Carry Forth the Stories of Others: Oral and Life History Interviewing and Re-telling

16 April 2005 (last revised 22 March 2018)

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Our premise is rather straightforward. As a humanity, we are the stories we tell. In her Dancing at the Edge of the World, Ursula Le Guin states, "[t]o learn to speak is to learn to tell a story (1989:39). At the very core of our interactions with one another and the worlds around us, we are *Homo narrans* – we are storytellers. "Story" refers to the fundamental symbols, words, values and teachings, the distinguishing cultural character pervading a portion or the entirety of a society and its various institutions, as well as each individual participant of those social conventions. Story can be inclusive of both mythic and historic significances, as well as aesthetic and empirical meanings. And embedded within our stories are the single most important influence on the behaviors we exhibit and the worlds we create, our "values" and "teachings." To borrow a metaphor from the Indigenous peoples of this land, a story is like "a living being" (Frey and Schitsu'umsh 2001:191 and Frey 2017:39). Stories have flexible, living flesh and muscle, and steadfast, firm bones. Going to the core, deep within, the bones of a story are the essential values and teachings, the philosophical principles that define a story. On the surface, most immediate and visible, is the flesh and muscle, the formats we use to re-tell the story, our oral storytelling techniques and/or writing styles, that seek ultimately to reanimate and bring the story alive, so others can engage and participate in the narrative.

In the "bones" of the stories are embedded the primary qualities of how we came to be, our origins, and what we can become, our destiny. At the core of our stories, embedded within the marrow of the bones, are what the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene Indians) call the *miyp* "teachings from all things" (Frey 2017:36), that define who we are, what the world is and how we are to relate to that world. Our ways of knowing, our epistemologies, our ways of motivating, our psychologies, and our right and wrong, our ethics, are found deep within. Our

aesthetic, our religious, our economic and our scientific images of plant, animal, earth, star, and of their origin, dynamics and destiny are framed in our stories. Through the stories, we learn and re-affirm our basic cultural values of time and space, causation and being, our ontologies, and give meaning to all aspects of our lives. In the stories we tell, *we are*.

We carry forth our stories and with them create our social institutions, our ways of behaving toward each other. Family, church, school, recreation, art, government, economy, science, technology, work is all animated, structured and given meaning through our stories. Certainly, our politics are informed and guided by such dominate narratives as "conservative" or "progressive," and "nationalist" or "globalist," among other storylines. We celebrate and reinvigorate our stories at every opportunity: in Sunday worship at church or at a football stadium, in a graduation commencement or each Friday after work at the local bar, in a high school class or family reunion, in a hard-earned job promotion or vacation cruise to the Caribbean. We retell and renew our stories at each juncture in our lives: at birth, at each birthday, at marriage, at divorce, and most importantly, at our death. Our lives are inundated with and brought forth by our acts of telling stories.

We carry forth our stories and with them create each immediate, day-to-day view of the world about us and our ways of behaving as we interact in the immediacy of each other. How we define a landscape, the rush of water in a river, a sunset, a thunderstorm, the howl of a coyote, the flight of an eagle, the ant that walks across the kitchen table; all are predicated on the stories we tell. The big picture as well as the incremental, minute in our lives are inundated with stories.

Simply put, our humanity and our world, each of us, are defined in the stories we re-tell each other. We are *Homo narrans*. Without stories there can be no human being, and there is no world.

It follows then that to understand and appreciate the heritage and values enshrined in any given family or person's own life history, we must learn something about the stories they re-tell. Through an appreciation of the stories, we have access to what is most essential to our humanity, and to the life histories of our families and of ourselves.

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Before you begin the actual interview, think about the information you hope to gather. What are the *goals of your project*? What sort of information are you seeking? Is it a *life* *history* of a particular individual (first-person, idiosyncratic experiences, i.e., "he/she did it", bound by a specific cultural and historical context)? Is it the *oral traditions* of another person, and his or her family, that you seek (specific stories, traditions, or historical information passed down through different people, from generation to generation, to your interviewee, remembrances not necessarily experienced by the interviewee, "he/she learned it from others")? What are the particular parameters of your research, e.g., a particular geographic area, a historical period in time, an economic way of life, an educational or health care system, or a governmental or religious structure? *Goal setting* is the single most important aspect of your project. Ask yourself where you are at now, where do you want to go and how are you going to get there? Clarify your goals and your means to get there. Fuzzy goals result in frustration and missing important information. Have a vision of what may await you, but also be willing to redirect your goals as you grow in your project. Make a topical outline, establishing your research parameters and goals.

Given the goals of your project, your next task will be to *select someone to interview*. Given the desire to record and preserve for future generations the oral history of your family or someone else's family, it is critical that you seek out those elders and others who have the greatest knowledge on the family's history. Ask yourself who might best be able to offer you the information you seek? Is your interviewee a "willing" and enthusiastic participant? Does he/she have the time to work with you? Most of all, select someone who sincerely wants to share his or her story with you. Then develop a list of potential interviewees.

Don't go into the interview "cold." Gain an awareness of the cultural context and historical background of the family and/or individuals you are going to be interviewing. Research your topics. Consult with relatives and friends of your intended interviewee, local historians, libraries, newspapers, university resources. Learn the broad characteristics of the territory. What sorts of questions need to be asked given this larger context?

Prepare *open-ended questions*. You may know the broad topics, but you do not know the specifics. You're as an "infant," learning someone else's cultural story for the first time. "You don't know it." Use open-ended, evocative questions like: "Why did you...?" "How did you feel about...?" "What was it like...?" "Could you describe how...?" "What sort of person

was he/she...?" Ask the who, what, when and most importantly, the why questions. Openended questions let your interviewee set the direction of information sharing and let him/her "lead." Ask questions that spark the imagination and focus the interview, that attempt to reveal the cultural story of the interviewee.

Avoid closed-ended questions that elicit "yes-no" answers like: "Did you like...?" "Were you affected by your teachers...?" "Are the traditions still...?" They have their place, such as determining the date and place of birth, years in school, etc. But it is a limited place.

For much of oral history research, a chronological ordering of events on one's life and the lives of others serves as a template for which questions to ask at what moment in the interview process. Start with the earliest remembrances and work your way through time, spotting at all those most memorable events to explore in questions more fully. Develop questions that *chronicle a life-span*, questions about birth place, parents and family, memories from infancy and adolescents, schooling, travel, employment, etc. Let your interviewee be the guide through his or her life history territory.

Avoid generalities like: "Tell me all about your childhood...?" which elicits nothing more than a list of names and dates, and a very bored interviewee. Ask instead, "What did you like to do when you were six or seven?"

Write down your questions. Know the questions you seek from your interviewee. But don't be rigid about your list. Questions will always be waiting for you once you are in the actual interview process.

To get shy people to open up to the interview, take along photos or objects (heirlooms or memorabilia, tools, maps, diagrams, etc.) and ask the interviewee to tell you about them. *Props* can also "draw out memories." Remember to number each prop and mention it in the tape recording.

In order to accurately record and, in turn, communicate another's cultural story, it is recommended that you use an audio or video *digital recorder*. It is preferable that your recorder has a detachable microphone in order to pick-up the best possible sound quality. Be familiar with your recording equipment. Experiment with mic placement, volume, digital media, etc. before you begin. Make sure the sound quality is good. Gather recording equipment: video

recorder and tripod or audio digital recorder, extra digital memory cards, fresh batteries or extension cord and 3-prong adaptor, separate microphone and foam pad, pen and note pad.

If you are considering using a *digital audio recording device*, beware of certain lowerend models that use their own proprietary memory system. That is, they may use a built-in flash memory card with a format unique to that manufacturer. This is okay, but can present a problem if you have limited built-in memory and cannot readily down load your audio files to a secondary source such as your computer. And with only its own proprietary memory option, transferring your audio files to others can be problematic. It is recommended that you use a digital recorder that uses a standard memory card, such as the Secure Digital Memory Card, and that can record in such industry standards as the uncompressed .wav format (which is of the highest level of broadcast quality available though also the most consumptive of memory space) and/or the compressed .mp3 format (which captures the normal range of sound yet does not consume vast amounts of limited memory on your card). Also consider using the largest size of memory card you can. A twenty-minute interview segment recorded in .wav format will take up to 112,500 KB of memory, while the same twenty-minute segment will take up only 18,700 KB of memory on a card. Memory cards can range in size, but try to get them in at least 512 MB of space, if not up to **one or two gigabits**. The greater the memory, the more options you have.

It is critical that you first gain *permission* from your interviewee to use the obtained information. It is ethically essential that the interviewee fully understand the nature of the research procedures that he or she will be subjected, and to what end the research will be used. If someone else's cultural story is to be recorded and shared publicly (with fellow students, for example), an Informed Consent Form must be signed by the interviewee. Review with the interviewee the nine-point description of the purposes and procedures of the interviewee that are listed in the Consent Form. If there are any special conditions or if the interviewee wishes to remain anonymous, his or her wishes must be respected and indicated on the Consent Form. See the attached Informed Consent Form for an example and template that you can modify per your particular interview and use in your own situation.

In addition to oral interview information, do not forget to gather *other cultural artifacts* such as family photographs, art work, etc. Know the *context*. Copies may have to be made

from them. As you collect these objects be sure to catalog them and record all information known about them.

To get started with the interview, make an *appointment* with your interviewee ahead of time (in person, phone or letter). Be sure that the location for the interview is at a site that minimizes interference by others. Be on time to your first interview session. Schedule the session around the interviewee's family needs. Clearly *introduce* yourself and your project intentions to your interviewee. Answer any questions about the project. Go over the Informed Consent Form and gain his or her signature. Clearly explain the procedures, and the focus and parameters of the interview. Interview only one person at a time. If you're talking to the interviewe and another person wants to put in his "two cents' worth," tell him you would love to interview. The best way to guarantee this is to have just you and your interviewee present in the room. Make sure there's no background noise (t.v., dishwasher, other conversations) that may interfere with the quality of the tape. Make sure everyone is comfortable, with good seating and water. And always do a brief test of your audio/video equipment to be sure the mike is picking up both voices clearly.

Break the ice by chatting briefly about related topics before you start the tape recording. But don't turn the tape recorder off and on more than absolutely necessary once it's going. It's a good idea to tape a brief introductory lead-in before you ask your first question. Tell who is being interviewed, by whom, when, and the general subjects to be covered.

A key to a successful interview is in using good questioning and listening skills. Be honest and sincere, "be yourself." Interviewing is the art form of dialoguing with another human being; you are in conversation with someone else. It is a give-and-take situation. If you want honest and sincere information, you have to give it. Get acquainted. Establish your "kinship;" establish "*rapport*."

Begin by asking for a brief (2 or 3 minute) bit of *background information* about the interviewee: where and when born, parents, major places lived during life, careers or other important areas of personal experiences. Easy to answer and non-intimidating questions help relax the interviewee.

People can usually describe *concrete* things more easily than conceptual. Start with the concrete. You want answers that are descriptive as well as factual. "Can you describe your home outside and inside?" or "Would you explain to me what you did in a typical day's work?" are good examples.

Don't talk too much about yourself. Resist the impulse to contribute your own stories or information or to put words in the mouth of the person you're interviewing.

Don't talk to the recorder or the mike; talk to the person you're interviewing, with lots of direct eye contact (if appropriate, given the cultural considerations of your interviewee). If you act as if the mike isn't there, chances are your interviewee will soon forget about it, too.

Refer now and then to your general topical questions; *keep your goals in mind*. But don't let your specific questions and goals become your "script." Let the interviewee set the direction and the lead; he/she is the one with the information. Be an *active listener*. Ask follow-up questions based upon your interviewee's responses. There is no better way to show you are indeed listening than to follow-up with question based upon what was just shared. Be flexible. Don't be afraid of going off on a "tangent." Don't be so anxious or rush ahead that you are framing your next question, while not even listening to what your interviewee is currently saying. Be an *active listener*.

Sometimes the best information comes up unexpectedly. If you're into something good, follow it up with appropriate, *follow-up questions*. Follow-up questions can also elicit more detailed information as well as to make sure your interviewee has had a chance to tell all he/she wants to tell. "What happened then?" "How did you feel about that?" "How did that turn out?" After pursuing this line of inquiry, guide the interviewee back to your original questions.

Try *not to interrupt* your interviewee. If your interviewee mentions something you'd like to follow up, wait for a natural pause in the conversation and then say something like: "A few minutes ago you were saying that..." Don't ask more than one question at a time.

Don't rush into every pause with a new question. Silences are natural, and they may give your interviewee a chance to think of additional materials on the subject. Remember, you are likely covering information seldom discussed by the interviewee, and their memory needs time to clear the cobwebs. Silence is not wasted time. Take advantage of the "*silent probe*."

Show your interviewee that *you're interested* through nods and facial expressions.

Express your appreciation with occasional responses like: "That's a great story!" or "That's really interesting!" The way you ask questions, your tone of voice, your body language, are all keys to the responses your questions will get.

Don't make irrelevant or distracting comments. And never contradict your interviewee, whether you agree with what the person is saying or not. Instead, ask further questions that shed light on the issue being discussed. It may help you determine the various versions to a given situation or event. There can be many differing accounts of the same event, all of which are "correct." Remember the difference between interviewing and cross-examining.

If your interviewee can't or won't give you an answer to a particular question, it's better to *move on*. You must acknowledge that there will be some information that you will not be able to gather. Gaps will exist. Some of the story may not be meant to be shared publicly. It may be too personal or even sacred for your interviewee.

Establish a *basic time frame* by asking: "What year was that?" or "About how old were you when that happened?" If your interviewee doesn't know, try to get at least a rough idea by asking a further question like: "How long afterward was that, a month? a year?"

Try to establish what your *interviewee's role* was in the events he/she is describing--a participant, an observer, etc. Or, if he/she is passing on a story rather than describing a personal experience, try to determine who he/she heard it from or the original source of the story.

If your interviewee uses *unusual words* or linguistic terms that are unfamiliar to you, have the interviewee explain them and try to spell them out.

Adjust the length of the interview to your *interviewee's comfort* and attention span. Forty-five minutes to an hour is a good length. If it's too short it will probably be superficial, and if it's too long it will get uncomfortable. You can always take a break and resume later. Older folks tire more easily; cut the interview off at the first sign of fatigue.

It is likely that numerous sessions will be needed for some interviewees. Let the interviewee know ahead of time that there can be *future sessions*.

And always remember whose story you're trying to tell. Try not biasing your information with your own perspective. You want to present the story of your interviewee from

his/her own perspective. A key to successful interviewing is your capacity for *empathy*, attempting to see the world through his/her eyes, or using the Schitsu'umsh term, *snukwnkhwts'mi'ls*, literally "fellow sufferer." You may or may not agree with an interviewee's comment, but you should try to understand where he or she is coming from. You have the tremendous responsibility of continuing to speak your interviewee's voice for all the others, as well as the future generations, who will read your transcribed interview.

After the interview is completed, show your sincere appreciation by *thanking* your interviewee. Then follow-up with a formal letter of appreciation. Ask your interviewee if he/she is willing to sign the Informed Consent Form (if he/she has not already done so), allowing you to share his or her story publicly.

Label the digital card clearly with the name of your interviewee, the date and your name. Break out the tabs on the tape so it doesn't get erased by accident, or "lock" your digital media card.

Indexing the interview is the next essential step. Prepare a written index of the audio/video recording, using a stopwatch or clock, or metering device on the recorder. The purpose of the index is to summarize the contents of the interview and to indicate approximately where in a digital file a certain subject is discussed.

Indexing by the minute is best since the meter number systems vary from machine to machine. Use a stopwatch or a clock. Divide the memory card into approximately five-minute segments or by the obvious breaks in subjects. Make your index fairly detailed – especially if you do not intend to transcribe the entire taped interview. A detailed index will make even a digital file that is not fully transcribed useful to other researchers. Index by names, dates, place names, processes, family names, customs, events, etc., indicated by the information in the interview. Do the index as soon as possible after the interview so the subjects are still fresh in your mind.

Using the index of the digital recording as your guide, next *transcribe* those selected portions of the text that you want to include in your written report. The goal in transcribing an interview is to provide an accurate, verbatim written record of the interview dialogue in a form which will best represent your interviewee's cultural story. Transcribe everything that is said by

the interviewee, including colloquial pronunciations, "yeah" and "goin'," as well as indicate the pauses in the speech pattern, phrase repetitions, and voice inflections placed on specific words. Meaning is conveyed not only in the words spoken but also in the way those words are spoken.

It is strongly recommended that you show your written index and the story transcription, as a first draft of the life history, to your interviewee and ask him/her to *check it for accuracy*. After all, your interviewee is the "authority" and the "owner" of his or her stories. Keep in mind that a review can also spark additional insights and memories by the interviewee. Be ready for another interview session. Allow your interviewee to help you construct the written text of his or her story. But let him or her know that this draft is *not* the final life history text, but only a work in progress and tentative at that. This review stage still a segment of the interview process.

When a final life history text is completed, it is most appropriate to *leave a copy* of it with your interviewee. There is no better way of saying *thank you* than by presenting your interviewee with a personal copy of his or her own story. You may also want to donate the cultural story (tape, index and transcription) to your local library or college oral history achieve. But before leaving a copy of his or her family story, there is one more step in the life history research process.

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Gathering the stories of others is only part of your responsibility in doing life history research. You must also, with clarity, authenticity and appropriateness, re-tell those stories to any number of audiences. When someone shares his or her most cherished stories with you, you have the added and enormous responsibility of getting it right in the first place – of conveying the essence and meaning of the original stories, to get down to the "bones" of the cherished stories – and then, in the act of re-telling it, rendering that story accessible to any reader who may engage the life history, at any time, under any circumstance, to breathe life into the stories, reanimating the bones with "living flesh and muscle." It is as if you are constructing a "*word bridge*," anchored at one end in the voice of your interviewee and at the other in the ears of your audiences, and carefully engineering the structure of the bridge in such manner as to allow the free flow of travelers over its expanse. There are thus at least three distinct considerations in

writing and presenting someone's life history – getting it right, rendering it accessibility, and linking the style and format of the writing with the content of the story.

1. "Getting it right." It is important to acknowledge throughout the life history research process that the stories being shared with you are the "cultural and intellectual property" of the interviewee. The stories belong to the individual and family from which they originate; not to you, or to any other organization. It is a sacred trust that has been bestowed upon you to get, what is considered most cherished by someone else, *right*. This is why you need to have your interviewee carefully review the final drafts of your project. It is only he or she who can assure that the written story is authentically presented and accurate to the best of his or her understandings. And it is only he or she who can also assure that the stories that are to be shared publicly are appropriate to share in the first place. There are some family events that should be kept within the family. Allow the judgement of your interviewee to be the best guide on what others come to learn. Remember that your ultimate goal is to re-tell the stories of the interviewee based upon two critical criteria: *authenticity* and *appropriateness* of the stories.

2. "*Rendering the Story Accessibility*." Implicit in the very act of writing down someone's story is the sharing of that story with someone else, your responsibility to bring the bones of the story alive. It makes little sense to write down a wonderful life history only to have it kept shelved in a book case. A life history project is meant to be shared. So, you must anticipate your audiences, as you must also seek to render your written stories accessible to them. Become cognizant of who might access the life history, at any time in the future – be it a great, great grandchild of the interviewee, or a perfect stranger. Long after your interviewee has passed on, long after you have passed on, what you pen to paper today could be pulled off a book self somewhere and read by someone 200 years from now. As you construct your presentation, attempt to speak to them, re-telling the stories of another to others. While always firmly anchored in the voice of your interviewee, consider how your interview might speak with a great, great grandchild or to that perfect stranger. This often necessitates you anticipating what might be unclear in the words of the interviewee and providing additional contextual history or social background on specific events or situations.

3. "Style and Format." As you know there is an unequivocal relationship between what you are trying to say, and *how* you say it – between the content of the story, the text, and the style of its re-telling, the texture. In your "getting it right" yet rendering it "accessible," you must deliberate carefully on the manner of how you want to write down and present the stories, and know your audience, to whom are re-telling this story. Consider the style and format of your writing, consider the "flesh and muscle" you add to the "bones" of the story. You have been handed someone's wonderful and cherished story to re-tell. For example, it would be inappropriate to re-tell an emotionally-charged, very personal event in someone's life by using rather formal, scientific jargon and idioms, and illustrating it with a series of bar graphs and statistical tables! In addition, the style and format you use to re-tell a story should also be in the "language" that renders that story accessible and understandable by other readers. For example, you would not use the formality of a college-level textbook as the style to present the stories to fourth graders. Experiment with alternative ways of presenting the same story. Consider poetic and narrative styles, as well as formal styles. Consider the inclusion of visual imagery, photographs, and art work in your presentation. Consider a format that includes actual audio and/or video clips of the voice of your interviewee. With the advent of digital technology, such as DVDs and the Internet, there is now an explosion of possible creative ways to re-tell the life history stories of others, rendering them even more authentic and yet accessible than ever before.

A final note or two. As a human being who has been entrusted with what could be someone's most cherished stories, at some point in your written text *acknowledge who you are* and your role in this interviewing and writing process. In any research and writing endeavor you can never stand outside, as if an unbiased neutral observer. How you have asked questions, how you have responded with follow-up questions during an interview, how you have organized the stories and the means used in presenting those stories, who you dialogue with your interviewee and with the future audiences, all presumes you a part of the research and writing process. You are not a silent partner, but an essential collaborator in re-telling someone's stories. Consider writing a short preface to your project on your own reflexivity and reflection relating to the interview and research process, acknowledging who you are in relation to the person sharing the story. How might who you in relation to the interviewee have influenced your questions asked questions, and what you are writing down and electing to re-tell?

Remember always that in doing a life history project, a sacred trust has been bestowed upon you, that you must be willing to carry forth with all your passion and commitment. But always remember the humanity of this process and be willing to laugh or shed a tear, and *have some fun* throughout the endeavor. As you exude passion and vitality so too will your retelling.

Suggested next steps. If you are doing a life-history, consider:

- Atkinson, Robert. *The Life Story Interview (Qualitative Research Methods)*. Sage Publications, 1998.
- Cole, Ardra Cole and J. Gary Knowles, ed., *Lives in Context: the Art of Life History Research*. AltaMira Press, 2001.

Citations.

- Frey, Rodney and the Schitsu'umsh. Landscape Traveled by Coyote and Crane: The World of the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene). University of Washington Press: 2001
- Frey, Rodney. *Carry Forth the Stories: An Ethnographer's Journey into Native Oral Tradition.* Washington State University Press, 2017.

Le Guin, Ursula K. Dancing at the Edge of the World. Grove Press, 1989.

Informed Consent Form

A Family Oral History

Project Title:
Principal Researcher(s):
I, (interviewee), state that I am over 18 years of age, and freely and voluntarily wish to participate in the research being proposed above.
 Description of purposes and explanation of procedures (provided by the researcher in oral or written form to the interviewe – re-write the following to reflect your particular interview project): 1. A statement that the study involves research. 2. An explanation of the purposes of the research. 3. The expected duration of the subject's participation. 4. A description of the procedures (including methodology) to be followed. 5. A description of any reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts. 6. A description of any benefits to the subject, or to others which may reasonably be expected from the research. 7. A statement describing the extent, if any, to which confidentiality of data and privacy of subject(s) will be maintained. 8. An explanation of whom to contact for answers to pertinent questions about the research, subject's rights, and research related injury to the subject(s). 9. A statement that participation is voluntary.
I acknowledge that (principal researcher) has fully explained to me the purposes and procedures, and the risks of this research; he has informed me that I may withdraw from participation at any time without prejudice; and has informed me that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I freely and voluntarily consent to my participation in the above-mentioned research project.
I waive or do not waive the right to confidentiality (my name may or may not be used in the research).
List any special stipulations or conditions established by the interviewee in the conduct or disposition of this project on the back.
Signature of Interviewee:
Signature of Principal Researcher:
Date: