"YOU *MUST* GO TREK THERE": THE PERSUASIVE GENRE OF NARRATION AMONG ISRAELI BACKPACKERS

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This research explores narratives of personal experience narrated by young Israeli travelers upon returning to their homeland from an extended backpacking journey. By reflecting on the interaction that took place during the interview conversations between the backpackers and the researcher, the means by which the stories come to implicate and act upon their audience/listener are examined. The stories, describing experiences and adventures, are conceptualized as 'persuasive' stories, and are created and reiterated within an interpersonal and dialogical social space. They are genred as descriptions and prescriptions at the same time – they invite and impel their audience to join the journey, and they constitute and structure the experience shared by the narrative community of Israeli backpackers. While overtly the stories are descriptive, the value the tellers ascribe to the events charges the stories with prescriptive quality. Thus, this research sheds additional light on the view of narratives as an inherent dialogical and inter*active* form of human communication. Additionally, the article examines the ways in which a specific cultural context plays a role in the persuasive capacity of Israeli backpackers' narratives. (*Persuasion, Intersubjective, Tourism, Backpacking, Israeli society*)

Theoretical formulations hover so low over the interpretations they govern that they don't make much sense or hold much interest apart from them.

(Geertz, 1973, p. 25).

In the course of my work with narrative material and narrative research literature, I have come to consider and elucidate some ideas regarding the essence of the empirical material with which we are involved, i.e., transcribed oral narrative. These ideas stemmed, originally, from the place or the role

of the researcher/interviewer in relation to the interviewees with whom he or she meets and interacts, and more generally, to the live community he or she is researching. Ethically speaking, this role commits the researcher to be attentive and involved, to research, to contemplate, to be moved, and finally to write and to let all of this be known (Behar, 1996; Chase, 1995; Josselson, 1995, 1996).

Through various interviews, conducted as part of my doctoral fieldwork, I have realized that, indeed, little attention has been given "to the narrative character of talk produced during interviews" (Chase, 1995, p. 1). In fact, it seems that not enough attention has yet been paid to the wider implications of the meeting – indeed, the interaction – which constitutes the interview. This lack is especially noteworthy when we consider that one of our basic research premises, reiterated time and again, is that "a life story involves a dialogical interactive situation in which the course of an individual's life is given shape" (Corradi, 1991, p. 106).

In the following I will present and elaborate on the persuasive genre, a genre that I encountered during in-depth interviews conducted with Israeli backpackers (*Tarmila'im*).[1] Yet, in trying to understand the mechanisms of this genre, it seemed to me that this specific and particular genre holds qualities which are shared and common among various forms of (oral) narration: that is, their essential intersubjective/dialogical and interactive qualities. By stressing the intersubjectivity and dialogicality of these narrations, one refers primarily to the fact that they are always addressed *to* someone, what Bakhtin designates as their "addressivity" (Bakhtin, 1953/1986, p. 95); they exist, so to speak, in the "between," dialogical in nature and always inter-subjective. This emphasis on the inter-active quality of the narrations also underscores their "intentionality" and "expressivity" (Bakhtin, 1935/1981, p. 288) as being never-neutral enactors, agents of action, influencing and moving listener(s) to act and to do, rather than to listen and participate passively.

Consequently, while primarily contributing to the field of narrative research and discourse analysis, and furthering our interrogation of the interview situation, the elaboration and discussion of the qualities of the persuasive genre are embedded in and contribute to two additional fields. First, as this study concerns young Israeli adults, it sheds light on the interpersonal modes of

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[1] Literally, *tarmila'im* comes from the word *tarmil* meaning bag.

communication common among some quarters of Hebrew speakers in Israel (along works in communication and narrative as Blum-Kulka, 1997; Katriel, 1991, 1993; and Schely-Newman, 1999). Secondly, as the discussed back-packers are, in fact, international tourists, the following addresses issues in the under-researched field of the language usage and narrative tellings pervasive among tourists in general (Dann, 1996), and in particular among backpackers (Riley, 1988; Elsrud, 2001). In each and every case, the following analysis and discussion stress the intersubjective or dialogical aspects of narration by emphasizing enactmentability as an inherent quality of narrative.

FROM SUBJECTIVE TO INTERSUBJECTIVE

All expression is oriented to a response from some Other and shaped by the context in which it occurs.

(Josselson, 1995, p. 42).

The above quotation, which accords with Bakhtinian thought, represents and is a part of a recently growing awareness and interest in what happens during that "dialogical interactive situation," not only where two people participate, as in any bilateral meeting, but also where their participation is pre-structured and pre-rolled in a unique manner: of an "informant" and "researcher." I write these terms inside quotes because from a *subjective* point of view they are binary and two-directional: Both participants are essentially informants, rep-resenting or sampling a larger demographic community, and both are, at the very same time, researchers as well, inquiring into these communities. They are both metonyms, so to speak, succinctly standing for something larger than themselves of which they are a part. One could further argue that both "researchers" are interested not only in the communities or populations, in their demographic or socio-demographic sense, but also in *meaning,* that is, in constructing meaningful understanding and interpretation – as ethnogra-phers do – of the Other, and most of all in the meaning stemming from their "dialogical *interaction*" with that Other, the partner.

This bilateral interest might be phrased in motivational terms and their relation to the occurrence of the interview, its structure and therefore, its in-terpreted meaning. In Corradi's words, "In analyzing the material, it is also necessary to identify the meeting of motivations that made possible the re-construction of the story" (Corradi, 1991, p. 109). Without shared *mutual*

motivations – that of the researcher who initiates the research and contacts the informant, on the one hand, and on the other hand, that of the informant who responds and replies – the mere summoning of the two to the same place at the same time would not have been possible, would have not occurred. Here the meaning of the term "motivation" extends from its narrow or minimal meaning, which refers to the willful and voluntary motivation of both sides (ethically excluding, for example, narratives that are elicited under involuntary circumstances), to a broader and "thicker" meaning that deals with the "mutual interests" (Kvale, 1996, p. 2) of both sides and the inherent manner by which these converging interests influence and shape the interview interaction (Briggs, 1986; Mishler, 1986; Tyler, 1986).

This recent awareness and sensitivity to our research context, both concrete and symbolic, represents a more subjective trend of thought (see Josselson, 1995; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998, p. 2; Wortham, 2001) and has been possible thanks to an increasing sense of confidence and comfort within qualitative and narrative research disciplines. It is needless to point to the importance of the interactions in shaping the course of the interview, for now it is understood that eventually it is the two-dimensional transcription, the "snap-shot" of the interview, that constitutes the empirical data qualitative researchers analyze. Yet, regrettably, this is neither mentioned systematically nor elaborated on in some recent basic qualitative and narrative research guidebooks and textbooks, which are establishing a long-awaited coherent and consistent methodology in these disciplines. The interview interaction is absent from the contents and subject indexes of these books (for example, Atkinson, 1998; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Hayes, 1997; Mason, 1996), as, indeed, "precious little attention has been directed to the relationship between the narrating agent and the audience to which the narrative is directed." (Gergen, 2001, p. vii)

The sensitivity to and awareness of interactional aspects has various traditions of theory and thought, both contemporary and traditional, to rely upon, the most salient one being that of the psychoanalytic schools of thought. The concept of "transference" and its many derivatives are being gradually imported to the discussion of the interactive and intersubjective character and quality of the interview situation (Josselson, 1995; Kvale, 1996, 1999; Miller, 1996; Runyan, 1988; Schepeler, 1990). This occurs because the various uses of transference represent an inherent acknowledgment of subjectivity. Further, its pervasive derivatives, such as "counter-transference" and

"projective identification" represent an intersubjective and inter-active perception and understanding of the processes that take place in psychoanalytic and psychoanalytically-oriented frameworks.

Erving Goffman has dealt thoroughly with various everyday interactional situations, and has dealt explicitly and at length with people's talking (Goffman, 1974, pp. 496–559, 1981). Thus he writes, "The genuineness and spontaneity he (the teller, the speaker) can bring to his telling is generated by his current listeners' experience of genuine suspense; *he borrows spontaneity from them*. Effective performance requires first hearings, not first tellings" (p. 508 my emphasis). Goffman refers here to the dynamics between talker and interlocutor, and points to the fact that a mutual exchange exists between the two and without which neither "spontaneity" nor "genuineness" can take place. We should note also that Goffman's focus and interest is in the teller's (and in the story's) *effectiveness*, although he does not go on to elaborate or to describe it.

Finally, my own perspective has also been influenced to a large extent by the dialogical ideas originating from the Bakhtinian school of thought, via Literary Criticism, which promote the aspects of interactional and dialogical relationships within narratives (1935/1981, esp. pp. 259–422, 1953/1986, esp. pp. 60–131, 1963/1984). In Bakhtin's view, narrative and speech are dynamic and active (speech is referred to as "real live speech"); narrative and speech resonate between and among the narrator and listener. Therefore, the listener is by no means passive, but has a "responsive understanding" or a "responsive attitude," which is a truly active involvement in the narration. Bakhtin uses the example of a command or an order not as an exception to the rule of speech, but as an extreme and succinct illustration of it. His theoretical deductions are therefore twofold: The first relates to talk and narration ("utterance") as directed *to* someone, that is, its "addressivity" (Bakhtin, 1953/1986, p. 95, italics in original); the second relates to them as active-responsive agents. In Bakhtin's words, "understanding and response are dialectically merged and mutually condition each other; one is impossible without the other" (Bakhtin, 1935/1981, p. 282).

TREKKING AND TALKING

These figures told me if not a story at least where to go to find stories.

(Turner, 1980, p. 141).

It is an Israeli custom, widely echoed in media and public discourse, that at the end of their obligatory military service (which lasts two years for women and three for men), young Israelis in their early twenties travel abroad, mainly to "Third World" countries in South and Central America and Asia, on what has become known as "The Great Journey" (Avrahami, 2001; Noy, 2002a; Uriely, Yonay, & Simchai, 2002). The journey, which is perceived by the youth as a rite-of-passage, is carried out in a backpacker's manner and usually lasts anywhere from a few months to a year or two (Jacobson, 1987). Accurate descriptive statistics as to the numbers involved are not available, but Mevorach's estimate, based on questioners, suggests that every year approximately one-fifth of the entire cohort of discharged soldiers, both men and women, participate in the backpacking trip (Mevorach, 1997, p. 86–87). A routine part of this journey, situated at its high-point, both literally and metaphorically, includes participation in treks, which usually last several days or weeks and involve strenuous hiking on high altitude mountain routes (such as treks in the Annapurna Circuit and in the Langtang-Gosaikunda regions in Nepal, or the famous Inka trail at Macho-Pitchu, in Peru, and the Torres-Del-Paine trek, in Chile).

What I found most appealing in the backpackers and what had initially inspired my interest in researching their narratives, was not only the surprisingly large number of participants, but, as Victor's Turner's quote suggests, the fact that these numbers indicate a unique social phenomenon where personal stories are abundant and, more importantly, constitutive. The participants' stories and narratives about their trekking and traveling experiences, usually structured as pilgrimage experiences, indicate, create and re-create a community of adventurers, of tellers and listeners, leavers and returnees, persuasioners and sharers; a collective and normative rite-of-passage which is inherently discursive. In the following I have reflected upon these stories from a multidisciplinary perspective, relaying mostly on dialogical notions in narrative research, cultural and linguistic anthropology and conversation analysis.

I reached the interviewees through "snow-ball" sampling (Mason, 1996; Rosenthal, 1993), a methodology by which each interviewee connected me with more interviewees of his or her acquaintance, gradually enlarging the

sample. I met with them a short while after their return from abroad, usually within weeks, to hear their trekking and journeying narratives, which I already knew were often told (during a pilot interview one of the interviewees exclaimed, "whoever comes [to my] house, I immediately prepare him a cup of coffee and sit him down to hear my trekking stories!"). The interviews were structured accordingly. The interviewees were asked to narrate their traveling and trekking experiences, which usually amounted to the "core narrative" of the interview, i.e. a chronological description of events. Later, I addressed several issues and questions, opening up for discussion various topics with the interviewees, some of which have been stimulated during the interview, and some of which I had initially planned to address. The form and order of these issues differed between the interviews, since I chose to introduced them in a natural and empathic way, so as to go along with each interviewee's idiosyncratic prioritization of matters, use of language, etc.

FROM REFLECTION TO THEORY

Quite early during the interviews I noticed that interviewees off-hand and repeatedly asked whether *I myself* had participated in such a journey and in such a trek. These questions were subtle enough that I nearly neglected considering them during the first few interviews, and my laconic replies, documented in field notes from the time, did not result from any particular sensitivity or appreciation on my part but rather from the surprising persistence of these questions.

These inquiries were also coupled with another off-handed suggestion that I myself should also undergo the "great journey" and backpack and trek in the distanced mountains. As these suggestions were usually presented in a humorous fashion and during what sounded like "small talk" in the periphery of the interview conversation, the informants were able to use heavily suggestive language, i.e., "you *should* go trekking" and "you *must* go trekking," without it being noticeable at the time and without disturbing the meeting's intimacy and rapport. On the contrary, these remarks seemed friendly and organic to the developing conversation (Blum-Kulka, 1997).

Looking in retrospect through the first transcriptions and corresponding field notes, I found that almost indiscernibly, somewhere between the twelfth and the thirteenth interview, I made a slight modification to the notes with

which I would begin every interview. I had begun to add a note reminding myself to address the interviewees' question "were you there?" Only then did I realize that these questions represented something of which importance or "relevance" to my research could hardly be overstated. They reflected the interviewees' need to locate me in regards to their tightly knit social reference group. I realized that inquiring, and later positioning me as an "insider" or "outsider" indicated that there indeed exist such social boundaries, which had a pivotal effect on what need or need not be told to me and in which manner. This had an effect on the *genre* of the informant's narration. Even more so, I felt that most of the stories I had been hearing had a *direction* – that *I* should travel, trek, go on a journey, and thus, become "within"; that I should ascend and transcend not only geographical distances and boundaries but social ones as well.

During several of these interviews I explicitly confessed my feelings before the interviewees – that the stories indeed gave me an "appetite," a yearning, to travel. The interviewee's answers typically reflected satisfaction: "Then I have succeeded!" they would exclaim. They felt that the *aim* of their story, its direction, was to *persuade and motivate me to join their experience*. This aim, or interest, is what I designate as these stories' genre and is the focus of this discussion. (I choose the term genre, although I could have opted for Goffman's "frame" or Bakhtin's "style," etc., but both "genre" and "generate" have their origin in the Greek and Latin *genus* (meaning birth) and it is precisely this connotation of genre, as dynamic and generative, to which I am referring here.)

The genre of the backpackers' stories is examined here in regards to oral narrations, which are considered to be an inherently communicational phenomenon, based on formal, functional and interactional dimensions (Bauman, 1992; Ben-Amos, 1976; Wortham, 2001). As such, the term "genre" in employed here as a classificatory concept concerning a dialogical and communicational field. It describes how and in what ways is the audience implicated and involved in and by the story. Different genres do not only refer to different text plots and structures, but also to various *interactive and discursive* social and cultural contexts in which such dialogical texts are co-created and embodied (Wortham, 2001, pp. 17–75). The dialogically constituted field, wherein narratives are pursued, is influenced by a host of social categories (gender, age, ethnicity, group membership etc) as well as by larger socio-cultural contexts. We do well to recall Schely-Newman's claim

that genres are "a perspective on a text, rather than a kind of a text" (1999, p. 51, following Ochs, 1997). The text's multidetermined dimensionality – its embeddedness within converging circles of context – must be kept in sight, and will be the focus of the work.

Before furthering the theoretical elaboration, I would like to turn to Ephrat's inquiry, that exemplify, in the group's own language (in its own "emic" terms, Turner, 1980), the experience and narrative genre used by its members (Shotter, 1993). Later, I will resume the theoretical discussion by elaborating on several points, of which the main one will be the enactment quality (the "enactmentability") of the stories in terms of their and other stories' genre. I present the claim that the genre of the stories is determined by their *implied or presumed listener*, in this case myself, the researcher/interviewer, and how and in what manner he or she is considered by the interviewees to be *involved or implicated* in their narrated experience. This, in turn, requires knowledge as to the positioning, and hence also identity, of the listener: whether they have, or have not, backpacked.

Ephrat's Narration

The following vignette is from an interview with a women backpacker, Ephrat,[2] 22, who traveled to South America and trekked in Peru. Our meeting took place a couple of months after her return from the journey, which she had begun soon after her release from the army. This strip of our conversation is located at the very end of an hour-long interview, and it is here that Ephrat addresses me and asks:

Ephrat: I have a small question: How did you get into this specific subject?

I: mmm What do you think? I'll answer you soon but I'm interested in your perspective.

Ephrat: Either you have traveled or you haven't traveled and because of that [you reached the specific subject]. It could be one of those. Either you have traveled and you wanted – you want to know why people are traveling now, or not necessarily: because you haven't traveled and so you want to know why people-

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[2] Throughout the article the names of the backpackers have been changed.

I: Are you're saying that there are two options: either I have traveled-

Ephrat: Yae, either someone has traveled and because of that it is interesting to him, because of his very essence he has traveled. Because he knows why he has traveled and he wants to understand why other people travel; what they do while traveling; what they think; what influences their Journey ... On the one hand there is someone who hasn't traveled ... he wants to understand why other people travel, why there is something that other people have done and he hasn't, in the same society. Two extremes that's all, but a-

I: Would it have an effect on the way you are telling the story if you knew that I have or that I haven't [traveled]?

Ephrat: Someone who has been- [speaking rapidly] it is obvious from the- all the treks-[3] if someone was- especially if it was in the same place, even if it- doesn't matter when it was, then he knows exactly what you are talking about and why, and understands this feeling- ...

I: Could you give an example-?

Ephrat: Cuzco is- [short pause] Cuzco is Cuzco. It- I always remember before the Journey they explained to me and all, all the names sounded like Chinese to me: What is Cuzco? What is Azangate?[4] And the minute you are part of it, after you are through [the Journey], you are already – all these terms seem very clear to you and you are also speaking in the same language- ... If I'm trying to explain to you what [backpackers] feel when they reach the end of the pass then whoever has experienced it will understand it really. Whoever has experienced it will understand it directly.

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[3] The Hebrew words "trek" and "pass" are borrowed words from English and are pronounced the same way with more or less the same meaning: a trek is a (strenuous) hike, and a Pass, or a "mountain pass," represents in the backpackers' language the highest geographical point along the trek, usually accompanied by peak experiences, excitement, etc.

[4] Cuzco and Azangate are locations in Peru. Cuzco is a city in the South of Peru from which many treks depart, and Azangate is a name of one of these treks.

Ephrat leads with the question of how I have arrived at this research, which in fact means how did I come to be listening to trekking and backpacking stories and to meeting with her and sharing her experiences. Furthermore, this question inquires as to *why* I have come to do so – a question concerning both my positioning and motivation. What stands behind Ephrat's inquiry is immediately clear: She wishes to know whether I have traveled and trekked as she did ("either you have traveled or you haven't traveled"), while asking about my motivations. Ephrat's inquiry (see Section 1, Diagram no. 2 below) is an indirect and intellectualized variation of the explicit and straightforward question as to whether I myself have participated in the experience about which the interviewee has been narrating.[5] She, thus, makes an explicit dichotomous distinction. However, it should be made clear that Ephrat is dealing here not only with experience but also with motivation ("how did you *get* to the specific subject?"), which is understood to be the sole consequence of two distinct experiences, both in immediate relation to her own experience and that of mine. The motivations she presents could be one of two: either I have gone through the experience she has or I have not. Experientially and socially, these two distinct states are of considerable importance to the interviewees (to their "essence," as Ephrat puts it).

The strength of the experience of "have/haven't traveled" is exemplified in Ephrat's own words in Section 3 through the use of language ("Chinese"). Here Ephrat does not employ a metaphor, not even an analogy, as it might seem, but rather a homology: It *is* language of which and from which she is speaking. Before experiencing it, the language remained unknown to her: "What is Cuzco? What is Azangate?" These words were to her, as they are now to us unless we sojourn on such a trek ourselves, empty signifiers. Once she *has* gone through the experience and participated in a trek and in the great journey, "Cuzco is Cuzco!" It can only be "explained" to us outsiders in a cumbersome manner, but not "known" to us. "Cuzco is Cuzco" represents an eternal circular motion between interchangeable signifier ("Cuzco") and signified (Cuzco). The only way to "know" then, is to *go and travel and trek for ourselves*, which is exactly the core interest and genre of Ephrat's

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[5] In the interviews I encountered a variety of tacit strategies the backpackers employed while inquiring whether I was "in" or "out," i.e., whether I have or have not traveled and trekked. While narrating backpackers would casually ask whether I have trekked in heights, chewed Coca leaves, or experienced the symptoms of Acute Mountain Disease.
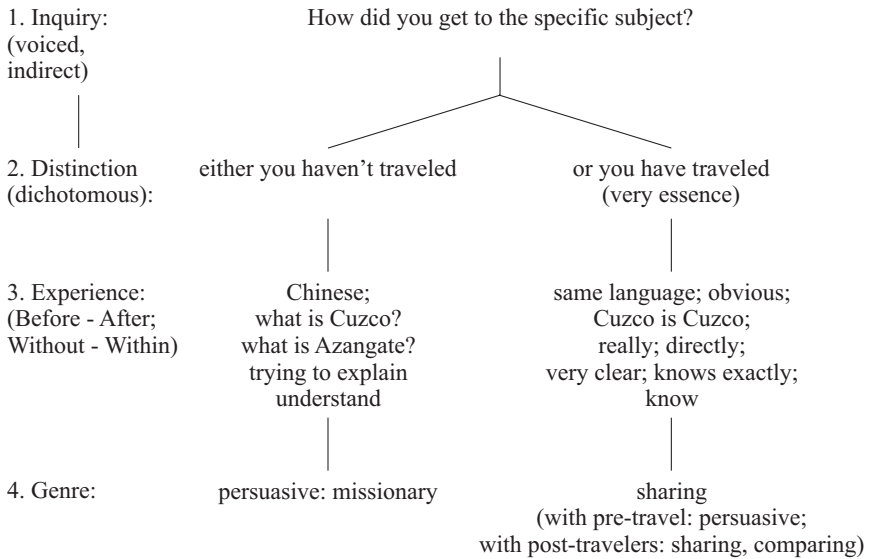
1. Inquiry: (voiced, indirect)		How did you get to the specific subject?
2. Distinction (dichotomous):	either you haven't traveled	or you have traveled (very essence)
3. Experience: (Before - After; Without - Within)	Chinese; what is Cuzco? what is Azangate? trying to explain understand	same language; obvious; Cuzco is Cuzco; really; directly; very clear; knows exactly; know
4. Genre:	persuasive: missionary	sharing (with pre-travel: persuasive; with post-travelers: sharing, comparing)

Figure 1

Ephrat's narration – experience and motivation

narration in particular, and that of the trekkers and travelers of the great journey in general. This is also apparent when Ephrat refers, in a tone that says "it is obvious," to "his very essence." This essence is now *dialogical*. Ephrat indeed changes the "you" (myself) to "him" (general, anonymous) in the beginning of her third utterance, but we should not overlook the fact that the essence is here and now between Ephrat and myself: Do I *know* what she is talking about, can I experience it, is it of my essence, or does she need explain (intellectually, cumbersomely) it to me, so that I (might) understand?

As to the tightness and closeness of this circular motion, many other illustrative examples are available, such as those conveyed by the travelers' common reference to their colleagues on the journey and trek as their "family." When discussing conflicts with her boyfriend, one of the interviewees tells about the summoning of fellow Israeli travelers for a "family meeting." Yet, another interviewee tells, in a half humorous way, of the trekkers' diversions through the trek's cold evenings: sitting in the tent playing a card game

that "requires a lot of thinking. (One) MUST know it when you are in South America, otherwise you don't get a 'Visa.' Its- everyone everyone plays it." While the first example demonstrates a "familial closeness" and a blurring of boundaries between the self and the self in relation to others, the second is a forceful illustration of a "hermetic/formal closeness" (as conveyed in the metaphorical use of "Visa"), following Ephrat's distinction: "Either you have traveled or you haven't traveled." Either you have a Visa, i.e. you are a member of the family, or you are not.

FROM INTERSUBJECTIVE TO INTER-ACTIVE: EXPERIENCES AND NARRATION GENRES

> We speak only in definite speak genres.
>
> (Bakhtin, 1953/1986, p. 78)

As already mentioned in previous sections, the persistence – quite unexpected – of the question of whether or not I had participated in the trek and great journey was clearly noticeable. When the interviewee assumed that I had not, suggestions, directions, advice and wholehearted recommendations that I do so followed. These questions were usually introduced during small-talk, and it seems to me now that they were presented as part of the informal *greeting* and *welcoming routine* I encountered upon entering the interviewee's house (where most of my interviews were conducted.) Nevertheless, they were also introduced throughout the conversation, which was possible due to the high level of conversational involvement typical of interpersonal communication patterns among Hebrew speaking Israelis (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Katriel, 1986). To avoid answering these questions immediately risked breaking the framework of customary politeness, and so I usually said I would answer the question later – which I did.

For example, when I remind Avi of the question he has asked me at the beginning of our meeting (i.e., whether I have trekked), he says: "It's interesting – look, in fact if you were there then you already know all these things," which recalls Ephrat's distinction and use of "know." When he continues, it is apparent that what is at stake in his account, as it is in Ephrat's, is not only the described experience (see Section 3, Figure 1 above), but also a derivative, implicit persuasion/suggestion:

> Avi: I can explain to you the atmosphere but until you are there you don't understand it. You can't feel the atmosphere. You can understand what someone else feels but you couldn't feel it yourself – until YOU ARE THERE . . . Until you're there and you see it. You- it's impossible to know. Only when I returned did I understand what had happened [laughing].

Avi reiterates the uniqueness and singularity of the backpacking experience, suggesting it cannot be wholly represented in language. One has to really be "THERE" in the faraway, remote "Third World" destinations in order to "know" the experience of backpacking and to be able to share it. Avi, as well as other backpackers, tells us there are no referential shortcuts; there is no way around going through the ritualistic motion when wishing to experience the ineffable.

Thus is the case of Galit's narration. Elaborating on the question she has asked me (whether or not I have trekked and traveled), Galit suggests that a fellowship or a brotherhood exists among travelers. Earlier in the interview she has told me that, unlike most Israeli travelers and trekkers, she did not narrate her experiences "to too many people," thus indicating her uniqueness and singling herself out from the majority through pointing at different patterns of communication. It is then that she is reminded of friends of hers, a couple, who traveled sometime after she did, and with whom she did share her experiences:

> I also gave them recommendations for the Journey. So I kinda' sent them with a push. They are the only ones I sent a postcard to: "Many people can go without [the Journey] and that's fine. YOU GO TO INDIA!" Hmmm. There's a fellowship of travelers all right!

The persuasiveness, whether implicit or explicit, silent or voiced, was so compelling that I soon came to assume that this was, in fact, the very *motivation* of the interviewees, which had drawn these interviewees to this particular study in such an easy manner. Each of them has been more than willing to be interviewed and has let me know this explicitly (this is a consistent finding among backpackers, accentuated to some degree among Israelis. See Avrahami, 2001; Elsrud, 2001; Riley, 1988; Simchai, 1998).

It is to this compelling power that I refer as the Genre, the intersubjective style of narration, and the various forms of enactments different human experiences endow to the various, corresponding, genres of narration. In the

domain of Literary Criticism, which regards written texts rather then oral narratives or transcribed texts, Shoshana Felman provides inspiring insights in her discussion of "textual acts" (a paraphrase of "speech acts," Felman, 1977/1982, p. 101). Though Felman's discussion relies solely on written texts, it is in fact intertextual through its consideration of the dialogical conversation between critics with respect to each other's readings and interpretations (Felman, 1977/1982). Felman writes: "Through its very reading, the text, so to speak, acts itself out. As a reading effect, this inadvertent 'acting out' is indeed uncanny: whichever way the reader turns he can but be turned by the text, he can but *perform* it by *repeating* it ... the frame (of the story) indeed leaves no one *out*: it pulls the outside of the story into its inside by enclosing in it what is usually outside it: its own readers" (pp. 101, 123, italics are Felman's). We can also regard Felman's description as referring not only to "reading" but also to "hearing," an application or conversion formula to oral narrative genres and their qualities of enactment that is of exponential power, adding the immediateness of talk.

Felman's ideas, the concepts she suggests and their inter-relatedness bring to mind the relations between sections three and four in the diagram above, relations which in Felman's terms "enclose" a community of speakers and bring about the genre: In "acting out" and being "performed" the story "pulls" and "encloses" the Other, the interviewer/researcher who does not yet "know." In Figure 1 this has been demonstrated using the terms "Experience" and "Genre" (Sections 3 and 4, respectively).

I recall that while driving home, after the moving interview with Galit, I recorded my own feelings, which powerfully echoed and were moved by Galit's genre of narration:

> My strongest impression was the immensity of the experience that took place there [in the journey] and really some sort of sadness and nostalgia with the return ... Something really strong that also- something that WORKED- that comes through very much in the shape of "[I] SHOULD GO THERE," that I feel that the right thing is really to go there. In order to experience as she did something very very profound. Something really strong, emotionally powerful ...

Although I did not run into a near car accident as a consequence of the pervasive narratives I heard during the interviews – as Susan Harding, whose work I will discuss shortly, did (1987, p. 169) – the stories did, nonetheless, implicate me forcefully. They created, and then acted within an emotionally charged and heightened interpersonal field. In a way akin to the backpack-

ers themselves, I could find my self, too, experiencing something deep and profound – which was difficult, if not impossible, to convey in words. Yet another striking parallel existed between our separate, but resonating, experiences. While backpackers insisted "[I] SHOULD GO THERE," with a double emphasis on the last word, I realized that I did travel, but to HERE, rather than THERE. My *arrival at the interview*, to meet with, talk with and listen to the backpackers telling their stories was interpreted by them in the same context or in the same "real situation" (Bakhtin, 1953/1986, p. 88) as their own travel. They conceived of it as a minor trip I made, perhaps a preparatory excursion before the "real" grand journey.

The actual or corporeal "meeting of motivations," as Corradi's quote above suggested (Corradi, 1991, p. 109), indeed "made possible the reconstruction of the story," and with it the metonymic taste of the unique backpacking experience. The scene of our meeting was conceived of in similar ways as the journey and was, hence, not only analogous but also homologous with the journey and with the backpacking experience. For the backpackers, narrating was as integral a component of the experience they were talking about as was any other.

THE SUGGESTIVE-PERSUASIVE GENRE

We can resume now the theoretical discussion while considering the fourth section of the above diagram (Figure 1). This section does not deal only with experience, but also, eventually, with the genre of narration that is a consequence of the experience, and which most faithfully captures and conveys it. Thus the genred utterance is carried out in reference to the presumed or *verified position* of the listener (in this case myself), that is to say to the shared or unshared experiential state, with the intention of persuading me to join the backpackers, participate in such journeys, experience their profound uniqueness, and, not the least, join and experience the "fellowship of travelers."

When describing her ethnographic interviews with born-again Christians, and her experiences trying to learn their religious language, Harding notes that, "[for them] there is no such thing as a neutral 'participant-observation' position, no place for an ethnographer who seeks 'information.' Either you are lost or you are saved … It was inconceivable to them that anyone with

appetite for the gospel as great as mine was simply 'gathering information,' was just there 'to write a book.' No, I was 'searching' (Harding, 1987, p. 171; also Cain, 1991; Stromberg, 1993; Wortham, 2001). The striking parallels of our experiences are telling. In both cases the researcher is positioned as a "searcher," an outsider stripped of the reflexive and intellectual "re-" prefix. The researcher is perceived by the backpackers, or by the born-again Christians, in a similar way to the way they themselves were prior to their transformative experience and initiation into their communities. Subsequently, since the researcher is presumed to be 'searching,' he or she is presented with an adequate interpersonal genre – that of suggestion and persuasion – which is relatively mild and implicit in the case of backpackers, and downright missionary and straightforward in the case of the born-again Christians.

The persuasive dialogical genre has a direction; its essence is to *move* the listener-participant, as any good story does (and so a good story is, literally, one that *moves* us. i.e., here – to join the "family," to "know the language," to "feel the atmosphere," to receive a "Visa" and etc. via traveling the great journey). It is intersubjective, dynamic and active, and at its core it *influences* and *manipulates* the hearer, the interlocutor, via its dialogical operation *between* the participants in the narrating occasion. These effects are not, in fact, products, or byproducts of the narration but rather its essential character. The genre draws its force from the mutual motivations, which we have mentioned earlier, that have initially brought the two participants together in the occurrence of the conversation (interview). It is inter-active in that it is a mode of enacting upon, influencing, appealing and compelling – not the story but its *raison d'être*. To paraphrase Schely-Newman's definition (above), the genre is not "a perspective on a text," but the perspectives and prospects a dialogical text endows in and upon its audience.

This aspect is not necessarily explicit in the narratives. In some cases, as with Galit, I have *felt* implicated in and by her story, and compelled to share the experience of journeying, although she is not overtly suasive in the interview and does not explicitly suggest that I do so. As I mentioned earlier, when I was the one who voiced these feelings to the interviewees, they would exclaim with satisfaction "Then I have succeeded!" Yet, in most of the interviews I did receive explicit directions and persuasions to embark on the journey and trek. Here, in another more roundabout variation, Shula refers to herself and to a seemingly anonymous potential interlocutor:

> I think that it is something that is very mmm important that everyone will do. I-
> EVERY person who is- who hesitates, I tell him: GO TRAVEL. Like- you gotta
> go and travel to know what it's like … I really push'm and tell'm as much as
> possible so they'll go.

It occurs to me that since at this point in our conversation, Shula did not know whether I did or did not travel (I had not yet answered her question), she may have positioned me as a "hesitator," one who needs a "push" (or rather, a pull) in the form of narrating "as much as possible" about her experiences – which is precisely what she has done in the interview.

Though in a different way, Daniel achieves the same aim:

> It's the people you meet who come and tell you stories – they stir you up, and
> you decide to join. You embark [on the journey] … Before we left we spent time
> together with another fellow, and he showed us his picture albums and explained
> … You meet with Israelis and they'll direct you. They'll tell you what's there to
> see, what's there to do.

Listening to backpackers' stories, these backpackers tell us, is inspiring and provoking. In Daniel's description a powerful claim is made, according to which listening to stories leads directly and logically to decisions and, there-after, to actions: "They stir you up, and you decide to join." People, in this case Israelis, and stories, in this case backpackers' narratives of adventures and authenticity, "direct you" in the strongest sense. They indicate what do to, where, when, with whom, and moreover, *how to feel* and *how to experience* as a backpacker.

I suggest that the fact I am spending time with and among "Israelis," lis-tening to their stories, hearing their explanations and looking together through their picture albums should, in itself, "direct" me in a very certain way. I am implicated both within the narration event, and *over and beyond it*. The con-text suggests an ex-text, which a personal story – my own – that is drafted during the interview conversation, yet to be consummated and embodied. Harding notes that while the stories she had heard appear to be about "other characters, on the narrative surface," they are, in fact, "on a deep level about the listener: You, too, are a character in these stories; these stories are about you." Harding, 1987, p. 173). She further observes that according to the perception of the born-again Baptist Christians she interviewed, "if you are seriously willing to listen to the gospel, you have begun to convert" (p. 178).

In the following diagram (see Figure 2 below) a continuum is depicted along which various persuasive and missionary narratives can be conceptu-
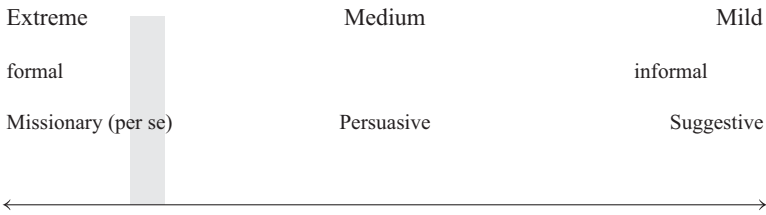
Extreme	Medium	Mild
formal		informal
Missionary (per se)	Persuasive	Suggestive

Figure 2

Suggestive–Persuasive–Missionary Genre Continuum

alized. Toward its "extreme/formal" end we would expect to find missionary narrations, whether explicitly religious or other varieties of "truly persuasive discourses" (Lakoff, 1982, p. 33). Towards the continuum's "mild" end are located narrations in which the persuasive or suggestive character is either mild ("intermediate" or "semipersuasive," types of narratives, Lakoff, 1982), or – if this is indeed possible – non-existent. Somewhere along the continuum, near its formal/extreme end, a threshold area could be conceived (depicted in gray in Figure 2), an area that differentiates such outright and explicit missionary narrations from informal and more covert ones. It serves as an analytic threshold between the two, but is at the same time permeable: Some genres, which are sometimes and under certain social circumstances explicit, might "shift" rightwards and lose the explicit qualities they once possessed, and vice versa: Narrations that were implicit, and perhaps informal, might obtain – with time and social change – explicit and formal qualities. The genres located within this "gray" area are ambiguous and indeterminate, they are, at once, outright and tacit, formal and informal.

The diagram suggests a conceptual contribution to the fields of persuasion research, from a dialogical-narrative perspective. The research on persuasion dates back to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and originates from a variety of disciplines. Among these are i. Linguistics, particularly developments which derived from speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) regarding "perlocutive" acts (Gaines, 1979), and the communicational value of speech acts (Geis, 1995); ii. Psychology, via consideration of the variables influencing changes of cognition and, later, actions (see Green & Brock, 2000, about "transportation theory"); iii. Religious studies (Hinze, 1996; Mack & Rob-

bins, 1989); and, more closely related to our discussion, iv. Conversation and communication analysis (Johnstone, 1989; Keane, 1997; Lakoff, 1982; Schmidt & Kess, 1986), to mention but a few. Interestingly, the otherwise differing works converge when considering the unique interrelation between the narrative form and persuasion. The suggestion here is that it is the intersubjective quality of narratives, which is inherent to narrative itself, that grants it its persuasive power.

Ostensibly, persuasion could be defined as "the attempt or intention of one participant to change the behavior, feelings, intentions or viewpoint of another by communicative means." (Lakoff, 1982, p. 28) However, in our discussion the stress on "behavior" is crucial. In fact, since backpacking *is* a behavior, the actual participation in the trip is crucial to the definition of persuasion, and we would thus prefer definitions that not only mention "behavior" or "action" but also place it at the crux of persuasion. Such is Torronen's (2000) definition: "Persuasive speech is a process of *symbolically constructing social reality in a strong sense*: It aims consciously to influence people's perceptions of the surrounding world and the way they should act in accordance with those perceptions ... It motives the subject, who is outside the text, to take action." (pp. 81–82, my emphasis) Similar to how backpackers' stories of risk and adventure are socially constructed (elucidated succinctly by Elsrud, 2001), the "strong" type of social constructedness can be viewed as encompassing persuasion and invitation within the construction. That is to say, the dialogically constructed realm is already saturated with intention and persuasion, and the "information" is thus more precisely conceptualized as "infosuasion" (following Savarese, 2000).

Further, the invitation to experience backpacking is not restricted to "going through the motion," and the subsequent "knowing," but is directed at the possibility of narrating this experience once it has been acquired. Sharing the experience with veteran backpackers, or influencing and persuading soon-to-be or "novice" backpackers (Cain, 1991) is a *defining element of the experience itself*. As is true for born-again Christians, as well as a variety of more religious communities, the role of narrating the profound experience (attested in the backpackers' frequent reiteration of their stories, Avrahami, 2001; Elsrud, 2001; Noy, 2002a; Riley, 1988), is as crucial to the experience as "going through" the physical act of backpacking itself. As I have indicated above, it is an integral part of it, regardless of whether the narration is performed during the trip, as Galit's assertion, written on a postcard, conveys

("YOU GO TO INDIA!"), or afterwards, as Shula's does ("GO TRAVEL").
In this light, Keane's (1997) discussion of the circumstances in which reli-
gious speech is performed sheds light on the role of sharing and persuading
among backpackers: "An important kind of religious transformation consists
of taking a new role as speaker. The conversion narrative ... entail being
transformed from the listener to the speaker ... the speaker's religious iden-
tity is approached not only or most usefully as object of discourse (as in the
'life history'), but also as an inhabitable speaking role with all the discursive
and moral possibilities that may entail." (p. 58) It is the frequent telling and
retellings of the stories to the available audiences – primarily veteran and
potential backpackers, but also family relatives and the like – which com-
pletes and brings to a (successful) closure the experience of the backpacking
journey, and its "knowing."

As for the above diagram (Figure 2), we should finally take notice of the
two-fold similarity between the two kinds of narratives previously discussed:
those of the (secular) backpackers and those of the born-again Baptist Chris-
tians or the ultra-orthodox Jews. In both cases, the persuasion aims at both
the *experience* itself – a tourist at the first instance, and a religious at the
second – and at the *process* that has brought the listener-participator to the
corresponding experience (participating in the "great journey" and trekking
or "returning to faith").[6] Therefore, narrations that are extreme or explicit
are the ones that urge their audience to act; they are more formal and pre-
structured commercials, cashing in *ad extremum* the credit the listening ear
has lent them.

CONCLUSION

After all, language enters life through concrete utterances ... and life enters lan-
guage through concrete utterances as well.

(Bakhtin, 1953/1986, p. 63)

In this article I explored the genre of the stories that young Israeli backpack-
ers narrate about their profound personal experiences during the extended

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[6] This resemblance is not coincidental. For a theoretical discussion regarding the relation
between the religious experience of traditional "holy-pilgrimage," on the one hand, and the
touristic experience of the modern/postmodern "secular pilgrimage," on the other hand, see
Turner, 1973, 1982, 1985, and Cohen, 1985, 1992a, 1992b.

backpacking trip. Addressing issues concerning the situation or circumstance typical to the qualitative and narrative interview, I suggested that the actual conversation encounter was facilitated vis-à-vis a mutuality of converging motivations. Albeit having different, sometimes conflicting, motivations and interests, the possibility and actuality of the meeting of the two – interviewer and interviewee – suggests that the interview is a site of convergence. The meeting of subjective motivations creates the intersubjective or dialogical realm in which narratives are consummates, in which they are voiced and embodied.

In the specific context of the present research, the theoretical issue of the intersubjective making of narratives had a unique character, which was delineated by the shift from inter-subjective to inter-active modes of encounter, communication and narration. The meeting between researcher and interviewee was conceived of by the latter not only as a meeting of interests and subjects (an "inter-view," Kvale, 1996), but also a meeting embedded in actions and behaviors. For the backpackers, a true acknowledgement of the *effect* or "*effectiveness*" (Goffman, 1974) of the stories they have shared was not limited to enthusiastic or emotional responses, but rather meant the actual *repetition and re-enactment* of the backpacking story by the audience. This is to be achieved, so the backpackers' story-of-the-story goes, through actively participating in the backpacking trip, along elaborated "guidelines," often phrased as "recommendations," "tips," "warnings" and the like, overtly or covertly embedded within the narratives.

Thus the stories, though they seem descriptions of adventurous and dramatic experiences, are in fact prescription, suggesting and persuading the interlocutor to participate in the trip, to experience backpacking from "within," and to become a member of the backpacking community. The personal narratives implicate and involve their audience – be it the researcher or other potential backpackers. They do so by converging or collapsing the "storyrealms" with the "taleworlds" (Young, 1987), the "constitutive" with the "referential" dimensions of language (Stromberg, 1993), or, in other words, by indexing two "conceptual structures" at once (Wortham, 2001). The construction of the backpacking stories (Elsrud, 2001) was not restricted to the "there" and "then," but rather forcibly involved the "here and now" as well. The protagonists were not only the backpackers hiking in "Third world" countries, but also the participants attending the (interview) meeting – they, too, were in the stories and their actions and behaviors, thus, prospectively storied.

The intensity of the stories stemmed, somewhat paradoxically, precisely from the ineffable quality of the experience that lay at their heart, that is, from what they are *not able to narrate*. The narrators reiterate the point that there is no possible access to the narrated experience save for embracing the entire enterprise and going through the backpacking motion. The analogy drawn in their rhetoric concerns texts and practices: What is beyond the text (and words), that which is ineffable and sublime (i.e. "authentic" or "pure," Cederholm, 1994, 2000) lays also beyond the context of the interaction in which these stories are realized. It is from this perspective that the stories are rendered truly "persuasive" – they operate within a dialogical field where narrative and action/behavior are analogized as symbolic performances. Thus an interplay and a mixture formulate between the embodied narratives, on the one hand, and the narrativized backpacking rite-of-passage, on the other hand; between the "here and now," i.e., the occurrence of the interview, and the "there and then," i.e., the actuality of the backpacking trip. As we have noted – following Harding (1987) and Wortham (2001) – the researcher is discursively stripped of the "re-" prefix, which symbolically affords her or him a more distanced and re-flexive stance, and is positioned and implicated by the backpackers as a "searcher."

Inter-Active Genres

Our exploration into variations of common motivational genres – genres that motivate and propel action – within an interpersonal fields suggests the possibility of extending the conceptual scope of narration genres. A dialogical inter-actional definition of genre, which implies that the stories involve and implicate their audiences into actions in certain ways, do not necessitate nor limit the possible genres to those of the persuasive-missionary variety (see Figure 2 above). Rather, we may extend our discussion of the essential inter*active* aspects of narrative so as to include a variety of communicational settings and circumstances. Keeping in mind that "narratives not only represent state of affairs but also accomplish social actions" (Wortham, 2001, p. 9), we could tentatively assume what kind of "social actions" may different genres entail.

We may conceptualize several dialogic and interactive continuums similar to the one depicted above (Figure 2). Such genres, or more precisely, meta-genres, can be characterized by their intersubjective and interactive qualities

(referring to the distinctions between the genres), as well as by their intensities and explicitness (referring to the distinctions within the genres). Among these genres exist narrations that correspond to central themes of the human experiences in Modern (and post-Modern) times, as they are manifested in particular social and cultural contexts. Whether narrations of trauma and survival or of accusation and complaint, intersubjective genres are expected to be complementary to the missionary-persuasive ones by way of implicating their addressees and acting upon them in different manners. Unlike the persuasive genre, which moves the listener to *repeat* – participate, share and narrate – the narrated practice and the consequent experience, survival genres implicate and act upon their interlocutors differently, in ways that "witness," "preserve" and "memorialize" the stories, allowing the stories to be recounted and passed on; and acusational or complaintative narratives engage their audiences yet differently, implying responsibility for events described in the narrated story and demanding actual reparation for the harm that was allegedly done.

In these and other cases, the narration context and the "interactive positioning" (Wortham, 2001) of the participants needs to be thoroughly considered and elucidated, before any understanding of the consequences of the dialogical, embodied and interactive characters of human communication and interaction, may be achieved. In all of these cases, the "ultimate indeterminacy" of every utterance (Wortham, 2001, pp. 22–23, following Bakhtin, 1953/1986) is symbolically extended to the realms of action and behavior. Not only words, but also entire stories of self and experience are borrowed and repeated form one to another; and not only stories are heard and borrowed but also – and sometimes most so – the embodied performances of these narratives.

Israeli Backpacking as Pilgrimage

The parallels we have noted between the backpackers and the born-again Christians, as well as other more or less explicitly religious and missionary communities, do not represent a coincidence of rhetoric (see Note 6). The persuasive narratives indeed indicate, not to say constitute, the semi-religious qualities of backpackers as a group, otherwise considered – within the frame of popular Israeli culture and society – secular. Yet, albeit the backpacking trip may be considered a "secular" tourist practice, since the first thesis that

was written about Israeli backpackers, titled "Secular Pilgrimage in the Israeli Context" (Jacobson, 1987), to the present, religious echoes are clear.

These resemblances are elucidated in Katriel's (1995) work on the rituals of hiking and backpacking in Israel, which frames such activities as having an ideological quality that carries a religious "aura." Katriel considers the widespread practice of hiking in Israeli culture an "important element in the complex of ritualized cultural practices which have been appropriated and cultivated during the Israeli pre-state ... and which form the core of Israeli 'civil religion' ... [hiking carries] a special aura in Israel public culture ... as a native-Israeli form of secular pilgrimage." (p. 6. See also Almog, 2000; Ben-Yehuda, 1995; Katriel, 1987; Liebman & Don-Yehiya, 1983; Zerubavel, 1995). Thus, the multileyered connections between the leisured activity of backpacking, on the one hand, and ideological practices which carry religious overtones, on the other hand, are played out here in relationship to a larger cultural context.

These rhetoric characteristics point to the discursive practices common among Jewish Israeli youths, in which explicitly missionary and religious language is common and of high appeal. Over the last three decades the different social alternatives that became viable to secular youths in Israel include, to some considerable and growing extent, a variety of religious possibilities (Deshen, Liebman, & Shokeid, 1995; Liebman & Katz, 1997), including "returning to faith" (*hazara bitshuva*), i.e., being "born again" as ultra-orthodox, usually *Hasidic*, Jews. Considering such horizon of social possibilities and identities suggests conceptualizing backpacking – and the "persuasive" discourse – as one of a few contesting practices and discourses of identity within the Hebrew speaking Jewish society in Israel. Backpacking, thus, offers and is a part of a competing and contesting social field which may be discursively conceptualized as missionary.

Tourists' Narratives

Finally, as backpackers are international tourists, the exploration into linguistic and communicational forms sheds light on the broader issues – consistently under-researched – of language usage in tourist institutions, practices and among tourists (Cohen & Cooper, 1986; Dann, 1996). In backpacking, the strong form of a socially constructed identity is mediated and sustained through patterns of frequent interpersonal communication (Elsrud,

2001; Murphy, 2001; Riley, 1988). As these patterns bespeak of the common characteristics found among tourists more broadly, they also point to the uniqueness of the backpacking practice as a sub-category of tourism. In this instance, the "pre-trip" language register, which inevitably serves the tourist industry to "promote" travel (Dann, 1996, p. 135–170), is conceived of, in an interpersonal level, as persuasive or "missionary."

While the assertion that "tourism in grounded in discourse" (Dann, 1996, p. 2) is clearly exemplified and reiterated, the specificities, which are typical of the backpacking practice, suggest that backpackers relay on hearsay and informal social networks of communication, rather than on more institutionalized and commercial agencies. Interestingly, this reliance, too, represents and echoes a cultural pattern of interpersonal communication prevalent among Hebrew speaking Jewish Israelis, of which most notable qualities are informality and directedness (See Almog, 2000; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Katriel, 1991, 1993; Noy, 2002b).

EPILOGUE

Eventually, readers of earlier drafts of this paper consistently addressed me with the questions "Did you trek? Did you travel?" – the very questions that the interviewees themselves have asked me, and in the same pervasive manner that initially sparked my curiosity to consider and to research these issues. In order to "open" and problematize the issues implicitly conveyed in the question, I refrained from immediately answering it. Thus, a realm, or better, a "storyrealm" (See Young, 1987), has opened before me in the interviews, in the general research context and finally, in the theoretical formulation and writing. This storyrealm is the dialogical space that has facilitated this research: the space between the question and its answer, between the address and its response, between the I and its Other.

To the interviewees I have admitted, later in the conversation, that I indeed trekked in Nepal a decade earlier, in a "great journey" similar to theirs, traveling and trekking a common route then and now. Sometimes I have admitted to a desire that my own traveling and trekking stories be heard. I said as much to the informants because I felt that my urge to tell these stories was stimulated by the stories which I had just heard. As is expected, the conversations did not end at this point, but rather re-opened and invigorated as the

genre shifted: from a persuasive genre, which took place between knower and seeker, to a genre marked by a sharing and comparing of veterans' experiences. From this point in the conversation and on, both of us – interviewee and interviewer – could freely share our recollections from "inside" the experience (i.e., having a "visa"), "knowing" as Ephrat has put it, what the other is talking about.

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