Comparing qualitative research methodologies for systemic research: the use of grounded theory, discourse analysis and narrative analysis

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Many of the qualitative research methods developed in the social sciences are well suited to explore research questions pertinent for the systemic field, and make a good fit with systemic thinking. In this paper I briefly outline the value of qualitative research for systemic psychotherapies. I explore some parallel developments in the field of qualitative research and systemic therapy which can inform each other. Three qualitative methodologies, a grounded theory approach, discourse analysis and narrative analysis, particularly useful for the research of subjective experience and meaning, are briefly outlined. To compare and contrast these methodologies, I discuss their application to a pilot study concerning the experiences of living life in more than one language. I demonstrate how each research methodology can highlight different aspects of qualitative research material and address different research questions. The challenge of how these methodologies may be further developed for systemic research is posed.

Introduction

Currently, four overarching research areas are pertinent for the systemic family therapy field; they may be described as follows: (1) does it work? (outcome studies) (2) how does it work? (process studies) (3) subjective experiences and aspects of family living significant for family therapy, and (4) the further development of research methodologies for systemic research.

Family therapy itself may be viewed as having developed initially from communication research conducted by teams led by Jackson and Bateson (cf. Watzlawick et al., 1968). We may consider these research projects as having explored an area of family living which had implications for the development of a new therapeutic approach.
As family therapy developed further and practitioners became ever more aware of the complexities of the multi-levelled systems in which therapists and families were embedded, clinicians seemed hampered by a lack of appropriate tools to research systemic therapy.

Family therapists’ consummate interest in feedback and more recently the demand for evidence-based treatments have driven the development and implementation of outcome studies, despite the challenges posed in relation to what to measure and how to measure it. These outcome studies are vital in ensuring family therapy’s place within the psychological therapies (see e.g. Carr, 2000; Cottrell, 2003; Cottrell and Boston, 2002; Law and Crane, 2000; Leff et al., 2000; Sprenkle, 2003). Such outcome studies are mainly carried out using quantitative measures and are located within objectivist realist paradigms (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) designed to carry weight with policymakers. Sprenkle (2003) summed up the strengths of the best of these research studies as being based on randomized clinical trials, using manualized methods underpinned by theoretical rationale, replicated and replicable, and using multiple outcome measures. Valuable as these outcome studies have been, they have often left researchers and clinicians with crucial questions concerning the processes of change and the applications of these findings to practice. Critiques have also been lodged concerning the construction and politics of ‘evidence’, and Larner (2004), for example, argues persuasively for systemic practice-based evidence.

In an attempt to subvert the polarization between outcome and process research, Pinsof (1989) once argued that therapy process research should really be considered the research of ‘small outcomes’. Quantitative methods have been used in process research (see e.g. Cederborg, 1994; Lemmens et al., 2003; Pote et al., 2003), where the use of questionnaires and content analysis highlights trends, but is unable to manage the variability and richness of the data available, the kind of data which qualitative research methodologies have been designed to analyse. Although open to the dangers of supporting dualities, we can think of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies as best suited to different kinds of research questions posed at different levels, for different audiences, but crucially inter-linked (Figure 1).

The types of research questions which qualitative research methodologies address are often open-ended and exploratory, aiming to generate hypotheses rather than to test them. Systemic clinicians often pose questions of this kind, asking how therapeutic change comes
about, and exploring subjective experience, meanings and processes pertinent to family therapy. Drawing a distinction between hypothesis-testing research, which aims to generalize its findings to particular populations, and hypothesis-generating research, which aims to generate theory, helps to highlight the complementarity between these two types of research. An outcome study can point to questions concerning process best tackled by a qualitative hypothesis-generating study, and an explorative study generates ideas which merit further examination in a hypothesis-testing outcome study. Although quantitative and qualitative research methods are located in different epistemological paradigms they can provide helpfully different perspectives for each other.

**Qualitative research methodologies**

Many of the qualitative research methodologies developed in psychology, sociology and anthropology are applicable to researching the subjective experiences and processes which preoccupy systemic practitioners. It is also striking that some of the dilemmas addressed by qualitative researchers echo struggles in the systemic field, and I look at some of these overlaps in this paper, and how they may inform each other.
The application of qualitative methodologies to researching family therapy processes has already proved fruitful (see e.g. Coulehan et al., 1998; Couture and Sutherland, 2004; Friedlander et al., 1994; Frosh et al., 1996; Gerhard, 2001; Helmeke and Sprenkle, 2000; Kogan, 1998; Kogan and Gale, 1997; Sprenkle and Moon, 1996). However, it has been hard to find a comparison of different methodologies in the qualitative research literature, and what they can accomplish with the same research material. This paper aims to contribute by applying three different research methodologies to the same qualitative data to highlight their differences.

Developing a research question

The most crucial development aspect of the research process (whether qualitative or quantitative) is the research question; yet ironically, it is also the least well described in the literature. Without a well-honed research question, framed so that it is possible to carry out, a qualitative researcher is in danger of losing their way and of becoming ensnared in the enormous quantity of detail of the research material. For systemic clinicians embarking on a qualitative study this is particularly the case, because patterns, relationships and processes at so many different levels of context are considered relevant. A good research question needs to be supported by a clear rationale, as it will by necessity have to leave out aspects considered important to a systemic thinker.

Issues for the clinician as research interviewer

If, as I did, researchers decide to use interviews to explore the research question and generate data, they face particular issues as systemic clinicians. Qualitative research interviewing has mainly moved away from using a format where questions had to be asked in a particular order, rigidly adhered to even when the questions may already have been answered earlier in the interview. Qualitative researchers tend to use an interview format as a guide, hence the term ‘semi-structured’, to ensure that they cover particular areas, but leave room to follow feedback idiosyncratically so as to explore more particular meanings with research participants.

Systemic clinicians have considerable advantages as researchers in that they are almost all extremely skilled interviewers, trained to follow feedback and unpack meanings, able to entertain and elicit

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multiple and contradictory perspectives, and to keep an eye on themselves as interviewers. Clinicians, too, are aware that questions are interventive; they know that an interview does not just elicit a story already known, but often contributes to the construction of a new account with its own effects. It makes sense to clinicians to take these effects into account and build in ethical ways to manage them. This raises important questions about whether a research participant can ever really give ‘informed’ consent (Vetere, Personal Communication). However, what may pose a dilemma for clinicians carrying out a qualitative research interview is how to make a distinction between responding as a researcher and as a therapist. The recognition of moments in a research interview when they feel drawn to follow feedback as therapists are important to monitor, and these can sometimes be identified in research transcripts with the help of research colleagues and peers. Therapy and research each involve very different tasks which incorporate different kinds of permission, even though research interviews can sometimes have therapeutic effects (or indeed, damaging ones, if researchers do not pay attention to their effects).

The construction of a research interview schedule will be influenced by the researcher’s ideas both about what is relevant to explore in a particular area and about what it is possible to elicit in an interview, as well as by the kind of analysis the researcher envisages using. Here pilot interviews come into their own to provide feedback to the researcher about the feasibility of their interview format and to monitor the impact of the questions formulated to explore the issues. Asking research participants to reflect on their experiences of the questions and the interview process, and any significant absences, can be extremely helpful.

**Reflexivity in qualitative research**

Many recent developments within qualitative research have paralleled those in the systemic field, including the incorporation of ideas from social constructionism and constructivism, and an emphasis on the use of self-reflexivity. Just as systemic therapists’ personal and theoretical assumptions have come under the spotlight, so Guba and Lincoln (1994) have examined different research paradigms to highlight the various assumptions and beliefs researchers bring to their research work with regard to questions of ontology (what can be known about) and epistemology (the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known). They have argued that all research is shaped

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by these fundamental questions, determining how the researcher sets about finding out whatever they believe can be known.

The importance of scrutinizing one’s assumptions and values as researcher and of examining their impact throughout the research process has been addressed by a number of qualitative researchers (Burck and Frosh, 1994; Steier, 1991; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). As the development and maintenance of self-reflexivity in different relationships and in different contexts is an ongoing challenge within systemic practice, these research writings bear directly on familiar struggles.

Qualitative research situated within the social constructionist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) considers research data, such as the accounts of research participants, as ‘constructed’ within a particular research context, rather than as an objective reflection of ‘reality’. It draws on the idea that our ways of knowing are negotiated through social interactions over time and in relation to social structures, contexts and resources which support or indeed suppress these ways of knowing (Shotter, 1993). This has led to a consideration of the ways the relationship between the researcher and the research participants affect the ‘production’ of the research material, similar to the emphasis in systemic therapy on the therapist’s contributions to what is brought forth in therapeutic sessions. The ways in which the researcher is positioned as similar and different to the research participants, in relation to culture, class, ‘race’, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation and ability, also need to be taken into account, alongside an attention to context (Fine, 1994; Jorgenson, 1991; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996).

Ethical issues in the research process have also been highlighted, particularly in relation to issues of ‘representing the other’ (Fine, 1994; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996), requiring the examination and scrutiny of ways that research interviewing and analysis might avoid replicating unhelpful processes of ‘othering’. Some qualitative researchers have tried to make the process of their research more transparent, while others have invited participants to become ‘co-researchers’, incorporating their comments on the research transcripts and analysis into the work. These developments attempt to address, but do not dissolve, the tensions, complexities and inequalities of the research relationship. These struggles in the research field reflect the debates in the systemic therapy field concerning power relationships – whether and how it is possible to develop more collaborative approaches. Here qualitative research and systemic
therapy domains can inform each other fruitfully about how the tensions in working across power differentials may be managed.

The study

In order to illustrate what three different research methodologies can offer systemic researchers, I will use research data from a pilot study exploring the experiences of speaking more than one language.

The systemic therapy field had mainly neglected the impact of living life in more than one language despite its focus on language and narrative (e.g. White and Epston, 1990). It seemed important for those who speak more than one language to have their experiences taken into account. There were indications from clinical work (Burck, 1997; de Zulueta, 1990, 1995), research (Grosjean, 1982; Romaine, 1989) and autobiographies (Hoffman, 1989; Said, 1999; Sante, 1998) that multilingual individuals have different experiences in their different languages. Much of the research carried out in the area of ‘bilingualism’ tended to have a negative focus and worked with a deficit model (Romaine, 1989). Traditionally linguistic research neglected speakers’ subjective experiences as well as the impact of the wider context.

My study set out to research the subjective experiences and relational issues of speaking more than one language, with the aim of highlighting their implications for therapists (see Burck (2004; 2005) for a fuller account of the research). The research study is a qualitative one, situated within a social constructionist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), aiming to explore experiences, processes and meanings. The research participants’ accounts and the ways they choose to present themselves are viewed as shaped by the research context.

Research participants were interviewed individually using a semi-structured interview constructed from questions raised by the literature and both personal and professional experiences. The interview explored the circumstances of the individual’s language learning and their effects. It examined language use and experience in different relationships and contexts. Questions of linguistic and cultural identifications were also posed.

To demonstrate the research methodologies, I will draw on transcribed interview material from the pilot study of three women and three men, none of whom spoke English as a first language. Two of the group were from minority ethnic groups and had moved countries
when they were young children, and had learned a second language in a context of racism and marginalization; three were white Europeans who had moved to Britain in late adolescence or younger adulthood; a fourth white European lived in his country of origin but has spent two periods living elsewhere. All the research participants spoke more than two languages.

**Research methodologies**

Three of the qualitative research methodologies which seemed particularly applicable for systemic research – a grounded theory approach, discourse analysis and narrative analysis – were used. Of these methodologies a grounded theory approach offers a framework for carrying out the research as well as for the analysis of the data, while discourse analysis and narrative analysis offer ways to analyse qualitative research material. These methodologies have been developed for use mainly in individual research interviews, and I will return to this point below.

**Grounded theory approach**

A grounded theory approach, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in opposition to hypothesis-testing research, was designed to help researchers elicit and analyse qualitative data to identify important categories in the material with the aim of generating ideas and theory ‘grounded’ in the data. The approach, further developed more recently by, among others, Rennie *et al.* (1988), Charmaz (1995) and Henwood and Pidgeon (1996), is particularly appropriate for discovery-oriented research in areas which are under-theorized. The approach is suited to the analysis of accounts which include diversities as well as similarities. A grounded theory approach may be used both by researchers using a social constructionist paradigm and by those who are located in a positivist epistemology, the latter treating the data as a more straightforward representation of ‘reality’.

The grounded theory approach has had a huge impact on qualitative research interviewing, with its notion of using the data analysis of the first interviews to modify the interview format in order to explore certain concepts in more depth. This recursive and iterative process is one that fits well with systemic practice, in which feedback informs and shapes further enquiry.
Although Glaser and Strauss (1967) proposed that it was both possible and necessary to approach text without any prior hypotheses, I agree with more recent grounded theory researchers such as Henwood and Pidgeon (1996) and Charmaz (1995) that this is an impossibility – researchers’ implicit hypotheses and theoretical interests will always have an influence. Borrowing therefore from techniques developed in systemic therapy, it seems important as a researcher to attempt to make explicit one’s hypotheses, often developed from personal and professional experience and the literature. One way to identify a researcher’s prior assumptions and ideas is to set up an interview by a peer researcher, through which significant contexts which bear on the topic may be highlighted. The idea behind this is that clarifying the hypotheses one already holds will free up the researcher to adopt a different relationship to these ideas and, through the use of a grounded theory approach, to discover other categories and concepts in the data. Similar to that of the systemic therapist, therefore, the task for the qualitative researcher is to find ways to maintain self-reflexivity – to own their ideas and to bypass them in analysing the material, so that one does not discover what one already knew or hoped to find!

The techniques of keeping a research diary and memo writing throughout the research process offer a useful format to maintain researcher reflexivity. A grounded theory analysis begins with a line-by-line coding of the written text, identifying descriptive categories which are constantly compared for similarities and differences. These in turn are clustered or merged in order to construct researcher categories at a more conceptual and interpretive level. These categories, in turn, are used to re-examine the data to further elaborate the concepts analysed. Throughout the analysis the researcher writes memos to clarify creative leaps made when linking, merging or splitting categories and to record emerging theoretical reflections, which help make and keep the process of the analysis transparent, and maintain a self-reflexive stance.

As a grounded theory approach lends itself to the exploration of under-theorized areas, this methodology may be applied to many areas of enquiry relevant to systemic clinicians. The strength of a grounded theory approach lies in its ability to aid a researcher to generate theory about processes and to develop conceptual analyses of social worlds. As Pidgeon (1996) argued, it is an approach which enables researchers to conduct contextually sensitive research. The recursive sequences between the tasks of analysis and of enquiry,
and the attention paid to contradictions and variability, fit well with systemic practices.

The first step in a grounded theory analysis is to begin to identify descriptive categories in the transcribed research interview as soon as data collection has begun. I began the analysis by identifying phrases to form descriptive categories, sometimes multiple categories. The constant comparison of these categories with each other enabled their linking (itself a systemic process) and the identification of emerging researcher concepts.

Table 1 gives one example of the construction of a researcher category of ‘adapting too much’ from descriptive categories generated from extracts of the interviews. These categories influence the direction of the subsequent interviews so that the emerging concepts may be explored more fully. They are also used in the analysis of subsequent interviews alongside the ongoing process of generating further categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Researcher category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My first words to the baby were English . . . I adapted so quickly to the environment that it was not natural any more to speak my [first language] to the baby.</td>
<td>Not speaking first language to children</td>
<td>Adapting too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I speak English with hardly any accent – in a way, that isn’t natural.</td>
<td>No accent in second language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I didn’t value my [first language/culture] enough.</td>
<td>Not valuing first language enough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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To illustrate the process of the construction of researcher categories further, I use extracts from two research participants who had moved countries when they were young children and learned another language in a country which did not value their first language (Table 2).

The categories I coded from these extracts were ‘embarrassment about first language’ and ‘emphasis on second language, neglect of first language’. Linking these categories together I constructed a researcher category, ‘learning a second language at a cost’.

Several research participants described experiences of learning another language through moving countries in adolescence or adulthood,
and recounted stories in which others had made mistaken assumptions about them in Britain and the effects this had on them (Table 3).

These extracts were coded as markers for a different experience of self – incidents which made individuals aware of their freedom from the constraints of their first language and culture. The research
category I constructed was ‘learning another language as opportunity to be different’.

The use of a grounded theory approach to analyse the data in the pilot enabled the identification of important concepts which merited further exploration in the main study. The two researcher categories, ‘learning another language as cost’ and ‘learning another language as opportunity’, could be further explored and linked to different levels of context – experiences of self and the wider societal context. The exploration of what kinds of markers act as opportunity and which as constraint and in which contexts seemed useful to pursue. A grounded theory method enables the researcher to explore such concepts further through subsequent interviews, exploring variability through ‘theoretical sampling’, as well as ensuring the opportunity to discover new categories, until no new categories or concepts are generated.

Grounded theory research offers a helpful framework for systemic researchers to conduct their analysis of qualitative research data, such as therapy sessions and research interviews. Many of its processes reflect those of systemic practice – the ways in which feedback is taken into account in the building of the research enquiry and in the researcher activity of making connections between categories, and moving between levels.

**Discourse analysis**

Discourse analysis (Burman and Parker, 1993; Gill, 1996; Potter, 1996; Wetherell et al., 2001a, 2001b) provides a different focus from grounded theory analysis for examining meanings in research interviews, texts or therapy sessions. It offers a way to scrutinize the ‘orderly ways of talking’ with which individuals account for and make sense of themselves and their social worlds (Shotter, 1993). A basic tenet of discourse analysis is that people use language to construct versions of the social world; that language is not a neutral and transparent medium through which people are able to express themselves, but is constitutive. Identity is not seen as a fixed entity, but as constituted and reconstituted through discourses and descriptions (Davies and Harré, 1997; Wetherell, 1998), although material and discursive aspects are seen to be crucially linked. Discourse analysts seek to identify the discourses and interpretive repertoires that individuals draw on to make sense of their world, and to examine their consequences and limitations. Discourse is here regarded as a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images and stories (Burr, 1995), and as an institutionalized use of language (Davies & Harré, 1997) which produces
particular versions of events and the social world. Discourse analysis is located in a social constructionist paradigm. The focus of discourse analysis fits well with systemic psychotherapists' interest in language and dominant and subjugated meanings (White and Epston, 1990), and offers a framework for the deconstruction of meanings.

Discourse analysis involves a close scrutiny of language to examine the ways in which certain themes and topics are discussed, allowing some ways of thinking, and undermining and excluding others. Discourse analysts ask questions about language such as: What actions does this piece of talk perform? What accounts are individuals trying to construct in interaction with each other? How do these accounts change as contexts change? (Wetherell and White, 1992). These are questions close to the heart of systemic psychotherapy and practice.

The first step in discourse analysis is the selection of fragments of the text that have a bearing on the research question. Relevant themes can often be identified by reading the text closely and using a grounded approach. Once selections from the data have been made, there are three main components to the analysis. The researcher first examines the text in relation to how language is used to ‘construct’ the ideas or information. Second, the researcher looks for variability – the inconsistencies of meaning in the constructions and the assumptions they reveal. The third component is to highlight the implications of a particular account, to examine what the discourse achieves. As with a grounded theory approach, discourse analysts often engage other researchers to scrutinize the text and their analysis, much as the team behind the screen offer the therapist perspectives on the ways they are co-constructing the talk. This offers a way to take into account researcher activity in the research process, as well as to judge the persuasiveness of the analysis.

To illustrate what a discourse analysis can identify, a selection of text from the pilot interviews has been made in which the research participants use the concept of 'natural'. Employing a discourse analysis, the researcher poses questions about the effects of the use of the term ‘natural’, what it supported and what it undermined, and examines relationships between individual talk and societal repertoires.

First, I scrutinized the implications of the use of ‘natural’ in different extracts.

Because we go to school from age 2 and a half, so we get in touch quite early with [our second language], so it becomes fairly, to us as a natural language.
This research participant draws on the idea of ‘natural’ within a developmental frame, a language learned when young becomes ‘natural’.

She [mother] is not so fluent in speaking it and you can feel that there’s an effort to find the right words, it’s not so natural.

Here the use of ‘natural’ makes a distinction between language used fluently and that used self-consciously, with effort, and in this use invokes the idea of the ‘native speaker’ who speaks with ease, with just the right kind of intonation, accent and phrasing. A notion of ’not natural’ is used in the talk of another participant (see earlier extract) in relation to not having an accent in English, her second language, through which she positions herself as unusual, possibly even problematic. Here an idea about ‘normal’ ways of speaking a second language is drawn on in opposition to the idea of a ‘native speaker’.

Between them [my mother and stepfather] the easiest language and the most natural one is [our/their first language], but he [stepfather] and I speak [our second language] because that’s the natural language between us.

In this extract the term ‘natural’ is used to convey that certain relationships are conducted in certain languages. ‘Natural’ and ‘ease’ again become conflated, but may also invoke a developmental frame – the language in which a relationship was first developed comes to feel ‘natural’.

I talked [my first language] to [my son] naturally when he was a baby.

It was not natural anymore to speak [my first language] to the baby.

These two women use a construction of ‘natural’ in relation to speaking with their babies. Drawing on a discourse of what is ‘natural’ here invokes ideas about mothering, itself usually considered as ‘natural’ rather than ‘constructed’ (Phoenix and Woollet, 1991). The notion of ‘mother tongue’ with its associations, among others, of intimacy and emotional truths, also comes into play here, and these women may be seen to be positioning themselves in this interpretive repertoire.

However, the research participants also drew on a discourse of ‘natural’ in a more indirect way. All of the following research participants spoke at least three languages and four of the participants made a point of defining themselves as not good at languages.

I have never been so good in languages [laughs].

I was absolutely, really, extremely bad in English.

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I began to learn English but I was never good at it.

I wasn’t that keen on languages at school.

It seemed pertinent that this group volunteered this information about themselves. In these descriptions the research participants draw on a discourse concerning a natural talent for languages and position themselves as not having it. The discourse of language ability as natural talent, the idea that only certain people have a natural ability for learning language, is particularly prevalent in Britain and is drawn on by many individuals to warrant their own state of monolingualism. Here, the research participants may be viewed as attempting to unsettle this discourse – they are not naturals yet they can speak different languages. However, they do not do this explicitly (unless we count the first participant’s ironic laugh as challenge).

What do the uses of a discourse of what is ‘natural’ omit? Other researchers and feminist theorists (e.g. Marshall, 1991) have drawn attention to the ways our society constructs certain activities and of being as natural which hides, indeed denies, their construction. The discourse of natural language use and ‘natural’ language ability locates language speaking in the individual. What it disallows is the idea that languages are learned mainly through necessity. The effects of this discourse are to make invisible the circumstances which shape and influence the ways languages are learned and used, the power relationships involved, as well as socio-historical conditions through which certain linguistic practices become dominant and legitimate. In Britain these effects include normalizing and legitimating monolingualism in English.

Like many systemic therapists, discourse analysts are concerned with the interweaving of discourse, power and subjectivity. They focus on the ways societal discourses are taken up in personal interactions and how discourse is shaped through power relationships, and examine its effect on social identity and relations, and systems of knowledge. For researchers and systemic clinicians, the notion of ‘discursive practices’ addresses questions of agency through critically examining ways individuals position themselves and are positioned in and through language.

**Narrative analysis**

Given the prevalence of narrative systemic approaches, narrative analysis as a research method fits well with therapeutic preoccupations.
in the field. Narrative analysis (Gee, 1991; Kirkman, 1997; Riessman, 1993, 2001) focuses on the way individuals present their accounts of themselves and views self-narrations both as constructions and claims of identity (Linde, 1993).

There are many different kinds of narrative analysis, informed by narrative theory. Ricoeur (1985) has argued that we are compelled to use narrative to make sense of our lived experience, and that we draw on the forms and genres of narrative available to us to ‘emplot’ our own story of self. Riessman (1993) gives a clear account of narrative analysis and describes three different approaches. In the life story method, the analyst constructs/translations an account from the text of the interview – the researcher retells the person’s account as if in their shoes and then examines this story. A narrative analysis may then examine how accounts are ‘emplotted’ and which genres individuals draw on. Plot-lines may be contrasted across interviews and particular attention paid to points where the expected story-lines are disrupted. A second type of analysis selects a sequence of core narratives within an interview, and examines their structure (cf. Labov, 1972) and the thematic connections between them. A third kind of narrative analysis involves re-transcribing the narrative as poetic stanzas which enables the analysis of its organizing metaphors (cf. Gee, 1991), and can reveal new meanings in and of the account. The type of narrative analysis chosen depends on what the researcher wants to examine and why, which in turn influences the way text is selected and analysed.

Because a narrative analysis examines how people construct their self-accounts, it seemed particularly useful for scrutinizing how individuals whose experiences are embedded in different languages give an account of themselves; in particular, whether and how they manage their different senses of self. Viewing my research interview as an invitation to present a self-narrative in the context of language, I thought it was informative to consider the whole interview as an extended narrative account.

To analyse Amelie’s account, I focused on her descriptions of herself in order to identify the genres she drew on. Taken overall, Amelie presented herself as an individual engaged in a process of self-development, drawing on the genre of the ‘quest’ (McIntyre, 1981). This genre has a long tradition in Western culture; a tale of a search for a special treasure or goal involving many hazards along the way, of challenges, tests, dilemmas and trials demanding courage and endurance.
Presenting herself as someone who had not been happy as an adolescent, Amelie views moving countries as providing new opportunities for her development: ‘Speaking a different language and living in a different country allows you to be a different person.’ However, she also questions whether she has taken the wrong pathway, avoiding ‘real’ trials and setting up a ‘false’ quest in its place.

It regrettably became an achievement in itself. . . . To go and live and work here allowed me to avoid getting involved with other bits of life that would have been useful for me to do. . . . It had an added quality of something that had to be taken on [pause] in a way to begin with, it was a kind of, a sort of achievement in itself, for better or for worse.

Amelie’s story of her quest for self-development is a narrative of ‘progression’, a genre privileged in our society. In her quest in a new language and culture, a challenge arises in trying to manage ways to connect her past with her present self.

It was the difference between being there and here . . . I had to make an effort to hold things together. The core is the same, it’s me, it probably [pause] but by itself it created some tension within me, and I suppose, then, in relation to others.

Amelie views herself as failing a test of trying to manage tensions of speaking two languages. Her account is powerfully shaped by the notion of a ‘unitary self’ – ‘the core is the same, it’s me’. A ‘unitary self’ experiences multiplicities and contradictions as tensions rather than valued complexities.

I think that I found it just too difficult to hold together, the speaking [my first language] to [my daughter] in that one to one, and had another relationship when we were altogether, so either we had to speak English, or [my husband] wouldn’t understand, so I abandoned it really.

Amelie blames herself for not valuing her culture enough, an individual failure in an individual quest, leaving out of her account the relational and contextual factors which profoundly shape her experience and predispose her to personalize a contextual matter. Her husband was dismissive of her first language and culture. Amelie’s context did not support a narrative of contradictions and complexities.

A different narrative construction is evident on examining Carla’s presentation of self. Like Amelie, Carla moved to Britain in late adolescence, and views this as having allowed her to develop in new
ways. However, she constructs herself as having developed different selves in different languages.

But all the understanding that I had gained in English, I hadn't transferred to the [first language] me at all. That was still the, the troublesome teenager locked away into a world of her own there.

She also describes experiences of different selves within her first language.

I think the [first language self] was certainly the stepchild somehow or other, and even there, there were different ages within that, I mean the whole thing, because some of the beliefs I held I knew weren't really valid, but I still believed them very much, although I knew it was nonsense, but I still, so even there, the freezing of the characters within my [first language] side had always been in, nicely in pigeon-holes really.

Carla refers to her attempts to link her different senses of self which accompanies her recent renewed engagement with her first language.

And then all of a sudden, I had to make very fast connections, and actually see that, in order that, because otherwise I was completely out of balance. And that was quite, quite a difficult thing to do but [indistinct] getting there.

In contrast to Amelie who uses a construct of a ‘unitary self’, Carla’s self-account encompasses multiple selves. Carla is explicit about her sense of her multiplicity, and preoccupied with making connections between these subjectivities which she has experienced as separate. These two different narratives of self raise questions about the processes of their construction and their effects on individuals and their relationships.

Gee’s (1991) method of re-transcribing narrative sequences as poetic stanzas, in order to analyse their organizing metaphors, was one which I thought could help in exploring how language and culture interact in the constructions of identities/narratives. Davi, a research participant who had moved countries as a young child and again as an adolescent, presented himself as someone who has fluidly changed identities over time as well as experiencing himself differently in different contexts. I selected an extract where I had asked how Davi defined himself culturally:

A rootless cosmopolitan [laughter].

I don’t reflect much on my identity,
and it isn’t a problem (refrain) for me.

Um formally I have dual nationality, I have a [ ] passport and a British passport. But I don’t feel English myself and um and I know that people don’t regard me as English. First of all with a name like Davi you are clearly not English, and secondly I speak English with a slight foreign accent.

But that doesn’t pose (refrain) the slightest problem for me, because I’m completely comfortable living in England and that’s where I would choose to live. There’s nowhere else in the world that I would want to live, because I like British society and I like the country, um I feel completely at home here, and I have privacy here, much more privacy than I would have in [ ]

um so it really (refrain) isn’t a problem.

Gee’s poetic transcription revealed important organizing themes in the self-account which would have been missed otherwise. The most striking feature of re-transcribing this extract is the highlighting of what I have called the ‘refrain’ – the juxtaposition of Davi’s account with a problematic one – as if he feels others would consider it so (and indeed there is much evidence that British society does). In this account the refrain may be read either as challenging a dominant discourse or as over-organized by it, or even both.

Davi’s construction of ‘home’, privileging notions of privacy, choice, comfort and a liking for the society, counters and challenges dominant notions of ‘home’, such as rootedness and belonging, and
unsettles hegemonic notions of England. Examining such constructions of self and of ‘home’ in subsequent interviews might reveal and generate other alternative constructs.

These various uses of narrative analysis draw attention to the different ways research participants constructed themselves in the research interview. Narrative analysis helps the researcher to examine issues of self-presentation in an overall way, which a grounded theory and discourse analysis miss through their focus at a different level. For the systemic narrative field, the use of narrative analysis can illuminate the ways in which narrative accounts are constructed as well as their links to societal templates. The ability to pay attention to narratives and their constructedness in this way has enormous potential to inform the ways in which these are explored within therapy.

**Self-reflexivity as research interviewer**

As discussed earlier in this paper, the challenge of maintaining reflexivity throughout the research process is vital in qualitative research of this kind. Research in a social constructionist paradigm calls on the researcher to take responsibility for their own positioning (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), similar to systemic practice. An examination of the interactional processes in the research interviews can help highlight researcher effects, themes neglected, and areas opened up and closed down.

Examining the transcripts, I identified that I ask individuals to consider contextual influences particularly at points when a research participant constructs a ‘self-blaming’ account. When Amelie described herself as not valuing her culture enough, I asked about her context.

*CB:* But do you think there were people around who would have contributed to your valuing it?

*Amelie:* Yes.

*CB:* You did have people?

*Amelie:* No. not here, I didn’t have any [first language] friends.

*CB:* So pretty hard, hard to value it.

I have been concerned to counter the negativity associated with ‘bilingualism’, and to elicit descriptions of alternative experiences which have remained invisible and neglected. When Davi gives an answer with a negative connotation – ‘I don’t think language was an
inhibiting factor in that relationship’ – I ask the opposite to try and reverse this frame. When he persists with the language of ‘problem’, I stay with the reversal and ask about advantages.

CB: And you said there wasn’t ever a problem, do you think there were any advantages?

It is important to make these kinds of researcher contributions transparent, as they are most often left out of research accounts. Clinicians who become researchers are often struck by a contrast between research and therapy interviews; how a research stance can open up areas of enquiry in new ways (if, that is, they can avoid trying to prove something). ‘Doing curiosity’ without a responsibility for change enables conversations of a different order, with researchers following research participants’ feedback more closely and being more exploratory. This can enable the research participants to discover significant connections for themselves in the area of the research. It may also provoke clinicians to find ways to incorporate such a positioning into therapy processes in more ongoing ways.

Conclusion

The three research methodologies described briefly in this paper offer a great deal to systemic research, particularly to explore the rich research data of therapy and family processes. The three methods of analysis bring forth different aspects of the qualitative research data, examine different levels of the research material, and are able to explore different questions.

The use of a grounded theory approach in this pilot study identified pertinent themes and concepts in the data which could be linked together and theorized to be explored further in research (as well as in therapy). Its strength lies in the framework it offers, the step-by-step guidelines for scrutinizing qualitative material (which can often feel overwhelming in terms of quantity and variability), ways to bypass researcher hypotheses, and to build up theoretical concepts ‘grounded’ in the research material. The recursive cycles built into a grounded theory method and the ways connections are sought between research categories to construct concepts may be considered systemic processes. The methodology fits for systemic researchers, not only in how it can help theorize processes and social worlds relevant for therapy, but also in its congruence. The approach lends itself well
to studies such as those which aim to explore individuals’, families’ and therapists’ experiences of therapy, and may be used to analyse family therapy sessions. Rafuls and Moon (1996) used a grounded theory method to explore family therapists’ practice.

Discourse analysis was used with this pilot data to examine how these individuals used particular language and its effects. The use of a discourse of ‘natural’ language use and ‘natural’ language ability was identified. The identification of such discourse alerts therapists and researchers to their own use and its implications, and makes it possible to question and search for alternatives. Discursive analytic methodologies, of which there are now a variety (see Wetherell et al. (2001a, 2001b) for a recent overview) offer rigorous tools to examine language and its use, always the central concern of systemic narrative therapists. Discourse analysis has been applied to researching the process of change in family therapy, demonstrating ways in which discourse use changes during therapy (see e.g. Burck et al., 1998; Frosh et al., 1996), and enables clinicians to identify their own and others’ discourses in order that these may be addressed explicitly. The application of discourse analysis to family interaction, such as Killian’s (2002) study of the way inter-racial couples draw on dominant and subjugated discourses in their communication, and Tseliou’s (2004) research identifying ways in which intercultural couples make use of ethnic stereotypes as resources in their talk, provide pertinent insights for systemic clinicians.

Narrative analysis was used in this study to examine how individuals accounted for themselves and their experiences, how they reflected on their multiplicities and contradictions, and how they positioned themselves in relation to dominant notions of self. It highlighted the very different ways in which individuals presented themselves and this merited further exploration. It identified how individuals drew on particular societal genres in constructing their self-account. A methodology which looks systematically at the way individuals account for themselves is particularly useful for systemic narrative therapists, through identifying the forms of narrative, how individuals emplot their experience, and its implications. Stern et al.’s (1999) narrative analysis of interviews with family members caring for an individual with psychotic episodes identified the disruption of expected story-lines, with implications for therapeutic interventions. Although they come from different traditions, narrative analysis and narrative therapy seem to be made for each other.
Each of these qualitative methodologies continues to be elaborated by qualitative researchers. These three methodologies have, on the whole, usually been applied in the context of individual interviews, as they have in this study. Because systemic clinicians are highly skilled at paying attention to the processes and the complexities of interactions, it is they who seem most qualified to develop these qualitative methodologies further for use in interactional ways, and so to make significant contributions to the burgeoning field of qualitative research.

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References


