STORY SHARING IN NARRATIVE RESEARCH

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Abstract

Researchers using a narrative approach largely acknowledge their role in the process of the unfolding or telling of their participants' narratives, and the fact that their positioning as researchers results in a degree of knowledge co-construction (Barkhuizen 2011). There is however a lack of explicit empirical research in the way in which such knowledge is mutually constituted and the outcomes of such co-construction. This paper aims to address this shortcoming by describing the on-going story sharing between the researcher and participants. As discursive practice, the story sharing was both an outcome of reduced power distance between participants and the researcher, and a factor in it. In relational terms, the story sharing helped to develop caring relationships which provided a safe space for mutual disclosure. These outcomes suggest that there are significant benefits for researchers, and narrative research, if narrative research allows for and affords story sharing.

1. Introduction

Narrative research typically focusses on the voices of participants, wherein researchers seek to understand participants' experiences in a holistic and socio-culturally situated way. This, however, has left an under-explored side of narrative—the influential presence of the researcher. In response, the notion of researcher reflexivity (i.e. a researcher's self-examination of positioning and influence in the research) in qualitative research generally has attempted to address this issue. However, it can often be treated in a somewhat superficial way (Hunter 2015). A common approach is identified by Guo (2013), for example, who draws attention to the *reflexive* introduction in which the researcher articulates her position in relation to methodology and methods and to her relationship with participants.

This paper investigates this under-explored aspect of narrative research. To do so, a brief outline of what can be considered a narrative approach will be presented, along with a discussion of how researcher presence in narrative inquiry has been treated. The design of a research study, planned by the authors, is discussed in relation to how it sought to more deeply account for researcher presence. Finally, outcomes of this research study using what is deemed to be *story sharing*, will be explored and evaluated.

2. What is a narrative approach?

Narrative has been adopted to understand people holistically and at the same time to capture the complexity of the social/human phenomenon (Webster & Mertova 2007). According to Moen (2006: 2), a narrative is 'a study of how human beings experience the world'. Thus, researchers turn to narrative 'because the stories reveal truths about human experience' (Riessman 2008: 10). Through individual narratives a phenomenon can be understood. So while their purpose is to understand a human and shared phenomenon, they are also highly individual. Phinney (2000: 28) proposes that 'individual narratives can provide insight into processes that are difficult to capture at the group level'.

Narratives to understand human experiences entail social settings. The social setting is complex, dynamic and individual, and so is the process of human experiences in narrative research (Webster & Mertova 2007). McAdams (1988) argues that a narrative approach 'is being recognised as a means of examining the ways in which individuals make sense of their lives

within a changing sociohistorical context' (as cited in Phinney 2000: 28).

Narratives are largely thought of as recounts; that is to say that narrative is 'a particular way of reporting past events' (Labov 2006: 37). When people recount their past it is also about the present and the future (Bell 2002; Connelly & Clandinin 1990; Labov 1997 2006; Moen 2006; Sandelowski 1991). As Schank and Abelson (1995: 1) claim, 'all human knowledge is based on stories constructed around past experiences' and 'new experiences are interpreted in terms of old stories'. Narratives then are not only about past experiences.

At the same time, the fact that a narrative is spoken or written to someone leads us to assume that a narrative is about something meaningful to the narrator. Labov (1997) refers to this meaningfulness as reportability. By telling significant and meaningful stories to an audience, the narrators are constructing themselves in a way in which they want to be viewed (Barkhuizen 2013; Mishler 2009; Riessman 2008). In this sense, narratives are a type of performance. Anderson (1997) refers to the narrator as the narrating self.

The discussion above begins to place another—the audience, in the context of the story telling, and indeed, the process of narrative research is not just unidirectional. Riessman (2008) states that story telling engages an audience in the experiences of the narrator: 'Individuals use the narrative form to remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain, and even mislead an audience' (Riessman 2008: 8). László (2008: 8) suggests that a narrator has a responsibility of sorts to an audience when he states, 'People can tell only stories that are in some relationship with relatable experiences of other people'. A person will choose what stories to tell depending on the audience in context. For example, a bed-time story chosen by a mother is more likely not to be shared with her colleagues during a coffee break at work.

Narrative is a conversation between the narrator and the audience, a 'dialogical conversation' (Anderson 1997: 109). Anderson (1997) argues that in this process of telling stories to an audience, new stories are created and what is narrated becomes a mutually recognisable story between the narrator and audience. This dialogical conversation results in emerging new meanings (Barkhuizen 2011).

Given this dialogical aspect of participants telling their stories, narrative research is not just about gathering and reporting those stories, but about the researcher and the participants engaging in a meaning-making process (Sandelowski 1991). Mishler (2009: 18) similarly describes this meaning making process as an 'achievement' of joint production or collaboration.

Gergen (2001; 2009) points out that the research process is a 'collaborative inquiry' between the researcher and participants. Connelly and Clandinin (1990: 4) also argue that 'narrative inquiry is a process of collaboration involving mutual storytelling and restorying'. In sum, narratives are constructed and/or re-constructed personal stories told through and in the conversations between participants and researchers.

3. The researcher's voice

As stated above, narrative research has focussed mainly on participants' voices in order to understand a social phenomenon, while at the same time narrative research has been acknowledged as a co-construction of stories. Concern has been expressed at the general absence of researchers' voices (e.g. Canagarajah 1996; Holloway & Biley 2011; Oakley 1981; Reger 2001) in narrative research reports. Some recognition of the researcher's voice in the dialogic process of research has been represented through the examination of researcher identities. Fox and Allan (2013), for example, discuss the PhD student journey as involving dialogic interaction between a supervisor and the PhD student, and in journey there being *becoming* and *unbecoming*.

Norton and Early (2011) investigated researcher identity from another angle. In response to the absence of researcher voice in narrative, they re-visited an earlier study on digital literacy. They analysed small stories in relation to the identities they adopted and concluded that they, the researchers, were in an on-going process of identity negotiation to reduce power differentials between themselves and participants. Similarly, Bamberg (2012) examined interactional narrative practice between interviewer and interviewee and concluded that interviewers used various techniques to reduce power and align with the interviewee.

Power relations between the researchers/interviewers and participants/interviewees exist in all research and all researchers should be mindful of how their impact on the dialogue should be accounted for (Boman & Jevne 2000; Karnieli-Miller, Strier, & Pessach 2008). Among scholars who advocate collaborative research, Karnieli-Miller et al. (2008) argue that the power relations in research should be seen as continuum and the level of collaboration depends on the degree of partnership between the researcher and participants/interviewees. They define full partnership as such:

It is the researcher's ethical responsibility to find ways to involve participants in data analysis and to develop creative methods that enable them to participate not only in data collection but also in the creation and verification of the final product. Moreover, participants are encouraged to express their views about the truthfulness of the conclusions and the relevance of research recommendations (p. 285).

Further, they suggest that the researcher should show awareness of the power relations, provide open communication, and conduct verification interviews at various stages to confirm the researcher's understanding of the information collected during the research.

Successful dialogues, however, do not just come from participants' full partnership. Gergen (2009: 122) argues that 'if dialogue is to proceed successfully it is critical that the other understands who we are and what we stand for'. It indicates that both parties need to understand each other, which can be realised through disclosure from both. This arguably means the researcher's sharing of experiences, opinions, feelings and thoughts (Reinharz & Chase 2003). In terms of power relations, Kvale (1996) points out that the researcher's self-disclosure can be a tool to manage the power distance between the researcher and participants. Abell, Locke, Condor, Gibson, and Stevenson (2006) study this self-disclosure and argue that the success of the strategy depends on how 'doing similarity' is viewed by participants. They further caution that the researcher's self-disclosure may lead to amplify the difference between the researcher and participants, resulting in limited story sharing on the part of participants.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) provide a useful insight to deal with such potential limitations. They state that:

It is important that the researcher listen first to the practitioner's [participant's] story, and that it is the practitioner who first tells his or her story. This does not mean that the researcher is silenced in the process of narrative inquiry. It does mean that the practitioner, who has long been silenced in the research relationship, is given the time and space to tell her or his story so that it too gains the authority and validity that the research story has long had. (p.4)

Witz (2006) also argues that interviewers can become actively involved in the dialogue only after the participant fully narrated her/his stories. This will help to develop greater alliance with participants.

4. The present study

4.1 The study design

To examine researcher's voice through interactive narrative practice, the research fieldwork was designed in such a way to enable on-going conversation, a dialogical conversation (Anderson 1997) between participants and the researcher (the first author). For twelve months, the researcher conducted iterative individual interviews, regularly responding to each participant with her own stories. There was on-going mutual story sharing between the participants and the researcher. Figure 1 below presents an overview of the story sharing design.

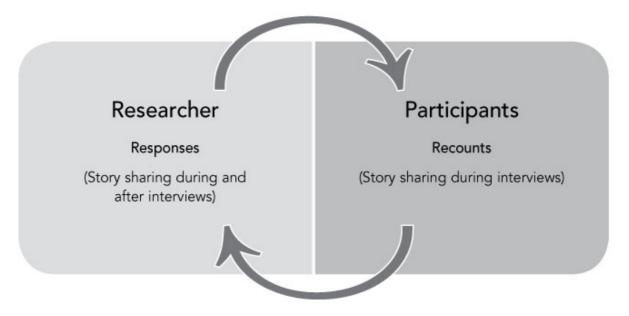


Figure 1: Research design

Keeping in mind the importance of full partnerships and the potential shortcomings of early self-disclosure, the researcher's written response after reflecting on the previous interview was incorporated as a tool in the research design. Barkhuizen (2011) similarly used this tool as a means to establish a narrative dialogue between himself as a lecturer and his student teachers. In this study, it was designed so that the researcher became actively involved in the dialogue after each interview session through written response. The response consisted of the researcher's feelings, thoughts, and her own stories after reflecting on the participants' stories. Each participant received seven written responses.

4.2 The story tellers

Six participants were invited to participate in the research. They were all Asian migrant mothers using English as an additional language. Two participants were from South Korea, two from China, one from India and one from Japan. Like the participants, the researcher is an Asian migrant mother. She is also an English language learner in the sense that she uses it as an additional language. The participants and the researcher thus had several identities in common.

This leads us to examine the outcomes of interactive narrative practice. We now discuss how participants responded to the researcher's story sharing and how the researcher's voice influenced the research process.

5. The dynamics of mutual storying

Participants were involved in eight in-depth interviews approximately over twelve months from February 2013 to March 2014. The interviews included one initial interview, seven post-recount interviews, and one reflective interview. Initial interviews focussed on individuals' migrant lives. Their stories included the past in their home country, the current situation, and their future hopes. The six post-recount interviews, conducted monthly, focussed on significant events the participant experienced. After each interview, the researcher transcribed the recorded data and sent it back to the participant to be confirmed. At the same time, the researcher sent her own responses to the participants' stories. These included thoughts and feelings about the shared stories along with the researcher's related personal stories. The final individual reflective interviews were conducted approximately five months after the sixth post-recount interview. This interview aimed to summarize participants' individual journeys. It was also an opportunity for the participant actively to confirm and/or add to the researcher's understanding of the participant's narrative. During this interview session, the researcher asked how they felt about researcher's story sharing and they might have been affected. Based on participants' comments about the researcher's story sharing, the following insights emerged.

5.1 Narrowing power distance

Story sharing resulted in narrowing the power distance between participants and the researcher. In this study, the participants' and researcher's relationship began with distance, despite the researcher's friendly approach. As Kvale (1996) notes, even a friendly relationship between the researcher and participants may conceal significant power differences. Although participants may agree to be interviewed for the purposes of research, it is the researcher who benefits most directly from the research, and participants are not unaware of this imbalance.

The researcher is thus often expected to be the one with knowledge, which was evident in the first few interviews of this study. Participants often expected to be asked the *right* questions because the researcher *knows* exactly what to ask. Mia's comments in the second interview illustrate this aspect well:

You can ask questions in relation to the way you want to conclude your writing . . . I am wondering [if] my interview is going to the way that is very different from what you have in your mind . . . if there is a possibility I would like to answer the way you want.

Participants often asked whether they were telling the stories the way the researcher wanted and expected. The initial relationship between the researcher and participants was that of knower and not-knower.

However, comments from the last interview indicate signs of narrowed distance. Participants shared their opinions on the researcher's story sharing. They felt they were understood and heard, not just answering questions to satisfy the research questions. Excerpts below illustrate how participants were empowered by the researcher's stories:

I am not the only one going through that kind of experiences. Somebody understands what I have been through . . . Yes I can do it. (Jessica)

Your stories consoled me. Very similar experience but different situation and you shared them with me and it also confirmed my judgement and feeling. (Mia)

Reading your story was a lot better than 'I am just answering the questions'. (Jessica)

Both Jessica and Mia recognised the researcher as someone with similar experiences. They were not only the researched. They had become empathetic respondents to the researcher's stories. Thus there was the exchange of feeling with the stories. As Witz (2006) argues, interviewing for feeling as well as information helps researchers develop a closer alliance with participants,

narrowing power distance and increasing holistic understanding. Sharing stories narrowed the perceived and anticipated power gap between the researcher and the participants.

5.2 Caring community

Story sharing helped to develop a caring community. On-going conversation between the participants and researcher for twelve months allowed both participants and the researcher time to develop rapport. Each interview began with inquiries of each other's overall well-being. At the beginning, the participants expressed interest in and concerns about the researcher's personal wellbeing, asking, 'How are your children?' and 'How was your holiday?'

As the interviews progressed, participants became increasingly interested in the progress of the research itself. There were more specific concerns about their part in the study, such as, 'I should not talk too much; I read your transcription. You must have had really hard time transcribing all that, too much work for you'. They were concerned about whether their stories would contribute to the research, for example, 'I heard that the more I talk, the better data you might get'. As the interviews progressed further, participants' comments and questions began to reflect their growing agency as active contributors to the research. They made requests, such as, 'Please put this one in your research. I think they should know this', and comments: 'I will be glad if they get something out of my story'.

During the final interview, the researcher asked each participant about the effect of story sharing. They commented regarding the relationship:

After reading, I didn't write back. I just read . . . when you finish writing the stories, can I read it? (Emily)

I just see you as our sisters. Just plan to talk about things, not like interviews. (Holly)

It helps me as well because we are both immigrants . . . I have so many other stories if you want. (Mia)

Emily apologised to the researcher that she did not read all responses. Holly referred to the researcher as one of her sisters, indicating the closeness she felt towards the researcher. Mia commented that she was willing to help the researcher whenever necessary.

Thus, a caring interpersonal relationship and a growing shared interest

in the research goals contributed to the research. What's more, these developments illustrate how on-going interaction and sharing experiences helped create a caring community (Connelly & Clandinin 1990).

5.3 Mutual disclosure

Story sharing led to mutual self-disclosure. The self-disclosure arose from the narrowed power distance and a caring relationship developed between the participants and the researcher. The similar social identities of the researcher and participants were valuable to *do similarity* (Abell et al. 2006). The researcher's experiences as an Asian migrant mother using English as an additional language were understood by participants, and the researcher could understand the participants' experiences. The stories were heard by both parties.

In this study, researcher self-disclosure was done though informal conversation during the interview and post-interview written responses. The following excerpt from the last interview indicates that participants appreciated the researcher's disclosure and felt secure to tell their stories:

I think you were really open. You did share whatever you thought about your family and problems. I appreciated that. Because you didn't have to do that. I think you were pretty open and straightforward about things. You explained me exactly what was required of me. So I was comfortable talking to you. You know. I have this confidence in you that this information I shared with you will be only with you, nobody else. So that the confidentiality was there. I have enjoyed working, being a part of it. (Simi)

At the same time, security and confidentiality were enhanced by the distance between the researcher and participants, as the researcher was an outsider to participants' communities. As Holly mentioned below, the researcher was not part of Holly's close social circle, which reduced her vulnerability to possible gossip about her shared stories. As she put it,

Sometimes it is really hard to talk to people, close to the group, background. You wouldn't feel secure but we don't have much benefit between us. So we feel more open to talk about things. (Holly)

The researcher's self-disclosure, in a socially safe context, may have thus contributed to more open story sharing.

5.4 Narrative knowledging

The timing of the final reflective interview allowed time and space to reflect on the story sharing between the researcher and participants. There was conversation about what their story sharing meant to each other. Cortazzi, Jin, Wall, and Cavendish (2001: 257), in a study of shared communication through narratives, claim that 'the retelling of significant experiences of learning to others is itself a reflective way for both teller and audience to learn more about that experience by interactively weaving together theory and practice with humane threads'. Re-teller and audiences are aware of their respective influences on the research. A re-teller's reflexivity is thus relational, strengthened in relation to others (D'Cruz et al. 2007).

Some scholars (e.g. Donati 2011; Gilbert & Sliep 2009; Hosking & Pluut 2010) propose the notion of relational reflexivity to account for mutual and reciprocal social learning. Among them, Gilbert and Sliep (2009: 477) argue that reflexivity is a relational and dynamic process in context. They suggest that 'reflexivity should move beyond a reflexivity of self as an internal process to reflexivity within the relationships between people in a performative space'. Looking back to the journey of story sharing together became an instance of relational reflexivity.

The outcome of on-going story sharing resulted in learning through relational reflexivity. Barkhuizen (2011: 395) sees this as part of narrative knowledging, which he defines as 'the meaning making, learning, and knowledge construction that takes place at all stages of a narrative research project'. For Holly, it could be translated into wisdom as seen below. This narrative knowledging may have helped her to confirm her identity as someone resourceful for her community-Holly had been a translator and interpreter for Chinese communities. She said that she could help, encourage and inspire people by referring the researcher's stories:

Even you talk about your problems will help me. . . . When you share your story, I learn from you and can help people. . . . Also, I learn things. Means my life is more . . . into future. If you understand life you get yourself improved or you go upstairs. . . .you are growing up, get mature. . . . You learn lesson. . . . You gain more wisdom from other people's lessons. (Holly)

Narrative knowledging was not only limited to participants. The researcher also recognised it. The brief conversation below indicates the researcher's acknowledgement of learning from the on-going conversation with Simi. During the last interview, the researcher and Simi reviewed the interview journey and the researcher commented that Simi's experiences gave her insights on how to live successfully as a migrant.

Researcher: I think especially with you, I learnt how to live. You know what I

mean.

Simi: The positive.

Researcher: Yes.

The excerpt above shows the researcher and the participant together made meaning from their shared stories. The last conversation with Jessica (below) also indicates that both parties acknowledged learning from story sharing. The researcher commented that she gained 'strength' to move forwards and Jessica replied by saying that 'it is okay. I can do it'.

Jessica: When I read your story, I felt like almost everyone has similar

experiences as a mum, as a student, . . . And actually I feel comfort from your stories. I am not the only one going through that kind of experience. Somebody understands what I have been

through, something like that.

Researcher: Yes. I was the same. Listening to your story and reading the

transcripts after the interview, something was really similar. Yes,

I did have similar experiences. I think I gained strength.

Jessica: It is okay. I can do it.

By reflecting on the journey of story sharing, participants and the researcher recognised how much they had learnt from each other's stories and developed a new narrative, in which both acknowledged was that they could be successful even though both were mothers and language learners. This outcome illustrates Kyratzis and Green's claim that 'narratives are collaborative and are products of the communicative context in which they are constructed' and that 'narrative has a role in constituting social life' (1997: 34). Striano (2012) points out that narrative is a way of constructing new social discourses through negotiation and participation. Eder's (1988) discourse analysis study similarly shows that co-narrating a story results in the development of shared perception and stronger social bonds. In this way, story sharing played an important role in narrative knowledging, co-constructing knowledge in social contexts.

6. Conclusion: Story sharing as a narrative knowledging tool

Narrative researchers accept that there is still a pressing need for tools to ease the on-going issues in narrative research such as power relations and knowledge construction. A story sharing tool to respond to the lack of the researcher's voice and to promote the co-constructed nature of narrative has showed that participants and the researcher acknowledged the tool helped narrow power distance, and develop close relationships and reciprocal learning. Narrative knowledging (Barkhuizen 2011) was evident in this interactive narrative practice through story sharing. The tool was helpful to ease some well-known issues in narrative research, and thus it can inform future studies.

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