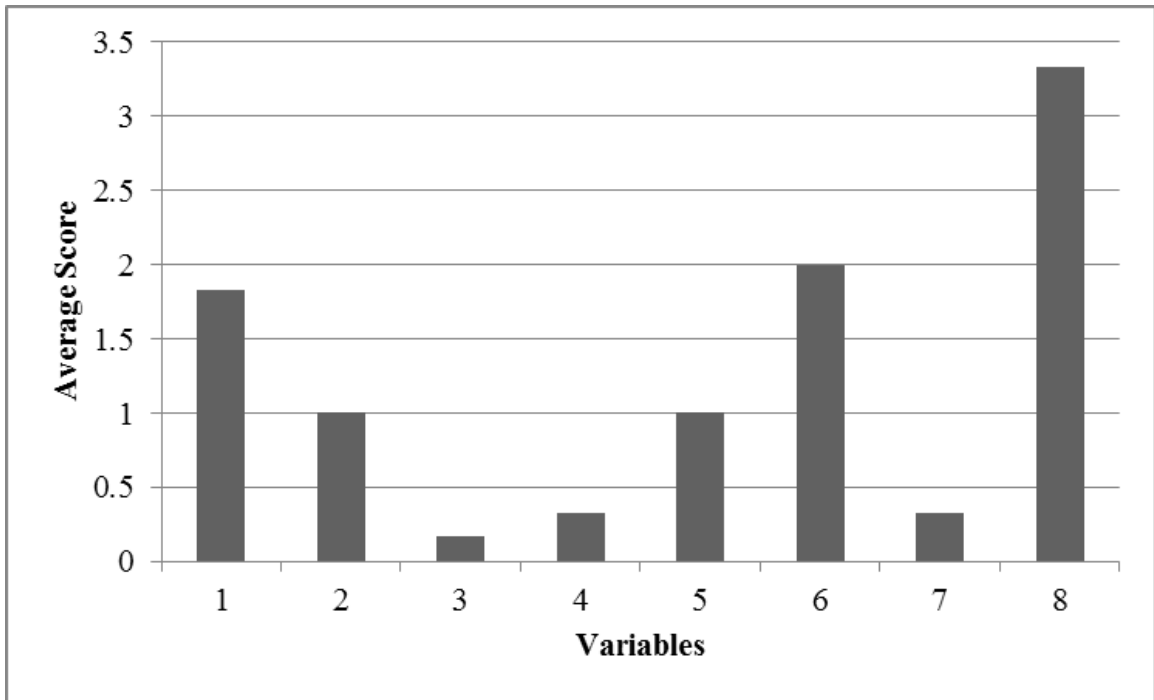


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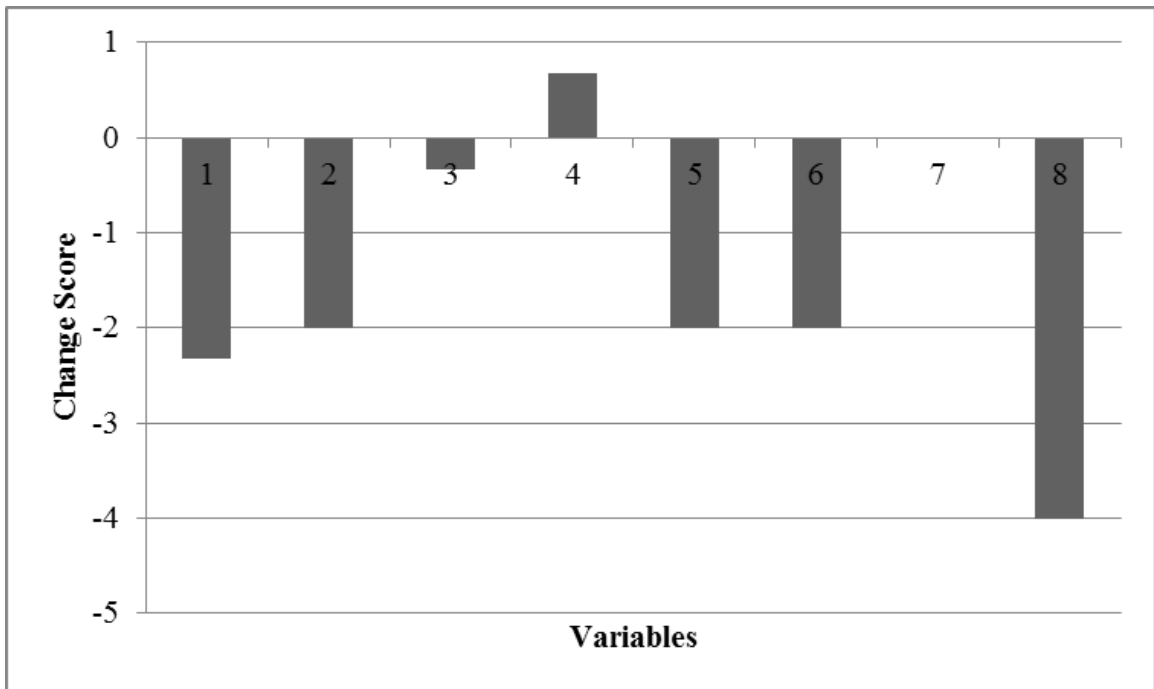


Child 030

Average Scores

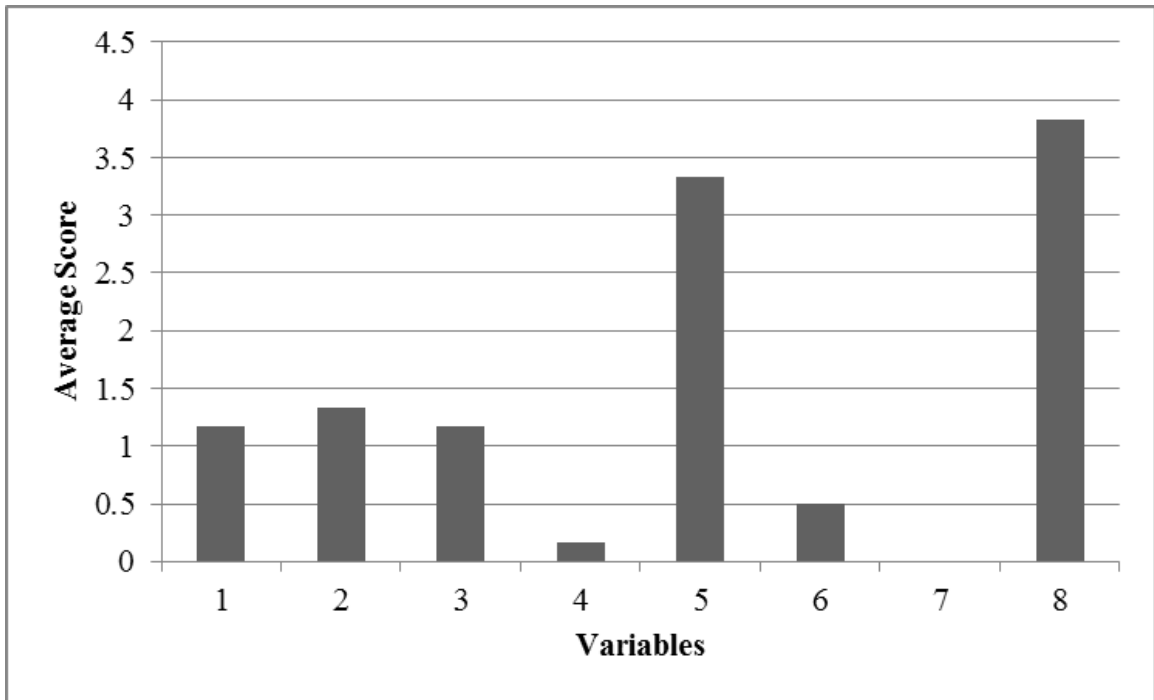


Change Scores

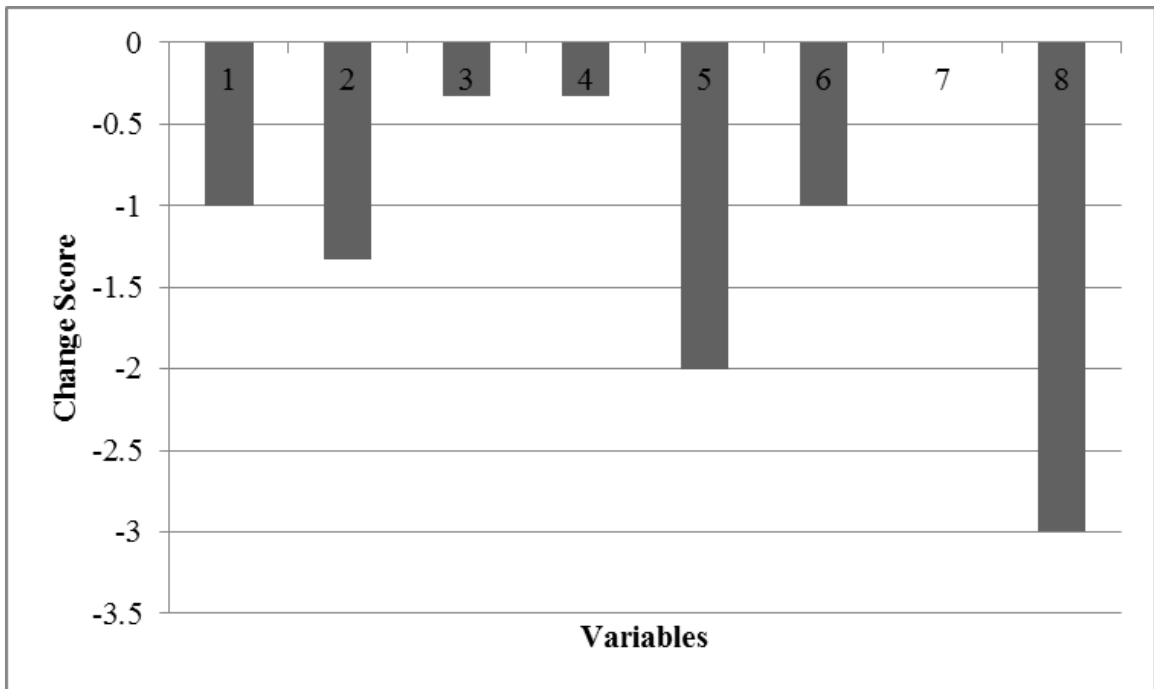


Child 031

Average Scores

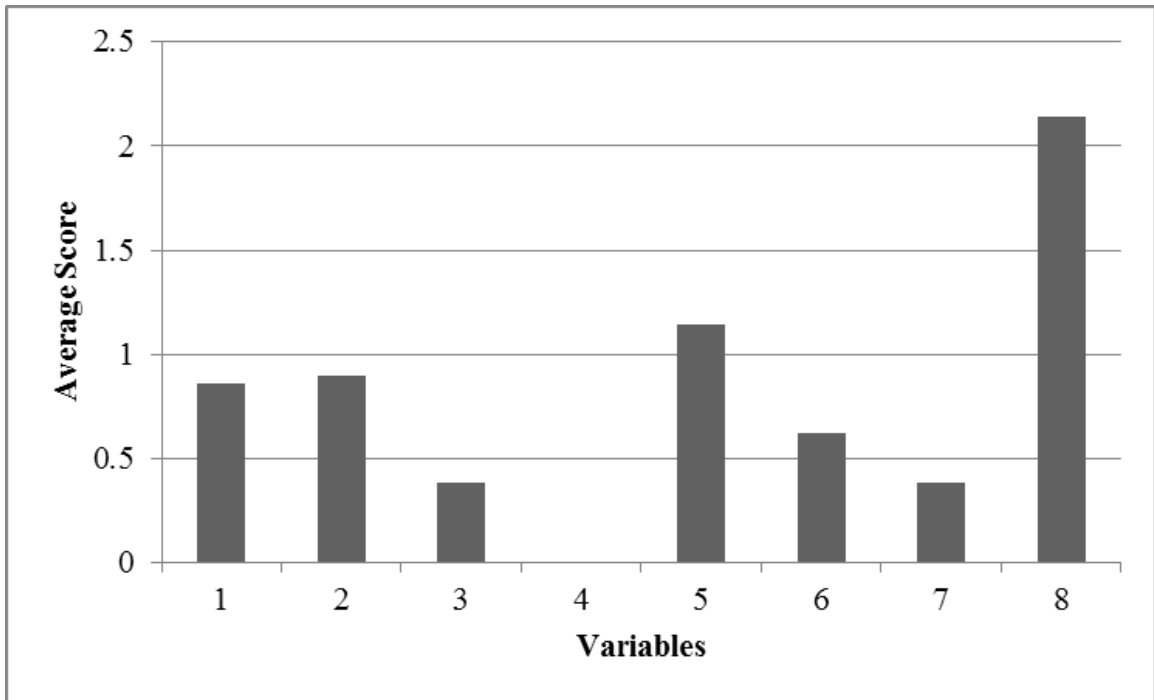


Change Scores

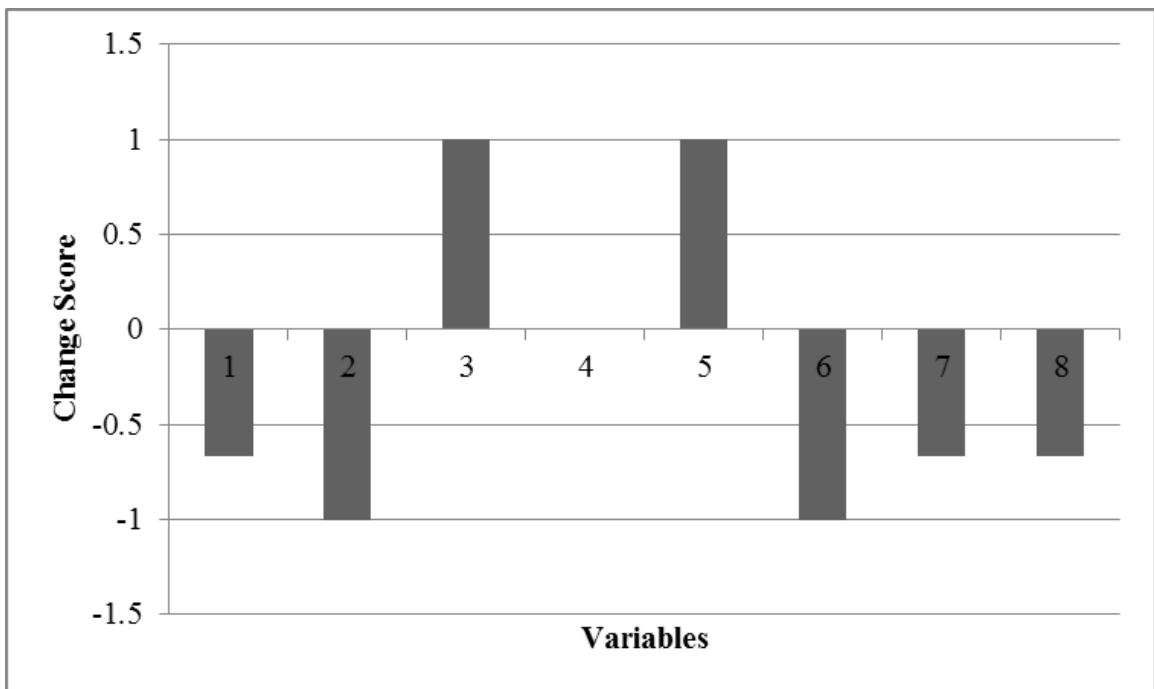


Child 033

Average Scores

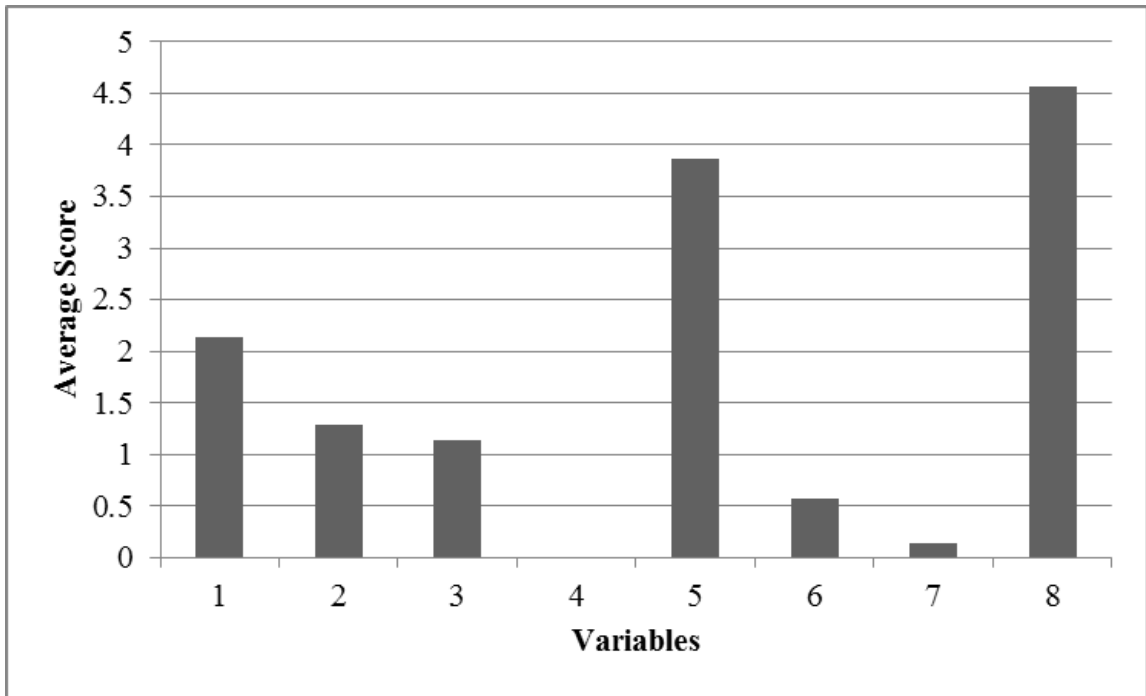


Change Scores



Child 034

Average Scores



Change Scores

