

NARRATIVE IDENTITIES IN PARTICIPATORY ART AND DESIGN CASES

IDENTITIES

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores identities that come about through the narratives different actors communicate in participatory art and design projects, as opposed to the roles assumed for and by them. This contributes to the discussion of equal engagement in participatory practices. The paper focuses on the notion of narrative identity in the context of two case studies, *Good Life in Villages*, a design competition held in rural Finnish Lapland with local communities, and *Have You Heard*, an art intervention working with migrant businesses in Edinburgh, UK. Both cases follow the methodology of design research through practice and artistic research and address current social issues, the former - population ageing and challenges of centralism, and the latter - migration and belonging, through design and art, respectively. The aim of the paper is to propose a different point of view on facilitating participant engagement and adding local meaning to cases through understanding and utilizing narrative identities.

INTRODUCTION

Process description is the prevailing way of discussing complex participatory art and design cases, with previous research having often focused on the roles actors play in them. This approach often restricts in-depth understanding, especially in what concerns the people involved in the process. When applied in the two case studies presented in this paper, the role analysis angle proved to be rather limiting and depersonalizing.

When interacting during a dedicated timeframe, that is a participatory project duration, be it in a group or one on one, two processes are inherent to this activity: sharing narratives and creating a relationship. Using an example of oral history creation, Portelli (2005) refers to the dynamics between a narrator and a narratee as to a “listening art and an art based on a set of relationships”. Narratives provide a frame of reference to the life circumstances of the one who shares them, both for themselves and for the one listening. Through this sharing of narratives, participants’ identities become apparent and allow more complex relationships to build.

In order to better understand the agency of people involved in art and design projects, this paper explores the identities that come about through the narratives actors choose to communicate, as opposed to the roles assumed for and by them during participatory processes. Despite the long and successful effort of democratization and shifting power structures in participatory design projects, the position of “role-giving” still seems to be authoritative and limiting for the true involvement of all the actors in such processes.

In the following two sections, the paper focuses on theoretical understanding and previous research of the concepts of roles and identities. The aim is to expand roles perspective and propose narrative identities as an alternative way of looking at art and design cases. Further, the paper describes two case studies, *Good Life in Villages* and *Have You Heard*, and the involved participants from narrative identity perspective. The

paper concludes with reflections on how the focus on narrative identities can contribute to engagement in participatory art and design projects.

ROLES IN ART AND DESIGN PRACTICES

Art and design practices act together in public space to create social impact. This is often done through co-design approach where multiple actors with different backgrounds, knowledge and aims come together. In order to effectively progress with the project, the participating persons typically take on different roles. Ilgen and Hollenbeck (1991) argue that roles exist in the minds of people. When at least one person acts out behaviors as a holder of a role, others linked in various ways to the role holder have expectations about the pattern of behavior that should be displayed to perform the focal person's role.

Biddle (1979: 4-6), one of the early scholars to present and define Role Theory, described role at its most basic level as an expected pattern or set of behaviors. In design research, progressive interest has been directed to the role of the designer and artist as well as to the way it changes through time. For instance, Valtonen (2005) studied the development of the industrial designer's role during six different decades. Through those decades the role of a designer has been that of a creator, whose work was likened to that of an artist, a team member working with mechanics and marketing specialists, then an end-user expert, later a coordinator, manager and enabler of innovation inside and outside companies.

Participatory tools and techniques have become part of standard practice for many design and art fields. "Participation" in Participatory Design intends investigation, reflection upon, understanding, establishing, developing and support of mutual learning processes as they unfold between participants in collective "reflection-in-action" during the design process (Robertson & Simonsen 2012: 5). Many researchers from art and design fields have studied the changing role of designer and artist in participatory processes. Tan (2012), for instance, identified seven different roles of designers in participatory cases: co-creator, researcher, facilitator, capacity builder, social entrepreneur, provocateur and strategist.

Gaztambide-Fernández (2015) defined societal roles of an artist through three theoretical conceptions of cultural worker: cultural civilizer, border crosser and representor. Artists as cultural workers, thus, challenge definitions of representation as they work with meanings and discursive constructs that have rhetorical boundaries. In order to achieve user participation in design, a designer is expected to practice multiple roles of design developer, facilitator and generator following the tactics of Design Participation (Lee 2008). User's role, too, may vary from proactive participation, where they contribute to solving and framing challenges, to an inactive role where user data are interpreted without direct engagement with the user community (Keinonen 2009).

Relying on roles in order to organize and make sense of a diverse group of users can be an adequate and helpful tool in participatory projects that aim for a concrete quantifiable or otherwise tangible result. However, when tackling complex and multifaceted social situations affected by many subjective variables there may be a need for a more fluid category. As noted by Somers (1994: 635):

There is no reason to assume a priori that people with similar attributes will share common experiences of social life, let alone be moved to common forms and meanings of social action, unless they share similar narrative identities and relational settings.

NOTICING NARRATIVE IDENTITIES

Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001: 1) comment on the genre of language that is typically used when discussing "construction of self and life worlds", that is narration. Somers (1994), in turn, proposes to introduce to the discussion of identity the "categorically destabilizing dimensions of time, space, and relationality". It becomes apparent that both narrative and identity share the above-mentioned dimensions and, therefore, narrative becomes an appropriate means for exploration of "the construction of selves in cultural contexts of time and space" (Brockmeier & Carbaugh 2001: 15).

It is further noted by Somers (1994: 606), however, that the subject of such exploration is not always a conscious maker of their identity narratives. She writes: "...all of us come to be who we are (however ephemeral, multiple, and changing) by being located or locating ourselves (usually unconsciously) in social narratives rarely of our own making". In this statement Somers brings up at once three important aspects inherent to both identity and narrative: *contextuality*, *intersectionality*, and *authorship*. These categories are surely not definitive or exclusive for framing the notion of identity, but the authors of this paper find them fitting in the context of their participatory art and design processes.

Contextuality here refers to general relationship of the concept of identity with time, space and other indicators of context. For example, an individual can identify as a Russian-born female for all of their life, while transitioning from a student identity towards identifying as a middle-class professional over a shorter period of time and changing their whereabouts. They may further temporarily fluctuate again to student identity going "back to school" later in life. Contextuality may also indicate transitory and fragile nature of identity. Bauman and Vecchi (2004: 11) wrote in this regard that "belonging' and 'identity' are not cut in rock,... they are not secured by a lifelong guarantee... they are eminently negotiable and revocable". Identity, therefore, is regarded as a changing, and not static category, a process where an individual balances between multiple "belongings". Hogg, Terry and White (1995: 255) brought up in this respect "dynamic mediation of the socially constructed self between individual behavior and social structure".

The category of *intersectionality* first introduced by Crenshaw (1989) proposed a new analytical view on complex intersections of multiple identities (based on race, gender, sexuality and other), mainly the ones marginalized at the times. In this analysis, it intends multiple identities an individual may simultaneously assume for himself, which can be either complementary or conflicting to one another. For example, being both colleagues and romantic partners can become conflicting identity levels in a relationship. Intersectionality may also intend plural ways of viewing identity function. In *Youth, Identity and Digital Media* Buckingham (2008, 1) points out one of the dualities in the ways that identities tend to act. On the one hand, it is “what distinguishes us from other people”. However, in the context of nationality, culture, sexuality or gender, identity may become about “identification with others whom we assume are similar to us”

(Buckingham 2008: 1). Much like identity, narratives are often referred to from a pluralistic perspective. For example, Lyotard (1979) wrote how competing plural narratives should and do become an alternative to a prevailing grand narrative in postmodern society.

Authorship is another highly relevant parameter of identity. Baxter Magolda (1999; 2009) introduced the concept of self-authorship as an individual’s internalized identity construction closely linked with the notion of empowerment. As pointed out before by Somers (1994), authorship is a sensitive subject, as an individual might take for granted an identity narrative imposed on them by others. This may impact both individual identity representation and cultural or collective identity. Escudeiro & Valente (2012: 1141) note that an individual might “use cultural artifacts to describe themselves, resorting to describe their collective identity into a stereotypical image, accepting some elements of this identity, but never necessarily living up to it”. Through the prism of narrative Freeman (2001: 289) claims for one’s identity, or story, to never truly be their own due to being articulated “with and among others”.

Finally, through reflecting on the aspect of authorship the question of *power* in relation to identity, or the self, comes forward (Foucault 2011; Rose 1999). Namely, power relationships and dynamics within a group involved in a process together, which is the exact context of participatory art and design. Bishop (2004: 66) argues, though in rather extreme terms, about identity-related dynamics: “the presence of what is not me renders my identity precarious and vulnerable, and the threat that the other represents transforms my own sense of self into something questionable”. This idea is consonant to Bauman’s and Vecchi’s (2004) argument that identity only becomes significant when threatened or contested and, therefore, needs to be defended. Even though in the case studies regarded in this paper participants’ identities were neither contested nor

questioned, they joined the case studies in the first place due to one or another component of their identities (being a village community member or a migrant). Those were the identities that informed their initial narratives and engagement in the projects.

Rather than interpreting participatory processes only based on “functions” and “expected behaviors” of participants, identity perspective in the cases focuses on their more holistic portraits and, therefore, a holistic experience of the projects. It helps to understand and describe projects through the concepts of contextuality, intersectionality and authorship, as well as to reflect on power relationships that form. When narrative identities are brought to the table, it renders all the parties involved equally vulnerable, including the facilitating designer or artist. As noted by Kwon (2002:137): “the uncertainty of identity experienced by the artist is symptomatic of identities of all parties involved in the complex network of activities”. In the following two sections the two case studies and the involved parties are discussed from perspective of narrative identities and respective categories.

TWO PARTICIPATORY CASES

Both case studies were conducted according to the principles of design research through practice (e.g. Koskinen et al. 2011) and artistic research (e.g. Borgdorff 2011; Mäkelä & Nimkulrat 2011; Berg 2014) and addressed current societal challenges. New ideas and solutions in remote villages of Finnish Lapland are needed in order to address ageing population, current centralization politics and long distances, which all have a strong impact on villagers’ everyday life. In design research and practice, a lot of case studies and projects have been carried out with local communities (eg. Lee 2008; Winschiers-Theophilus et al. 2012) and elderly residents (e.g. Vähälä et al. 2012; Lindsay et al. 2012). *Good Life in Villages* case addressed these challenges as well as the issue of empty and quiet villages. The unemployment rate is higher in Lapland compared to other regions in Finland, which often drives young people away in search for their future work and living environments elsewhere. *Good Life in Villages* contest sought new ideas and concepts for raising life quality of the ageing population in Lapland and Arctic areas in general with a concrete local goal to enable four different rural communities of the Kemijoki riverside together with their residents. This paper focuses on the case held in Autti village.

Have You Heard project focused in a more reflective manner on migrant image and discourse in contemporary Europe, namely, the contraposition and “otherness” through which migrants are often viewed and referred to in media and informal communication. The urgent topic of migration has been addressed with increasing interest both in academia (e.g. Traganou

2011; Barrett & Cipolla 2016; Swoboda 2016; Hiltunen & Kraft 2016) and multidisciplinary art practice (e.g. Hiltunen & Kraft 2016; O’Byrne 2016). *Have You Heard* was a story-based art project, which aimed to place a narrative within specific public space through on-site research, multiple means of storytelling, artistic methods and physical artifacts. The objective of such practice is to approach a space as a site for story sharing, dialogue and engagement (Figure 1). The dialogue occurs on several levels - directly, on a micro level, and indirectly, through communicating the collected narratives in an alternative storytelling form. The space acquires new meanings, as the stories get introduced back in it. Together, they form a counter-narrative to a “negative” grand narrative (in this specific case, a “negative” image of a migrant).



Figure 1. Storytelling in public space: artistic process documentation, project *Have You Heard*, Edinburgh, UK (picture by Malla Alatalo).

In both case studies (see Table 1) narratives proved to be significant for the project implementation and further analysis. In *Good Life in Villages* the stories told by the community members helped to identify the community needs as well as design opportunities. The stories were

used during the competition to introduce, ideate and share information in informal situations as well as during workshops and meetings. After the competition, stories were collected from different participant groups (stakeholders) in the form of interviews in order to study their perspectives on what had occurred. In art intervention *Have You Heard* the stories shared by representatives of migrant community served as a starting point that inspired the artistic outcomes and the data for critical reflection on migrant narratives and discourse.

Table 1: Details of the case studies.

Good Life in Villages Northern Finland	Have You Heard Edinburgh, UK
<p>A competition aimed at creating concepts that would enhance aspects of good life in each involved village.</p>	<p>An art intervention aimed to discuss multiculturalism and belonging as well as to place counter-narrative in public space.</p>
<p>----- DURATION -----</p>	
<p>Preparations started in the end of 2014, competition took place in January-February 2015, collaboration and research continued after the competition.</p>	<p>Preparation in Autumn 2013, on-site research and the intervention itself took place in July 2014. Data processing and research continued after the intervention.</p>
<p>----- PEOPLE -----</p>	
<p>Students, villagers, design professionals as well as teachers, sponsoring company representative, organizer, visiting lecturers and journalists, jury of the competition.</p>	<p>Immigrants living in Edinburgh, UK; the group preliminarily assumed as ‘facilitators’: a spatial designer who is also a researcher, a filmmaker, an art manager; occasional passersby.</p>
<p>----- DATA -----</p>	
<p>Data consist, for example, of concept ideas, student reports and fieldwork diaries. This article focuses on Autti case and three interviews done to different participant groups after the competition.</p>	<p>Data consist of interviews, visual data (still & moving images), material artefacts and process documentation of the intervention. This article focuses on the interviews with five shop owners of Leith Walk, Edinburgh, UK.</p>
<p>----- NARRATIVES -----</p>	
<p>Narratives were present during the case as well as in the reflections after it. They were used to explain contexts and experiences, share ideas, empathize and test concepts as well as reflect the results.</p>	<p>Informal storytelling alongside semi-structured interviews provided the background of the participants identities, enabled trust and empathy, formed rich research data and strong motivation for the artistic work.</p>

The team of *Good Life in Villages* competition consisted of five students from different disciplinary backgrounds studying at University of Lapland or Lapland University of Applied Sciences, the residents of Autti village, as well as two professional designers from a design company who were invited to spar the students during the last two days of the competition (Figure 2). The initial setup proposed that the students would be facilitators and concept developers, the villagers would be given an opportunity to participate in the development of solutions that could improve their life quality in Autti, and the professional designers would be team leaders with the task to direct design process towards a concrete solution. The competition was also a part of the University curriculum, the participating teachers' task was to support and aid the students along the way. Other secondary roles included a company representative from the sponsor company, the organizer of the competition from a local design firm, a visiting lecturer, journalists who visited the village during the competition, and the competition jury members. The students and the villagers were the main "characters" in realizing the collaboration and the final concept.



Figure 2. The co-design team of Autti during a workshop and the final presentations (picture by Kemijoki Oy, photographer Antti Raatikainen).

Have You Heard project was enabled through an artistic residency granted to the group of artist-researchers in the city of Edinburgh, UK. The participants, who were first approached by the artist-researchers as storytellers in the project, were all of migrant backgrounds (first or second generation immigrants to the UK). Much like in the case of *Good Life in Villages*, they got involved in the project due to their specific background (villagers, migrants etc.), because the project teams approached them as such. In the context of further collaboration and interaction, other facets of their identities emerged and became more relevant. Design researchers must be able to develop a particular sensitivity to their own bias and to the change of roles from meta-participants (e.g. facilitator) to participants in order to respond to local values and make adequate participation possible (Winschiers-Theophilus et al. 2012). The artist-researcher team consisted of three people: a Russian spatial designer who is also a researcher, a Portuguese filmmaker, and a Finnish art manager. Occasional passersby also contributed to storytelling processes and better understanding of the discussed issues. The project was originally conceived as follows: the team members were to shift roles between researchers and facilitators. Whether or not the team would be involved in the "art-making" of the final intervention was an open question. The participants were regarded in two groups: (a) migrants who would play the role of storytellers (and provide data for research and art process); (b) possible local artists and/or activists who would engage in collaborative art-making processes.

Upon the completion of both projects and having gone back to the data, it became apparent to the researchers in their respective projects that the above-mentioned approach to people's involvement through roles and functions does not fully apply or contribute to sense-making, as their participation had gone beyond the preconceived project planning. This transition beyond the initial "role-giving" happened due to inevitable contingencies, but also largely due to the flexible nature of the process of establishing relationships. Preconceived project planning had certain hierarchy of relationships in mind, which proved to be often transformed over time into a rather flat structure.

TRANSFORMING IDENTITIES

In *Good Life in Villages* case, the qualitative interviews were held after the competition and with different stakeholders: (1) student group, (2) villagers and (3) design professionals. In addition, the author-researcher's own experiences and field notes served as data for this paper. The interviews provided a chance to look back and discuss what had happened and how different participants saw the value of the co-design experience. From *Have You Heard* project data, five participants were chosen to look at more closely in this

paper. All of them have a foreign background and are salespeople: (1) a Portuguese couple who had lived in South Africa and the UK; (2) a British-Pakistani young man at a Pakistani food store; (3) a Polish man recently relocated to the UK for economic reasons; (4) a British-Pakistani young woman at an Indian clothes and jewelry shop. Semi-structured interviews, informal discussions and participant observation with them formed one of the artistic outcomes of the project, a documentary film (Figure 3). The narratives the participants communicated refer to their identities as traders, or shop owners; community members, both of the city of Edinburgh and their national communities; parents, spouses, sons; students, people with higher education; people brought up on Polish children's books or Bollywood films, and so on. Their narrative identities incorporate life experiences, dreams, aspirations and much more. It is important to notice that the questions of the interviews were focusing on the shops and their contribution to the local community, therefore, on a narrow side of the storytellers' identities. However, this did not limit the narratives and the facets of the identities they chose to communicate.



Figure 3. Members of Leith Walk trading community, Edinburgh, UK (stills from documentary film 'Silk Road').

Contextuality dimension was largely part of both cases. The villagers connected their identities to geographical locations, landscapes and historical happenings of Autti, but also to hunting stories and being parents. Many of the villagers told how they missed their children as well as friends and relatives who did not live in the village anymore. In the students' narratives the fragile nature of identities was more present. They were in a transitory phase of their professional identities during the competition, learning professional skills and using them in a real life setting. The design professionals, though being outsiders to Autti village, could contribute a different type of narratives and viewpoints at the process.

The participants in Edinburgh also referred differently to their identities depending on the context. For example, the Portuguese pastry shop owners had just started their business at the time of the interviews and were at the phase of learning to identify as traders, hospitality representatives, their home culture ambassadors in a foreign land. At the same time, they had been married for many years, which clearly influenced their co-working experience, and the identity narratives they communicated instantly fluctuating between private and public contexts of their lives.

The researchers of *Have You Heard* were staying in the neighborhood of Leith Walk, the traders' street. And while acting as interviewers and facilitators in the context of the project, they often stopped by the shops as customers. The Polish food store had Russian products that one of the researchers had missed from home, which appealed to her national identity and instigated nostalgic narrative sharing. Interaction in a different quality, out of the interview context, as friendly neighbors, enabled a deeper mutual narrative sharing processes. Empathizing with one another on multiple levels increases the degree of involvement and care for the themes and the outcomes of a participatory project. Such empathy becomes possible through learning and sharing personal narratives over time.

During the interviews the participants in Autti were asked to describe what they did during the case and give themselves and each other a title. This was a challenging task for many of the participants. It turned out to be easier for them to use the names of the fellow-participants. Using a person's name bears in mind their multiple and complex identity, unlike "labeling" them with a title or a role. The communication and connection between participants evolved during the case - one of the students said: "*As we got to know the villagers, they started to feel more like our pals.*" This changed the aim of "directing" and "helping" towards more flexible platform for doing together.

Intersectionality of the identities became apparent through the different groups that worked together in Autti village. Every individual has complex and multiple identities and in a participatory project it is possible to put everyone's identities in contact with the others in a productive way. The case can help to

identify and acknowledge, add to or otherwise transform participants' identities. In Good Life in Villages case, the different stakeholders expressed the feeling that the different identities and viewpoints supported each other and contributed towards better outcomes of the project. For example, a student who is normally an urban citizen had a chance to add to her identity by becoming at once a project facilitator, a listener and even a "temporary villager" through empathizing with the experiences narrated by the local participants.

Another example of transforming identities is constituted by the fact that, once given space and time to employ their own experiences and expertise, the villagers of Autti themselves expressed a wish to continue concept development after the competition. This way the case contributed to the *authorship* and *power* element of identity formation, as the villagers felt empowered to further their new "regional developer" identities. Initially, the villagers thought that they would like to focus on developing an elderly home service, but through co-design, it transformed first to unexpected directions, like building a casino in Autti, to finally a tourism concept that could contribute to actually bringing more people to Autti. Villagers also felt that the competition contributed to their collective identity as people coming from and living in Autti. One of the villagers shared: "...we noticed that there is actually a lot of potential in Autti... and that we can really contribute to that".

In the Edinburgh case *authorship* and *power* components manifested themselves when the participants took initiative to influence the course of the project (and their environments). For example, the participants from Pakistani food store went from being mere storytellers to taking charge and serving as guides for the team of the researchers. The Portuguese pastry shop owners volunteered to host in their space the final event of the project - the film screening and group discussion.

Observation of Edinburgh participants at their work places revealed *intersectionalities*, too. It became apparent how the participants simultaneously ended up being service providers, friends, neighbors and social workers for their national communities away from homeland. Especially the Indian shop acts as a community center where people come to ask for advice, discuss most recent Indian films, get their beauty procedures done, fix their clothes and so on. The same search for the familiar lead the young British-Pakistani woman, a former journalist for Financial Times, to seek for job here: "...I walked into this shop, because I felt the sense of familiarity... This shop was my first step to getting to know people." This was a significant insight for the project focus, which lay in reflection on the complexity of belonging through analyzing shared narratives. In fact, the participants themselves had done the work of constructing their identities around this complexity, like this young woman who chose belonging and familiarity over a "lonely" career path

CONCLUSION

While working on this paper, an ad from Denmark (TV2 2017) kept popping up at the authors' Facebook feeds. It tells in a compact way that, as humans, we tend to label and group others, and ourselves attributing fixed roles. In the ad, people are in a big room standing in smaller homogenous groups inside squares that are taped to the floor. They are asked to move to the front of the room when they hear a description that fits them. The host starts by asking: "*Who in this room was the class clown? Who are stepparents?*" Corresponding persons move to the front and form new groups momentarily. The ad continues: "*And then suddenly there's us. We, who believe in life after death. We, who have seen a UFO. And all of us who love to dance...*" People laugh, even hug each other and are surprised by the people standing next to them. Ad concludes: "...*And then there's all of us who just love Denmark. So maybe there's more that brings us together than we think.*" The ad aims to create an inclusive counter-narrative among today's discourse of intolerance in Europe, but it is doing so through the questionable in itself nationalist unification angle. Disregarding this problematic aspect, the piece is a fitting illustration of the overlapping complexity of individuals' identities versus the restricting boxes of their social roles and positions.

The authors noticed that even though a "role-giving" process may often be a good starting point, it soon becomes more productive to allow for the tasks and collaborations to form in a way that is suitable and organic for all the participants. This takes time. Some of the struggles artists and designers might feel in the process can be a result of them trying to direct or speed up the course of the project. When cases are fit for ever-developing participants' identities, a more equal learning, discussion, creation and decision-making can happen.

In *Good Life in Villages* case study choosing the research angle of narrative identities over the role perspective allowed all the participants to equally "step out of their comfort zones" by assuming the positions of decision-makers and bringing in deeply personal experiences. In *Have You Heard* case study the narrative identities perspective not only enriched the research and artistic data, but also allowed the participant community to be an active maker of their own artistic representation in the project by hosting, taking initiatives and bringing in stories and artifacts meaningful for them.

The approach through narrative identity can challenge power structures in at least two ways. Firstly, it can facilitate and enhance participation, and through that empower individuals to make decisions about their surroundings, enabling their transition from being passive participants to having an active agency in and an impact on the participatory process. Secondly, through narratives people make sense of their own life situations and explore their positions in the community.

If participatory processes consider the plurality of identities, social empowerment can also emerge from the deeper understanding of individual identities in relation to others.

Both authors note about their respective cases that the informal storytelling and sharing of personal narratives (even the ones unrelated to the themes of the project) in a dedicated time and space often provides more profound and meaningful insights than the outcomes of structured or semi-structured interviews. One of the participants in Edinburgh shared in such way a simple, but poignant observation on identity and belonging:

“Sometimes when I talk to someone, they ask me where I come from. When I answer, the conversation often ends. Then it’s awkward”.

When art and design cases are conducted in urban settings or with communities, different ways of looking at the complexity are called for. The perspective of identity can provide means for focusing on context, intersectionality as well as authorship and power within every given group. Mere numeric measures prove to be insufficient, as does the angle of participants’ roles that restricts looking at participation from a more holistic perspective. The authors suggest that the concept of identity, especially narrative identities, could not only provide deeper understanding, but also open up new meaningful ways for participation.

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