

Identity in narratives

Gabriela CHEFNEUX¹

The paper analyses students' identity as expressed in narratives. The theoretical framework relies on the constructionist approach, which defines identity as manifested in individuals' social actions, developed in discourse, and fluid (De Fina and Gerogakopoulou 2013, Benwell and Stokoe 2006, Cohen 2010, Bamberg, de Fina and Schiffrrin 2007). The paper focuses on the institutional and interactional types of identity and interprets narratives as a way to understand the world and the self and to account for what the narrator has become. The data analyzed come from a research interview conducted with students who were asked to narrate an experience that made them feel that they are students; the conclusions focus on the narrative structure and on the identity features expressed.

Keywords: *narrative, identity, constructionist approach, research interview*

1. Introduction

The paper presents seven interviews conducted with third year philology students. As part of the interview the respondents were asked to talk about an experience which made them feel that they are university students. The analysis of their answers aims to establish how they perceive their professional identity and how their narratives are structured.

The paper is divided into a theoretical part, which explains the view of narrative and identity adopted in this paper, followed by the data analysis and the conclusions.

2. Theoretical framework

This part includes two subsections, namely identity and narratives. The first one provides a definition of identity, a brief presentation of the two main approaches to it and a classification of identity types. The latter focuses on narratives, their functions and structure, and their relation to identity and to the research interview.

¹ Transilvania University of Braşov, gabriela.chefneux@unitbv.ro

2.1. Definition of identity

In “the broadest sense identity is who people are to each other” (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, 6). Identity has been defined as the property of an individual or as a characteristic emerging during social interaction. These two definitions indicate the two fundamental approaches to identity – the essentialist and the constructionist one.

The essentialist approach considers identity as existing independently of context, fixed and stable, permanently belonging to us, a personal possession that can be “authenticated or falsified”; it is taken for granted, being an absolute and knowable feature of a person (Benwell and Stokoe 2006).

The constructionist approach studies identity as varying, depending on the interactions in which the individuals take part (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, 6). It starts from the assumption that social reality is constructed by means of the individuals’ actions and interactions, society and individuals mutually influencing and defining each other; as such, identity is unstable, fractured and de-essentialized (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2013, 157). Constructionists investigate how people perform, ascribe and resist identities and how identities are produced in talk and texts of various kinds (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, 9): “we constantly construct and reconstruct a self to meet the needs of the situations we encounter” (Bruner 2003, 210) and we categorize ourselves differently “from one situation to another” (Edwards 2008, 17).

The constructionist approach to identity is reflected in three major areas, namely sociolinguistics, ethnomethodology and narrative. Sociolinguistics studies identity by analyzing the relationship between the speaker’s linguistic choices and categories such as ethnicity, class, and gender (Bamberg et al. 2007, 2). Ethnomethodology is subdivided into three subclasses: membership categorization analysis, which investigates the way speakers orient themselves to categories classified in terms of members, activities and features, conversational analysis, which defines identity as “a participant’s resource”, indexical, and having local and “occasioned differences” (Widdicombe 2008, 194-195), and critical discourse analysis, which aims to find the connection between the local interaction and the way in which politics and ideology are reflected in it (Bamberg et al. 2007); critical discourse analysis treats identity as heavily influenced by the ideological work performed by discourse (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, 105). Finally, narrative analysis studies narratives as the narrator’s self-descriptions and self- and other-evaluation: “narrators can produce edited descriptions and evaluation of themselves and others” (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, 42).

This paper analyses the students’ narratives by taking into account the values to which the interviewees orient themselves during the stories told and the temporal structure of their stories.

2.2. Types of identity

Benwell and Stoke (2006, 5) classify identities in terms of the environment in which they appear; they mention everyday conversational, institutional, commodified, spatial, and virtual ones. They also identify categorical and relational identities. The former are related to doing specific social actions in talk. The latter, of a more fleeting type, emerge during an interactional episode when speakers can assume different types of identity (such as friends, spouses, parents, etc.), which are contextual or topic dependent.

Zimmerman (2008) classifies identities in terms of discourse: addresser/ addressee, current speaker/listener, story teller/listener, questioner/ answerer; he also distinguishes between situation or context-dependent and transportable or context-free identities, the latter travelling with individuals across situations and being relevant in a wide range of interactions.

All these identity types represent a basis for larger types of identities: “[t]hese discourse identities are the materials out of which larger, more recognizably social or institutional identities are built” (Antaki and Widdicombe 2008, 11).

This paper adopts the view that identity is less stable, the participants displaying the particular type of identity that advances the interactional context. The analysis focusses on the institutional and discourse types of identity - storyteller and speaker.

2.3. Definition of narrative

The basic elements of narratives are temporal sequencing (beginning, middle and end), disruption of balance (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2013, 34), characters, and their behavioural or psychological response to the change (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, 131). Page (2015) states that the main element of any narrative is the change in a state of affair, which is positively or negatively evaluated.

Narratologists differentiate between story and narrative, the former being the prototype while the latter its realization. A similar differentiation is drawn between master narratives or *capital N* narratives, defined as stories that encapsulate the dominant current ideology (for example narratives of change, growth and transformation, redemption) (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2013, 149), and *small n* narratives, which are the actually narrated stories, everyday stories in which specific events are told (Gordon 2015, 312–313).

Hyvärinen (2015, 186) classifies narratives into recounts (records of experience without complicating departure from expectations), anecdotes (remarkable events and the reaction to them), exempla (incidences and their interpretation), and observations (descriptions of events without comment).

The narratives elicited during interviews have been classified as “stories of justification, explanation, and recapitulation of past events, [...] answers to the how or who question of the interlocutor/researcher” (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2013, 113).

Narrators can orient themselves to their stories at three different levels: personal (how they manage the audience’s impression of themselves), relational (how they relate to the characters in the story) and collective (how they position themselves as a member of a group (Cohen 2010, 79).

This paper analyses the narratives told by the interviewees in terms of three different perspectives: the temporal structure of the narrative, the types of narrative they illustrate and the narrators’ personal and collective orientation.

2.4. Functions of narratives

Narratives serve a wide range of purposes: they persuade, entertain, create personal and community ties, acculturate, argue (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, 130), provide a way of understanding the self and the world, a means of speaking about our lives presented as a story (Barkhuizen 2015, 100). The narratives presented below represent the way in which the respondents react to the change in their status from being high school students to becoming university students.

2.5. Narrative and identity

Narratives are closely linked to identity:

[n]arratives and story-telling are forms particularly apt to become the locus of expression, construction and enactment of identity. Stories are told to make a point, to transmit a message often some sort of moral evaluation or implied critical judgment about the world the teller shares with people. (Ayometzi 2007, 44)

By means of narration, life stories become coherent and unitary, providing “a stable and continuous sense of self across time and space” (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2013, 160). The terms *storying* and *storied selves* refer to this function: the former, *storying*, defines how identity is created in narratives (Gabriel 2015, 283), while the latter, *storied*, is the result.

Through the stories they tell narrators display different selves: they can orient to their actions or feelings (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2013, 168), pass moral judgment on themselves or the other characters in their stories and recount past significant events to explain how they have changed into what they are, which

represents the difference between the old and the new self, or the narrated and the narrating self (Freeman 2015, 34).

2.6. Narratives in interviews

The research interview is defined as an account provided by the interviewee as the result of the questions asked by the interviewer (Slembrouck 2015, 241), a process whose result is a form of understanding called “narrative knowledging” (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2015, 5).

The interview is sometimes similar to a casual interaction with the respondent displaying the identity considered appropriate; the questions the interviewer asks usually focus on past relevant events in the interviewee’s life and the narrators adopt two positions towards the narration – the character in the narration (the told self) and the narrator himself (the telling self) (Depperman 2015, 383).

In the interviews presented below the researcher is also the interviewee’s teacher and the interviewees are students; the identity proposed is that of a student.

3. Data collection

The data presented below come from an interview that was conducted with seven students (six female students and one male student, all aged around 21) from the Faculty of Letters, from Transilvania University of Braşov. All the interviewees were third year undergraduate students, studying English as a major or minor subject combined with Romanian, German, or Chinese and ranking in the top quarter of their class.

The participants were asked if they would be willing to answer a few questions about their experience as students and they all agreed. Three of them opted for English as the language in which the interview was conducted and four for Romanian. The interviews took place over a period of two days and varied in length from 25 to 38 minutes.

The aim of the interview was to see how students perceived their university experience, which were the features, values, and qualities they appreciated most in relation to being a student, and how their university experience had changed them professionally and personally.

The interview was a structured one with some clarification or probing questions asked when deemed necessary.

The analysis below focuses on the narratives produced by the students’ answer to the second question of the interview phrased as: “Please tell me a story about an experience that you had which made you feel that you are a university student (be it a good or a bad experience)”.

4. Data analysis

This part of the paper presents the seven narratives and their analysis in terms of the narrative structure, values and identity features expressed by the respondents. The transcribing of the data was made by using the edited method.

4.1. The interviews

The seven interviews are presented and analysed below.

4.1.1. Student 1

The first respondent described her experience of the first oral exam. She was scared and perceived the teachers as very demanding; she mentioned that both herself and her colleagues were very stressed and some of them decided not to sit the exam. When S1 entered the examination room she felt she knew nothing, she couldn't remember anything she had learned and she could not speak:

It marked us all. The first oral exam in the first year; the other students were all very nervous. The teachers were demanding, we were anxious and some of us did not come at all to take the exam. I could not speak, I couldn't remember anything, I felt I did not know anything at all. I passed the exam.²

She remembered the experience as very strong and stressful. When describing the situation, the respondent talked about the exam referring to her colleagues (they all had the same feelings) and also to herself, the first person pronoun being repeated for four times.

4.1.2. Student 2

S2 also described one of the exams in the first session; the course had a long bibliographical list and the examiner asked questions about more books than the ones related to the subject S2 was supposed to speak about. What the respondent appreciated most about the experience was that he could answer, that he felt comfortable while doing so, spoke without interruptions and finished by enjoying the experience. The teacher listened to him with a blank expression and in the end gave very positive feedback:

² The translations of interviews 1, 3, 6 and 7 are my own throughout the article.

I'll talk about the first exam in the first session. The bibliography for the exam was long and the teacher asked questions about other topics too. We had a long conversation, we went in depth; it felt comfortable, like a smooth conversation, we talked uninterrupted. I could talk about the subject without thinking about anything else. The teacher gave us a topic about which we talked on and on; the teacher was looking at us blankly but in the end he gave positive feedback and praised us".

The respondent then described another exam from a different perspective, namely good organization. The students took the exam in a less familiar building of the university and they felt slightly lost on arrival. The teacher met and led them to the room where the exam was taken on computers:

We went to a more remote building of the university, somewhere on the outskirts of the city. It was chaotic at first, it felt we were in the middle of nowhere. Someone met us in the hallway and took us to a computer room where we wrote the exam. It was a bit hard, I was not well prepared; it felt formal but really well organized. I remember how happy I and my colleagues felt because we had passed the exam.

What brings the two exams to the respondent's memory is the happiness of having passed them, but, when asked to further describe the feeling, he mentions different reasons: for the former exam the satisfaction that he could do very well in a subject he liked and for the latter passing it. While for the first exam the respondent answered with "I", for the second he used "I and my colleagues".

The two experiences described share the topic, exams, but focus on different aspects – intellectual satisfaction (the respondent is pleased to talk about what he has learnt) and ability to cope with the stress (the teacher only gave feedback at the end of his answer). The second exam emphasizes a different aspect, namely very good organization and passing an exam whose topic is not one of the respondent's favourites.

4.1.3. Student 3

The third respondent talked about the experience she had during a seminar on literature; she started by saying that some of her Romanian literature classes in high school were similar but this first seminar at university was of a different intensity:

This was a dialogue based on text, an analysis from multiple perspectives, we were asked what we liked, identify parts of the text, asked to justify what we

were saying, we were directly involved, which does not always happen in high school. Mini research, analyses, we only do them as students... all the time. A positive and unique experience you have it only when you are a student.

S3 appreciated how students' critical and analytical skills were developed and the valuable and efficient method in which this was achieved. S3 describes the experience as a collective one – she uses “we”.

4.1.4. Student 4

Student 4 talked about her two months' experience in China, which she perceived as a professional and personal test.

In terms of professional development, she mentions self-motivation, increased responsibility, hard academic work, ability to do more than she initially thought she could do:

A life changing situation for me to go to the other side of the world [...] Facing challenges and stepping out of my comfort zone in a completely different universe. It showed us who we truly are as students and what we were capable of. A huge change in my life. As a student, I discovered in myself that you have to become 'like your own mother', in a way, push yourself, nobody is going to tell you what to do and how to do it. You have to be 'your own mother' in a way. Pushing, motivating. We went to university, we had classes, had exams.

She also talks extensively about her personal development: she learnt to look after herself, to solve difficulties, to overcome challenges such as getting the visa or changing the flights due to bad weather:

On a personal level I found out that I am more than what I believed I am; during the two months in China I discovered in myself that I am stronger than I thought, and that gave me motivation and self-confidence [...] When we went to China and even before we left Romania we had problems with getting the visa, the flight – we had bad weather, the flight was cancelled, we were at the other side of the world and we were on our own, didn't have anyone to ask help from.

The third aspect S4 described is the cultural experience; she enjoyed being in a culture completely different from what she was used to and for which she was not fully prepared:

It was my own choice to go to China [...] my dream was going to China, see everything that a person can imagine, or rather cannot imagine. When you go there it's completely different than what you see on TV.

S4 also uses a combination of first person pronouns in the singular and plural. She uses mainly “I” when referring to personal development and mainly “we” when she describes her academic experience on this exchange programme.

4.1.5. Student 5

Student 5 mentioned the first months at university, when she came to understand what topics were studied and how they were related to her future profession. S5 uses the first person pronoun while talking about this experience:

I learnt what being a student means from the first semester. I learnt that the things you study are more related to the speciality you chose. There were some classes I didn't think I would have but I ended up enjoying them. You end up studying more than you think in the beginning but also things that are useful to you or interesting. More specialized for what you're interested in. A particular subject – for example I didn't expect to have so many English classes, I thought the focus would be strictly on Chinese and maybe one or classes of English. I got used to it eventually - in the first month or two in the first semester.

4.1.6. Student 6

S6 began to answer the question by referring to both professional and personal changes, which she perceived as combined. She was head of the group, dealt with administrative issues for her colleagues, and lived in the student's halls of residence as she left her native town. She perceived these changes as closely impacting her personal development – she became more organized, more careful, a better communicator:

I am head of the group, I am more responsible, I check my mails more frequently, I did not do it before. [...] More responsible, I have to look after documents, keep in touch with administrative personnel, and inform my colleagues of many things... I used to be less organized.

Encouraged to talk about a particular experience, she described a written exam, which shocked her because of the tense atmosphere. The exam was administered

by a different teacher than the one who had taught the course and S6 perceived the invigilators as very strict in making sure that the students do not cheat. This attitude impressed the respondent to such an extent that she could not remember the topic after the exam finished:

If I think of an exam that traumatized me ... maybe traumatized is too much, I was rather scared, it was an exam during the first year. The teacher that administered the exam was new there was a second teacher in the room and they both seemed to want to make sure the students weren't cheating. I had no intention of cheating but was very scared when I say how they were looking at me. It was not the first exam, but it was one in the first session. I cannot remember even to this day which were the chapters I was supposed to write about. I cannot remember the topic of the exam. I passed it and I resat it in autumn when I took the exam with the teacher who taught the course and I got a better grade. It is the first time when I cannot remember the topic. I can remember everything else about all the other exams.

She passed it but decided to re-sit the exam because she wanted a higher grade.

Throughout her answer, S6 uses only the first person pronoun as the focus is on her own thoughts and reactions.

4.1.7. Student 7

Student 7 described her experience of writing the first project for an English literature subject: she had to read several books in English, write an academic essay, and observe the deadline. She remembered her doubts about being able to do the project. However, while working on it, she came to understand that she can do it and after receiving the grade she understood that she could do it well:

During the first year we had a project in English. I was not used to speaking or reading in English in high school. I became aware I am at a new level, the requirements were different. It was a moment what I asked myself whether this is the right course of studies for me. The fact that I made the project and got a good grade made me understand that it is difficult but I can do it. [...] I had to read five books in English – I hadn't read in English before, I did not know if I could read them all [the books], understand them, give references correctly, observe the academic requirements. While doing it I realized I can do it and the grade made me understand I can do it well.

4.2. Analysis of the narrative structure

The next two parts analyze the narrative structure of the students' stories and the identity elements students talked about.

All the seven narratives share the same temporal structure in terms of beginning, middle and end, the difference being that the middle parts vary in terms of length; there are five short ones – three related to exams, one to a seminar and one to writing a project, and two longer ones extending over two months – the time spent in China or the first semester. The narratives all describe a change from one state to another, undergone as the result of the respondents becoming university students.

The interviewees, now third year students, describe experiences undergone during the first year of study, their current perspective being that of more experienced and knowledgeable persons who look back and identify important moments in their evolution.

The seven narrators talk about experiences which illustrate how they have become students and tell stories about overcoming difficulties; they describe themselves as successful either because they self-validated or were externally validated by their teachers. Each of them talks about their experiences emphasizing different aspects – stress (S1, S6), intellectual enjoyment (S2, S3, S5, S7), personal and academic self-discovery (S4). All the stories are success stories and end with a positive self-evaluation as the narrators discover that they are good students, able to meet academic requirements successfully.

The master narrative under which these narratives can be entered is that of overcoming difficulties and change, of success stories.

4.3. Analysis of student's identity

One of the most frequently mentioned value is academic achievement: S1, S2, S6 and S7 speak about passing exams, accomplishing academic tasks, and being successful in their endeavour. Taking exams is one of the strongest experiences, which students evaluate as stressful but satisfying. The respondents enjoy the fact that they have learnt well, can display their knowledge and are positively evaluated by the teachers. Exams are described as a way of displaying intellectual freedom (S2), a source of stress (S1) or distress (S6), or appreciated in terms of their organization (S2). Students' academic efforts are validated and, if not pleased with the results obtained, they react – for example S6 resists the exam.

When speaking about exams, respondents generally refer to themselves when describing their feelings and to their colleagues when talking about the exam results.

Academic adjustment, defined as students' getting acquainted with the new courses subjects and teaching methods, is mentioned by S3 and S5; S5 appreciates the topics as relevant and meaningful for her future profession, while S3 considers that the teaching methods employed are characteristic of academic experience.

Personal development is also a value appreciated and mentioned by the respondents. S4 refers to acquiring skills such as looking after herself, motivating herself, setting herself deadlines and tasks, overcoming difficulties, managing on her own. S6 mentions becoming more responsible and better organized, learning to look after herself, meeting new people (in the hostel, in class, on the train), living away from her family, becoming a better communicator.

From the cultural experience perspective, S4 describes learning and living in a completely new environment as a test of self-strength and self-worth, which promotes self-discovery and self-understanding.

Several categories or domains of change can be identified in the seven narratives: academic, personal and cultural. The stories are all related to what made the interviewees feel that they are students. The broad categories are: academic adjustment, academic achievement, personal development in various areas, cultural experience; however, these categories often mix and are inter-dependent.

5. Conclusions

The value the interviewees mention most frequently is confidence in their professional and personal abilities. In academic terms, they refer to acquiring new skills – adjusting to a new environment, passing exams, participating in new types of classes, evaluating the subjects in the syllabus and the way the subjects are taught, or how exams are administered. The interviewees are confident about their self-worth and aware of their personal development: they have become responsible for themselves and others, have learnt how to overcome a variety of difficulties, how to do what is expected of them, how to undertake and carry out new duties responsibly, have become independent of their family.

The interviewees orient themselves to their student's identity speaking in individual terms (I) when they describe feelings and personal changes and in collective terms (we) mainly when they talk about exams. The respondents also mention other types of identities – personal, cultural, familial, which they perceive as connected to, and influenced by, their academic ones.

The students' narratives can be considered narratives of overcoming difficulties and self-development. The change from high-school to university triggers psychological changes at a professional and personal level.

The narrators all describe these transformations as beneficial. There is a significant difference between the narrated and the narrating self – the respondents' current perspective is that of experienced students, who know what being a student means and have come to associate this status with specific values. The students' stories can be considered anecdotes, as the respondents talk about a significant event and their reaction to it.

References

- Antaki, Charles and Sue Widdicombe. 1998. [2008]. "Identity as an Achievement and as a Tool." In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, 1–14. London and Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Ayometzi, Cecilia Castillo. 2007. "Storying as becoming. Identity through the telling of conversion." In *Selves and Identities in Narrative and Discourse, Studies in Narrative 9*, ed. by Michael Bamberg, Anna De Fina, and Deborah Schiffrin, 41–70. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bamberg, Michael, Anna de Fina, and Deborah Schiffrin. 2007. "Introduction to the Volume." In *Selves and Identities in Narrative and Discourse, Studies in Narrative 9*, ed. by Michael Bamberg, Anna De Fina, and Deborah Schiffrin, 1–8. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Barkhuize, Gary. 2015. "Narrative Knowledgeing in Second Language Teaching and Learning Contexts. In Storying as becoming. Identity through the telling of conversion." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* ed. by Anna de Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 97–116. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Benwell, Bethan and Elizabeth Stokoe. 2006. *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bruner, Jerome. 2003. "Self-making narratives." In *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self*, ed. by Robyn Fives and Catherine Haden, 209–225. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cohen, Leor. 2010. "A Tripartite Self-Construction Model of Identity." In *Telling Stories: Language, Narrative and Social Life*, ed. by Deborah Schiffrin, Anna de Fina, and Anastasia Nylund, 69–82. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- De Fina, Anna and Alexandra Georgakopoulou. 2013. *Analyzing Narrative. Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- De Fina, Anna. 2015. "Narrative and Identities." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 351–368. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

- De Fina, Anna and Alexandra Georgakopoulou. 2015. "Introduction." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 1-17. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Deppermann, Arnulf. 2015. "Positioning." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 369-387. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Edwards, Derek. 1998. [2008]. "The Relevant Think about Her: Social Identity Categories in Use." In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, 15-33. London and Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Freeman, Mark. 2015. "Narrative as a Mode of Understanding: Method, Theory, Praxis." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 21-37. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Gabriel, Yiannis. 2015. "Narratives and Stories in Organizational Life." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 275-292. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Gordon, Cynthia. 2015. "Narratives in Family Contexts." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 311-328. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Hyvärinen, Matti. 2015. "Analyzing Narrative Genres." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 178-193. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Page, Ruth. 2015. "The Narrative Dimensions of Social Media Storytelling: Options for Linearity and Tellership." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* ed. Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 329-348. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Slembrouck, Stef. 2015. "The role of the researcher in Interview Narrative." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 239-254. Malden, MA / Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.
- Widdicombe, Sue. 1998 [2008]. "Identity as an Analyst's and a participants' resource." In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, 191-206. London and Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Zimmerman, Don. 1998 [2008]. "Identity, Context and interaction." In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, 87-106. London and Thousand Oaks: Sage.