

Dynamic Values Negotiating Geo-Political Narratives Across a Migration System

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



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In this contemporary world, hyperconnected by migrations and digital media, discourse studies can add important insights about diverse interacting voices. Given increasing contact among individuals, groups, and institutions, understanding discursive interactions across geo-political migration systems requires methodological innovation. This article presents a theory-based research design and analysis of how diverse participants in the process of migration use discourse genres to make sense of displacement and interventions. We illustrate this dynamic narrative inquiry with an activity-meaning system design sampling discourses by diverse participants along the Balkan migration route and an analysis of values salient to them. Animating this method is a study in an education intervention in Serbia, where hundreds of young refugees, arriving from violent displacements in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria attended public schools alongside local peers. This methodology integrates principles of critical discourse analysis to study how displaced youth, their peers, educators, national/international policymakers, and public media used relevant genres to make sense of social inclusion. Analyses of participants' narratives, letters, policies, education guidelines, and news reports yielded 17 values and their dynamic interactions. A discourse-based values analyses revealed echoes across student and institutional expressions (the importance of subjectivity and cultural practices) and diverse group values: migrant students' uses of narratives to emphasize geo-political injustices, Serbian students' emphasis on local cultural practices, and institutional emphases on social inclusion. The study demonstrates the ecological validity of an inquiry sensitive to webs of meaning among diverse actors, adding complexity to social inclusion.

Keywords: discourse studies, migration, refugee youth, education, dynamic narrative inquiry

Since the end of the Cold War, human life globally has been fraught with violence and its consequences, including displacement, political

instability, stalled pathways to citizenship, and inequality. Over the same period, people with diverse histories, cultural practices, and beliefs

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have come in contact via migrations and digital media. Massive contemporary displacements require the over 70 million displaced persons and many millions more living in relatively stable conditions along migration routes to make sense of radically changing environments. People on the move, in particular, negotiate a wide range of narratives by individuals, groups, and institutions across a discourse system that remains underexamined. Other than media and some scholarly discussion of divisions, we know little about how people dealing directly with changing sociopolitical scenes interpret their circumstances, interlocutors, and options for making lives in this shifting world order. Educational settings can support sensible interactions and are thus sites where those of us interested in human wellbeing can explore diverse discourses in adverse and changing circumstances.

The following excerpt of a narrative by a displaced youth hints at the complexity of migration from the 18-year-old author's vantage point in a public school in Serbia.

My name is Zabi I am from Afganistan. . . . My mother was dead in bomb blast before two years. My father have a blood cancer and I was studying there at my country but taliban didn't leave a young generation for the study Everywhere they blast the bombs, in market, at school, in universities, everywhere. . . . When I think that this is the last option that I have[to] leave my country and I will go to Europe and make a good life. And then I leave my sweet homeland. And I start a journey to Europe. First I come to Pakistan then to Iran, then Turkey and Bulgaria, then I reached here to Serbia. In the way we faced with a lot of problems. When we crossed Greece border when police caught us. They take our mobiles, money, everything and also they beat us and some a Bulgaria police. But I do not lose my hope. . . . And from here I want to go to Belgium.

We begin our inquiry with this excerpt by Zabi, as he wrote it, because it illustrates that his narrative interacts in a discourse system. As Bakhtin (1986, p. 69) stated when writing about novels of the early 20th century, Zabi's narrative is not the first to "break the silence of the universe." This excerpt by Zabi engages with a range of times, places, events, people, and institutions, including family tragedy in his "sweet homeland," attackers such as police along his journey, and possible refuge in Belgium. Like turns in conversation, narratives employ linguistic features in precise ways (Labov

& Waletzky, 1997) to express purposes and relationships (Fairclough, 2010) and to do something at the time of sharing (Wittgenstein, 1958). Using extended discourse genres like narrative prompts memory, speaks back virtually to injustice (such as to the police who beat Zabi and took his belongings), and comforts him (such as with hopeful expression). Discourse theories share this understanding that narrating is action, not representation. Central to that idea, discourse is a cultural tool for probing experience rather than being a mirror into one's soul. Nevertheless, still lacking in qualitative research paradigms are designs that sample diverse interlocutors around an issue, including migrant youth and policymakers who are not typically in direct conversation. Qualitative methodologies are, for the most part, missing designs with genres (units beyond the sentence like narratives and policy documents) interacting as utterances in communication. Given the public exposure of young people living in adverse political circumstances as they move across the globe, our research team understands Zabi's narrative as oriented to others around as well as within his narrative text. One of those others whom Zabi might be imagining as an audience is Vesna, a local teen nearby in a Serbian classroom.

Last year boys and girls from different countries came to Serbia. Everybody had their own opinion and the opinion of myself and my friends was that it was very interesting. We wanted to give them a warm welcome. . . . Although I would have been able to explain things to her even if I didn't know English through pointing and good thinking. Teachers put in more effort to explain certain things to her, and the students showed her more and more. . . . We taught her a few words in Serbian and French. She quickly became our best friend. And her leaving was hard on us. We would still be very happy for her.

Just as Zabi used narrative details to perform an account of his unsettled life, Vesna used narrative devices to perform various kinds of welcomes to the "boys and girls from different countries." This article presents a methodology to consider how individuals with such diverse experiences as Zabi and Vesna used discourse genres to make sense of migration with and within an educational intervention. Developing from several decades of research, our methodological project brings actors sharing some circumstances from different positions into contact via their discourses (Daiute, 2008, 2010, 2014;

Daiute & Kovacs-Cerovic, 2017; Jović, 2018; Lucić, 2013). With the present study, we highlight the systemic nature of a public education intervention, where people interact virtually or face-to-face from different historical, sociocultural, and power positions.

Our inquiry posits that youth written narratives, policy documents, and media stories around an educational practice are utterances in virtual conversation. Those conversations are real as embodied in the physical and symbolic features of language in lived experience. Defining extended written works as speech genres, Bakhtin (1986) provided a foundation for our contemporary inquiry considering that even unskilled writers are capable of authoritative expression alongside statements by others in their milieu, such as those producing policy documents and journalistic accounts. Even in circumstances where some displaced youth were illiterate, preferred to narrate orally, and/or chose to use second or third languages, they expressed personal histories in ways that attempted to make sense of what was going on around them, how they fit, what puzzled them, and what they wanted to change (Daiute, 2010; Daiute & Botero Gomez, 2014; Daiute, Stern, & Lelutiu-Weinberger, 2003).

To set the scene for our theoretical and empirical inquiry, we begin with a brief account of the 2015–2018 forced displacements from several Middle Eastern countries into the Western Balkans. We then explain our sociohistorical approach—dynamic narrative inquiry—as it integrates principles of critical discourse analysis. The majority of the article illustrates dynamic narrative inquiry practices—activity-meaning system research design and values analysis—to consider how displaced Afghan, Iraqi, and Syrian youth attending public schools, local native peers, education policymakers, and news reporters used expressive genres to make sense of the social inclusion project they were all directly and indirectly engaged in. The section on findings describes salient values across participants and dynamic relations among value enactments. A final discussion section focuses on the significance and implications of this methodology for ongoing research, practice, and policy in contemporary global systems.

The Balkan Route, 2015–2018

Displacement from three Middle Eastern nations embroiled in violent geo-political reorganizations expanded during the first decades of the 21st century (Dodge, 2013). From 2015 to 2018 in particular, 5 million persons fled Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria because of conflicts and political instability. The United States-led “war on terror,” oil capitalism, and revolutions resulted in massive displacements, primarily of civilians (Dodge, 2013; Hinnebusch & Saouli, 2019) and young people (www.unhcr.org). A revolution against dictator Bashar Al Assad had gone through different phases within Syria and involving international actors since 2011, erupting again in 2015. In Afghanistan, increased violence in the mid-2010s is attributed to numerous factors including resurgence of the Taliban in tension with the secular government, civilians, and foreign powers including the United States (Dodge, 2013; Whitlock, 2019). Internal and proxy conflicts in Iraq caused mass displacements during the 2010s (Hinnebusch & Saouli, 2019). Violence within and imposed on Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria and the closing of European borders around the Western Balkans, contributed to the unlikely result that Serbia would play a major role in Middle Eastern migration. In 2016, Serbia was a transit country along, the “Balkan route.” With high unemployment and few previous immigrants from the Middle East, Serbia was not a destination. Along the route, young people, separated from family members, were forced to flee alone, faced border transit issues, or suffered other hardships. Given that variety of factors, displaced children and youth became a priority in Serbian education (Kovács Cerović, Grbić, & Vesić, 2018).

From a high of 577,000 individuals passing through the Western Balkans in 2015 to 2018, 500 to 600 young people, most from Afghanistan and Syria, remained in Serbia attending public schools. In September 2016, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development in cooperation with the Centre for Educational Policies and UNICEF began a formal intervention to support the education of refugee/migrant students in the country (Kovács Cerović et al., 2018). The Ministry of Education policies committed to enrolling young refugees in regular school classes, providing Serbian and

English language training, and holding activities to educate them about local culture. To achieve those goals, the ministry developed policy documents including guidelines for teachers and provided funding for school-based translators who could work with school-based volunteers. Each school decided how to organize welcome periods for recently displaced youth and how to support teacher and domicile student efforts to create a sense of safety and inclusiveness. The present study was implemented in 17 schools with relatively high populations of the 400 migrant students attending local schools at the time. Rather than a discrete program, curriculum unit, or workshop, the intervention was a system of practices across regional, national, and municipal scales of government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), education administrators, teachers, students, and researchers.

In such changing and challenging circumstances, research methodologies must allow for complexity, diversity, and flexibility within and across individuals and institutions so that all can gain understandings of their circumstances, one another, and their possible futures (Daiute, 2010, 2016; Daiute & Kovacs-Cerovic, 2017). Toward that end, the research design and analysis presented in this article focus on the discourse system around the goal of social inclusion. Acknowledging that a concept like social inclusion depends on individual, group, and institutional standpoints, we sought to learn about how diverse participants with something at stake used relevant discourse genres to interpret educational efforts in that period of major displacements to Serbia. By focusing on discourse in practice (students' narratives and letters, policymakers' guidelines, etc.), our study entered participants' milieus, rather than pulling them out for interviews or for research activities unrelated to educational practice. Supporting student choice, educators in participating schools asked for volunteers to share anonymously some narratives and letters they wrote at school. Because youth voices interact with policies and practices, we considered institutional voices next to those of the students. Research activities aligned with our research team's work for sensitive and robust education in a violently reorganizing world, as well as for inquiry in the human sciences.

A Discourse Analytic Approach to Geo-Political Changes

Dynamic narrative inquiry theory explains human development as a relational system via purposeful interacting discourse activities of institutions, cultural groups, and individuals (Daiute, 2008, 2016; Daiute et al., 2003). The theory extends sociohistorical activity theory (Engeström & Sannino, 2011; Vygotsky, 1978, 1997) with a focus on expressive genres, like narratives, letters, policy statements, and news stories, as activities that interact implicitly as much as explicitly. Because expressive genres are developed in culture, they guide perception, action, interaction, and changes of those processes over time and place (Vygotsky, 1978). As a cultural tool, language is "a conductor of human influence on the object of activity . . . externally oriented . . . aimed at mastering and triumphing over nature . . . and . . . as a means of internal activity aimed at mastering one's self" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 55). Language and, by extension, narrative, policies, and other genres are not static forms revealing authentic personality or enduring truth but are purposeful activities. Material details of language are the means of cultural and social relations (Vygotsky, 1997). For example, the word "but" expresses a contradiction in the world around a text and within the text, as well as the phonological pronunciation and orthography (Engeström & Sannino, 2011). In addition to sociohistorical ideas about the relational power of language, our study aligns with philosophical and social psychological theories emphasizing language use. When narrating, one orients to actual or imagined social milieus as one crafts and tests out self-presentations (Goffman, 1959) from diverse social positions (Harre & van Langenhove, 1999), for purposes and audiences (Bakhtin, 1986). We extend the Vygotskian concept of cultural tool to genres for active sense making, oriented to the world of complex social relations across actors, time, and place, not only in face-to-face interactions. In that process, discourse mediates meaning rather than only transmitting it.

While drawing on the idea that individuals' discourse always occurs in social relations, we shift from an assumption that powerful actors, like national policymakers, impose values on less powerful actors, like students, to the ac-

knowledge that people in vulnerable positions can act strategically (DeCerteau, 1984; Foucault, 1988). To animate that shift, our research considers vastly different interlocutors, face-to-face and virtual. Narratives by displaced youth, for example, address powers like the Greek or Bulgarian police, as Zabi did from a safe distance. Letters by local youth to specific native peers also signal to a wider national audience that, although welcoming refugees, teens understand they should not become romantically involved with newcomers. Analyzing narratives for such links to possible audiences draws on the sociohistorical idea that language is an active mediating gear connecting individuals and society and the critical social theory idea that power relations can be reciprocal.

Principles of dynamic narrative inquiry are consistent with those of other discourse theories. Dynamic narrative inquiry specifically posits four principles of discourse: relation, diversity, materiality, and use (Daiute, 2014). People speak/write in relation to others, explicitly and implicitly, based on the setting, goals, actual and imagined audiences. Individuals, groups and institutions use the material qualities of diverse genres, such as spatiotemporal features of narratives (time markers, verb tenses, prepositions, etc.) and evaluative devices (indexicals, repetitions, negations, grammatical structures, syntactic ellipses, etc.) to express diverse knowledge, experiences, and intentions within and among individuals and groups.

What differs across discourse methods are the units of analysis and their arrangement in space and time. Conversation analytic perspectives focus on interpersonal interactions in conversational turns often among spatially present dyads or small groups (Bamberg, 2004; Korobov, 2011; Schegeloff, 1992). Critical discourse analysis focuses as well on interpersonal turn taking but also situates such interactions with broader discursive practices, such as narratives by actors like the news media (van Dijk, 1993; Wodek & Meyer, 2016). Dynamic narrative inquiry considers expressive genres as utterances in conversation across time and place within domains where certain individuals and institutions have something shared at stake. In addition to conversational turns, dynamic narrative inquiry includes narratives and other extended genres by those in vulnerable positions as well

as by those with powerful influence and resources, as though in conversation. Values guiding speaker/writer expressions live in the linguistic and para-linguistic details of sentences, in the implications between the lines, and in references to surrounding contexts. Such details, which we understand in the messiness of everyday communication, apply in research with natural language. Compared to content analysis and thematic analysis which focus on what is expressed, discourse analysis focuses on how people express and the functions of such expressions.

Next, we explain how dynamic narrative inquiry bridges units of analysis, temporal scales, spatial locations, and relational moves in discourse as typical in both microanalytic and macrosocial forms of discourse analysis.

Activity-Meaning Systems Animate Diverse Discourse Participants

An activity-meaning system depicts an environment of everyday life—a cross context slice of life—wherein actors in different social positions interact in some way. Like a snapshot's relation to reality, an activity-meaning system is not a replica or obviously bounded unit. From a filmmaker's point of view, we could say that an activity meaning system is a zoom lens for listening to and between expressions by participants interacting in a scene. Activity-meaning system designs account for a plurality of stakeholders, including researchers, with diverse roles and perspectives on an issue.

Figure 1 presents the activity-meaning system design of discursive interactions across the Balkan route from 2015 to 2018. This research design samples the discursive events of recently displaced youth in foreign education, local peers, policymakers, and media reporters during an intense migration period. An educational goal during that period was social inclusion (Dovigo, 2018) and, while this may seem like an indisputable goal, a question from a critical discourse perspective is whether and how diverse participants highlight that value.

To enact dynamic narrative inquiry principles in practice, the local team worked to ensure diverse sources of policy and media documents. The literacy intervention in schools involved educators asking student volunteers to write a narrative of a migration experience and a letter

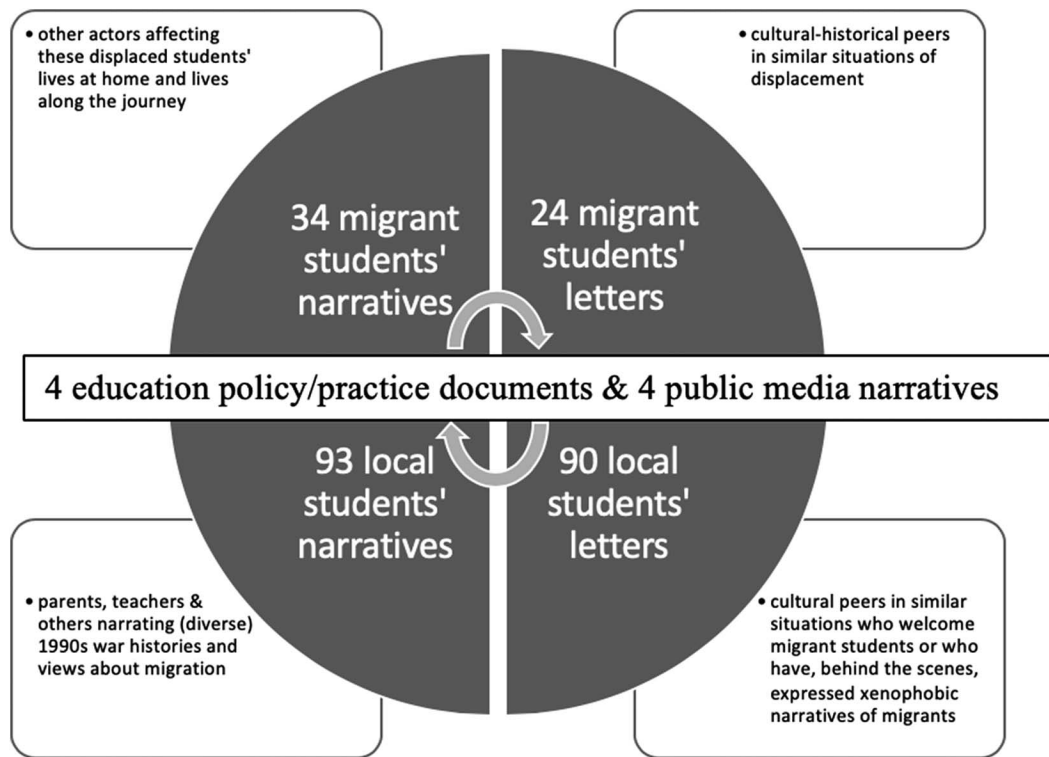


Figure 1. Activity-meaning system of diverse interlocutors relevant to social inclusion interventions across the Balkan Route, 2015–2018.

to a peer in another school with migrant students. Migrant and local students were the central participants sharing narratives and letters in close proximity, if not directly in conversation, as peers in public school classrooms. With the following prompts, educators asked students to use two genres: “Write a story about a real or imagined event involving a migrant student in school in Serbia. Write about what happened, who was involved and how they felt” and “Write a letter to a peer at a school where migrant children will enroll (or, to a peer with migrant background planning to enroll in school). Give him/her suggestions on what to expect and how to behave.”

Figure 1 shows that the design also included policy and public documents. Although the students may not have read policies or news around the migration “crisis,” messages about welcoming migrant students abounded in the participating schools. The local students were thus in positions to endorse those messages with

their expressions (or not), and the migrant students were expected to take up those messages (or not). Students are oversampled in this design, as they are often marginalized; policy and media documents are relatively limited in number relative to their outsized power. In Figure 1, boxes at the periphery of the design name possible influences and audiences relevant to the students’ circumstances at the time. For example, parents in the home country might be implicit audiences for the migrant students’ narratives, and Serbian community debates about migrants might be implicit audiences for the local youth. Students are also aware of researchers, and the design exposes our participation in the system.

An activity-meaning system research design includes diverse genres for participants to express different experiences and knowledge. Narrative affords a speaker/author options to be exposed or masked for audiences. Epistolary genres afford direct contact from author to re-

ipient. Institutional documents afford an official, seemingly objective stance. Each of these genres embeds assumptions of the related environments. For example, with the direct author-audience interaction of the epistolary genre, letters would likely connect with societal norms around the author and recipient. Narratives would, in comparison, employ a rich range of details drawn from and imagined in the author's life and mind, including causal logics organizing events, characters, and psychosocial states the author chose to express. As prior research with dynamic narrative inquiry designs shows, young people use different genres to share different intrasubjective experience, knowledge, and intentions, which indicates their ability to employ discursive details addressing different specific audiences (Daiute, 2010, 2014; Daiute et al., 2003). Some youth, however, demonstrate similar orientations across genres, which, in previous studies, have been those in relatively stable or privileged positions (Daiute, 2010; Jović, 2019). For the present study, given the migrant youths' wide range of personal experiences, we expected their uses of the narratives and letters would be especially diverse. Nevertheless, students had their own creative options of how to use any genre.

We present a public education policy document to bring that interlocutor into view.

Republic of Serbia, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Subject: Professional Instruction for Inclusion of Refugee Students/Asylum seekers into the education system

Introduction: The Professional Instruction for Inclusion of Refugee/Migrant Students in the system of education and upbringing (hereinafter referred to as: Professional instruction), regulates the way of enrollment of pupils and the way of providing measures of support for inclusion in the educational process. . . . to ensure the exercise of all children's rights, and in particular the right to education, complete information, fair treatment and privacy protection, as and support for physical and mental recovery and social integration.

News media participated in public discussion during the years when displaced populations along the Balkan route increased, and xenophobia was on the rise locally and internationally. The following news item is one among several

from different media sources focused on inclusion of refugee youth in Serbian schools:

Šid has changed the attitude toward migrant students, but Sombor has not. Refugee and Migration Commissioner Vladimir Cucić said that around 400 children of migrants started attending classes in schools throughout Serbia. Visiting Radio-TV of Serbia, Cucić said that these children were "generally" well received everywhere, and that the problem exists in Sombor because of the "incomprehensible intolerance." "There we solved this problem by having children attend classes within our center in Sombor." . . . He also said that everything that is required for the children of Serbian citizens when it comes to education also applies to migrant children. Cucić added that there are currently 4,200 migrants in Serbia and that migrations have entered "normal flows. . . ."

Including such expressions by diverse stakeholders, as if in conversation, this activity-meaning system research design posits an education policy system negotiating values and social change. The sampling is not and need not be exhaustive to make diverse perspectives audible, but it should include relevant interlocutors of diverse influence and resources. What is most important is to include diverse actors (individuals, groups, and institutions) around an issue with genres they would reasonably use in practice.

Units of analysis in our database include those in the center of Figure 1—narratives and letters by individual students with different histories and documents by educators, policymakers, and public media. Implicit possible interlocutors, who may be other audiences for the participants at the sharing time are those in the peripheral boxes. Another design feature of note is that the diverse stakeholders in the activity-meaning system created documents at different times and in different locations. The students wrote their narratives and letters in schools they attended together, whereas the policy documents preceded those writing sessions and occurred in government, nongovernmental or education administration spaces. News reporters worked in various spaces, coinciding temporally at the height of the intervention. This spatiotemporal range depicts a human relational system.

Major questions guiding this inquiry include "How do those diverse actors make sense of the migration situation and intervention?" and "How do the diverse voices interact and manifest a relational system?"

Active Values Animating Interaction Across an Education Policy System

Values organize our discourse and thus our personal and institutional lives in nuanced and cunning ways. Values guide our perceptions, thoughts, actions, and even emotions, yet they operate implicitly, rarely explicitly (Billig, 1995). Values are relational, developed discursively in culture, shared in culture, and transformed across time and place. Individuals and cultures may claim shared values that can become ideologies. Nevertheless, expecting stable core values in circumstances and lives in flux reduces insights about human and societal development. Discourses in times of crisis may express rigid values or ideologies, in part, to emphasize extreme divisions.

Political theorists have noted that values can be mechanisms for social change. As Martin Luther King (1967) stated, “We as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin to shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. . . .” Social scientists have also observed the relational and dynamic quality of values:

There has been endless debate among philosophers and psychologists as to whether values are physical or phenomenal, in the world of matter or only in the world of mind. . . . But, actually, an affordance is neither an objective property nor a subjective property; or it is both if you like . . . equally a fact of the environment and a fact of behavior. It is both physical and psychological, yet neither. An affordance points both ways, to the environment and to the observer (Gibson, 2015, p. 121).

Values are also active in that individuals like institutions “have or should be assumed to have the capability of achieving the kind of lives they have reason to value” (Sen, 2009, p. 239). In Sen’s view, a person’s capability to live a good life is defined in terms of valued others, activities, and goals within reach (Sen, 2009). By extension, reach—the realm of the possible—includes expression and imagination. On that view, values are aspirational. Moreover, as everyone perceives and acts in terms of values, power structures may be permeable to change:

. . . Social historians are supposed to describe how people act without thinking, and historians of ideas are supposed to describe how people think without acting. Everybody both acts and thinks. The way people act or react is linked to a way of thinking, and of course thinking is related to tradition [and a] very complex

phenomenon that made people react in another way to crimes and criminals in a rather short period of time. (Foucault, 1988, p. 12)

Young people, especially, may engage values flexibly over situations and over time. For example, teens and young adults who adhere to culturally traditional moral norms express counterconforming values when they confront injustices (Turiel, 2002). Value shifts may also occur as young people struggle with affiliations and rights claims for the multiple cultural groups they encounter across home, ethnic community, and school (Freedman, Barr, Murphy, & Beširević, 2016). Value patterns may eventually coalesce, at least in terms of crafted self-definitions or self-presentations, such as those aiding adolescents in their pathways to adulthood (De Mattos & Branco, 2014). Nevertheless, human development by definition involves change, and many circumstances require sensitivity to the complexities of one’s own and others’ values. Relational sensitivity is increasingly required in culturally heterogeneous settings (Daiute, 2010). Such nonessentialist conceptions of values differ from those assuming social reproduction of cultural beliefs persisting across generations or universalist ideas about core values. Inquiry into the nature and extent of such diversity is an exciting focus of contemporary human sciences.

Within the dynamic narrative inquiry framework, our focus is on how oral, written, and visual texts express salient values. We define “value” as norms and beliefs organizing expressions with myriad details of diverse genres. The values analysis process involves identifying values, by considering “why was this said here and not something else?” That is, “what is this sentence doing in the speech act?” This process identifies implicit as well as explicit meaning. The values analysis research team, including researchers, translators, and others familiar with focal cultures and languages, engages in an iterative process of reading all the expressions in a database, generating draft values, discussing/debating those draft values, revising the values, updating the analysis manual, applying the values analysis over time. This process draws on interpretive skills that speakers of languages use in everyday interactions where we understand meaning between the words, meaning directed at audiences around the words, and counter-

points to explicit statements. This values analysis process understands meaning as the emotional, cognitive, social and political import of expressions. Table 1 lists steps in this process, based on numerous previous studies and adaptable to new projects.

In our study, six researchers worked over several months in that process. Table 2 illustrates a values analysis of a narrative by, Mani.

We read Mani's salient orientation with that narrative as "Social structural issues are important;" "Orienting toward the future is important;" along with several less prominent values: "Cognitive responses are important" and "Acknowledging aggressive/negative behavior is important." The rhetorical force of Mani's narrative highlights social structures, social relations, times, and places causing him to be in his current position as "refugee" culminating narratively with his hope for a better future. Interestingly, Mani did not use this narrative to emphasize the extant social or educational milieu. Given the opportunity to write a letter to a similar-origin peer displaced to a foreign country, Mani expressed different knowledge and intentions.

Table 3 illustrates the application of values analysis to Mani's letter to an Afghan peer, Naari. Notice how Mani uses the letter to emphasize different values.

In contrast to how he expressed characters, events, psychological states, time markings, and other expressive details to emphasize past challenges and hopes, Mani took up the direct communication affordances of the letter genre to share a strategy for making a life in view of refugee circumstances. Other migrant students in this study expressed similar value patterns.

Values Across the Migration System

Values analysis of 249 narratives and letters by 36 migrant and 95 local students alongside policy documents, education directives, and news stories yielded 17 specific values. Because the values analysis process involves paying close attention to how each participant phrased each sentence, we could not and did not pre-determine or predict any specific values. Some of the resulting values were surprising. Following are the values, as we grouped them in terms of

Table 1

The Values Analysis Process: A Theory-Based Bottom-Up Careful Listening to/Reading of How Individuals, Groups, and Institutions Use Discourse Genres

For each thought unit (sentence), we ask "What value (norm, principle belief) guided why this was said/written here and not something else?"

In a preliminary way, identify the value guiding the speech act of each sentence (expressive unit) of each expressive event (document) in the database. Note all the linguistic, para-linguistic, and visual markers of each expression and in the context, that indicate the value. These markers include evaluative devices (semantic and syntactic, such as repetitions, emphases, ellipses, negations, evaluative adjectives, and so on).

Create a "Values Analysis Manual" noting the draft values, specific markers, and examples. Revise this manual over iterative phases of the analysis.

Researchers work together to achieve consensus with each value.

Apply a reliability process:

In addition to the previous steps, the group tries inter-analyst reliability after several rounds.

The researchers then analyze randomly assigned documents, compiling a reliability test relevant to the project.

One researcher checks the consistency of assignment to each value category.

Group the values as similarly oriented to the context circumstances and goals.

Observe patterns of values within and across discourses in the activity-meaning system.

Examine rhetorical moves, such as echoing and differentiating between and among participants, and across genres.

Interpret the findings.

Consider how the value patterns and moves address the research question(s) and/or suggest new questions.

Consider diversities across participant rhetorical moves, such as whether and how those differences also function to contest or silence other stakeholder values.

Summarize the dynamics (such as echoing and differentiating) in ways that relate to the intervention, such as in the present study, how they do or do not highlight social inclusion.

With the participating communities, consider how to follow up in practice and policy development, such as the questions and implications indicated by findings.

Table 2
Example of a Values Analysis of Mani’s Narrative

Thought unit expressions	Salient guiding value
Some information about me : I am Mani from Afganistan, I am sixteen years old, I am migrant for 3 years , and before 2 years, I was in Abfestah on Bulgaria because my couese [case] rejected I was 8 months on close camps . It was bad . One of important things for me is my time I unfortunatly I lost my time on Bulgaria. I really hate Bulgaria country. The people of gouverment are very bad , they don’t respect the refugee . Ok, its fine, we are refugee , but also we are human . I respect you and you should respect me so in the first I wanted to be together with my family because they are in Germany . And second is my study . My great ambition is peace in Afganistan and after that I want to be a good lawyer, so my God will help me.	Personal characteristics are important. Personal characteristics are important. Spatio-temporal dimensions are important. Social structural issues are important. Social structural issues are important. Cognitive responses are important. Cognitive responses are important. Spatio-temporal dimensions are important. Affective responses are important. Aggressive/negative behavior is important. Aggressive/negative behavior is important. Social structural issues are important. Social structural issues are important. Good/positive behavior is important. Good/positive behavior is important. Orienting toward the future is important. Orienting toward the future is important. Orienting toward the future is important. Orienting toward the future is important. Higher order support is important.

Note. Expressive indicators are bolded.

similar ecological dimensions (with the name of the value group in bold and the specific values in italics): **emphasizing culture is important** includes *good/polite behavior is important; aggressive/negative behavior is important; cultural practices and resources are important; language and communication are important; (personal characteristics are important)*. **Emphasizing social relations is important** includes *inclusion and efforts to promote it are important; interpersonal relationships are important*. **Emphasizing political relations is important** includes *geo-political origins/journeys are*

important; obstacles to life and well-being are important; social structural/political relations are important. **Emphasizing professional/institutional relations is important** includes *professional responsibilities . . . ; professional strategies . . . ; higher order spiritual/moral. . .* **Emphasizing subjective processes is important** includes *affective responses are important; cognitive responses are important*. **Emphasizing spatiotemporal dimensions of life** includes *spatiotemporal status are important; orienting to the future is important*.

Table 3
Example of a Values Analysis of Mani’s Letter

Thought unit expressions	Salient guiding value
Naari, about the refugee childrens in the firrst, school is important . Specially to childrens If someone don’t want to go to school, its not good for that person , and also they don’t have a good and bright future .	Cultural practices, like education, are important. (education) Cultural practices, like education, are important. (education) Orienting toward the future is important.
So if someone study that like to bbot. If you want to have good and bright future , so you go school, and make a good future.	Cultural practices, like education, are important. (education) Orienting toward the future is important.
That is my story .	Rhetorical expression is important.

Note. Expressive indicators are bolded.

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Given the number of student participants and document sampling, this qualitative discourse analysis is, moreover, amenable to summary, as well as descriptions of individuals' expressive orientations. Following is a brief summary of the within and across participant value frequencies (Daiute, Kovács Cerović, Popovic, Sullu, & Micic, 2019).

Stakeholders prominently emphasized cultural practices (36% of all 2,349 sentences across participant documents), followed by emphasizing subjectivity (19%), social (15%), political (14%), professional (9%), and spatiotemporal orientations (7%). Qualitatively most interesting for inquiry into displacement are the different values. Migrant students emphasized political issues (27% of sentences), followed by cultural and subjective orientations (24% and 21%, respectively), spatiotemporal emphases (14%), and, to a lesser extent, professional and social emphases. These overall findings are consistent with the guiding values of Zabi's and Mani's documents. The patterns of values by Serbian students differ as they tended to emphasize cultural practices (44%) and social interactions (17%). Institutional stakeholders emphasized professional challenges and strategies (36%), cultural practices (18%), and subjectivities (14%).

To consider the relational interactions of those diverse perspectives, our analysis then focused on dynamic discursive moves.

Value Dynamics

Values analysis proceeds to consider dialectic patterns and relational moves across expressions by participants in the activity-meaning system. We identified moves—echoing and differentiating—as rhetorical interactions. Tables 4 and 5 list stakeholders' salient values as echoing (sharing values) or differentiating (expressing unique values).

Values Echo Across Stakeholders

As Table 4 presents, diverse participants expressed subjective values—affects and cognitions. That subjectivity organizes expressions of institutional as well as individual participants is remarkable. Also notable is that the displaced students engaged cognitively as well as affectively. Their affective orientations emphasized

Table 4
Expressive Moves: Echoing Across the Migration Education Policy System

Discursive move	Migrant students' expressive emphasis		Local students' expressive emphasis		Institutional actors' expressive emphasis	
	With narratives	With letters	With narratives	With letters	With education policy documents	With news narratives
Echoing	Subjectivity	Subjectivity	Subjectivity	Subjectivity	Subjectivity	Subjectivity
Echoing	Cultural practices-education	Cultural practices-education	Cultural practices-education	Cultural practices-education	Cultural practices-education	Cultural practices-education
Echoing (partial)			Social interaction	Social interaction	Social interaction	Social interaction

Table 5
Expressive Moves: Differentiating Across the Migration Education Policy System

Discursive move	Migrant students' expressive emphasis		Local students' expressive emphasis		Institutional actors' expressive emphases	
	With narratives	With letters	With narratives	With letters	With education policy documents	With news narratives
Differentiating	Political issues					
Differentiating	Spatiotemporality					
Differentiating		Cultural-education	Cultural-personal characteristics			
Differentiating			Interpersonal relations	Cultural-good behavior		
Differentiating				Interpersonal relations		
Differentiating					Professional responsibility	Professional strategies

hope and futurity, rather than only past or present pain.

These excerpts express how local students' narratives emphasized cultural practices, first school practice and then youth cultural play: "The fourth class was canceled . . . and someone had an idea that we could play a video game. . . . All of us installed it on our phones and start playing." The following excerpts from migrant students' narratives focus on school practices: "School is our second home for learning, learning, learning . . . Learning and reading a book and going to school is needed and necessary." Examples of cognitive emphases by migrant students include "When I come to Serbia and that time I don't know Serbia" and "That's why I consider myself strong." Migrant students' salient affective value expressions range from gratitude ("Thank you for your interest"), hope for the future ("I want to be with my family because I miss them"), and sadness ("I weep in pain").

Participants interwove such subjective orientations with statements emphasizing social injustices. Serbian students tended to highlight others' affects with utterances like "Some of us felt their pain" and "They love to play." A policy document states the following: "Xenophobic reflexes may blindfold the democratic discourse and impede a rational policy, respecting the needs and potentials of both migrants and host societies" and "Do not show you pity them [the children]". Policy documents expressed cognitions and affects as directives such as "Do not insist that they talk about what they went through." In that sentence, for example, the guidelines for teachers focused on student cognitions like "talk" and their affective responses "what they went through." News stories expressed affects in quotations by journalistic sources, such as "the problem exists in Sombor because of the 'incomprehensible intolerance.'"

In summary, participants echoed some values, albeit in different ways, indicating that they were involved in a shared system. As a rhetorical move "echo" applying to extended genres by diverse stakeholders is similar to the rhetorical move "uptake" across conversational turns in other discourse analyses. This extension provides a bridge between critical discourse and conversational discourse studies.

Values Differentiate Across Stakeholders

The diversity of stakeholder histories and expressive positions across this migration system reveals unique perspectives, especially by those most marginalized—the migrant students. Table 5 presents the diverse values across the student and institutional expressions.

Migrant Students' Narratives Uniquely Emphasized Political Issues and Spatiotemporal Orientations

Prominent expressive patterns by newcomer students include those emphasizing political issues: social structural issues, geo-political origins, obstacles to life and wellbeing; and orientations to the future. As illustrated in Zabi's narrative, migrant youth emphasized social structural issues "and here we became migrants," "I met a smuggler who told me that I could go to Europe if I paid him 3000 euros," and "and i was in jail one month." "Migrant" is a political determination; smuggling is a kind of industry profiting on the migration needs of vulnerable people; and jailing displaced peoples is a function of border controls, which operate differently in different political environments. Emphases of geo-political journeys are also relatively salient to migrant students' narratives: "Then I tried to go to Turkey"; "and then came to Turkey and arrived to Serbia through Bulgaria"; "I passed all the borders"; "My history is very long." Some sentences within this value group emphasize (also read with the context if necessary) social structural issues, whereas others emphasize geographical locations without implying injustice. Note that these expressions also include temporal markers, psychological states, or country names, but the overall rhetorical organization of the sentence points toward geo-political importance.

Migrant students also used narrative features to emphasize spatiotemporal perspectives. Especially surprising is their emphasis on past and future temporalities, much more saliently than the present. Quotations valuing temporal dimensions include, "I am migrant for 3 years"; "I traveled for 14 months"; "I studied in Afghanistan, but not for long"; "Sometimes, I come to school." A third value migrant students interwove acknowledged existential obstacles: "The place where our school is located is also not good"; "I had a lot of trouble

on the road"; "but during the second lap, the boy from Afghanistan collapsed."

In summary, migrant students' narratives emphasized events, places, and times beyond the present and beyond Serbia. Moreover, although the newcomers wrote from inside Serbian schools, they used letters to their peers to emphasize the cultural practice of education in a general way: "If someone don't want to go to school, its not good for that person." That is, they tended to express that education is important, not necessarily this education. When reflecting on these patterns in terms of the social inclusion goal of the Serbian education intervention (like others across the region), the migrant students did not use the narratives or letters to emphasize social inclusion or integration, as did their Serbian peers.

We refer to the displaced students' unique value orientation emphasizing political issues (social structural injustices, geo-political journeys) and spatiotemporal circumstances as a differentiating move—differentiating from the value orientations of the other stakeholders. Having identified this relatively unique salient orientation, we point out that migrant students do not uniquely emphasize yearning for acceptance or traumatic affects. Also notable is that the present does not emerge as a value, perhaps indicating that social inclusion is not a priority at the time and in that situation. In contrast, perhaps not surprising is that when local students emphasized geo-political journeys, it is in the sense of host, as in this example: "Last year, actually a few months ago, we also had a girl from Iraq arrive." Local students tended to express as hosts with subjects like "we" and verbs like "arrive."

Local Students Emphasize Unique Values

The major pattern of value expressions by Serbian students emphasized cultural practices and social relations. Local students depicted local cultural activities for the migrant students: "A while ago there was a free field trip organized for immigrants and some kids from school were also invited"; "During the class of Folks tradition, we made barrels and carriages together with them." Responsibility for local students' learning was also tilted toward migrant peers, "With their help we can get to know their customs and some of their words." Cultural practices enacted by the local students also de-

picted behaviors, which depend on cultural mores and affective expressions. Local students emphasized their need to behave well: “Anytime they had any difficulty or don’t understand something, we or our teacher help them,” as well as the migrant students’ behavior, and migrant students’ polite behaviors: “each of them gave me a nice gift”; “they said ‘thank you.’” Less prominent was bad behavior, by local and migrant student characters: “The third graders were hitting them and insulting them”; “Migrants were insulting them in English.” Another emphasis by the local students was on interpersonal relations, such as “He tried to talk to him but was unsuccessful” and “They started getting to know each other.”

In a postwar country where people continued facing instability and high unemployment, the influx of thousands of refugees renewed public discussions of belonging and exclusion. Nevertheless, the local youth endorsed inclusive values in terms of friendship with and educating of their newcomer peers. Local students, thus, used narratives and letters to perform the educational endeavor social inclusion.

Institutional Documents Emphasized Unique Values

Although not exclusively, institutional documents emphasized professional responsibilities and strategies for performing those responsibilities. Examples by policymakers include “The recommendations in all sections of this document aim to inform principles, practices and policies that address forcibly displaced populations (asylum seekers and refugees) and migrants who move across international borders”; “They can be supported by psychological supervision”; “The needs for additional support of the most vulnerable group of refugees—unaccompanied minors and other child refugees—must be systematically explored and appropriately met.” News reporters highlighted other actors: “NGOs have worked with children in reception centers before they entered schools.”

Genre Differences Highlight Discursive Expression

As with Mani’s narrative and letter, students displaced to Serbia used those genres in different ways. Mani used the narrative genre

to emphasize the importance of his journey, how he arrived in Serbia, the kinds of injustices along the way, and obstacles to his survival and development. In particular, we noticed how Mani’s letter to Naari expressed the value of school, especially for refugee children, stating that explicitly, “school is important”; anticipating resistance to schooling, “If someone don’t want to go to school, its not good for that person”; and in terms of possible consequences, “and also they don’t have a good and bright future.” Reading the letter and narrative together, we observe students’ abilities to use genre features to engage a range of values.

The displaced youth who contributed to this study used diverse genres with problem-solving skill and wisdom to interpret geopolitical circumstances in which were protagonists as well as inheritors. This wisdom is relational complexity—using features of diverse genres to share a wide range of personal knowledge, experiences, and intentions to make a life within a system of structural and interpersonal social relations. Using multiple genres, the migrant students narrated perspectives on journeys across a vast geographic space of injustices, with a range of cognition and affect, and explanations of how to cope by getting educated and being hopeful (often via God’s good will). In a process with some educational support, we learn how forceful discourse can be in the face of inescapable plights. This discursive force sheds light on the underuse of critical and creative language with children in better circumstances, as well as for the force it can be for children in extreme adversity.

Local students used narratives and letters in comparatively unitary ways to enact social inclusion, mostly emphasizing culture and interpersonal relations. This emphasis could have several explanations. For one, their position in a social inclusion intervention was, as the word “inclusion” implies, inside. Already living in Serbia, they narrated and wrote letters as sympathetic hosts to young people from distant lands who arrived, often without parents, in very large numbers, walking along public roads, staying in train stations, occasionally living in community and religious centers, and then coming to school. Another explanation is that local students had faced less adversity than the mi-

grant students and thus had less occasion to imagine unfamiliar others and interact with them on the others' terms.

Discussion

The purpose of this practice-based research is to generate theory and methodology for studying and supporting human development in adverse life circumstances—in this case violent displacement and the aftermath. This article has explained and illustrated a relational system involving diverse participants' uses of language to make sense of and to influence their environments. This systems perspective involves considering diverse participants' discourses alongside one another and read in terms of values—what is important and salient at the time. Sampling such discourses in actual interventions is foundational to dynamic narrative inquiry.

The study presented here is designed as one way to reverse a trend of speaking for those on the front lines in contemporary migration and to highlight the power of expression, albeit differently, among individuals, groups, and institutions involved in social and political change during migration crises. The activity-meaning system design introduces a qualitative psychological way to include multiple diverse interlocutors whose voices interact and thus exert mutual influences in spite of their diverse power positions. We focus on values across those diverse stakeholders, thereby qualitatively demonstrating students' relational flexibility of values as salient in their attempts to interact with and understand very different others. With this research design and analytic strategy, dynamic narrative inquiry provides a way to study violent displacements as embedded in geo-political systems mediated by human language.

Using the concept "research design," we assert that qualitative research can consider diverse perspectives as relational (pointed elsewhere and to one's self), rather than as authentic in any individualistic way, crafted (to express one's self, try out ideas, and persuade) rather than as authentic in any individualistic way, and material to a broader conversation, not only shining a light on the most disadvantaged. Dynamic narrative inquiry bridges conversational discourse analysis and

critical discourse analysis with the activity-meaning system design involving very close examination of expressive details of sentences, genres (narratives, letters, documents), and moves (echoes and differentiations), in virtual as well as explicit interaction. As researchers, we also play a role in the situation by using our natural language capacity to understand values in discourse. Our role in imagining the diverse interactions involves respecting participant voices.

These participants could write, albeit with different levels of expertise. Most were juggling a myriad of languages, and the displaced students had had different prior formal educational experiences. The most and least prolific writers all presented a case for themselves, their humanity and their rights, especially as they narrated journeys and hopes for the future. The migrant students, in particular, used the narrative and letter genres differently to express a range of knowledge and experiences for different explicit and implicit audiences. Even the briefest writings expressed several values. These writing activities appeared to have been productive, if not enjoyable. Some students even mentioned being grateful for the chance to share their stories.

The narratives of stakeholders during major geo-political transitions, like violent displacement, tell a much more complex story than those in the news or even in scholarship. Much is said in media and scholarship about global reorganizations across the late 20th to early 21st centuries, such as about increases in rigid ideologies for or against migration, resource grabbing that exacerbates inequalities in the life prospects of some, psychosocial trauma, and the flaunting of laws. Prominent ideologies include pro-immigrant versus anti-immigrant positions and trauma versus resilience among those with the most at stake. Nevertheless, detailed study with the nuances of human expression in interventions also reveals strategies and impacts that deserve attention and support. Research methods can advance professional inquiry and interventions by allowing for complexity, diversity, and flexibility as individuals and institutions are making sense of their circumstances, one another, and their possible futures.

Values analysis presented in this article is, in summary, a critical discursive examination of how diverse stakeholders use diverse genres to

echo, differentiate, and sometimes contest or ignore an intervention goal. Diversities and tensions across our stakeholder discourses make audible/visible critical bifocality, “relations between groups and structures of power, to social policies, and to large sociopolitical formations [thereby revealing] macrostructural dynamics related to globalization” (Weis & Fine, 2012, p. 173).

Conclusions and Implications

This analysis focuses on how inhuman traditions like violent displacement involve thinking and acting with discourse when it is supported, as in education. A contribution of this research is to offer evidence of the web of meanings across discourses focused on an idea circulated in educational policy and practice to promote social inclusion. While migrant youth, local youth, policymakers, and media reporters manifested some shared values, differences shone through as possible indicators for future inquiry in such culturally diverse settings. For example, migrant youths’ emphasis on past and future times and places creates a kind of silence around the meaning of social inclusion. In addition, while migrant youth value education, within and beyond Serbian classrooms, their value expressions suggested that justice via education might at the time have been less salient than justice via migrant rights and due process. Their letters to other displaced youth valued education as a strategy for freedom and thriving more than for inclusion in any specific educational space.

Diversity around the meaning of social inclusion presents a challenge to migration studies and education studies that emphasize assimilation or enculturation as goals. With this activity-meaning system design, we have shown how including interlocutors across a migration system raises questions about such linear concepts that may have applied to 20th century migration. The contemporary mass movements and social media we noted at the beginning of this article can, with support, involve interactions across diverse cultural and power positions. In addition to implications for discourse and migration studies, this study has implications that extend to participants in educational and community settings. With patterns of findings and exemplary narratives, letters, policies, and

news, participants can engage with one another to discuss their suggestions for ongoing policy and practice.

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