NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF-COHERENCE IN THE VIRTUAL SPACE

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Abstract: While social psychologists warn us that the search for self-coherence brings cognitive biases, marketers and public relations specialists define consistency as the main ingredient of personal branding campaigns. Taking a moderate path, sociologists theorize self-coherence as a coping mechanism for rewriting self-biographies to colonize the future, assuming the narrative as a self-coherence inducing device. We considered the emergence of personal blogs as a suitable setting to study the narrative construction of the self during late modernity. We present a narrative-constructivist analysis of data collected from personal blogs (the top 46 Romanian personal blogs in terms of popularity, and 100 blogs participating in a digital archiving memory project) in the period of emergence and unprecedented momentum. We found evidence of three narrative tactics for building self-coherence in the virtual space: temporal coherence, causal coherence, and thematic coherence.

Key words: Internet, blogs, self-consistency, personal construct, autobiographic memory.

1. Background

Late modernity brings reflexivity and individualization, while the rise of digital media offers unprecedented opportunities to display or enhance selective dimensions of the self. Virtual space can lead to self-fragmentation, against which people use narrative as a self-coherence inducing device. Building on recent theories on personal branding, reflexive self-identity, narrative-self, and autobiographical memory we ask how the narrative construction of self-coherence occurs in the virtual space of blogs.

Various disciplines assign coherence different degrees of desirability. In epistemology, coherence is a strategy used to prove a statement. Something is considered coherent when it belongs to a system where the statements are linked to each other, derive from one another, and interact with one another (Kvanvig, 2003). Coherence allows knowledge to self-legitimize (Sorea, 2005). Yet, social psychologists acquaint the imperative to seek simple and coherent explanations of events leads to cognitive errors, conceptualized as "bias toward coherence" (Kahneman, 2011). Conversely, marketing specialists consider coherence as one of the most important

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brand building tactics (Ries & Ries, 1998), and thus, playing a salient role in personal branding.

From a marketing framework, the personal brand is the mental image that the audience has when someone's name is mentioned. It is a consensus about what someone is, the reputation, the public image, the legend or the collective representation of someone. In recent decades, the Internet is increasingly accepted as the best medium for developing an image campaign and, therefore the blog has the potential to build or enhance personal brands. Blogs are personal pages on the Internet where the author writes, like in a journal, posts displayed from the most recent to the most distant. What distinguishes a blog from an autobiographical journal is the link with other blogs, the dialogue with readers, and the fact that time does not flow in one direction, the author having the possibility to return over time and adjust the posted information.

From a sociological perspective, keeping a journal on the Internet can be framed as a tactic for negotiating and legitimizing identity. According to Giddens (1991), self-identity is not a stable distinctive feature or a collection of features owned by a person, but a result of continuous self-reflexive actions applied to self-biography. Thus, an individual's biography must constantly integrate the events from the outside world and arrange them into a coherent personal story. In the view of the quoted author, through the reflexive construction of the self process, one creates, maintains, and revises a set of narrative biographies, social roles, and lifestyles, to reflect the story of what one is and how one has come to be what one is.

The theory of social memory (Halbwachs, 1925) states individual memory is socially determined. Neculau and Constantin (2003) interpret the assumptions of the theory thus the social context provides the individual with decoding tools and interpretation schemes, permitting the exchange of information through social interactions and offering axiological and ideological marks. Autobiographical memory allows people to build a sense of identity and continuity. It is not reduced to simple connections between the past and the present. Building an autobiographic memory means gathering, constructing, and interpreting life experiences, sometimes smoothing the barriers between moments in life, by finding a network of causal connections between the past and the present (Schechtman, 1997). Campbell (1997) assumes autobiographical memory derives from a linear conception of time, memories being connected to each other by the narrator's self. More exactly, these memories depend on a conception of the space-time continuity of the self and on the ability to link the present to the past. The author shows that all the memorised events are placed in time somewhat earlier than in the present, all relating to the present moment, yet not all being temporally ordered, as they can have a branched structure. Thus, the presence of a self with its own identity that builds the narrative gives consistency to personal memories.

The theory of the narrative-self claims the stories one tells about one's life reflect identity is a continually rewritten story to display the best facets of the self (Bruner, 1987). The narrative imperative means constantly revising the personal story, which does not always result in falsifying facts, but changing the life-vision and clarifying some aspects to gain control and awareness of oneself (Strawson, 2004). Therefore, to build a good life is to interpret the personal past in light of socially recognized normative ideas, memories being justified only if they have a consistent relationship with a system of beliefs (Freeman & Brockmeier, 2001). The narrative of the self is a continuous tension

between biography and history. That is why, any narrative-identity of the self is multiple, fragmentary, and unfinished (Brockmeier, 2001).

2. Materials and Method

We conducted a narrative-constructivist analysis of online data, collected 10 years ago on popular Romanian blogs with potential to build personal brands, using data and narrative analysis taken from an unpublished dissertation thesis (Rezeanu, 2007). We used the following data sources: the research on Romanian blogs - RoBloggers Survey 2006, from which we identified 46 well-known blogs (mentioned by at least 5 respondents); the Romanian Blogging Awards - RoBlogFest 2006, from which we identified 19 blogs nominated in several categories (the best blog, the most niche blog, the most informative blog, the blog that inspires thinking, and the most interesting blog). We have also used narratives included in the project "Heritage for Europe - Time Capsule" (170 posts from 100 blogs), running from 5 December to 10 January 2007 to collect posts containing memories or personal and collective prognoses. Through this project, a number of bloggers volunteered to write their memories from before the integration into the European Union, which they would like to save from oblivion.

The choice of the analysed period relies on the unprecedented emergence and momentum of these digital communication platforms. 2006 was labelled as the year of the blogs in Romania, because: the number of blogs has tripled compared to 2005 (RoBlogSurvey, 2006), the first Romanian blog festival was organised as well as the first Romanian conference on how to develop the personal brand through the blog, and the Digital Communication Festival - Internetics introduced personal blogs into competition as a special category. In the operationalization of self-coherence and the analysis and interpretation of narrative data, we followed the theorizations of personal constructs and the more recent theoretical models of autobiographical memory and narrative-self.

3. Results and Discussions

We found blog authors intend to be coherent, and the audience evaluates them according to the coherence criteria. Firstly, consistency is the criteria by which most of the readers make positive blog reviews ("It seems to me this is one of the best-written blogs I have seen lately. You rarely find something so coherent, funny and written so well. Why can't all be like this one", B-7), but also negative ("you contradict yourself" B-23). Secondly, the intention of consistency is assumed by some blog's authors: "How can this blog help you? By having, first and foremost, at least 90% correct writings from a grammatical point of view and by writing coherently" (B-42), or "But in the end, I said it not to spoil the coherence of the blog" (B-13), or "I hope I was coherent" (B-6). Analysing the data further, three narrative tactics for building self-coherence on blogs emerged: temporal self-coherence, causal self-coherence, and thematic self-coherence.

3.1. Temporal Self-Coherence

Temporal self-coherence occurs when autobiographical units of information are linked by their sequence over time. The first hint that all types of blogs facilitate the temporal coherence of the self is that they display a calendar which marks the days when the author posted on the blog. This way, the reader can easily assess how recent blog posts are and the time differences between them, more specifically, whether there is continuity or not among them.

Strawson (2004) distinguishes three ways people relate their selves to time: (1) diachronic, (2) episodic, and (3) narrative. The diachronic experience of self refers to a self that has been in the past and will be in the future, but the self is not necessarily continuous, as it may be different at different times. The episodic self is the one currently anchored facilitating the synchronic experience of the self, while the narrative self has unity, consistency and builds through multiple revisions.

All blogs facilitate the episodic self-coherence as they display the most recent posts by placing the reader directly at the moment. Among all types of blogs, personal ones are the most suitable to display the episodic self-coherence, illustrative of this being B-26 ("There are probably people who remember. People for which remembering is relieving, for whom nothing is lost, not truly. There are people like me who can only live in the now, for whom the past is almost instantly shrouded in a dense and disturbing mist [...] because everything changes, like others, like memories or happiness" or blog B-12 ("As long as you look back to the past represented here by memories ... you cannot move forward ... to the future represented by joy / happiness").

Few blogs offer examples of diachronic self-coherence, which involves breaks and sudden changes, as many authors believe such a style leads to a decrease in popularity. For instance, in B-3 blog, the author justifies to the audience why a change of style was needed: "They ask me why I don't write like I used to [...] the thing is that I do not have the spare time and the worry-free mind I had 2 or 3 years ago. At that time, I was really fancying the idea of a literary career - becoming a new Stephen King or Asimov. But now I'm more concerned with everyday questions in the vein of: what do I eat today? what about the day after tomorrow? Should I save some money or should I reinvest it? A busier, busier, more alert life. I hardly have time to write posts like this one".

Narrative self-coherence (rewriting the past to colonise the future) occurs only in relation to particular themes. We identified forms of narrative self-coherence in the stories posted on blogs participating in the "Time Capsule" project. These narratives use temporal marks to enhance consistency. The authors write about the elapsed time from birth to the present or expectations about the future. Interestingly, there are some events that divide this period in segments or punctually. The following segments or moments, used as memory gridlines, are common to many bloggers: the first memory, Christmas time, the first day of school or of college, August 23, 1989, primary or high school period, the 1999-2000 New Year's Eve. So, memory is not structured by a scale divided into equal segments, since the memories of a person are not distributed equally over time, but they focus around significant social or personal events. These results support the conclusions of Santos (2001) that, unlike history that presents a linear time with successive, relatively equal sequences, the autobiographical memory is the result of feelings and personal thoughts about the past adapted to the social conventions of the present. We can conclude, in accordance with the author, that people rely on the memory of others to confirm their own memories, and memories are not just an expression of personal will, or just a social determination, but a concoction between the two.

Memory is structured in uneven intervals when the remembered event is not clearly located, but is anchored within a longer period of time. For instance, one in which the

author's grandmother has lived ("from when I was 3 years old until she died. I was in the 4th grade", B-30) or the period when the author believed in Santa Claus ("In school, in primary classes, the mystery was already shattered for all my colleagues. They tried to convince me that Santa was their parents. That's how I kept myself up to 11-12 years", B-20). The widest bounding of memory targets the entire period of childhood by the phrase "when I was little". In the analysed posts, there are no memories from the 12-15 year period of age. Often, by using the phrase "when I was in elementary school", the bloggers join the ages of 7 through 11 with the ages of 12-15, because there are no separate memories for each period. Also, bloggers prefer to write about more recent memories from college, as opposed to high school memories. Therefore, the autobiographical memory is selective.

To anchor an event in time, bloggers use either their age at a specific time, a cyclic celebration event, or a school stage. The year or date of the event appears very rarely, except for the year 1989 or for a particular year loaded with outstanding subjective meaning: "July 1, 1995 marked my university destiny" (B-21), "I'm trying to remember the second year of college; the happiest year of my life" (B-26). These stunning years become a detachment of the conventional way of measuring time with clocks and calendars. They set personal milestones by loading subjective significance into objective landmarks. These results support the idea that if we take a mark in time we will be able to order our memories successively, that is, we can tell whether they have happened before or after that landmark, which reveals the linear conception of time people have (Campbell, 1997).

The two extremes set by bloggers in the timeline of their stories are the first memory and the expectations for the future. For many bloggers, the first memory is anchored between 2 years and 6 years of age and regards two events: The Revolution or the first Christmas. As far as the future is concerned, there are bloggers who write letters to their future selves: "I hope that over the years when I open the capsule of time, [...] I will not have more white hair than black hair. I won't be too fat. And I have the same crystalline laugh" (B-37), or "I wonder what you're doing ... I wonder how hot or how cold it is in winter now ... I wonder if Christmas has gone ... I wonder if you've changed in some way ... I wonder if you will give me any answer ... in January 2012" (B-34).

Often, temporal markers are not enough to bound a memory and require spatial markers: "It was 1992, I think, when I went with my mother and father at a confectionary in the area, to eat profiterol. It was summer or early summer" (B-28), "This bench from the second area of the park is where I sat when I failed anatomy" (B-6), "I was just 4 years old when it happened [...]. At that time, I stood in Drumul Taberei, somewhere at Valea Ialomiţei, in a block on the 7th floor" (B-2). Therefore, not only the time anchors memory, but also the space can order the narrative of the self. So, blog` authors have a conception of time and space that gives meaning to the self as a space-time continuum (Campbell, 1997).

3.2. Causal Self-Coherence

Continuing on Cambell's thread of ideas (1997) we find that a narrative of the self cannot only be temporally coherent, but also causal, as the unity of a narrative can be linear, yet can also be branched by causal links. In this case, the identity of the self is given by the causal relationship among how the self is within different periods of time.

The blog, as a narrative tool does not stimulate the causal coherence of the self. On a blog, it is very difficult to be original, subjective, useful, up-to-date and at the same time able to link all information through causal connections. The blog content is divided into categories and the link between these categories is missing. One cannot, therefore, talk about a blog narrative in which all episodes are causal. The blogosphere increases the popularity of those who write in a long and steady manner, but the imperative of writing every day is incompatible with the binding of all information through a causal thread. That's why the stories on personal blogs are rather descriptive than explanatory. Another interpretation is found in Kelly (1955) who theorised people seek validation from others, when they formulate explanations for their own experience. It is possible, therefore, for a blog to be an instrument by which the authors provide information and await the readers' interpretation before formulating a personal one (Boeree, 2006). An example is the B-7 blog, where the author confesses: "I'm used to blogging questions I cannot find a response to by myself". Bloggers want to find explanations, but they are aware that present data is not always enough to link the past to a causal coherent narrative: "Ever since I've known myself, I've been asking many questions, yet lately, it seems that I find fewer and fewer answers [...]. Was I the same? And if I really was why did I change? Why do I wonder less? Was it because there were too many questions I could not find an answer to? What if I was not the same?" (B-7). This incompleteness in the experience's explanation was also identified by Kelly (1955), who concluded that no construction is ever complete as the world is too complicated, too big for someone to have a complete perspective (Boeree, 1997).

Although we found some occurrences of finalized causal intentions of bloggers, they were either at the level of some punctual facts, or attempts to create an overview of their own lives, or to place their own narrative in a wider context. Sometimes, bloggers tend to privilege certain episodes of life and seek explanations: "I was trying to explain how I had behaved in a particular situation and, above all, to figure out how fair I had been. I would like to have a logical explanation for what happened then and what has been going on for a few years now [...]. I read at some point that all persons are the product of the people who influenced them all their lives Now, I dare to complete this equation by multiplying this product with the sum of characters in the novels we read. I noticed that, over time, without realizing it, I mastered some characteristics from my favourite novel characters" (B-7). Other times, bloggers are trying to find an explanation for everything they've lived: "Most often, fate tactically mixes the dice, it seems that you choose 6-5, and you're all ... grown. Like a skilful locksmith, you lock the chest where you cramped the illusions, hopes, dreams of a restless teenager ... you finish university, you work (often in a totally different field), you get married, you have children, you pay mortgage, move into a bigger apartment, change your car, ... and time passes ... life is a pawnbroker you should never mess with: if you leave your dreams in exchange for a comfortable but dazed living, which denies you many aspect of the real << you >>, it will settle the scores with you, just when you least expect it! And the perceived interest will shake you from your foundation of all the (seemingly) silent years you spent owing life your ... happiness" (B-20). These examples show what Kelly (1955) calls "the theory of the self". People act just like small scholars who improve and reconstruct their understanding of reality based on experience as scientists adjust their theories to suit the facts (Boeree, 1997).

Some bloggers were trying to find explanations by relying on the meta-narrative of their generation and identifying common causes within the social context, for example: "I've gone through all of this with my head held high, and I was happy. I have lived every moment as it was, bad or good, I went on. I'm part of that generation of survivors, that generation with Communist DNA, who, however, knew how to move and adapt further. We liked the patriotic songs, we sang them, we listened to them, but we knew how to appreciate something else. We were probably the ones that needed to move. I will not say that we were the sacrificed ones, but I will say that I have known life in all of its forms" (B-23). This example supports the idea that people want to reduce uncertainty about who they are and thus remember the past more positively than it actually was, by processing selective and strategic information to remove their negative information from their selves (Sedikides et al., 2004).

Another example of finding explanations in the social context appears in the B-2 blog: "Our hidden desires are inevitably hit by the standards of society at some point. You think you're free in elementary school, when you can stay out until 10 pm with your friends. You think you're free in high school, when you can come after 12 o'clock at home. You think you're free in college, when you know you can spend the night where you want, without being disturbed. But even these freedoms are only a larger radius of the circle we are in". This piece of narrative is in accordance with the constructivistnarrative interpretation of reality in which the individual has a contextual view of the world, which can be considered a constantly changing text and must be interpreted and constructed and reconstructed to be understood. In short, "the social construction of self" involves validation through personal experience and "the narrative approach", through social consensus (Botella et al., 1997). A more complex interpretation is "the constructivist alternativism" theorized by Kelly (1955), according to which the relationship between people and environment is dialectical, that is, both sides change through mutual actions. Unlike "constructivist alternativism", "accumulative fragmentalism" postulates that the world is a puzzle that one can solve by putting together different aspects of it, piece by piece until one gets an overview (Carl, 1999). As a difference, "constructivist alternativism" points out every time one adds a new piece to the puzzle, one must reorder the ones already found to fit with the new piece of the ensemble. The reconstruction of the past with help from the present meanings is illustrated on the blog B-6: "First and foremost, I was sad. For any person, sadness is a state that comes and goes, depending on the reason. But there was no reason. Frustrations always gather, but pass. It was hard for me to understand that. I did not admit that I did not know what was happening to me".

3.2. Thematic Self-Coherence

Even if blogging platforms do not facilitate attaining a complete causal self-consistency, we found they provide tools to achieve multiple thematic consistencies of the self. Botella et al. (1997) introduced the idea of self-thematization through narrative, understood as selecting events around themes that overdo them. The blog encourages this form of self-coherence by offering the opportunity to organize the posts by category so that the reader can select the category of interest. Moreover, the title of the blog, its headline, the field in which it offers information or even its specificity are tools to

facilitate the achievement of thematic coherence.

Personal blogs use a category grid where different types of confessions are placed: for example, "my life in Warsaw" (B-6), "age issues" (B-28), "the autopsy of an obsession" (B-18). Personal blogs are not just confessions, they also present other categories of information in various fields, such as reading recommendations, surveys, cultural events, social news, or technology news. Kelly (1955) theorized the phenomenon of "fragmentation of the self". In his view, individuals have different social roles, separated by circumstances, and when these circumstances do not overlap, the roles do not conflict. If a personality can be called a multi-role relationship, the identity is fragmented by subsystems that the individual is trying to relate to. The personal constructs of the individual are fragmented and permeable because individuals can expand their coverage (Boeree, 1997). In fact, through the blog, the author tries to prove the personal and professional lives are coherent, to wipe the border between the public and the private. In this respect, it's noteworthy how the blogger B-24 characterizes his blog: "It's just my identity on the net, my business card, the colourful corridor towards my life and my thoughts ... especially thoughts and personal opinions, but also other relevant events in [my] everyday life (and the everyday lives of the others), news, cultural events, books I've read, movies I've seen, places where I walk and where I feel good".

Although the information presented on personal blogs seems to be scattered, all the authors intend to select it according to a specific guiding idea (or theme). For personal blogs, the criterion on which the author chooses what to say and what not to say is suggested either in the blog Headline or in its About page. When the intention is presented in the title or the headline, it tends to be vague: "Mon acte c'est ma liberte" (B-31); "There's only one corner of the universe you can be sure of improving, and that's your own self" (B-34); "It's my mind, and I think what I want" (B-49); "I live and think my way" (B-7). To give more clues about the idea that's underlying the selection of information in their blog, some authors use tropes in their blog Headline: "I'm writing for racoons, squirrels, cats" (B-6), "Welcome to the ice world" (B-23).

Thematic self-coherence occurs when authors do not organize the units of information in accordance to their sequence over time, but create connections based on meanings (Botella, 1994). It can be an alternative to temporal self-coherence or to the limits of the memory, when the author cannot locate memories temporally or has another incompleteness to solve. Here is an example: "I can't remember exactly how many times and why I quarrelled with my folks, I do not remember the grade I obtained when I was accepted in high school, I do not remember the month in which I got my driving license, how much my car had cost or for how many days I've left the country. But I remember every note in the music that made me dream and I can perfectly restore from memory the fragrances I fell in love with" (B-31). The thematic self-coherence can also be a narrative tactic which links the present to the past. For instance, a praise currently received reminds the author of a praise received in high school (B-19), a story read on a blog reminds of another recent similar story (B-24), or a second time seen movie brings to mind the thoughts the author had when seeing it for the first time (B-14).

Every story is one of the selecting self, its consistency being given by the theme based on which the storyteller selects the relevant events (Botella et al., 1997). Another two examples show two central themes (complaints and home) that give coherence to the

autobiographical discourse: "With the passage of time, a Wall of Complaint is being built in which there will be dozens of photographs of death, crime, cruelty, heavy and incurable diseases, contempt, hate, unconsciousness, physical pain, emotional pain. Today I added a picture to my Wall of Complaint" (B-31); "Home is not even the warm bed in your bedroom; the home is something bigger, more diverse and yet incomplete: it is your mother's smile and your father's embrace; the dust on the carpet in the bedroom, the breakfast served in the bed from Dorobanţi, the pastries bought from the bakery by the Mihai Viteazu` high school, eaten in the Neuron cuisine, the list of friends on messenger, the letters from those that left, the warmth of those in the present, the blog and sometimes the memory of the illusion of perfect moments, which they cannot relieve or even evoke" (B-26).

4. Conclusions

Because, in the virtual space, there is a limited possibility of verifying the discourse by confronting it with nonverbal language, the veracity of the autobiographical confession is evaluated according to the criterion of coherence. Regarding temporal self-coherence, the blog, as a tool, favours the "episodic self" as it displays the most recent posts, placing the reader in the now. It also inhibits the "diachronic self" as the audience rejects the sudden and unjustified changes. The online diary is an artifice for crystallizing the "narrative self" making possible to capitalize on memories and return to them to adapt to the present. Ordering units of information by date and placing them on a calendar are blog tools to achieve the temporal self-coherence. The complete causal self-coherence is not possible on blogs due to the audience's expectation of actuality and consistency in posting information. However, the archiving of memories and the presence of readers' comments make possible for an episodic causal self-coherence and for a "general theory over self" type of self-coherence. Therefore, in the virtual space of blogs, the tactics of achieving temporal, causal and thematic coherence of the self-reinforce each other in a social construction mechanism of building a "narrative project of the self".

The aim of this paper is, on one hand, to highlight the opportunity of studying virtual communication platforms that generate naturally constructed datasets and, on the other hand, to offer alternative interpretations based on theories of personal constructs, self-narrative, and autobiographical memory to some marketing concepts such as personal branding. Our results plead for a more lyrical sociology (Abbott, 2007). The conclusions do not provide a macro-social, global view, but rather a contextual-interpretive one; they do not offer a static and external image, but rather a processual and socially constructed one.

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