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“I NEVER FELT LIKE I WAS HEARD”: THE EXPERIENCE OF FEELING HEARD IN DISAGREEMENTS ACROSS RELATIONSHIPS

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ABSTRACT

Individuals can walk away from interpersonal conflict with divergent interpretations of what occurred. A critical component of these different interpretations of past conflict is whether we felt heard by the other afterwards. This thesis sought to explore the experience of feeling heard and to bridge this phenomenon with broader interpersonal and developmental implications. We compared these experiences across relational contexts as previous research has shown different types of relationships evoke different expectations, behaviors, and narrative accounts from individuals. We coded sets of narratives detailing times when participants ($N = 189$) felt heard and did not feel heard following disagreements with either their mother, father, close friend, or romantic partner. These narratives were provided by participants between 18 and 29 years old (i.e. emerging adults). Three *a priori* hypotheses were made predicting the prevalence of certain interactional features (e.g. validation, power, compliance, repair, dismissal, continuation of conflict, and withdrawal) between the two narrative conditions. Our hypotheses were well-supported by the data collected, except in the case of compliance. First, validation, power, and repair occurred more frequently in narratives of times participants felt heard. Second, dismissal, continuation of conflict, and withdrawal occurred more frequently in narratives of times participants did not feel heard. Finally, repair occurred more frequently in feeling heard narratives for peer contexts than parent contexts. Our findings provide evidence for the continued distinction of parent and peer contexts into emerging adulthood. Research on further distinguishing the role of specific relational contexts in feeling heard is recommended.

INTRODUCTION

The subjectivity in our interpretations of past events matter in how we continue to exist in a social world, interact with others, and navigate interpersonal relationships. Previous research has shown subjective interpretations vary greatly across events and contexts. For example, in interpersonal conflict one's role either as victim or as perpetrator in narrative accounts of anger resulted in substantially different constructions of the event, or subjective interpretations (Baumeister et al., 1990). The asymmetry in the construction of past conflict may be influenced by self-serving biases, attributions of intent, and one's emotional response (Adams, 2016; Baumeister et al., 1990). These constructions have lasting implications in the outcomes of subsequent interpersonal interactions. Perpetrators who believed past transgressions had been resolved with no lasting consequences may be unaware of the relationship damage caused by their actions. Such divergence in perspective and recollection of events may make it more difficult to engage in relationship repair and other constructive interpersonal processes.

Subjective interpretations of social events have been of interest to psychologists for more than half a century. A seminal example of what people notice and remember in social situations comes from an intergroup relations study led by Hastorf & Cantril (1954). The study explored how football game spectators selectively noticed, or perceived, certain aspects of the game which held significances unique to the history and background of those watching (Hastorf & Cantril, 1954). With multiple things going on over the course of the game, spectators must selectively take in (consciously and unconsciously) occurrences that hold the most meaning, or significance, to them. This selective perception was related to the emergence of disparate "realities" among the spectators of what had "truly" happened in the football game. By analyzing an intergroup competitive event, Hastorf and Cantril were two of many contemporary researchers and thinkers who started to critically study subjective interpretation of objective events through the lenses of social and developmental psychology. Similar research has illustrated how subjective interpretation shapes our view of the world and our interactions with others.

Not only can two individuals walk away from conflict with divergent perspectives of what occurred, but they may also leave with a deep personal sense of whether they felt heard by the other; however, what it means to feel heard may differ between people. This experience of feeling heard in conflict is a more recent research interest, and as a result, there is little to no previous work specifically exploring this psychological phenomenon. Other areas of research have studied the importance of how others listen to us (e.g. attentiveness, supportiveness, scaffolding, etc.) in shaping the meaning we derive from past events and our conceptions of the self (Pasupathi & Billitteri, 2015). Our line of research departs from the listening literature by focusing on the personal experience of having felt heard by the other, rather than directly studying listener behavior and individuals' outcomes.

Feeling heard in conflict is an important element in studying the role of subjective interpretations in the dynamics of interpersonal relationships, along with exploring our view of the self. Our construal of past significant events, along with how we derive meaning from them, make up our identity and shift how we perceive ourselves over time (Adler et al., 2017). For example, how we construe past life events helps us form our narrative identity, or our evolving, internalized life story (McAdams & McLean, 2013). The reconstruction of meaningful events in our lives complements our discussion on conflict and feeling heard. How we felt we were received, or heard, by the other during times when our perspectives and needs are challenged may have not only have important implications for our relationships, but in shaping who we are.

In addition to being a crucial space for interpersonal and self-development, engagement in interpersonal conflict has been shown to be related to several other developmental processes

and social outcomes, including socio-cognitive development, relationship maintenance, and the quality of subsequent social interactions (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Komolova et al., 2014; Lemay et al., 2012). For instance, whether we feel hurt or angry after conflict is related to whether we engage in repair (e.g. apologizing or making amends) or whether the conflict is exacerbated over time (Lemay et al., 2012). Previous research on interpersonal conflict in developmental psychology has typically focused on conflict within mother-child and peer relationships (Komolova et al., 2014; Loughheed et al., 2020; Reese-Weber et al., 2015).

Interpersonal conflict can often feature different behaviors or actions between the two involved, such as validation, power assertions, and repair (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Komolova et al., 2014); these will be referred to as *interactional features*. Interactional features within conflict are also associated with varying developmental outcomes. Demonstrating understanding and justifying others' perspectives (i.e. validation) while balancing one's own values and beliefs can be an occurring feature in late adolescents' conflicts with their moms and their friends (Komolava et al., 2014); the presence of validation in these contexts may indicate as we grow older we develop the ability to respect others' differences in beliefs while still re-affirming our own.

This thesis explored whether being validated, getting what you want, relationship repair, and other interactional features were related to the emergence of feeling heard in conflict. We focused on identifying similarities and differences in the presence of these features among the relationships interpersonal conflict can occur in, such as conflicts with mothers, fathers, close friends, or romantic partners, among emerging adults, which will be discussed further.

Conflict Matters: Interactional Features & Developmental Implications

To inform our study of subjective interpretation and feeling heard in interpersonal conflict, we will begin with reviewing previously studied concepts of conflict, such as resolution, to distinguish the experience of feeling heard from well-studied conflict outcomes and identify potential factors which may contribute to or undermine it. Adams and Laursen (2001) conceptualized interpersonal conflict as being constructed of discrete elements following a sequential order, such as initiation, resolution, and outcome. Resolution was defined by instances of power assertion (i.e. getting what you want or "winning" the disagreement), negotiation, and withdrawal from the conflict. While effective in labelling observable outcomes of conflict, resolution research does not accurately capture less observable interpersonal and psychological phenomena that occurs during conflict, such as feeling heard by the other.

Instead, resolution introduces the concept of power assertions, one of multiple different interactional features which may leave us feeling heard, or not heard, during conflict. For instance, trying to get what you want (i.e. power assertions) may contribute to whether we feel heard. However, being validated or getting an apology (e.g. repair) may also be important in feeling heard. Validation is the act of reflecting the other's feelings or legitimizing their perspective (Carson-Wong et al., 2018) and repair is characterized by apologizing and making amends within the relationship (Johnson et al., 2013). Incorporating these features into our study of feeling heard connected our approach with previously established research on conflict outcomes.

Interpersonal conflict can serve as a constructive space where socio-cognitive skills (such as perspective-taking), the ability to distinguish between the self and others, and relationship maintenance skills can develop. The ability to take on others' perspectives exists early on in development. However, past cross-sectional research on perspective-taking in conflict has shown adolescents are better able to recognize and validate others' perspectives even in the face of disagreeing opinions and beliefs more than their younger counterparts (Komolova et al., 2014).

Perspective-taking along with other socio-cognitive capabilities (e.g. empathy and validation) may contribute to a larger relationship process: recognizing and integrating others' goals, behaviors, and expectations with your own (Laursen, 1995). Additionally, expressing negative emotions can signal one's wants, needs, or expectations to the other person (Lemay et al., 2012). Given the important role of conflict in relationships, understanding our lived, psychological experiences during disagreements, such as feeling heard, may further inform research on how individuals develop relational capacities for better understanding others and balancing those with one's own needs and wants.

Relational Contexts: Shifting the Landscape of Social Interaction

Depending on with who we engage in conflict (i.e. the type of relationship conflict occurs in), the dynamics of our interactions may differ across relationships (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Pasupathi et al., 2019). Relationships, or relational contexts, are distinguished by their goals, expectations, and power structures. For instance, reciprocity is a prominent feature of peer relationships, while autonomy and power imbalances (e.g. asymmetry) are more characteristic of relationships with parents (Adams & Laursen, 2001). As a result of different relationship expectations and goals, conflict management styles may vary between relational contexts, along with what it may take to feel heard by the other. This thesis will explore distinctions across relational contexts when it comes to feeling heard in conflict.

Attachment theory highlights how relationships are driven by differences in goals and expectations (Ainsworth, 1989). Further research has shown relational differences to be related to differences in symmetry of power, expectations, and obligations (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Pasupathi et al., 2019). Parental relationships are most often involuntary and asymmetrical in power structure, given parents' roles as caregivers and secure bases. Parental relationships are involuntary, or obligatory, in the sense one is not freely able to select a parent when growing up. On the other hand, peer relationships (e.g., friendships and romantic relationships) will be more voluntary in nature and egalitarian in power, based on the needs for reciprocity, mutuality, and commitment to maintain a peer relationship (Laursen et al., 1996). Symmetry and underlying power structures in relationships can shift the dynamics of conflict, in turn, shaping our subjective interpretation afterwards of what happened.

Conflicts with peers will be more likely to avoid including angry, harmful interactions that may lead to the end of the relationship since peer relationships are voluntary (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Laursen et al., 1996). Negotiation and compromise tend to be more frequent outcomes in peer conflict. Thus, repair attempts to maintain the relationship may occur more frequently within peer contexts than parent contexts. In early parent-child conflicts, power assertions are more likely to occur. However, parent-child conflict dynamics begin to shift over the course of development. Power assertions are characterized by one person getting what they originally wanted out of the conflict over the other. Power assertions can be viewed as exchanges of power and dominance; while power assertions are present in parent-child conflict, prioritizing one's wants over the other's can be especially threatening to voluntary, or peer, relationships. If power assertions occur more frequently in parental contexts, relationship repair attempts may matter less with parents than peers.

Throughout adolescence, parent-child relationships may become more symmetrical and reflect the more egalitarian nature of peer relationships (De Goede et al., 2008). This transition towards a more symmetrical relationship may also be the result of parents learning how to navigate conflicts with their children. Changes in socio-cognitive abilities such as perspective-taking, introduction of more long-lasting relationships outside of the family, and one's ability to navigate conflict may all inform the transformation of relationships past adolescence. Despite

this, parental and peer relationships remain distinguishable from each other in late adolescence and later (McLean & Thorne, 2003). This distinction informed the development of our hypotheses.

However, distinctions within parents and peers may also matter – to the extent that fathers and mothers engage differently with youth (e.g., Zaman & Fivush, 2013), and that romantic partners combine the voluntary and egalitarian quality of friendships with some elements of attachments (e.g., Ainsworth, 1989). To enable exploring these ideas, the study design of this thesis included both mothers and fathers (i.e., parents), and both close friends and romantic partners (i.e., peers).

Understanding Emerging Adulthood as a Developmental Period

Emerging adulthood has surfaced as a recent period of interest in developmental psychology in the past twenty years. This period exists within a cultural and economic context that allows late adolescents to go into higher education, postpone marriage, and explore social roles and identity (Arnett, 2000). However, the theoretical underpinnings for this stage of role experimentation and instability have been historically described by developmental psychologists all the way back to Erikson. Identity development, relationship changes, and the transition into adulthood are all characteristic of this period.

Summary

The literature reviewed highlights research distinguishing relationships by their conflict styles, relationship functions, and expectations. Peer relationships (close friends and romantic partners) tend to feature more egalitarian characteristics built on values of mutuality and reciprocity. On the other hand, parental relationships tend to be more inequalitarian, or asymmetric, in power structure (at least through adolescence); however, there may be further distinctions within parental and peer relationships in conflict interactions. When it comes to conflict in emerging adulthood, these distinctions between relationships may still exist but are less defined. Identifying potential distinguishing factors that shape conflict may inform why variations in interpretations and subjective psychological experiences occur.

Overview of Current Research

Interpersonal conflict and its outcomes may be influenced by several factors, such as the relational context it occurs in and what features occur during the disagreement. Both may shape what gets said and understood between two parties, and whether each person walks away feeling like they were heard during the conflict. Developmental research has shown differences exist in function and expectations between relationship types. This thesis will focus on comparing experiences of feeling heard during conflict between emerging adults and their mothers, fathers, close friends, or romantic partners, with an emphasis on exploring the perspective of the emerging adult in question. The following questions will guide this thesis:

1. What interactional features during disagreements do or do not contribute to the psychological experience of “feeling heard” (as compared to “not feeling heard”)?
2. Do interactional features during disagreements differ across relationship contexts among emerging adults, and are these differences related to the experience of feeling heard?

Our *a priori* predictions consist of the following hypotheses:

1. The interactional features of validation, power, compliance, and repair will be more likely to occur in experiences of “feeling heard”, as compared to experiences where one does not feel heard.

2. The interactional features of dismissal, continuation of conflict, and withdrawal will be more likely to occur in experiences where one does not feel heard, as compared to experiences where one feels heard.
3. Because peer relationships are more symmetrical than parents, reparative behavior will be more likely to occur in experiences of “feeling heard” with peers, as compared to experiences of “feeling heard”.

METHODS

Design

The study collected data from an online anonymous survey. At the start of the survey, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: mother, father, close friend, or romantic partner. Following random assignment, participants were then asked to provide two narratives: (1) a time they had a disagreement with someone identified by their randomly assigned condition (e.g. disagreement with romantic partner) where they *did not* feel heard (NH) and (2) a time they had a disagreement with the same person where they *did* feel heard (H). All participants first completed the NH narrative prompt, and then completed an H narrative for the time. Having participants complete the more positive experience of feeling heard as the final narrative prompt was intended to reduce potential distress from recollecting past conflict. Counterbalancing of the repeated measures did not occur. Participants were also given the option to be randomly assigned to a different prompt if the one they had been initially assigned to provide disagreements pertaining to a relationship they did not have in their life (e.g. they had not yet had a romantic relationship).

The study followed a 2 (narrative prompt: NH vs. H) x 4 (relational context: mother, father, close friend, or romantic partner) mixed-model design with repeated measures on our first factor.

Participants

Two hundred and twenty-six students were recruited from a university in the western United States. The participants were recruited from the university’s psychology participant pool where students either participated in studies for mandatory class credit or extra credit. Participants who did not provide narratives to both survey prompts and participants who provided nonsense or irrelevant narratives to both prompts were excluded from further analysis. Twelve participants who fell outside of the age range capturing emerging adulthood (18-29 years-old) were also excluded. The final sample size was 167. Participants who only provided one narrative were included in the analysis to avoid reducing sample size and reducing statistical power. For participants who only provided one narrative, the most common reason provided was they stated they had never felt heard by the other person or they could not think of a time when they had felt heard.

Of the final sample, 114 of participants identified as women (68.3%), fifty-one identified as men (30.5%), and two participants identified as non-binary (1.2%). Age ranged 18-29 ($M = 20.31$, $SD = 2.42$), 67% of participants were white ($n = 111$), 11% were Asian American or Pacific Islander ($n = 19$), 8% were Hispanic ($n = 14$), 8% identified with two or more races ($n = 13$), and other racial or ethnic groups ($n = 9$) each compromised 2% or less ($n < 4$) of the sample.

Breakdown of the participants within each randomly assigned condition consisted of the following: mother ($n = 48$), father ($n = 49$), close friend ($n = 47$), and romantic partner ($n = 27$). It should be noted the number of participants in the romantic partner condition is lower than the other three conditions. This may be a mixed result of the option placed before participants to be

randomly assigned to another condition and the age range of this sample. Some participants may have not yet had a romantic relationship, and so they opted into a different condition. There were four participants who went through two conditions; these were random assignment mistakes by the survey software, Qualtrics. The narratives from both conditions of each participant were retained for analysis.

Procedure

Participants were first asked to give consent in order to continue the survey. If consent was given, participants were then asked to complete a series of typed narrative prompts and questionnaires. If not, participants were forwarded along to the end of survey without further participation. As mentioned earlier, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions for narrative prompts (mom, dad, close friend, and romantic partner) using an algorithm set by the Qualtrics survey software. The standard prompt asked the following:

“Please write about a specific time when you had a disagreement with your [mother], and talked with [her] about it, and in the end you felt like [she] [didn’t hear you/heard] you.”

After each narrative prompt, there was a corresponding section asking participants to rate the extent they hoped for certain interactional features to happen in the described event, what did happen, and what contributed to them feeling heard. After finishing both narrative prompts, participants were then presented with a series of additional measures and a demographic information section to complete.

Narrative Methodology

This study focused on coding features within the narratives provided. A previous project studied the results from the item-based responses for this same dataset. The project informed the direction of the current study; however, it was limited in capturing the dynamics of the participants’ disagreements and of what factors came up in these experiences. The narrative approach taken by this thesis elaborates on the complexity in the experience of feeling heard. Narration is more than a mere recollection of events (Adler et al., 2017); narratives help us view how individuals make meaning of past events along with the potential to contextualize events within a larger framework of the participants’ lives.

Narrative Coding

Two overarching categories featuring specific interactional features were coded for their presence and absence in the narratives collected: potential contributions to feeling heard and undermining factors to feeling heard. For each coding concept, the author and three research assistants practiced coding 10 randomly selected participants’ narratives to establish reliability between coders. The research assistants were blind to the hypotheses of the study; however, due to the content of the narratives provided, coders could not be blind to each participant’s random assignment. Initial disagreements during practice coding between all four coders were settled through group discussion, with subsequent refinement of the development of the coding schemes based on feedback. Refinements featured further operationalization of coding categories, providing examples from the practice narratives, and linking our categories to observable behaviors which can more easily be described in typed narratives.

After initial reliability was established through two rounds of practice coding, two coders were assigned to each participant’s set of narratives and tasked with coding the entire narrative data set. Our initial reliability criterion was a minimum of 70% agreement; the decision to move forward based on percentage agreement over a kappa statistic criterion was made in large part due to time constraints. For full coding, two teams of two coders were created. Each pair was

tasked with coding separate categories based on higher reliability between each other. Cohen's kappa and percentage agreement were used for our reliability criteria for full coding. Cohen's kappa values for each coding category are provided in Table 1 for the coding of all narratives; the reliability statistics reflect the pairwise coding. A primary coder for each pair was established prior to the full coding effort and subsequent data analyses are based on the primary coders' results. The overall reliability for the coding scheme was $\kappa = .530$ with 86% agreement. With $\kappa = .530$, reliability was weak for our coding scheme; a kappa value of .7 or higher is ideal. The implications of low reliability will be touched on in the discussion.

Interactional Features in Feeling Heard

Narratives were coded for the absence or presence (0/1) of the following interactional features which were derived from a previous project within this lab: validating behavior by the participant (narrator), validating behavior by the other person (other), power, compliance, repair attempts by the other, and repair attempts by the narrator. Further operationalization of the factors was based on previous research on validation, social motivation, and conflict outcomes (Antaki et al., 2005; Carson-Wong et al., 2018; Johnson et al., 2013; McAdams et al., 1984) (refer to Table 1).

Each interactional feature had to be explicitly referenced in the narrative provided to be scored. Refer to Appendix A for the full version of the coding scheme used and specific examples. Narratives were also coded for the absence or presence of additional features: dismissal, continuation/escalation of conflict, and withdrawal. Operational definitions of these factors are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1
Factors in Feeling Heard Definitions & Examples

Coding Category	Definition	Example
<i>Narrator Validates</i> ($\kappa = .087, 92\%$)	Narrator takes on the other's perspective or demonstrates understanding (known as validating behavior)	"I grew to appreciate his profession more... in the end, I think we both felt better and more understood."
<i>Other Validates</i> ($\kappa = .571, 81\%$)	The other takes on the narrator's perspective or demonstrates understanding	"... In the end, he completely understood where I was coming from."
<i>Compliance</i> ($\kappa = .198, 76\%$)	Narrator gives in to the demands of the other person and/or changes their own mind.	"His response was that I was going to ruin [it]... [so] I shut up about it for the trip."
<i>Power</i> ($\kappa = .477, 77\%$)	Narrator feels they either got what they wanted and/or changed the other person's mind based on their perspective.	"She was not happy at first but after we talked for a while she decided they [piercings] weren't too bad and that it was my body so I could make the decision of what to do with it."
<i>Narrator Repairs</i> ($\kappa = .479, 89\%$)	Narrator engages in reparative behavior (e.g. apologizing, forgiveness, making amends, etc.).	"I apologized to her and made sure to never do it again."

<i>Other Repairs</i> ($\kappa = .560$, 89%)	The other engages in reparative behavior (e.g. apologizing, forgiveness, making amends, etc.).	“So we came to a compromise on both ends...”
<i>Dismissal</i> ($\kappa = .504$, 75%)	Narrator or the other does not address or invalidates the other’s perspective.	“Instead of comforting me or listening to me, he lectured me on the importance of family and told me I shouldn’t be mad...”
<i>Continuation of Conflict</i> ($\kappa = .569$, 84%)	Narrator or the other engages in behavior which leads the conflict to occur on multiple occasions and/or grow in intensity.	“But all he told me was it’s different and it was all my fault.”
<i>Withdrawal</i> ($\kappa = .730$, 95%)	Narrator or the other disengages from the conversation, either by remaining silent or walking away.	“[It] ended with both of us yelling and going to our rooms to cool our heads.”

Note. Cohen’s kappa and percentage agreement are provided for each coding category.

RESULTS

Analytic Plan

To determine if there were significant differences in the frequencies of interactional features across the entire sample, a series of McNemar’s tests was conducted. These were guided by our *a priori* hypotheses to minimize Type I error. A 2 x 4 (NH/H narratives x relational context: mother, father, friend, and peer) mixed ANOVA and planned contrast were then conducted to investigate whether reparative behavior would be more prevalent in experiences of feeling heard in peer disagreements compared to parent disagreements. Due to analytic limitations, a planned contrast analysis was selected over a multilevel model approach to incorporate the between- and within-subjects nature of the variables of interest. Our key aim was to investigate reparative behavior across peer and parent contexts, along with establishing contributions and undermining factors in feeling heard. In addition to our planned analyses, we further explored our data descriptively by looking at the presence of other interactional features across relational contexts. Descriptive data divided by relational context are shown in Table 3.

Frequency of Interactional Features in Disagreements

We first established whether there were or were not significant differences in the prevalence of interactional features in narratives that may contribute to experience of feeling heard across both narrative conditions. Significant differences across narrative conditions were found for the prevalence of each feature studied (refer to Table 2).

Table 2

Percentage of Participants who mentioned an Interactional Feature between Narrative Conditions

Interactional Features	Narrative Condition		χ^2 (<i>n</i> = 157)	<i>p</i> -value
	NH % (<i>n</i> = 170)	H % (<i>n</i> = 158)		
Narrator Validates ^a	1.1	7.0		0.012*
Other Validates	2.4	44.3	58.681	0.000
Power	2.9	39.2	53.153	0.000
Compliance ^a	6.5	2.5		0.065*
Narrator Repairs	5.9	13.3		0.035*
Other Repairs	4.1	25.3	24.976	0.000
Dismissal	65.9	13.3	83.505	0.000
Continuation of Conflict	33.5	10.8	27.161	0.000
Withdrawal	13.5	3.8		0.001*

^a Coding categories with low reliability (< κ = .2).

* Denotes features which did not meet sufficient frequency across all narratives. Thus, SPSS was unable to calculate chi-square statistics. These are reported with exact significance rather than asymptomatic values.

Overall, validating behavior from the other person (44%), instances of power (39%), and reparative behavior from the other person (25%) were the most frequently occurring features in H narratives. Features targeted towards the wants, needs, or perspective of the other person, such as the narrator engaging in validating behavior (7%) and the narrator repairing (13%), all occurred less frequently in H narratives in comparison to interactional features targeted towards the narrator's wants, needs, or perspective (such as being validated by the other, power, and repair by the other).

There was a significant difference in the percentage of participants who reported the other person engaged in validating behavior between NH narratives and H narratives (2% and 44% respectively; refer to Table 3 for statistics). A significant difference in the frequency of when the narrator engaged in validating behaviors was also found between NH narratives (2%) and H narratives (11%). However, the magnitude of the difference for times when the narrator validated was much smaller than times when the other validated between NH and H narratives. In the case of both categories, validating behaviors occurred more frequently in narratives where participants described they felt heard during the disagreement.

The prevalence of power was significantly different between the two narrative conditions. The difference in the prevalence of compliance between NH and H narratives was not significant; it should be noted reliability for our compliance coding was low. Participants more frequently reported instances of power in H narratives (39%) more than NH narratives (3%).

Finally, reparative behavior was more frequently reported in H narratives. Instances of the narrator engaging in reparative behavior occurred more frequently in H narratives (13%) than NH narratives (6%), and the difference was significant. Additionally, instances when the other person engages in repair occurred more frequently in H narratives (25%) than NH narratives (4%), and the difference was also significant. However, the magnitudes of the differences

between NH and H narratives in the prevalence of narrator repair and other repair were still smaller than that of power and other validation.

Next, we tested whether interactional features that may impede the emergence of feeling heard had any significant associations with our narrative conditions. Specifically, we tested whether dismissal, continuation of conflict, and withdrawal were less prevalent in H narratives, and more prevalent in NH narratives. Significant differences in frequencies between H and NH narratives were found for all three categories. Participants reported instances of dismissal more frequently in NH narratives (66%) more than when H narratives (13%). This result was also found in instances where the disagreement was escalated and/or continued and when either the participant or other person withdrew from the disagreement (refer to Table 3 for reported frequencies). Out of the three categories of interest, dismissal was the most frequent (66%) in NH narratives, followed by continuation of conflict (34%) and withdrawal (14%).

Table 3

Percentage of Participants who mentioned an Interactional Feature between Relational Contexts & Narrative Conditions

Interactional Features	Relational Context							
	Mother <i>n</i> = 48		Father <i>n</i> = 49		Friend <i>n</i> = 47		Romantic Partner <i>n</i> = 27	
	NH (<i>n</i> = 47)	H (<i>n</i> = 45)	NH (<i>n</i> = 49)	H (<i>n</i> = 44)	NH	H (<i>n</i> = 46)	NH	H (<i>n</i> = 23)
Narrator Validates	0	13.3	2.0	0	2.1	8.7	0	4.2
Other Validates	0	55.6	2.0	54.5	4.3	30.4	3.7	34.8
Power	6.4	42.2	6.1	40.9	0	34.8	0.0	39.1
Compliance	2.1	4.4	4.1	2.3	6.4	0	18.5	4.3
Narrator Repairs	0	13.3	4.1	4.5	14.9	21.7	3.7	13.0
Other Repairs	4.3	17.8	2.0	15.9	6.4	34.8	7.4	39.1
Dismissal	72.3	13.3	73.5	13.6	68.1	10.9	66.7	17.4
Continuation of Conflict	23.4	8.9	32.7	11.4	40.4	8.7	63.0	17.4
Withdrawal	8.5	0	22.4	2.3	12.8	4.3	18.5	13.0

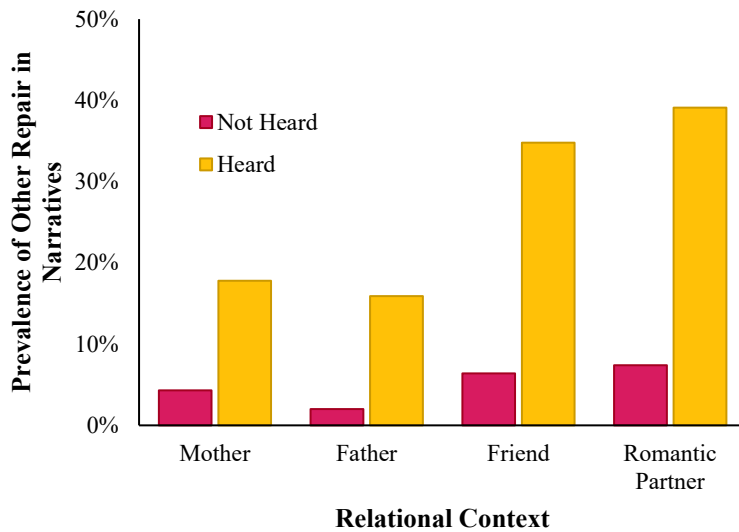
Repair Between Parent & Peer Contexts

For our final hypothesis, we tested whether reparative behavior will be more prevalent in feeling heard experiences within peer conditions than in parent conditions. First, a 2 x 4 mixed-model ANOVA with relational context as the between-subjects factor and NH/H narratives as the within-subjects factor was run to determine if there was an overall interaction effect with the presence of repair (either by the narrator or the other) and feeling heard. Then, a planned contrast

analysis was conducted to directly compare repair between parent and peer contexts. We contrasted both of our repair categories: other repair and narrator repair.

Figure 1

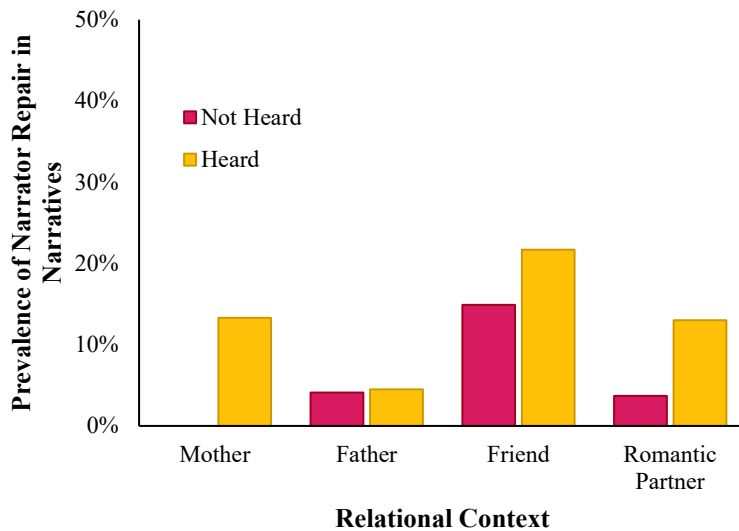
Percentage of Other Repair Reported in Narratives Across Relational Contexts



There were no significant differences across the four relational contexts and narrative conditions in reports of whether the other repaired ($F(3, 153) = 1.316, p = .271, \eta_p^2 = .025$) or the narrator repaired ($F(3, 153) = .985, p = .401, \eta_p^2 = .019$). To follow-up, planned contrasts were conducted to specifically test whether there were significant differences in repair between parent (mother and father) and peer (friend and partner) contexts. These groupings were contrasted between the two narrative conditions. The results were significant for both instances where the other person engaged in repair $F(3, 153) = 3.612, p = .015$ and where the narrator engaged in repair [$F(3, 153) = 3.605, p = .015$] (see Figure 1 and 2).

Figure 2

Percentage of Narrator Repair Reported in Narratives Across Relational Contexts



As predicted, other repair was more prevalent in H narratives than NH narratives, but this was a larger difference for the peer conditions than for the parent conditions. For narrator repair, the planned contrast also revealed a significant difference in prevalence in H narratives than NH narratives that was larger for peer conditions than parent conditions. However, Figure 2 reveals the differences with narrator repair varies greatly from other repair between relational contexts. No difference in the prevalence of narrator repair between NH and H narratives occurred within the father condition, while the largest difference between NH and H narratives occurred within the mother condition rather than both peer conditions.

DISCUSSION

Summary

The goal of this thesis was to explore the interactional features of interpersonal conflict that contribute or undermine one's experience of feeling heard by the other. We examined narratives of times where individuals described feeling heard and not feeling heard at the end of a disagreement with either their mother, father, close friend, or romantic partner. In these narratives, we looked for the description of behaviors and outcomes of the disagreement to determine whether certain features were more frequently present in experiences of feeling heard and whether these differed in prevalence among relational contexts.

Main Findings

Feeling heard in conflict takes more than having a good listener as the other person. The experience of feeling heard among emerging adults is informed by a variety of behaviors and outcomes linked to both what one and the other person does during conflict. In support of our predictions, we found significant differences in the prevalence of almost all of our studied interactional features between NH and H narratives. Validating behaviors by the narrator and other, along with instances of power, and reparative behavior by the narrator and other, were more common in experiences of feeling heard than experiences where the narrator did not feel heard. There was no significant difference in the prevalence of compliance (e.g. narrator giving the other what they wanted) between narrative conditions; it should also be noted compliance, along with narrator validation, had the lowest reliability in our coding effort. Behaviors and outcomes such as dismissal, continuing the conflict, and withdrawal all occurred more frequently in the NH narratives.

Repair across Relationships

Our prediction that parent and peer contexts would reveal a significant difference in the presence of repair in conflicts when we felt heard was well-supported by our findings. Not only did reparative behavior by the narrator and the other show up more frequently in narratives of disagreements when the narrator felt heard, its prevalence was significantly different between parent and peer contexts. Peer contexts were more likely to feature reparative behavior in times when the narrator felt heard, than parent contexts. This finding corresponds with previous literature on the increased likelihood for repair in more voluntary, mutual relationships as opposed to more involuntary, asymmetrical parent relationships (Adams & Laursen, 2001).

Our expectations for others' behaviors in feeling heard during conflict are well-informed by previous research of the developmental functions and social processes surrounding different types of relationships, particularly when it comes to repair in symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Ainsworth, 1989; Pasupathi et al., 2019). However, the relationship of repair to feeling heard in disagreements may differ depending on *who* engages in

repair. While instances of repair by the other closely followed our expected pattern, repair by the narrator showed a significant difference between parent and peer contexts in feeling heard in an unexpected way. Narrator repair appeared more frequently in feeling heard narratives across all relational contexts except for fathers. Previous research has shown late adolescents can perspective-take and validate (Komolova et al., 2014); these may be related to emerging adults' capability to engage in repair during conflict.

Narrator Repair within Father Contexts. When it came to fathers, there was no difference in the presence of narrator repair between times when the narrator felt heard and did not feel heard in disagreements. This lack of difference in repair among father contexts may have factored heavily in the results of our planned contrast; especially since mother contexts had the largest difference in the prevalence of repair between NH and H narratives, with romantic partners and close friends having the second and third largest differences; these differences will be discussed further in this section.

If emerging adults are capable of repair, as shown in our study, it is of particular interest why narrator repair not only occurred infrequently in narratives involving fathers, but when it did occur, it was unrelated to times when the narrator felt heard and did not feel heard. The perception of fathers as being less supportive listeners is something emerging adults have been known to hold (Pasupathi et al., 2019); when it comes to conflict and feeling heard with fathers, there may be a number of reasons for this observed pattern of narrator repair. For example, pre-existing perceptions and one's history with their father may limit one's degree of comfort in apologizing or making amends, or one may not feel the need to repair with fathers. If fathers are perceived to be as less supportive listeners (Pasupathi et al., 2019), we may feel we don't need to say sorry, repairing won't change anything, or we may feel there is not an opportunity or time to repair during the conflict. We could also consider whether the topic or the nature of the conflict plays a role in what occurs during the disagreement (Reese-Weber et al., 2015; Riesch et al., 2000); perhaps the most typical types of conflicts with fathers feature topics or issues which individuals do not feel as though they need to repair (much less repair in order to feel heard). A mix of perceptions, expectations, and the nature of the conflict itself with fathers may explain why father contexts are distinguished in narrator repair than the other three relational contexts. However, further research must look into the nuances of interpersonal conflict with fathers to substantiate these claims.

Narrator Repair within Mother & Peer Contexts. Moving beyond fathers, the presence of repair by the narrator in feeling heard experiences across the other three relational contexts may also indicate the importance of accountability and ownership in the outcomes of interpersonal conflict and feeling heard by the other. This is paralleled in the significant difference in the prevalence of validation by the narrator in feeling heard narratives; both narrator repair and narrator validation occurred more frequently in H narratives than NH narratives but not in as high of a frequency as other repair and other validation. In general, feeling heard requires more than just efforts made by the other to meet your needs and wants. Taking an active, constructive role and considering the other's needs and wants in a disagreement ultimately matters in how you feel and what you take away from conflict at the end of the day when it comes to disagreements with our mothers, close friends, and romantic partners.

While this is an important conclusion from our findings on narrator repair, our comparison of parental and peer contexts do not adequately reflect the size of the differences in prevalence between NH and H narratives among mothers, close friends, and romantic partners.

As mentioned earlier, narratives from mother contexts revealed the largest *difference* in the prevalence of narrator repair between NH to H narratives. While close friend and romantic partner contexts featured *more instances* of narrator repair in H narratives than mother contexts, there was a smaller difference in prevalence between NH to H narratives. In other words, narrator repair seems to matter more in feeling heard among mothers than peers, but we tend to repair more frequently with our friends and romantic partners in general.

In feeling heard during conflict, the significant difference of narrator repair within mother contexts may reflect the general functions mothers serve in one's development across childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood. Mothers can play important role in children's and adolescents' self-development through scaffolding narratives surrounding past important life events along with being perceived as a more positive and exploratory audience when we share parts of lives with them (Pasupathi et al., 2019). Mothers are also perceived to be more able to help resolve emerging adults' past accounts of important life events (Pasupathi et al., 2019). This expectation may translate into expectations during conflict where emerging adults hold a history of building resolution and repairing with their moms and their moms reciprocating, acknowledging, and receiving repair attempts in a way that is associated with emerging adults feeling heard. Our developmental history with our mothers may explain why narrator repair "matters more" in mother contexts than peer and father contexts.

General Contributions to Feeling Heard

Across all relational contexts, the most salient interactional features in H narratives were validation by the other, instances of power, repair by the other, repair by the narrator, and validation by the narrator, with validation by the other occurring the most frequently and validation by the narrator occurring the least frequently.

Validation Matters Most. Based on the high frequency of validation by the other in experiences when emerging adults felt heard, being validated by the person you are in conflict with may be more strongly associated with whether you felt heard. In other words, the other person demonstrating understanding and taking on your perspective plays an important role in whether we truly felt heard by the other during the disagreement. The presence of validation in conflict may be part of a process to build shared understanding and common ground between two individuals to better "hear" each other out. This applies to when the other validates, the narrator validates, or both; however, validation by the narrator occurred in a small percentage of H narratives and it was also our coding category with the lowest reliability. This implies our approach to studying narrator validation may not accurately represent what are in these narratives.

We can still consider whether the presence of validation by the narrator in times they felt heard may be another indication of the importance of ownership and accountability in conflict. Demonstrating understanding may be a sufficient, but not necessary, condition for repair by the other person or by the individual. The appearance of narrator validation in mother and peer contexts among emerging adults is unsurprising; late adolescents are able to successfully validate both moms and friends in conflict (Komolova et al., 2017). While not formally tested, validation by the other showed up more frequently in feeling heard narratives involving parental contexts. Future research could formally test for the presence of validation between parent and peer contexts among emerging adults.

Then Follows Getting What You Want. Following validation by the other, instances when the narrator "won" the disagreement, or got what they wanted, appeared the second most

frequently in H narratives. The increased prevalence of power from NH to H narratives was substantial. The overall presence of power in feeling heard experiences may indicate getting what you want and/or being able to change the other's mind is globally a sufficient, but not necessary, condition for feeling heard similar to being validated by the other person. This observation speaks to past research found late adolescents begin to assert themselves more in conflict and determine whether their needs have been met by the other (Komolova et al., 2014). While our findings on reparative behavior supports the existence of relational distinctions in conflict during emerging adulthood, the global presence of power assertions between contexts may indicate getting what you want is a more universal contribution for feeling heard.

However, in times when you don't get your way, other interactional features (e.g. validation and/or repair) may matter more in feeling heard, as indicated by the presence of validation and repair in the studied narratives. The co-occurrence of interactional features in feeling heard experiences is not addressed in this thesis (e.g. does validation and power assertion occur together or separately in depending on whether you felt heard or on the relational context?) but it is an important consideration for future research.

General Barriers to Feeling Heard

A strength of this study is the joint narrative focus on both the experience of feeling heard and times when the narrator did not feel heard. Three interactional features occurred more frequently in NH narratives than H narratives. Dismissal, continuing and/or escalating conflict, and withdrawal were most prevalent in times when the narrator did not feel heard. Instances of dismissal and ignoring were the most common interactional feature in NH narratives. This mirrors validation in feeling heard narratives as validation was the most common contribution to feeling heard. Dismissal was defined as the other's lack of addressing the narrator's perspective, needs, and wants (and vice versa). The presence of dismissal in not heard narratives indicates the importance of addressing one's perspective and demonstrating understanding to feel heard in conflict.

However, dismissal was not entirely absent from feeling heard narratives; it showed up in ten percent of heard narratives. While small, the existence of dismissal in times where narrators felt heard may indicate particular contributions can override or negate the effects of dismissal on whether one comes out of the disagreement feeling heard or not. On the other hand, the presence of one or more barriers to feeling heard may require more contributing features to be present in conflict to increase the likelihood of feeling heard. As previously mentioned, the co-occurrence of certain features may be more strongly associated with feeling heard experiences; this was not explored in our study.

Limitations & Future Directions

The next step in studying the experience of feeling heard after disagreements is to determine whether certain factors co-occur and/or precede each other in a way that is associated with feeling heard (or not). One of the major limitations of this thesis is it only looked at features of disagreement on an individual basis. The emergence of feeling heard may result from the dynamic interaction of features and relational context, not just by the presence of a single feature. For example, giving someone what they want (or compliance) isn't necessarily a bad thing to do in a disagreement; perhaps compliance coupled with validation may contribute to one feeling heard more than compliance alone. Looking at the varying degrees of validation, repair, and other features in our narratives could also reveal a more dynamic, specific picture of what it takes to feel heard and to what degree.

With our narrative methodology, participants were able to choose the disagreements for the narratives they provided. It is possible participants self-selected disagreements that do not truly capture the full range of conflicts and interactions they may typically engage in with the other person. For instance, repair may occur much more frequently in the experiences described in the provided narratives, yet participants only described interactional features (e.g. validation and power) which were the most salient, or significant, to them. We can only base our findings on the narratives provided, which is a broader methodological consideration for the rest of our conclusions. However, the narratives provided are still meaningful; when prompted, participants described disagreements that were the most salient in relation to feeling heard or not heard, along with narratives which highlighted salient interactional features. These were perhaps the most impactful, moment in their memory where they did and did not feel heard. A previous project under the same lab utilized item-based measures to explore the experience of feeling heard. The narrative approach for this study captured a fuller picture of what may contribute or undermine the experience of feeling heard. Results from the item-based project only highlighted whether participants would consider if certain interactional features were important to them in feeling heard, not whether these features actually occurred or were significant to them in the narratives of times they felt heard or did not feel heard. For example, previous findings revealed significant differences between parent and peer contexts in participants' self-report of the importance of reparative behavior in feeling heard; however, upon analyzing the narratives, we found more nuanced findings concerning the degree of other and narrator repair that were not initially captured by the item-based measures.

Another specific limitation of this study was the low reliability of our coding scheme. Despite multiple attempts to establish reliability among coders, the coding scheme was not developed enough to adequately capture some of the intended concepts of this thesis. As mentioned previously, validation by the narrator and compliance had low reliability; low reliability between coders is a concern as subsequent data analyses may not accurately reflect the presence of these two coding categories in the collected narratives. It is also of concern as it may reflect larger theoretical and conceptual issues surrounding validation and compliance in feeling heard experiences, along with the other coding categories.

Recording the topic of the disagreements was considered prior to data collection. Due to time constraints and limited resources, we had to pause on exploring whether the topics of conflict interacted with features of disagreement in feeling heard. Conflicts have been shown to center around different topics between relationships and investigating the topic of conflicts can illuminate whether more difficult or highly sensitive issues are brought up in certain relationships (Riesch et al., 2001). For example, daily hassles such as chores, family interactions, and schoolwork have been shown to be the main topics of conflict between young adolescents and parents while more "sensitive" topics such as alcohol and dating were discussed less frequently (Riesch et al., 2001); however, given the involuntary nature of parental relationships (Adams & Laursen, 2001) and the relative frequency of conflict between moms and adolescents (Huey et al., 2017), these topic differences may be due to the everyday nature of parental interactions in adolescence which could be different for emerging adults. Additional research has shown conflicts within peer relationships are more likely to deal with relationship issues such as honesty, trust, and interpersonal harm (Adams & Laursen, 2001; Komolova et al., 2017). Different topics may co-occur with different relationships and elicit different interactional features; for instance, topics dealing with issues of honesty may require more chances for repair than issues dealing with recreation or chores. This is an important consideration for future research interested in studying the experience of feeling heard.

Conclusion

This thesis sought to explore the experience of feeling heard during conflict across relational contexts. The study expands on previous research of the distinctions of relational contexts hold in development and interpersonal interactions among emerging adults. Parent and peer distinctions are associated with differences in the salience and presence of repair between describing times we did not feel heard and times we did feel heard. In general, this thesis showed being validated and getting what you want are much more salient in times we describe we felt heard during a disagreement, in comparison to instances of repair and individuals validating the other person, both of which still matter in conflict. These findings have important implications for interpersonal conflict as they show how actions and behaviors we can do in conflict matter in whether we walk away feeling heard or not. They also show being validated and getting what you want are valuable in whether we felt heard by someone close to us. Knowing this, when we enter interpersonal conflict, we can better communicate by asking the other person what we expect and what it would take to engage in the disagreement in a way where both people feel heard afterwards.

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APPENDIX A

Experience of Feeling Heard Coding Scheme

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Objective

The goal of this coding scheme is to explore what factors occur during disagreements which may contribute to or undermine the psychological experience of “feeling heard”. This task will be done by reading typed narratives concerning either a time a participant “felt heard” or “did not feel heard”.

Contributions to feeling heard will be captured by scoring all narratives for the presence and/or absence of the following factors: other validates, participant validates, power, compliance, other repairs, participant repairs. Undermining factors will consist of: dismissal, continuation of conflict, and withdrawal. **The presence of a contribution or undermining factor will be scored as ‘1’ (Y) and the absence scored as ‘0’ (N).**

Contributions to Feeling Heard

Other Person Validates¹

The other person takes on the participant’s perspective or demonstrates understanding (validating behavior) **during the disagreement**. Validating behavior is observable. It can be seen in verbal statements made by the other person demonstrating understanding of your perspective and internal state and/or observable attempts to understand the participant’s point-of-view. We can also conclude validation occurred by the participant’s self-described feeling of being understood or supported in their perspective by the other person during or immediately following the disagreement. *Any mention of validating behavior that occurred before or after the disagreement does not count.*

Notes:

- The mention of “feeling understood” or “we both understood each other” will count as a key indicator for validation.
- Acknowledgement of the participant’s perspective is tricky. The other person may simply observe or describe the participant’s perspective without providing validation. “I see your point, but...” is a form of acknowledgement, but not necessarily validation. Further context or reflection is needed.
- Statements of what should be or what the participant wishes for, like “we should learn to understand each other better”, is not validation.
- Unless provided with context of further understanding or the other person agreeing to one’s point-of-view rather than an outcome, agreement does not equate to validation.

Participant Validates

The participant attempts to take on the other person's perspective or demonstrates understanding (validating behavior) **during the disagreement**. Validating behavior is observable. It can be seen in verbal statements demonstrating understanding of the other's perspective and internal state, observable attempts to try to understand the other's point-of-view, or the other person states they felt understood by the participant. *Any mention of validating behavior before or after the disagreement does not count.*

Notes:

- Be careful of acknowledgements or descriptive statements that do not include inferring what the other person is thinking or feeling, or provide additional context/reflection/understanding to statements made by the other person.

Power²

The disagreement results in an outcome which mainly benefits the participant, is what the participant wanted, and/or the other person changes their mind or behavior in a way that agrees with the participant. The participant "wins" the disagreement.

There must be explicit evidence (e.g. statements said, actions described) of this category during the disagreement in question. Any mention before or after the disagreement does not count.

Notes:

- If the outcome of the disagreement is identified as a compromise of sorts, this does not count as power. Power motivations and outcomes will be distinguished by their focus on self-assertion and self-expansion; largely self-based.

Compliance

The disagreement results in an outcome which mainly benefits the other person, is what the other person wanted, and/or the participant changes their mind or behavior in a way that agrees with the other person. The other person "wins" the disagreement.

There must be explicit evidence (e.g. statements said, actions described) of this category during the disagreement in question. Any mention before or after the disagreement does not count.

Notes:

- Compromise will not be counted for this category for similar reasons as the 'power' category.

Other Person Repairs

The other person engages in behavior aimed at maintaining the relationship and/or resolving past transgressions or interpersonal distress. Apologizing, making amends, compromising, problem-solving, and forgiveness are examples of reparative behavior.

There must be explicit evidence (e.g. statements said, actions described) of this category during the disagreement in question. Any mention before or after the disagreement does not count.

Notes:

- Getting what you want (power) is not necessarily repair. There may be instances where an apology is what a participant wants and receives. You would code power and repair.

Participant Repairs

The participant engages in behavior aimed at maintaining the relationship and/or resolving past transgressions or interpersonal distress. Apologizing, making amends, compromising, problem-solving, and forgiveness are examples of reparative behavior.

There must be explicit evidence (e.g. statements said, actions described) of this category during the disagreement in question. Any mention before or after the disagreement does not count.

Notes:

- There may be instances where an apology is what the other person wants and receives. You would code compliance and repair.

Barriers to Feeling Heard (0/1)

Dismissal

The participant's or the other person's perspective (e.g. thoughts, opinions, emotions) is either not addressed by the other in any capacity, or it is refuted and/or invalidated. One of the two may move on in the conflict without any acknowledgement, or there may be acknowledgement but then one is either shut down or brushed off.

There must be explicit evidence (e.g. statements said, actions described) of this category during the disagreement in question. Any mention before or after the disagreement does not count.

Notes:

- The other person continually nags or repeatedly brings up their opinions regardless of the participant's perspective.
- Does one try to shut down the perspective, opinions, or wants of the other person upon hearing them?
- Ignoring repair attempts will count as dismissal.

Continuation of Conflict

Either the participant or the other person engages in behavior purposefully singling out, antagonizing, insulting the other, or acts in such a way that the conflict continues to occur on multiple occasions and/or it grows in intensity. This category is meant to be the opposite of our reparative behavior codes.

There must be explicit evidence (e.g. statements said, actions described) of this category during the disagreement in question. Any mention before or after the disagreement does not count.

Notes:

- If the participant describes the relationship having ended as a result, or following, the disagreement, then we count that as divisive. Even if it is one-sided, say the participant no longer wishes to see the other person, this still counts as divisive behavior.

Withdrawal

Either the participant or the other person remains silent or walks away from the conflict in a way that avoids further discussion.

There must be explicit evidence (e.g. statements said, actions described) of this category during the disagreement in question. Any mention before or after the disagreement does not count.

Tips/Guiding Points

- Read entire thing once for context, then go back over to code for each factor.
- Take time to determine when discussion of the actual event begins in the narrative. Oftentimes there may be background information or description of the relationship even after the event has passed.
- Unless the participant states they said what they were thinking during the narrative, do not code internal thoughts or ruminations.
- Two contributions may be one and the same depending on the participant (for example, what a participant wants may be to feel validated – you’d code both power and validation here).
- If it’s unclear what the event is, we’ll have to default on coding zeros (e.g. ID 120_2). Too vague? That means there’s nothing to code, so all zeros.
- Same event in both narratives – carry over any coding from the first narrative and add any codes which come up if new information is provided in the second narrative. Flag it in notes.
- If the event is more general but it’s about disagreements, flag it but continue to code it – I’ll check back on it

Issues/Questions that Come Up:

- Recurring disagreements – no specific event, can’t code.
- Using terms from the questionnaire measure after Not Heard Narrative
- Survey fatigue – not writing as much in the heard narrative

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