

Aija Logren*, Johanna Ruusuvaori and Jaana Laitinen

Peer responses to self-disclosures in group counseling

<https://doi.org/10.1515/text-2019-2042>

Abstract: Drawing on conversation analysis, this study examines how peers respond to each other's self-disclosures in group counseling interaction. Responses that display sharing and recognition of the experience normalize the experience and build an alliance among group members. This way, responses bring about social support. In addition, responses can offer a different perspective on the views presented in self-disclosures. The responses endorse or challenge the claims that are made and the stance taken in the initial self-disclosure, and link the personal, individual experience to general axioms. The implicit ways of responding to a self-disclosure allow a person to participate in a conversation about intimate and potentially delicate topics without revealing private details. Through self-disclosures and responses to them, participants talk into being the ideals of health counseling and healthy lifestyle: What kind of activities are considered eligible and attainable. The relation of these practices to the institutional goal is intricate. It builds on, first, the stance taken in the self-disclosure toward the institutional goal and the sociocultural values pertaining to it, and second, the responses' alignment with that stance and what kind of values and ideals it further evokes.

Keywords: conversation analysis, group counseling, self-disclosure, social interaction, social support, stance

1 Introduction

The revelation of personal experiences and thoughts, commonly called self-disclosures, is regarded as contributing to individual change processes in counselling and therapy. The ways in which self-disclosures are responded to and how the elements of individual experience are addressed in interaction, may

***Corresponding author: Aija Logren**, Faculty of Social Sciences, Tampere University, Tampere 33100, Finland, E-mail: Aija.Logren@tuni.fi

Johanna Ruusuvaori, Faculty of Social Sciences, Tampere University, Tampere 33100, Finland, E-mail: Johanna.Ruusuvaori@tuni.fi

Jaana Laitinen, Finnish Institute of Occupational Health, FIOH, Oulu, Finland, E-mail: Jaana.Laitinen@ttl.fi

have consequences on whether the therapeutic effect is achieved. However, there is little empirical knowledge on how self-disclosures and their responses unfold in interaction in authentic group counselling discussions.

This study aims to illuminate the actual process in which self-disclosures are made and responded to by peers in group counseling by focusing on the immediate in-situ outcome of self-disclosing in interaction. With microanalysis of interaction, we examine the features of talk in and through which speakers take a stance toward the discussed objects while also managing their relationships through alignment and affiliation with each other. We take the perspective that self-disclosures and their responses mediate the mechanisms that are likely to contribute to achieving institutional goals.

We argue that, through consequent stance-taking actions, participants come to construct their orientation toward the institutional goal. Stance-taking is one of the fundamental social actions in social interaction, and its key aspect is accountability in relation to the underlying sociocultural values. Self-disclosures and their responses embed a stance regarding the relationship of the personal experience and the related values.

Self-disclosures and responses to self-disclosures constitute one sequential context where the influence of peers on an individual takes place in group counseling. We show that the responses contribute to two central mechanisms of group counseling: The responses provide social support through reciprocity and instigate self-reflection by offering different perspectives on the issues discussed in the group. The mechanisms may, however, conflict with the institutional goal of behavior change at times.

In the following section, we situate the present study in the context of previous literature on self-disclosures as well as in the field of studies on interaction. Thereafter, we present the data and the method of analysis. In the analysis section, we describe the different types of peer response to self-disclosure and illustrate them with data excerpts. Finally, we discuss the findings with regard to the institutional aims of group counseling.

2 Literature review

2.1 The therapeutic effect of self-disclosures

In therapeutic literature, self-disclosures are regarded as contributing to individual growth and change processes (Stricker and Fisher 1990; Farber 2006). It is plausible that achieving change requires not only the act of

revelation of one's own experiences but also interaction with the respondents to the self-disclosure (Vinogradov and Yalom 1990; Antaki et al. 2005; Farber 2006). However, there is little knowledge on the ways in which self-disclosures are responded to and how the elements of individual experience are addressed in interaction.

The mechanism through which self-disclosures contribute to individual change processes is equivocal. Self-disclosures are conceived either as independent therapeutic factors (Vinogradov and Yalom 1990; Yalom 1995; Stricker 2003; Farber and Sohn 2007; Derlega and Berg 2013) or as components of a more extensive therapeutic mechanism, such as factors in interpersonal work (Tschuschke et al. 1996; Fontao and Mergenthaler 2008) or in the generation of mutual influence and interdependence (Kelley et al. 1983). We focus on the latter perspective, where self-disclosures are a mediating factor that contribute to other processes. Self-disclosures have been associated with the building of therapeutic alliance (Farber and Hall 2002), emotional intimacy, and self-exploration (Farber 2006).

However, the association of self-disclosure with positive outcomes is not beyond dispute (Toren and Shechtman 2010; Crits-Christoph et al. 2013). Revealing personal information about oneself is always risky, as it makes the teller vulnerable in front of others. Negative self-disclosures – for example, talking about troubles and negative feelings – may result in alienation from others (Coates and Winston 1987; Fowler and Soliz 2010). A weak or absent response to self-disclosure may damage the participants' alliance (Farber 2006), and critical or judgmental responses from peers may make participants feel rejected and create an ambience of unsafety (Vinogradov and Yalom 1990). Especially in group contexts, participants may have concerns about the consequences of self-disclosing, which may lead them to avoid it altogether (Robison and Stockton 1990; Farber et al. 2004; Murphy et al. 2016).

Previous research treats reciprocity of self-disclosure as a crucial factor in interpersonal relationships (Dindia 2002). For example, it is connected to liking each other (Sprecher et al. 2013; Dai et al. 2015) and to increasing intimacy and attraction (Manne et al. 2004; Sprecher and Treger 2015). It has been argued that there is a social norm to match the level of intimacy in reciprocating self-disclosures (Altman and Taylor 1973), and that the social setting and participants' roles might affect appropriate levels of self-disclosure and reciprocity, resulting in less frequent self-disclosure in large groups (Solano and Dunnam 1985). However, a salient part of the existing knowledge about self-disclosure is based on people's perceptions and assumptions about what might happen if they present a self-disclosure in a particular situation, and on their interpretations of their experiences. The actual patterns of responding to self-disclosures in interaction are still an understudied phenomenon.

2.2 Self-disclosure as an interactional practice

The concept of self-disclosure originates from the work of Jourard (1971: 19), who stated, “[S]elf-disclosure is the act of making yourself manifest, showing yourself so others can perceive you.” In more recent literature, self-disclosures are distinguished from routine types of disclosure, such as reporting everyday activities. In a review, Tilton-Weaver et al. (2014) summarize that self-disclosure is, first, made deliberately and voluntarily. It does not occur accidentally and cannot be forced. Second, the information revealed through self-disclosure is “private and not self-evident.” Third, the information is believed (by the speaker) not to be publicly available to the others. Fourth, the information is explicitly delivered as being more than the situation requires (Tilton-Weaver et al. 2014). Thus, some privacy boundaries, and an intention to share them with others, are taken into account and spoken into being when self-disclosing.

The characteristics of self-disclosure mentioned above are actualized in conversation through patterns of interaction put into practice by participants; thus, they are also observable for analysis. Speakers can design their talk specifically to be recognized by other participants as a self-disclosure in the local context of the talk. According to Antaki et al. (2005), this is accomplished through three features that need to operate together: volunteering, significance, and personal report. *Volunteering* refers to features of talk that imply that what is being said is something more than is required in that particular immediate context. *Significance* points at various methods of disclosing the information as newsworthy, such as extreme case formulations (Pomerantz 1986) and other types of exaggerated expression, or describing the information as evidence of either something continuous or a significant change. *Personal report* refers to information in relation to which the speaker has epistemic privilege (Heritage and Raymond 2005), and is presented in such a way that the information can be understood as a report of first-hand experience. There is also evidence from Kitzinger (2000) that speakers can carefully avoid and exploit these features to present a personal issue as *not* being a newsworthy revelation. Thus, it is presumed that the choice of whether to design some information to be recognized as self-disclosure or not is meaningful for the participants, and might make particular subsequent actions relevant.

The context of the interaction and the institutional goals are likely to influence the ways in which self-disclosures may be responded to. In interaction between professionals and clients, the reciprocation of clients' self-disclosures may be treated as breaching the institutional roles of the encounter (Jefferson and Lee 1981; Ruusuvuori 2005, Ruusuvuori 2007), and thus, other types of response are often used by professionals (however, see Leudar et al. 2006).

The context of this study, health counseling in groups, makes it relevant to ask what kinds of group processes in particular may contribute to the goals of the intervention. Considering the strong consensus of the importance of self-disclosures in individual change processes, we presume that self-disclosures are a significant moment in a group counseling interaction in which the peers' responses may become relevant. This aspect has been discussed in a study of interaction in Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) meetings, focusing on second stories, in which group members display alignment with previous speakers but also reinterpret the presented experiences (Arminen 1998, Arminen 2004). Compared to the context of this study, however, the overall organization of interaction is different: In AA meetings, group members state individual monologues in which they may refer to each other's talk but not comment on it directly. In group counseling, direct commenting is possible, and thus, it enables also other types of response than telling a second story.

3 Data and method

We used video-recorded data from health counseling groups¹ for adults at high risk of type 2 diabetes. The goal of the counseling was to help the participants eat more healthily, be more active, lose weight, and reduce stress to prevent diabetes. The group was expected to work toward the goals through various ways, such as reflection, sharing and developing knowledge, problem solving, and providing social support. Nutritionists led six groups of four to eight participants. All groups met four times during the intervention and once or twice for follow-up, and every session lasted 90 minutes. All participants gave their written informed consent to participate in the study, and the ethical committee of the [university hospital] approved the study [document number].

We used a sample of 15 videos – 22½ hours in total – drawn from a bigger corpus. The sample included videos from all six groups and covered counseling sessions at different phases of the intervention. All the data are in Finnish, and the videos were transcribed according to the conventions of conversation analysis, where details of talk such as overlaps, gaps, intonation, and laughter are taken into account (Jefferson 2004). The transcription symbols are explained in Appendix A. Participants' personal details were anonymized. In the analysis

¹ The counseling program was developed and organized by the Finnish Institution of Occupational Health (Laitinen et al. 2010).

section, we present translated excerpts. The original Finnish transcriptions of the excerpts, with translations and interlinear gloss, are included in Appendix B.

The method used was conversation analysis, an inductive qualitative method for identifying the recurrent patterns and features of interaction, based on ethnomethodology (Heritage 1984). The basis of conversation analysis is that each utterance can be understood only in the context of the preceding utterance, and further, each utterance forms the context for the upcoming utterance and posits certain relevancies for the upcoming talk (Schegloff 2007). Through a detailed analysis of the process of conversation, the analyst is able to trace the ways in which participants make sense of each other's talk and construct their intersubjective understanding of the ongoing activity.

The analysis was conducted in two phases. In the preliminary phase, we sought segments of talk that we could identify as self-disclosures based on the outlines introduced previously: Self-disclosures are not just any references to experience. They are designed so that cultural members are able to recognize the self-disclosures as such – voluntary, significant, and presented as personal reports (Antaki et al. 2005). In this group counseling intervention, self-disclosures were rare. One reason might be that a prominent activity by the nutritionists in the counseling discussions was to ask questions of the participants. Thus, the group members described their experiences mostly in answering the nutritionists' questions, instead of making voluntary self-disclosures. We suggest that in this kind of context, self-disclosures – because they are explicitly offered to be heard as something more than the current institutional framework of activities requires – may be especially meaningful considering the institutional aims.

We collected all self-disclosure episodes in the sample, resulting in 44 episodes with one or more self-disclosures in each – 61 self-disclosures in total. To understand the role of group processes in achieving the group goals, we focused the analysis on peers' responses to each other's self-disclosures. Thus, we excluded 20 cases that were responded to by the nutritionist only, resulting in 41 self-disclosures that were responded to by at least one group member. Four self-disclosures were responded to only with minimal responses due to sequential misplacement or competition over turns. Thus, the present analysis is based on 37 sequences of self-disclosures and responses to them.

In the second phase of the analysis, we examined how the elements of personal experience were presented in the self-disclosures and addressed in the responses. We focused on how the participants took a stance, that is, evaluated an object and positioned themselves in relation to the object and in alignment or misalignment with the other participants' evaluations (Du Bois 2007; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012). We categorized the responses as those that affiliated with

the previous self-disclosures through various means and as those that changed the perspectives of the self-disclosures one way or the other.

4 Analysis

Figure 1 shows an overview of the types of response that group members produce to each other's self-disclosures: (1) explicit display of sharing an experience; (2) implicit display of sharing or recognizing an experience; (3) implicit change of perspective; and (4) explicit change of perspective. Each of these types of response are accomplished with specific types of utterance (1a–4b, listed in Figure 1). In the following, we describe the four types of response and illustrate them with data excerpts.

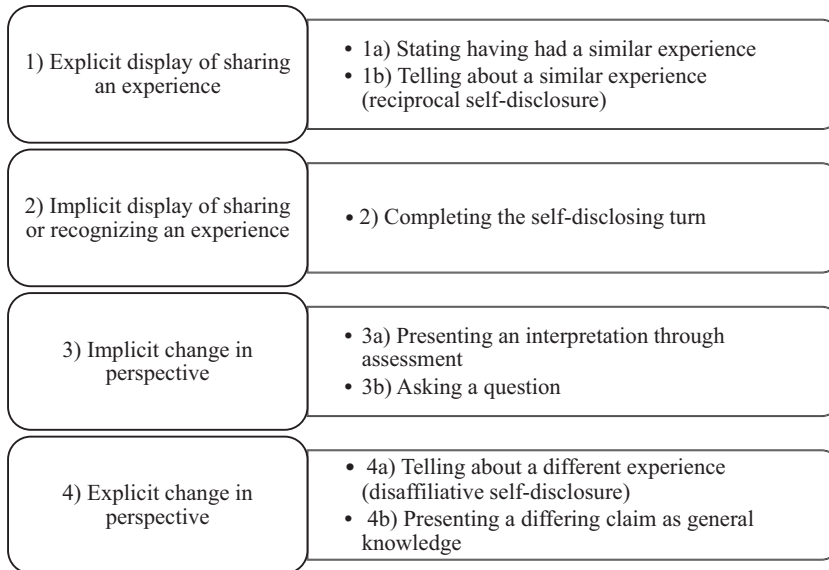


Figure 1: Types of response to self-disclosures.

4.1 Explicit display of sharing an experience

Explicit displays of sharing an experience consist of stating having had a similar experience (1a) or telling about a similar experience (1b; see Figure 1). The former (1a) consists of responses such as “I have the same thing” or “my ankles

are sore, too.” These state (without telling further about that experience) that the speaker has had a similar experience as the first speaker has just described. The latter (1b) consists of the respondent presenting a reciprocal self-disclosure after the first speaker, which is accomplished by telling a second story (Sacks 1992: vol 2, 3–7). The respondents tell either a similar story about a similar topic or an analogous story about a slightly different topic, thus presenting an interpretation of the gist of the first self-disclosure. These responses provide evidence of the similarity of the experiences. With both ways, the second speaker aligns with the first speaker’s position toward the discussed object; that is, they take a shared stance (Du Bois 2007).

The first excerpt² (1a) is an example of *stating having had a similar experience*. Some of the group members have described they feel a strong urge to exercise, and the nutritionist has assessed they thus have formed very strong habits for regular physical activity. Thereafter, Merja joins the discussion.

Excerpt 1a: Stating having had a similar experience (Group 5/Session IV)

- 1 MERJA: but >I will not develop< to that that never.=
 2 NUTR: [eh heh
 3 MERJA: [=that I know for sure.
 4 =because it’s really pretense.
 5 =I have always,
 6 NUTR: [yes
 7 MERJA: [=when I was a s- #o# slim person I haven’t,
 8 .hhh >so I have< always been,
 9 (.) exercising <only for the sake of weight loss.>
 10 (.) NOT ever for the sake that
 11 @isn’t it lovely to move
 12 =doesn’t it feel good@=nonsense,
 13 .hh always just been thinking that
 14 #how much I lose weight here#
 15 =only I find it nice
 16 >of course something like swimming and so on
 17 [but< it hasn’t been .h
 18 NUTR: [mm-m
 19 MERJA: that >it THAT IMMEDIATELY
 20 if< it [starts to
 21 SOFIA: [>I have never< either
 22 any physical activ[ity

² Transcription symbols are explained in the Appendix A. Nutritionist is abbreviated as NUTR.

- 23 MERJA: [yeah,[that I don't erm
 24 SOFIA: [desi- desired.
 25 MERJA: I find it's nice to play and things like that

Merja's self-disclosure (lines 1–20) positions herself as someone who, despite being aware of the benefits of physical activity, does not truly enjoy it just for the sake of it. This misaligns strongly with the previous discussion of forming motivation for exercising. Merja's turn is responded to by another group member, Sofia (lines 21–22 and 24), with her claim that she shares a similar experience as Merja. Sofia states that, like Merja, she has never felt the desire for physical activity, thus aligning with Merja's positioning (Du Bois 2007). The local sociocultural values attached to this particular object in discussion – regular physical activity is actively promoted in this counseling program – are taken into account. Focusing on whether they desire it, the speakers take an ambiguous stance toward the institutional ideals. The speakers do not overtly oppose the task of regular exercise itself but call into question whether it is enjoyable. Their personal experience regarding this – first introduced in Merja's self-disclosure and then supported with Sofia's response – can hardly be denied.

The next excerpt (1b) illustrates *telling about a similar experience (reciprocal self-disclosure)*. The participants have been discussing habitual behavior, and the nutritionist has given the advice that forming a habit of regular exercise might increase well-being and consequently, increase motivation to exercise.

Excerpt 1b: Telling about a similar experience (reciprocal self-disclosure)
 (Group 9/Session III)

- 1 PETE: we have, with my buddy erm,
 2 (.) who is one of our clients so, (1.0) for years,
 3 we've been dabbling in all kinds of things together
 4 =>so we have every< Tuesday.
 5 (.) we go for a walk,
 6 .mhh for around an hour or so.
 7 (.)
 8 PETE: .mth and,
 9 it is >always when there< is this buddy so,
 10 like for example now on Tuesday
 11 >both of us said that< (0.4)
 12 I wouldn't have gone out had you not called me.
 13 (0.4)
 14 PETE: so then,
 15 =it is eventually that .hhhh measured in percents

- 16 fone or the othe(h)r is n(h)ow h h
 17 a little bit about to gof so that one then brings
 18 along the other one [then then,
 19 NUTR: [that's right.
 20 PETE: =>there is then that particular rhythm
 21 and it is always discussed about and .hh
 22 then we have also planned for another evening too
 23 (but that #is#,(0.2) #little,
 24 it is already l- it is already a little too much#
 25 [m heh heh [(°another°)
 26 NUTR: [hh hm heh .hh but [even one is a good [start.
 27 PETE: [o- one is
 28 a good start yeah.
 29 NUTR: yeah
 30 PETE: [(of course.)]
 31 OSKU: [(it was indeed there)]
 32 .mh (at our place) at Town,
 33 we played badminton. ((Looks at Pete))
 34 PETE: m [mm
 35 OSKU: [there were four dudes.
 36 PETE: .yeah
 37 OSKU: there is that, percentage, of participation.
 38 =one dares not to particip(h)ate=
 39 PETE: yeah, so [it is
 40 OSKU: [there's always someone who calls that
 41 [now we are.]
 42 PETE: [yes, yeah.]

Group member Pete presents a self-disclosure about his positive experience of setting a fixed time to go walking with a friend (lines 1–25). Regarding the institutional aims of the counseling intervention, this is a good achievement, and thus, makes relevant at least an acknowledgement, potentially even praise. This is what the nutritionist does (line 26). After the nutritionist's feedback, another group member, Osku, responds to Pete with a reciprocal self-disclosure (lines 31–41) in which he reports a similar kind of experience.

Pete's self-disclosure brings out five elements of personal experience, of which Osku addresses four in his response. Thus, his self-disclosure affiliates with Pete's. It acknowledges and agrees with the claims that were presented in Pete's self-disclosure: Motivation to exercise is not self-evident, but having a companion helps to stick to the plan. By telling this second story, Osku reveals

he has had similar experiences and in this way, shows understanding of Pete's point of view (see Sacks et al. 1992: 252) and takes a stance that is aligned with Pete's (Du Bois 2007). Both of these participants' self-disclosures take into account the sociocultural values relevant in this context and confirm the nutritionist's advice about the benefits of forming a habit to enhance motivation to exercise, while also foregrounding their experience that keeping up a habit is not self-evident and requires social support.

This example shows how, with a second self-disclosure that can be either a similar or an analogous story and is designed with details that carefully match the previous speaker's self-disclosure (Arminen 1998, Arminen 2004; Lehtinen 2006; Ruusuvaori 2007; Siromaa 2012), participants can explicitly display that they have had a similar experience. Both response practices described in this section show understanding of the point made and align with the stance taken in the first self-disclosure, and thus, build reciprocity.

4.2 Implicit display of sharing or recognizing an experience

Responses of the second type implicitly display sharing or recognition of the experience by *completing the self-disclosing turn* (see Figure 1). They are designed either as collaborative completions (Lerner 1991), where the second speaker finishes the utterance of the first speaker, or as longer stretches of talk that complete the self-disclosing turn. The response interprets the gist of what has been said in the self-disclosure. Thus, the respondents imply that they have some kind of access to such an experience and therefore, are able to recognize it, further implying that they may share the experience.

Excerpt 2 takes place during a discussion about self-monitoring as supportive means for behavior change. Group member Tiina suggests that keeping a food diary might be a good idea.

Excerpt 2: Completing the self-disclosing turn (Group 5/Session IV)

- 1 TIINA: =.hh because that,
 2 I at least am the kind of person
 3 d- deeper then,= I am very ingenious at
 4 fooling myself ↓re- re[ally].
 5 SOFIA: [mm-m?
 6 MERJA: .mm
 7 (.)
 8 MERJA: .tch right and it goes well until, (0.2) five,
 9 [six o'clock and then it be]gins

- 10 TIINA: [↑exactly, quite ni:cely.]
 11 MERJA: a rea:[lly
 12 TIINA: [yeah.
 13 MERJA: massive [sl]ump.=
 14 TIINA: [h]
 15 TIINA: =so then one could really lo[ok at
 16 MERJA: [yea
 17 TIINA: it that @this is ho:w [mu:ch.@=

Tiina initiates a self-disclosure in line 2 about being the kind of person who easily fools herself. Tiina's turn is a critical evaluation of herself as a person, which makes it relevant for the other participants to deny or mitigate it (Pomerantz 1984). Group member Merja responds in lines 6, 8–9, 11, and 13.

Merja's response does not explicitly refer to her own habits, but she does not evaluate Tiina's behavior either (line 8 onward). Merja's turn is designed on a general level – things that generally happen in the world – without a person reference. Nevertheless, Merja gives details that show she has epistemic access to a similar experience and, thus, is able to recognize it (see Ruusuvuori 2005, on showing empathy) and implies that she is talking based on her own experience.

The element of personal experience in Tiina's self-disclosure, "I'm very ingenious at fooling myself," in the context of keeping a food diary, is plausibly heard as a description of overeating and subsequent denial. Merja's response affiliates with Tiina's self-disclosure and elaborates what it means to "fool myself." Merja achieves this in her response, starting with an affirmation and continuing with the setup of a little scene that describes a situation of keeping control until the evening and then completely letting go (lines 8–9, 11, and 13). These details provide an interpretation of Tiina's self-critique and attach "fooling myself" to the phenomenon of striving for control but eventually losing it. The response implies shared experience, and the expression "massive slump" (line 13) upgrades the described behavior and the stance toward it, offered from Merja's point of view. Thus, Merja shows understanding of Tiina's experience and treats that kind of behavior as problematic, while at the same time she normalizes Tiina's concern by implying that losing control over eating is not just a private state of affairs but also a problem that can happen to other people, too. Therefore, in the response the sociocultural values concerning uncontrolled eating habits are managed: The questionable nature of the behavior is acknowledged, but also the potential stigma attached to the behavior is alleviated through the normalization. Tiina quickly agrees with this in lines 10 and 12, in an overlap with Merja's turns. This example shows how participants can imply

they have access to similar experiences, thus building reciprocity while still retaining some privacy boundaries.

4.3 Implicit change of perspective

The third type of responses constitutes an interpretation of the previous turn but refrains from displaying recognition or sharing of the experience. They discuss the self-disclosure by assessing the elements of the experience that has been told (3a) or by asking for more information about it (3b, question; see Figure 1). Thus, these responses foreground an issue that is related to the topic of the self-disclosure but was not made prominent in that self-disclosure.

Excerpt 3a is an example of *presenting an interpretation through assessment* in response to a self-disclosure. The nutritionist has delivered information about the relation between stress and the accumulation of fat in the abdomen.

Excerpt 3a: Presenting interpretation through assessment (Group 2, Session IV)

- 1 PEKKA: [I have a stress belly
 2 HILLA: [no bu- no but so about that abdominal obesity
 3 because since, I have always been, overweight?
 4 (.) actually throughout my adult life.(.)
 5 but during the last three years
 6 I have gained a belly.
 7 =until then I only had a big bottom and thighs
 8 =thick thighs.
 9 (.) .h even though the weight is about the same.
 10 (3.0)
 11 TAIJA: yeah >it is quite< curious
 12 even though you bike that much.
 13 =one would think there would be no belly at all.
 14 HILLA: =↑hmm-m.

In her self-disclosure (lines 2–9), Hilla presents an observation of the changes in her body. Regarding the topic of ongoing discussion (the accumulation of visceral fat due to stress), Hilla's turn seems to reflect on the information provided by the nutritionist and implies a troublesome situation. Troubles-telling, in general, makes relevant actions such as showing empathy and attempting to remedy or account for the problem (Jefferson and Lee 1981). In her response (lines 11–13), Taija picks up a particular element she has previous knowledge about – Hilla's frequent habit of riding a bike – and assesses how

gaining fat in the abdomen contradicts Hilla's physically active lifestyle. This response foregrounds an issue that is present but not prominent in Hilla's self-disclosure: Her abdominal obesity is an unanticipated condition. Thus, the response calls into question the underlying sociocultural values potentially evoked in the context of health counseling, which represent physical fitness as primarily dependent on the activities of an individual.

Excerpt 3b is an example of a *question*. Although the speakers might have epistemic access to a similar experience that enables them to direct and design the question in a specific way, they do not display that access. All questions in this category are closed questions that seek “yes” or “no” answers. They take up a stance toward the topic of the talk and guide the discussion in a particular direction (Pomerantz 1988).

Excerpt 3b has emerged in a situation where participants discuss an assignment – to bring a healthy packed lunch or snack to their workplace – they were given in the previous counseling session.

Excerpt 3b: Asking a question (Group 2/Session IV)

- 1 PEKKA: I have, also otherwise now had that I-
 2 (0.2)↑°I-° then I have practiced-(.)
 3 to eat snacks that
 4 after all I have been eating in such way
 5 that I have not really been eating?
 6 (.)
 7 ANNA: .yeah
 8 PEKKA: during the workday h. (0.2) so it has been,
 9 felt #tedious and preparing# the snacks
 10 has always felt ↑tedious so,
 11 now I have really every day between the meetings
 12 I have had s(h)nacks.
 13 thh (.) according to that model.
 14 ANNA: ↑mm.
 15 (1.0)
 16 PEKKA: so really.
 17 ANNA: have you been feeling better.
 18 (1.2)
 19 PEKKA: actually:? h hard to say 'cos the times have been
 20 so peculiar °that°.
 21 (2.0)
 22 PEKKA: #that erm, one# cannot really compare.
 23 ANNA: °.yeah°

Pekka initiates a self-disclosure (lines 1–5 and 8–13). This self-disclosure is somewhat similar to the one in Excerpt 1b, as it aligns with the institutional goal of the counseling program. The self-disclosure describes previous problematic behavior (skipping meals) and a change to better behavior (bringing and eating a packed lunch or snacks at work). Thus, this self-disclosure is a piece of good news, and it would be relevant to respond to it as such.

Anna's question (line 17) brings out a new aspect of having a packed lunch at work: the potential effect on well-being. Pekka has described how preparing a packed lunch or snacks and eating at work previously felt tedious, but Anna's question does not directly address this issue. Compared with the previous excerpts, there are no elements in Anna's question that display sharing or recognition of Pekka's experience. By presenting a question that adds another dimension to the topic of the talk, Anna has made it possible to change the perspective on the discussion. In his self-disclosure, Pekka describes the process of preparing a healthy snack daily, whereas Anna's question focuses attention on the outcomes of the behavior change.

Questions and assessments subtly change the perspective presented in the self-disclosure by focusing on specific existing or new aspects afforded by it. The foregrounded aspects link the unique experiences of the individual to general contemplation of health and health behavior.

4.4 Explicit change in perspective

The fourth type of response (see Figure 1) explicitly changes the perspective on what has been said. The respondents either self-disclose their own experience, which differs from the first speaker's perspective, or present their differing claims as general knowledge.

Excerpt 4a is an example of *disaffiliative self-disclosure*, which is an explicit way to challenge the claims presented in the initial self-disclosure. Participants have been talking about stress and comfort food. Merja has described a stressful situation at work, complained about her busy life, and criticized her own behavior: overeating and physical inactivity.

Excerpt 4a: Telling about a different experience (disaffiliative self-disclosure)
(Group 5/Session IV)

- 1 MERJA: =but ↑still I would never manage it
- 2 that I should-
- 3 I go, .hh home after a day at work
- 4 so that I would go to <some gym.h.>

- 5 ELLA: [mm.
 6 MERJA: [I mean it would be a totally ↑awful,
 7 SOFIA: [mm
 8 MERJA: [idea and a tedious one.=
 9 SOFIA: =.right=
 10 TIINA: =but I can't- don't cope with it.
 11 (.)
 12 TIINA: if I don't go.
 13 MERJA: yeah.
 14 ELLA: I' [ve got that sort of thing too
 15 TIINA: [that is then the way.
 16 XXXX: [mm
 17 ELLA: that I [need to get the:re now.=
 18 TIINA: [yea, mm.
 19 ELLA: =>even though it felt< sometimes that [again
 20 XXXX: [mm
 21 ELLA: =but then when one ↑goes ↑there it is like,
 22 TIINA: mm.
 23 MERJA: yeah I don't 'cos it takes [an hour for me
 24 ELLA: [mm
 25 MERJA: to go to work so I [feel
 26 ELLA: [mm
 27 MERJA: that I am like tota:lly [dead.=

Merja provides a self-disclosure about how she does not want to go to the gym after work (lines 1–8) and evaluates in a complaining tone the idea of going to the gym (lines 6 and 8). These actions would perhaps make relevant an affiliative evaluation (Ruusuvauro 2005; Voutilainen et al. 2010; Couper-Kuhlen 2012). However, the responses treat these different elements of Merja's experience in diverse ways.

Tiina responds to Merja (starting at line 10), “But I can't, don't cope with it if I don't go” and “That is then the way” (line 15), thus suggesting that going to the gym might actually be a way to ease some of the stress. In this way, Tiina's response adds another dimension to the discussed element of experience. Although Tiina implies that she shares the same experience of a busy, stressful life, she also disaffiliates with Merja about the issue of going to the gym. Another member, Ella, affiliates with Tiina, starting at line 14: “I've got that sort of thing, too, that I need to get there now.” Then, starting at line 19, Ella tells a story about her change in experience considering physical activity. In doing so, Ella shows understanding of Merja's experience that going to the gym

can be tedious, and that she herself has shared this experience, at least in the past, but her experience has changed.

The responses treat the elements of personal experience and the stance taken as negotiable in three ways. First, the responses build a contrast with what has been said previously. Second, they construct a causal explanation as a counterclaim to Merja's complaint, and as evidence of the benefits of exercise. Third, the responses show awareness of differing perspectives and provide evidence for the potential for change, based on the speaker's own experience. The responses display that the speaker has a similar experience of a stressful life but also challenge the assumption that stress and being busy are obstacles to exercise, and furthermore, endorse the benefits of physical activity as a coping method. This is responded to by Merja with an account starting at line 23, which shows that she is treating the previous turns as a challenge: She explains why she cannot go to the gym, upgrading that she is "totally dead." Although both responses in Excerpt 4a are self-disclosures, they differ from *reciprocal self-disclosures* in that they disaffiliate with the first speaker's experience (compare to Excerpt 1b). They do not align with the stance taken in the previous self-disclosure and, thus, do not show support for the previous speaker.

In this data, these types of response can also be designed by *presenting a differing claim* and evidencing it *as general knowledge* instead of presenting a disaffiliative self-disclosure. Excerpt 4b is an example of this. It takes place a little later in the same counseling session as excerpt 4a. Merja returns to the topic that they have discussed earlier: differing sources of motivation for physical activity.

Excerpt 4b: Presenting a differing claim as general knowledge (Group 5/ Session IV)

- 1 (.)
 2 MERJA: I mean I don't think that
 3 [I will get the [kin-
 4 TIINA: [yeah [mm
 5 MERJA: the kind that ↓well ↓I'd have an urge to go
 6 >I think it'd be great< to say as if but,
 7 (.)
 8 SOFIA: MMm?
 9 MERJA: it is just
 10 (the [thing that) one HAS to lose weight.
 11 ELLA: [one does get used to that as well.
 12 =I have never been a sporty person either but

- 13 MERJA: [yeah
 14 ELLA: [it really feels now indeed
 15 that it's quite nice to go and,

In her self-disclosure (lines 2–8), Merja takes up a stance that exercising has only instrumental value for her. In her claim, she positively evaluates the ability to enjoy exercise but treats it as something unattainable for herself. In overlap (line 11), Ella responds, “One does get used to that as well.” This is a differing claim that confronts Merja’s stance, and it is presented as general knowledge. Then Ella continues with a reference to her own experience (lines 12 and 14–15), evidencing that she has experienced a change from a similar kind of stance as Merja has to a new, positive stance toward physical activity. This was typical in the data: The differing claims were almost always backed up with some kind of reference to personal experience, thus providing evidence for the claim, evoking a new perspective with regard to the previous self-disclosure.

To sum up, we have described the ways in which responses to self-disclosures display sharing and recognition of the experience, and the ways in which responses change the perspective on the topic of discussion. The initial self-disclosures address the institutional goals in various ways. The responses endorse or challenge the claims that are made and the stance that is taken in the initial self-disclosure, and link the personal, individual experience to general axioms. The self-disclosures and their responses talk into being the ideals of health counseling and healthy lifestyle: They incorporate a negotiation on what kind of activities are considered eligible and attainable.

5 Discussion and conclusion

Stance-taking and affiliation are integral social phenomena in self-disclosure episodes. Participants evaluate the objects in the discussion and position their evaluations to align or misalign their stance with each other (Du Bois 2007; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012) and show affiliation or disaffiliation (Lindström and Sorjonen 2013). They take into account the sociocultural values that are linked to the objects in discussion (Du Bois 2007) and the dilemma of epistemic access to experience (Lindström and Sorjonen 2013, see also Heritage 2011). In responding to self-disclosures, speakers utilize a repertoire of means to display how they have come to know something, whether through evidencing their own experience by revealing private details or through resorting to claiming something as general knowledge. As pointed out by Pino (2017), challenging a peer’s perspective is a delicate process, and making claims that are based on the speaker’s

own experiences is an effective way to challenge the other while maintaining a relationship with them.

As both sharing an experience and disaffiliating with it can be done by presenting a second self-disclosure within the data, in either case the speakers expose themselves in a similar vein as the person who presented the initial self-disclosure. They, too, are susceptible to being challenged. The other types of response retain stronger privacy and distance from the experience. Thus, the implicit ways of responding to a self-disclosure may allow a person to participate in a conversation about intimate and potentially delicate topics without revealing private details. With self-disclosures and responses to them, the participants show their reasoning regarding the management and reproduction of the sociocultural values the participants consider relevant in the current context. In the context of health counseling, the responses invoke, for example, ideals of what kind of activities and outcomes are desirable, available, or useful and support them or call them into question.

The overall goal of the group counseling analyzed in this article is to support individual change in health behavior. Responses that display sharing and recognition of the experience normalize the experience, and build and strengthen the alliance among group members. This way, responses bring about social support. Furthermore, the examples show how social support – although generally an important aim in group counseling – may sometimes work against the overall institutional goal of a healthier lifestyle. Group members can endorse and show understanding of perceptions and behavior that are quite opposed to the goals.

Nevertheless, the influence of peers in a counseling group entails much more than constant affiliation and alignment. Offering new perspectives and challenging the reasoning on which the perceptions and claims are based is a crucial aim of the counseling, and we have seen how group members' responses to self-disclosures contribute to that as well. Instead of building affiliation, responses to self-disclosures can offer a different perspective on the views presented in the self-disclosure, which may instigate negotiation of the institutional goals and values attached to them.

The findings of the response patterns following self-disclosures in group counseling add to the understanding of how social influence of peers takes shape in group interaction. The two institutional aims of group discussions – to provide social support and to instigate self-reflection – may, at times, be in concordance with each other and with the institutional goal of healthier lifestyle, or they may be in collision. For example, Tiitinen et al. (2018) described how practices of interaction that build social support and alliance in the group may actually undermine reflection (and thus, impede achieving the institutional goal of change) by strengthening, instead of critically re-examining, the current perceptions of the group members.

The results of the present study further unravel the intricate relation of social support, reflection, and the institutional goal. The relation builds on, first, the stance taken in the self-disclosure toward the institutional goal of change and the sociocultural values pertaining to it, and second, the stance taken in the response, in alignment or misalignment with the self-disclosure, and the values and ideals it further evokes. In the case of collision, the group counselor's role in mediating the discussions is essential. Further research is required on the ways in which group leaders mediate the discussion when the response to self-disclosure is lacking, when the challenging responses create a dispute in the group, and indeed when the responses hamper the institutional goals of the counseling.

Appendix A: Transcription symbols

[word]	Onset and offset of overlapping talk
=	Contiguous utterances: second is latched immediately onto the first
(0.2)	Timed interval within or between utterances, measured in seconds and tenths of seconds
(.)	Interval of less than 0.2 seconds
wo:rd	Extension of the sound or syllable
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation
-	Abrupt cut-off
↑↓	Rising/falling pitch
<u>word</u>	Emphasis
WORD	Louder volume
°word°	Quieter volume
>word<	Faster-paced talk than the surrounding talk
<word>	Slower-paced talk than the surrounding talk
#word#	Creaky voice
£word£	Smiley voice
@word@	Animated voice
hh	Audible aspiration
.hh	Audible inhalation
w(h)ord	Laughter
hah heh huh	Laughter
(word) ()	Transcriber doubt
((word))	Transcriber's comments
→	Feature of interest

Appendix B: The original Finnish excerpts, with translations and interlinear gloss

Excerpt 1a: Stating having had a similar experience (Group 5/Session IV)

- 1 MERJA: mutta >ei mulle muodostu< siihe että: ikinä.=
but no me+for develop that+to that never
but >I will not develop< to that that never.=
- 2 NUTR: [eh heh
- 3 MERJA: [sen mää kyllä tiiän.
that I yes know
[that I know for sure.
- 4 =koska se on ihan teeskentelyä.
because it is really pretense
=because it's really pretense.
- 5 =mää oon ↑aina,
I have always
=I have always,
- 6 NUTR: [ni
yes
[yes
- 7 MERJA: [=sillonku mää olin h- #o o# hoikka ihminen en,
when I was slim person not+I
[=when I was a s- #o o# slim person I haven't,
- 8 .hhh >ni mä oon<↑aina käyny,
so I have always went
.hhh >so I have< always been,
- 9 (.)liikkumassa <vain laihtumisen takia.>
exercise only weightloss+for sake
(.)exercising <only for the sake of weight loss.>
- 10 (.) EN koskaan sen takia että
not ever that sake that
(.) NOT ever for the sake that
- 11 onpa ihana liikkua
is+CLI lovely move+to
isn't it lovely to move
- 12 =tuleepa hyvä olo=höpö höpö,
becomes+CLI good feeling nonsense
=doesn't it feel good=nonsense,

- 13 .hh aina vaan miettiny et
always only thought that
.hh always just been thinking that
- 14 #kuinka paljon mää tässä laihun#
how much I here lose+weight
#how much I lose weight here#
- 15 =ainoastaan musta on ↑kiva
only I+find is nice
=only I find it nice
- 16 >↑tietenki jotai uia ja näi
of+course something to+swim and so+on
>of course something like swimming and so on
- 17 [mutta< ei se oo ollu .h
but no it has been
[but< it hasn't been .h
- 18 NUTR: [mm-m
- 19 MERJA: että >se ETTÄ HETI
that it that immediately
that >it THAT IMMEDIATELY
- 20 jos< seki [alkaa
if it+too starts
if< it [starts to
- 21 SOFIA: [>emmääkää o< koskaa
not+me+either have never
[>I have never< either
- 22 mistään liikunnast[a
any physical+activity+of
any physical active[ity
- 23 MERJA: [nii, [et emmä niinko,
yeah, that not+I erm
[yeah, [that I don't erm,
- 24 SOFIA: [himo- himoinnu.
[desi- desired.
- 25 MERJA: on musta kiva pelata ja semmosta
is I+find nice play+to and like+that
I find it's nice to play and things like that

Excerpt 1b: Telling about a similar experience (reciprocal self-disclosure) (Group 9/Session III)

- 1 PETE: meillä on, kaverin kanssa tuota,
we have buddy with erm
we have, with my buddy erm,
- 2 (.) meidän asiakkaita yks niin, (1.0) vuosia,
our clients+of one so years+for
(.) who is one of our clients so, (1.0) for years,
- 3 touhuttu kaikenlaista yhteen
dabbled+we all+kinds together
we've been dabbling in all kinds of things together
- 4 =>ni meil on joka< tiistai.
so we have every Tuesday
=>so we have every< Tuesday.
- 5 (.) me käyään kävelemässä,
we go walking
(.) we go for a walk,
- 6 .mhh semmonen tunteroinen.
around hour+ish
.mhh for around an hour or so.
- 7 (.)
- 8 PETE: .mth ja,
and
.mth and,
- 9 se on >ain ku se< kaveri on niin,
it is always when that buddy is so
it is >always when there< is this buddy so,
- 10 niinku nytki tiistaina
like now+too Tuesday+on
like for example now on Tuesday
- 11 nii >kumpiki sano että< (0.4)
so both said that
>both of us said that< (0.4)
- 12 en ois lähteny jos et ois soittanu.
not+I would leave if not+you would call
I wouldn't have gone out had you not called me.

- 13 (0.4)
- 14 PETE: että siis,
so then
so then,
- 15 =se on kuitenkin se .hhhh prosentuaalisesti
it is eventually that percentually
=it is eventually that .hhhh measured in percents
- 16 fjomp*i* kump(h)i n(h)yt o(h) h h
one+or the+other now is
fone or the othe(h)r is n(h)ow h h
- 17 vähä lähössäf että se sillon vie
a+little on+the+go so that then brings
a little bit about to gof so that one then brings
- 18 sen toisen mukana sit[ten sitte,
that other with then then
along the other one [then then,
- 19 NUTR: [nii-i.
[that's right.
- 20 PETE: siihe=>siitä on sitte< se määrätty rytmi
there that+of is then that particular rhythm
there= there is then that particular rhythm
- 21 ja siitä aina puhutaan ja .hh
and it+of always discussed+is and
and it is always discussed about and .hh
- 22 sit on suunniteltu toistaki iltaa
then has planned+been another+too evening
then we have also planned for another evening too
- 23 mutta se #on#, (0.2) #vähä,
but that is little,
(but that #is#, (0.2) #little,
- 24 se on jo v- se on jo vähä liikaa#.
it is already l- it is already little too+much
it is already l- it is already a little too much#
- 25 [m heh heh [(°toista°)
another+of
[m heh heh [(°another°)
- 26 NUTR: [hh hm heh .hh mutta [ykski on hyvä [alotus.
but one+even is good start
[hh hm heh .hh but [one is a good [start.

- 27 PETE: [y- yks on
[o- one is
- 28 hyvä alaku joo.
good start yeah
a good start yeah.
- 29 NUTR: nii
yeah
- 30 PETE: [(tietenki.)]
[(of course.)]
- 31 OSKU:→ [(kyl se tuola)]
yes it there
[(it was indeed there)]
- 32 .mh (meil) Paikkakunnalla,
our+at Town+at
.mh (at our place) at Town,
- 33 pelattiin sulukapalloa. ((Katsoo Peteen))
played+we badminton
we played badminton. ((Looks at Pete))
- 34 PETE: m [mm
- 35 OSKU:→ [oli, neljä sälliä.
was four dudes
[there were four dudes.
- 36 PETE: .joo
.yeah
- 37 OSKU:→ siin on se, lähtö, prosentti.
there is that, starting, percent
there is that, percentage, of participation.
- 38 =ei viitti olla lähtemätt(h)ä=
not 0+dares be going+not
=one dares not to particip(h)ate=
- 39 PETE: =nii, nii [se on
yeah, so [it is
- 40 OSKU:→ [aina joku soittaa että
always someone calls that
[there's always someone who calls that
- 41 [nyt ollaan.]
now are+we
[now we are.]
- 42 PETE: [niin, nii.]
[yes, yeah.]

17 TIINA: sen että @nä:i:n [kau:he:sti.@=
 it that like+this [awfully.
 it that @this is ho:w[mu:ch.@=

Excerpt 3a: Presenting interpretation through assessment (Group 2, Session IV)

1 PEKKA: [mul on stressimaha]
 I have stress+belly
[I have a stress belly

2 HILLA: [ei mu- ei mut siis tos]ta keskivartalolihavuudesta
 no bu- no but so that abdominal+obesity
[no bu- no but so about that abdominal obesity

3 koska siis, mää oon aina ollu, ylipainonen?
 because then I have always been overweight
because since, I have always been, overweight?

4 (.) oikeestaan koko aikuisen ikäni.(.)
 actually whole adult life+of+mine
(.) actually throughout my adult life.(.)

5 mut viimisen kolmen vuoden aikana
 but last three years during
but during the last three years

6 mulla on tullu maha.
 I have emerged belly
I have gained a belly.

7 =siihen asti mul oli vaan iso takapuoli ja reijet
 that until I had only big bottom and thighs
=until then I only had a big bottom and thighs

8 =paksut reidet.
=thick thighs.

9 (.) .h vaikka paino on suunnilleen sama.
 even+though weight is about same
(.) .h even though the weight is about the same.

10 (3.0)

11 TAIJA: joo >se on aika< jännä
 yeah it is quite exciting
yeah >it is quite< curious

12 vaik sä noin paljon pyöräilet.
 even+though you that much bike
even though you bike that much.

10 =luulis että ei ois <vatsaa> ollenkaa.
 0+would+think that no is belly at+all
 =one would think there would be no belly at all.

11 HILLA: =↑hmm-m.

Excerpt 3b: Asking a question (Group 2/Session IV)

1 PEKKA: mulla o, muutenki nytte ollu että o-
 I have otherwise+too now had that o-
I have, also otherwise now had that I-

2 (0.2)↑°o-° sitte opetellu-(.)
 then practiced
(0.2)↑°I-° then I have practiced-(.)

3 syömää eväitä että
 eat snacks that
to eat snacks that

4 määhän oon syönyt sillai
 I+after+all have+been eating such+way
after all I have been eating in such way

5 että mää en oo oikeestaan syönyt?
 that I not have+been really eating
that I have not really been eating?

6 (.)

7 ANNA: .nii
 .yeah

8 PEKKA: työpäivän aikana h.(0.2) nii että se on ollu,
 workday during so that it has been
during the workday h. (0.2) so it has been,

9 tuntunu #hankalalta ja se eväitten# teko
 felt tedious and that snacks preparation
felt #tedious and preparing# the snacks

10 on tuntunu aina ↑hankalalta että,
 has felt always tedious so
has always felt ↑tedious so,

11 nyt mää oon kyllä tässä välissä joka päivä
 now I have really here between+in every day
now I have really every day between the meetings

12 syönyt e(h)väät.
 eaten snacks
I have had s(h)nacks.

- 13 .thh (.)sen mallin mukk(h)aa.
that model according+to
.thh (.) according to that model.
- 14 ANNA: ↑mm.
15 (1.0)
- 16 PEKKA: että ihan.
so really.
- 17 ANNA: →onko ollu parempi olo.
has been better feeling.
have you been feeling better.
- 18 (1.2)
- 19 PEKKA: iteasiassa:? h vaikea sanoa ku on ollu niin
actually hard say because has been such
actually:? h hard to say 'cos the times have been
20 erikoiset ajat °kans että°.
peculiar times also that
so peculiar °that°.
- 21 (2.0)
- 22 PEKKA: #et tuota, ei# voi oikeen verrata.
that erm no 0+can really compare.
#that erm, one# cannot really compare.
- 23 ANNA: °.joo °
°.yeah°

Excerpt 4a: Telling about a different experience (disaffiliative self-disclosure)
(Group 5/Session IV)

- 1 =mut ↑silti mä en missää nimessä jaksas
but still I not any name+in manage+would
=but ↑still I would never manage it
- 2 että mun pitäs
that I should
- 3 =mä meen, .hh työpäivän päälle kotii
I go, workday on+top home+to
=I go, .hh home after a day at work
- 4 et mä lähtisin <jonnekki jumpp.haan.>
that I go+would somewhere gym+to
so that I would go to <some gym.h.>

- 5 ELLA: [mm.
- 6 MERJA: [siis se ois aivan ↑kauhee,
thus it be+would totally awful
[I mean it would be a totally ↑awful,
- 7 SOFIA: [mm
- 8 MERJA: [ajatus ja rasittava.=
[thought and tedious.=
[idea and a tedious one.=
- 9 SOFIA: =.nii=
=.right=
- 10 TIINA:→ =mutta mä en saa- seleviä sitä.
=but I don't get- cope it+of
=but I can't- don't cope with it.
- 11 (.)
- 12 TIINA:→ jos mä en mee.
if I don't go.
- 13 MERJA: joo.
yeah.
- 14 ELLA: mu[llaki on tullu semmonen
I+[have+too has come that+kind
I've got that sort of thing too
- 15 TIINA: [se on sit se keino.
that is then that way.
[that is then the way.
- 16 XXXX: [mm
- 17 ELLA: et on [pakko nyt pää:stä.=
that is [necessity now be+allowed+to+go
that I [need to get the:re now.=
- 18 TIINA: [nii, mm.
[yea, mm.
- 19 ELLA:→ =>vaikka tuntu< välilä että [taas
even+though felt sometimes that [again
=>even though it felt< sometimes that [again
- 20 XXXX: [mm
- 21 ELLA:→ =mutta sittekö ↑sinne ↑lähtee se on niinku,
but then+when there leaves it is like
=but then when one ↑goes ↑there it is like,
- 22 TIINA: mm.

- 23 MERJA: joo mää en ko mulla menee [tunti matkaa
yea I don't 'cos I+have takes hour travel+of
yea I don't 'cos it takes [an hour for me
- 24 ELLA: [mm
- 25 MERJA: työmatkaan nii must [tuntuu
work+travel+to so I feel
to go to work so I [feel
- 26 ELLA: [mm
- 27 MERJA: et mä oon niinku ai:van [kuollu.=
that I am like totally dead.=
that I am like tota:lly [dead.=

Excerpt 4b: Presenting differing claim as general knowledge (Group 5/Session IV)

- 1 (.)
- 2 MERJA: nii niin mä en usko että
so so I don't believe that
I mean I don't think that
- 3 [mulle tulee sem[mon-
me+for comes lthat+ki-
[I will get the [kin-
- 4 TIINA: [joo [mm
[yeah [mm
- 5 MERJA: semmonen että ↓no ↓pittää päästä
that+kind that well must get+to+go
the kind that ↓well ↓I'd have an urge to go
- 6 >musta ois hienoo< sanoo muka mutta,
I+find be+would great say as+if but
>I think it'd be great< to say as if but,
- 7 (.)
- 8 SOFIA: MMm?
- 9 MERJA: se on vaan
it is just
it is just
- 10 (se [ku että) pitTÄÄ laihtua.
that 'cos that 0+has+to lose+weight
(the [thing that) one HAS to lose weight.
- 10 ELLA: [kyllä siihenki tottuu.
yes that+too 0+get+used+to
[one does get used to that as well.

- 11 =emmääkää koskaa o mikkään liikkuja mut
me+neither never have any sporty+person but
=I have never been a sporty person either but
- 12 MERJA: [nii
[yeah
- 13 ELLA: [kyllä nyt oikeesti tuntuu
yes now really feels
[it really feels now indeed
- 14 että ihan kiva lähteä ja,
that quite nice go+to and
that it's quite nice to go and,

References

- Altman, Irwin & Dalmas A. Taylor. 1973. *Social penetration: The development of interpersonal relationships*. Atlanta: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Antaki, Charles, Rebecca Barnes & Ivan Leudar. 2005. Self-disclosure as a situated interactional practice. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44(2). 181–199.
- Arminen, Ilkka. 1998. Sharing experiences: Doing therapy with the help of mutual references in the meetings of alcoholics anonymous. *Sociological Quarterly* 39(3). 491–515.
- Arminen, Ilkka. 2004. Second stories: The salience of interpersonal communication for mutual help in alcoholics anonymous. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36(2). 319–347.
- Coates, Dan & Tina Winston. 1987. The dilemma of distress disclosure. In Valerian J. Derlega & John H. Berg (eds.), *Self-disclosure: Theory, research, and therapy*, 229–255. New York: Plenum.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2012. Exploring affiliation in the reception of conversational complaint stories. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen & Anssi Peräkylä (eds.), *Emotion in interaction*, 113–146. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crits-Christoph, Paul, Jennifer E. Johnson, Mary Beth, Connolly Gibbons & Robert Gallop. 2013. Process predictors of the outcome of group drug counseling. *Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology* 81(1). 23–34.
- Dai, Yue, SooYun Shin, Nicole Kashian, Jeong-woo Jang & Joseph B. Walther. 2015. The influence of responses to self-disclosure on liking in computer-mediated communication. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 35(4). 394–411.
- Derlega, Valerian J. & John H. Berg (eds.). 2013. *Self-disclosure: Theory, research, and therapy*. New York: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Dindia, Kathryn. 2002. Self-disclosure research: Knowledge through meta-analyses. In Mike Allen, Raymond W. Preiss, Barbara Mae Gagle & Nancy Burrell (eds.), *Interpersonal communication: Advances through meta-analyses*, 169–186. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, 139–182. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Du Bois, John W. & Elise Kärkkäinen. 2012. Taking a stance on emotion: Affect, sequence, and intersubjectivity in dialogic interaction. *Text & Talk* 32(4). 433–451.

- Farber, Barry A. 2006. *Self-disclosure in psychotherapy*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Farber, Barry A., Kathryn C. Berano & Joseph A. Capobianco. 2004. Clients' perceptions of the process and consequences of self-disclosure in psychotherapy. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 51(3). 340–346.
- Farber, Barry A. & Desnee Hall. 2002. Disclosure to therapists: What is and is not discussed in psychotherapy. *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 58(4). 359–370.
- Farber, Barry A. & Alice E. Sohn. 2007. Patterns of self-disclosure in psychotherapy and marriage. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* 44(2). 226–231.
- Fontao, Maria Isabel & Erhard Mergenthaler. 2008. Therapeutic factors and language patterns in group therapy application of computer-assisted text analysis to the examination of micro-processes in group therapy: Preliminary findings. *Psychotherapy Research* 18(3). 345–354.
- Fowler, Craig & Jordan Soliz. 2010. Responses to young adult grandchildren to grandparents' painful self-disclosures. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29(1). 75–100.
- Heritage, John. 1984. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. London: Polity Press.
- Heritage, John. 2011. Territories of knowledge, territories of experience: Empathic moments in interaction. In Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada & Jacob Steensig (eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation*, 159–183. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, John & Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in assessment sequences. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68(1). 15–38.
- Jefferson, Gail. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In Gene H. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*, 13–31. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jefferson, Gail & John R. E. Lee. 1981. The rejection of advice: Managing the problematic convergence of a “TroublesTelling” and a “Service Encounter”. *Journal of Pragmatics* 5. 399–422.
- Jourard, Sidney M. 1971. *The transparent self*, 2nd revised edn. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Kelley, Harold H., Ellen Berscheid, Andrew Christensen, John H. Harvey, Ted L. Huston, George Levinger, Evie McClintock, Letitia Anne Peplau & Donald R. Peterson. 1983. Analyzing close relationships. In Harold H. Kelley, Ellen Berscheid, Andrew Christensen, John H. Harvey, Ted L. Huston, George Levinger, Evie McClintock, Letitia Anne Peplau & Donald R. Peterson (eds.), *Close relationships*, 20–67. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.
- Kitzinger, Celia. 2000. Doing feminist conversation analysis. *Feminism & Psychology* 10(2). 163–193.
- Laitinen, Jaana, Eveliina Korkiakangas, Maija Alahuhta, Sirkka Keinänen-Kiukaanniemi, Ulla Rajala, Olavi Timonen & Seppo Olkkonen. 2010. Feasibility of videoconferencing in life-style group counselling. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 69(5). 500–511.
- Lehtinen, Esa. 2006. Achieving similarity: Describing experience in seventh-day adventist Bible study. *Text* 25. 341–371.
- Lerner, Gene H. 1991. On the syntax of sentences-in-progress. *Language in Society* 20(3). 441–458.
- Leudar, Ivan, Charles Antaki & Rebecca Barnes. 2006. When psychotherapists disclose personal information about themselves to clients. *Communication & Medicine* 3(1). 27–41.
- Lindström, Anna & Marja-Leena Sorjonen. 2013. Affiliation in conversation. In Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 350–369. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Manne, Sharon, Jamie Ostroff, Christine Rini, Kevin Fox, Lori Goldstein & Generosa Grana. 2004. The interpersonal process model of intimacy: The role of self-disclosure, and partner

- responsiveness in interactions between breast cancer patients and their partners. *Journal of Family Psychology* 18(4). 589–599.
- Murphy, Elizabeth, Warren Mansell, Sally Craven & Phil McEvoy. 2016. Approach-avoidance attitudes associated with initial therapy appointment attendance: A prospective study. *Behavioural & Cognitive Psychotherapy* 44(1). 118–122.
- Pino, Marco. 2017. I-challenges: Influencing others' perspectives by mentioning personal experiences in therapeutic community group meetings. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 80(3). 217–242.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In Maxwell J. Atkinson & John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 57–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1986. Extreme case formulations: A way of legitimizing claims. *Human Studies* 9(2–3). 219–230.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1988. Offering a candidate answer: An information seeking strategy. *Communication Monographs* 55(4). 360–373.
- Robison, Floyd F. & Rex Stockton. 1990. Anticipated consequences of self-disclosure during early therapeutic group development. *Journal of Group Psychotherapy, Psychodrama & Sociometry* 43(1). 3–18.
- Ruusuvuori, Johanna. 2005. "Empathy" and "sympathy" in action: Attending to patients' troubles in Finnish homeopathic and general practice consultations. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68(3). 204–222.
- Ruusuvuori, Johanna. 2007. Managing affect: Integration of empathy and problem-solving in health care encounters. *Discourse Studies*, 9(5). 597–622.
- Sacks, Harvey, Gail Jefferson & Emanuel A. Schegloff. 1992. *Lectures on conversation*, vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Siromaa, Maarit. 2012. Resonance in conversational second stories: A dialogic resource for stance taking. *Text & Talk* 32(4). 525–545.
- Solano, Cecilia H. & Mina Dunnam. 1985. Two's company: Self-disclosure and reciprocity in triads versus dyads. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 48(2). 183–187.
- Sprecher, Susan & Stanislav Treger. 2015. The benefits of turn-taking reciprocal self-disclosure in get-acquainted interactions. *Personal Relationships* 22(3). 460–475.
- Sprecher, Susan, Stanislav Treger, Joshua D. Wondra, Nicole Hilaire & Kevin Wallpe. 2013. Taking turns: Reciprocal self-disclosure promotes liking in initial interactions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 49(5). 860–866.
- Stricker, George. 2003. The many faces of self-disclosure. *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 59(5). 623–630.
- Stricker, George & Martin Fisher. 1990. *Self-disclosure in the therapeutic relationship*. New York: Plenum.
- Tiitinen, Sanni, Elina Weiste, Sanna Vehviläinen, Johanna Ruusuvuori, Sirpa Lusa & Jaana Laitinen. 2018. Reflektoinnin välttämistä ja vertaistukea. Tarinoiden tehtävät palo- ja pelastusalan lähijohtajien ryhmäohjauksessa. [Avoiding reflection and providing social support. Uses of narratives in group counseling of managers in fire- and rescue field.]. *Aikuiskasvatus* 38(3). 208–222.
- Tilton-Weaver, Lauree C., Sheila K. Marshall & Nancy Darling. 2014. What's in a name? Distinguishing between routine disclosure and self-disclosure. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 24(4). 551–563.

- Toren, Zvi & Zipora Shechtman. 2010. Association of personal, process, and outcome variables in group counseling: Testing an exploratory model. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice* 14(4). 292–303.
- Tschuschke, Volker, K. Roy Mackenzie, Barbara Haaser & Gundula Janke. 1996. Self-disclosure, feedback, and outcome in long-term inpatient psychotherapy groups. *Journal of Psychotherapy Practice & Research* 5(1). 35–44.
- Vinogradov, Sophia & Irvin D. Yalom. 1990. Self-disclosure in group psychotherapy. In George Stricker & Martin Fisher (eds.), *Self-disclosure in the therapeutic relationship*, 191–204. New York: Plenum.
- Voutilainen, Liisa, Anssi Peräkylä & Johanna Ruusuvaori. 2010. Recognition and interpretation: Responding to emotional experience in psychotherapy. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43(1). 85–107.
- Yalom, Irvin D. 1995. *The theory and practice of group psychotherapy*, 4th edn. New York: Basic Books.

Bionotes

Aija Logren

Aija Logren received her master's degree in social psychology from the Tampere University and is currently a doctoral researcher. Her research interests include social interaction in group counseling: How groups work and through what kind of practices groups may have influence on their members. She has published on group members' questions and self-reflective talk in group counseling. Address for correspondence: Faculty of Social Sciences, Tampere University, 33100 Tampere, Finland. Email: Aija.Logren@tuni.fi

Johanna Ruusuvaori

Johanna Ruusuvaori is Professor of Social Psychology at the Tampere University. Her research interests include social interaction in institutional settings, such as healthcare, working life, and lifestyle counseling, work-life participation, and emotion in interaction. She has published in journals such as *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *Journal of Pragmatics*, and *Journal of Occupational Rehabilitation*, on practices equivalent or close to counseling, empathy and participation in healthcare consultations. Address for correspondence: Faculty of Social Sciences, 33014 Tampere University, Finland. Email: Johanna.Ruusuvaori@tuni.fi

Jaana Laitinen

Jaana Laitinen is an Adjunct Professor in Nutrition and in Public Health at the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health. She specializes in intervention studies aiming to promote healthy lifestyles and work ability. Additionally, she has examined the development of unhealthy behaviors in an epidemiological prospective study of Northern Finland 1966 and 1986 cohorts. Email: Jaana.Laitinen@ttl.fi