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How do Immigrant Family Members Successfully Negotiate Cultural Identities in Family Therapy: A Discursive Analysis

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How do Immigrant Family Members Successfully Negotiate Cultural Identities in Family

Therapy: A Discursive Analysis

by

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Abstract

One of Canada's trademarks is the cultural diversity of its people, and how different ways of life are integrated to Canadian society a current and important issue. Often, unresolved dilemmas surface as attempts to negotiate and recognize different cultural identities in ways that reflect both immigrants and Canadian preferences. Therapy conversations can become spaces in which immigrant family members, together with therapists, collaborate in recognizing each other according to cultural memberships that are preferred by them. In this study, I focus on how immigrant family members relationally recognize and co-articulate with each other their preferred cultural memberships. I also explore what immigrant family members consider therapists' helpful conversational moves in helping them negotiate preferred cultural identities. Informed by discursive psychology, I offer my analysis of five immigrant families' therapy conversations. I describe three practices (resisting recognition, foregrounding cultural identities, and recognizing preferred cultural identities) in which immigrant family members engaged, together with their therapists, in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities. This preference-animated research can be useful for family therapists who work with immigrant families, to help them foreground relational patterns of dis-preferred cultural identity ascriptions (i.e., misrecognition), to find relational patterns that suit them better as a family.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"Can you tell my dad to let me have a Facebook account? He doesn't understand how things work here." This request came from Alma[1], a 16 year old girl from Venezuela and member of a family I was working with in family therapy. Her family had immigrated to Canada 3 years prior, and they were coming to family therapy due to frequent arguments between father and daughter. Alma's question took me by surprise. She had requested to speak with me on her own, but I didn't expect to be asked to intercede in the conflict as a local authority. As a therapist, I found myself in a bind: I understood the girl's desire to fit in with her peers by being on Facebook. I had also learned about her father's disapproval of some of what he viewed as "Canadian customs" through our therapy conversations. At the time, I wondered how to collaborate with this family so that they could enhance their relationship and respect the ways in which they understood their cultural identities differently. In the following years, I found myself many times pondering the same dilemma with other immigrant families.

Alma's family's struggle with conflicting cultural views or "cultural clashes" is not something new or atypical. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) News, for example, reported on the experiences of children who have immigrant parents, or are immigrants themselves (CBC News, February 15, 2012). According to the report, children feel "caught between two cultures" (CBC News, February 15, 2012), having to negotiate ways of being cultural with their peers, parents, and other family members at home. More often than not, the cultural practices of these groups are in conflict with each other. Further, psychology researchers have narrowly depicted immigrant families as battlegrounds between parents and children

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[1] All identifying information has been changed to protect clients' privacy.

(Tyyskä, 2008), where tensions over issues such as adherence to cultural practices or traditions and how these practices influence peer relationships as well as career and romantic relationship choices among others, are seen as a common source of parent-child conflict. The different ways in which these cultural practices are understood by family members may create tensions in their relationships, to the point that they may require a family therapy consultation, as was the case with Alma's family.

Similar to Alma's family, families from all over the world have immigrated to Canada for decades. Presently, immigration is the main source for the country's population growth. In 2011, Canada had a total of about 6,775,800 immigrants, representing 20.6% of the total population (Statistics Canada, 2014). The affluence of peoples with diverse cultural backgrounds is one of Canada's trademarks, and how different ways of life are integrated into Canadian society is a prominent and current issue. Challenging dilemmas arise for families in their attempts to recognize and negotiate practices and values that reflect those of their cultures of origin and those encountered in Canada. In this context, it could be appealing to avoid the dilemmas altogether by trying to determine a right or wrong way of being cultural. Instead, my interest in conducting the present research was to better understand how, in family therapy conversations, immigrant[2] family members negotiate ways of being cultural with one another that fit for them. In addition, I explored some of the therapeutic interventions from therapists that family members identified as helpful in negotiating preferred cultural identities. Two research questions guided my study:

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[2] For the present study, I focus on the interactions and experiences of voluntary migrants, that is, immigrant families who chose to move to Canada. I will refer to this group with the terms "immigrant families" or "immigrant family members."

1. How do immigrant family members successfully develop and negotiate new preferred cultural identities, while maintaining acceptable (to them) family relationships?

2. What therapeutic actions do family members identify as helpful in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities that are acceptable for all family members?

In the following sections of this chapter, I first provide an overview on the process of immigration and a brief discussion on culture from a relational stance. Next, I provide a description of my study, followed by my personal connection to this topic.

Immigration: Stuck Between Cultures?

Today, immigration can be considered one of the most prevalent social phenomena of our times. However, the history of humanity has had countless examples of groups of people moving to different places in the world. For centuries, people from all over moved into "new" territory, their motives to do so being quite different. Whether influenced by environmental conditions, colonization, escape, or even adventure, different groups of people have moved, been in contact, influenced, and lived together for centuries. Jewish people settled in Europe after their exodus from Egypt, and Christian proponents reached Africa. Also, social practices were incorporated in different parts of the world, an example being Buddhism, taken from India into East and South East Asia (Appiah, 2006; Tölöyan, 1996). These are a few examples of how people from different places both promoted and adopted new cultural practices.

Despite the commonality of migration among diverse peoples around the globe, past focus on this process has usually been placed on immigrants and their adjustment to the new country. Many resources (e.g., economic, educational) are used to help people who immigrate, to adapt or integrate to their new environments. Less attention is given to immigration as a two-way process involving both the people immigrating and members of the host country. Further, how

people who move maintain ties with their country of origin has received little attention in the family therapy literature (e.g., Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011; Falicov, 2007). Only recently have scholars and researchers begun to focus on recognizing immigrants' cultures of origin as well as the responsibilities of host communities in promoting integration (Berry, 2011). Overwhelmingly, immigrants are portrayed as a homogeneous group, regardless of where they are from, where they immigrated to, or when they immigrated. This perspective leaves out important issues such as race, gender, social class, and economic resources, and such influences in immigrants' lives.

Descriptions of immigrants as a separated and homogenous group in host countries have prevailed in the literature on migratory processes. The limiting implications of this view have been identified by some scholars (Bhatia, 2002; Chirkov, 2009). Mental health researchers and clinicians often refer to immigrants' experiences solely as living in between two worlds (e.g., Giguerè, Lalond, & Lou, 2010), grieving the loss of their culture or country of origin (Mirkin & Kamya, 2008), or experiencing the same psychological process of acculturation (Berry, 2005; Berry & Sam, 1997; see chapter 2). Although these explanations may ring true for some, these can also be quite limiting in understanding and conceptualizing immigrants' experiences. For example, assuming that immigrants are continuously grieving depicts them as living in a timeless space, neither in their country of origin nor in the host country. These restricted descriptions may negatively influence their relationships with others, including family members, both in the host and country of origin. Further, immigrants too often are portrayed as a *kind of people* (Hacking, 2006), a depersonalizing way of referring to people in which their circumstances (i.e., having moved from another country) are seen to primarily define who they are for others. Consequently, having an accent or difficulties speaking English seem to become a person's salient features

rather than their knowledge of other languages. Focusing on these deficiencies as the only significant ones may influence negatively how those who immigrate and those who act as hosts of a community, integrate and relate to each other. The difficulties in recognizing equivalency and transferability of international credentials for immigrant professionals (Arthur, Merali, & Djuraskovic, 2010; Chen, 2008; Sinatore, Park-Saltzman, Mikhail, & Wada, 2011; Zikic, Bonache, & Cerdin, 2010) may be seen as an example of how deficiency discourses influence immigrants and host-communities.

The process of integrating to a new country following immigration is not simple, neither for the host communities nor the newcomers. Immigrant family members maintain, discard, or integrate particular cultural values and practices as they negotiate and perform new cultural identities in the new home environment (Maciel & Knudson-Martin, 2013). In the same manner, individuals and families from the host communities are invited to expand their ways of understanding and viewing the world to which they may respond differently. Tensions between various ways of understanding different cultural practices—for example, in how gender roles, career plans, family plans, and social rights to name a few are understood and performed— vie for societal acceptance. More immediately, immigrant family members engage in similar tension-filled dialogues or negotiations among themselves and with others outside of their families. In these dialogues, they present different views of their preferred cultural identities. How each family member orients to and performs cultural identities can be seen as a negotiation of preferred ways of being cultural with others inside and outside of his/her family. Following immigration then, family members may need to find new ways of recognizing each other as cultural beings, while maintaining meaningful and familiar relationships.

Cultural Ways of Being with Others

In *How to be a Canadian* (2001), Will Ferguson and Ian Ferguson propose to readers:

If you truly want to know what being Canadian is all about, wait until the next really, really, *really* cold day and then go outside and lick the nearest flagpole or bicycle rack. No, don't worry. It'll be fun. Come on. We've all done it. Sure, it's going to hurt but it will also give you an important insight into a shared Canadian cultural experience. (p. 24)

To me, this humorous, somewhat stereotypical description speaks to the complexity of being part of a culture, and of being cultural, in ways that one is recognized by others as a member of the group. This excerpt speaks both to knowing *about* a culture or knowing from without (e.g., by hearing or reading about Canadian culture experiences) and knowing that culture *from within* (Shotter, 1993b) which involves performing or enacting its cultural traditions. From a social constructionist perspective (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967; Shotter, 1993a) and the perspective I take in this dissertation, to be part of any cultural group involves both kinds of knowing. It is not enough to know about a particular culture's practices or customs. To be cultural, one performs the culture one is part of, and in so doing maintains and is influenced by the practices of that culture.

Rather than viewing culture as separate from people, I will regard people as creating, maintaining, and recreating culture. They do so by inviting and responding to one another in cultural ways they presume the other person will share. That is, in our everyday life, we assume or take for granted the cultural ways in which we do things or relate to others. For example, usually we do not have to remind ourselves of the language we communicate in with others, which side of the road to drive on, or how to coordinate the next turn in a four-way stop. We engage in cultural practices assuming that others will follow the same. Our interactions may

become awkward when, accustomed to different cultural traditions, we may respond to each other in ways that are not the usual. An example of how these encounters can be seen as strange or awkward by others can be seen in the media coverage (e.g., Mirror News, September 3, 2012) of the moment when the Duchess of Cambridge, Kate Middleton, and the paralympian, Mehrdad Karam Zadeh, from Iran, had to find new ways of completing a formal salutation as their cultural ways of understanding and performing this cultural practice came into conflict (i.e., shaking hands).

In this encounter, both the paralympian and the duchess had to negotiate differences in how they understood a formal salutation given their different cultural traditions (i.e., Western and Muslim). By so doing, they flexibly and creatively completed the task of awarding the silver medal to the athlete in a public, international ceremony. One could imagine that they had to become attuned to each other's non-verbal body movements (from *within* the encounter in their responses to each other), while orienting beyond their accustomed ways of performing a salutation (knowing *about* how to perform a salutation). They likely did all of this while also being aware of the thousands of witnesses at the awards ceremony. Something as simple as a salutation between two persons from different cultures, in this public context, can be seen as signaling the politics involved in recognizing others' ways of being cultural, a point that I expand upon in Chapter 2. I view this event as an invitation extended by the paralympian, who maintained his accustomed way of salutation (i.e., not shaking hands with a non-related woman) while orienting to the duchess. She, in turn, took up the invitation. Rather than insisting in shaking hands she responded in a way that *negotiated* a new, creative way of acknowledging the athlete's achievement.

Historically, some interactions between cultural groups have been less than amicable. The history of the European colonization in different parts of the world offers abundant examples of contact between different cultural groups leading to devastating consequences for non-European communities. Slavery, war, and genocide, are tragic examples of these shattering interactions (Todorov, 2010). Where colonizing practices prevailed, negotiating differences between cultural ways of being were often unequal: some cultural ways of being (e.g., Western views) were proposed (and imposed) as more correct than others.

Family therapists are also influenced by, sustain, and promote particular cultural discourses in social interactions, including those with clients. Although psychotherapies are not immune to cultural discourses, the relationship between mainstream culture and the culture of therapy tends to be ignored (Hoshmand, 2001; Paré, 1996; Rober & Seltzer, 2010). Often, psychotherapy is portrayed as neutral on matters of culture. However, the potential for psychotherapy to become a colonizing practice has been identified in the literature (Strong & Sutherland, 2007). Rather than focusing on a particular result or culture, I focus on how cultural influences shape both therapists' and family members' lives. Accordingly, they in turn, shape the conversational spaces and processes between them.

Taking a Relational Stance

In the fields of psychology, counselling, and family therapy there has been an emphasis on developing multicultural competency (e.g., Arthur & Collins, 2010, 2014; Arredondo & Toporek, 2004; Collins & Arthur, 2010). Practitioners have been encouraged to develop awareness about their own cultural assumptions and to understand their clients' cultural backgrounds. The multicultural movement has helped to raise awareness of how ethnocentric views historically influence therapeutic relationships. This movement has also helped therapists

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to become more responsive, compassionate, and respectful with clients from non-dominant groups. However, what seems to be left out of this perspective is how peoples' cultural ways of being and relating are negotiated through therapeutic dialogues in counselling or family therapy.

In this dissertation, I purposefully take a relational stance to examine how immigrant family members negotiate cultural identities in family therapy conversations. That is, I position myself guided by the assumption that relations are necessary for our existence as persons. I regard a relational stance as orienting to be, talk, and act with others in shared experiences, such as an inquiry, or in processes of generative dialogue and transformation (Anderson, 2007). Taking a relational stance helps me to go beyond being culturally sensitive or being culturally aware, to focus on how people *do* culture together. That is, how people orient to each other, coordinating their understandings of who they are culturally, and how these understandings shape and are shaped by how they do culture together.

Focusing on how immigrant family members coordinate their understandings of cultural identities is useful in exploring how they relationally recognize preferred cultural identities. For example, how family members step away from ascribing cultural memberships while being unresponsive to whether the membership ascription fits for the other person — what Taylor (1994) calls misrecognition (see chapter 2 for a discussion on misrecognition). Misrecognition of preferred cultural identities may prevent immigrant family members from understanding, performing, and acknowledging different cultural identities. Further, I believe that taking a relational stance can help therapists develop cultural awareness, a first step towards recognizing different cultural ways of being. To me, this involves learning how clients and therapists relate from their different cultural ways of living and being. I am interested in how immigrant family members negotiate their way forward in conversations by acknowledging and orienting to each

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other's preferred ways of being cultural. I believe that taking this perspective is in tune with what Charles Taylor (1991) recommended, namely, that recognizing cultural differences means moving from interacting with others based solely on what we know about someone else's culture or our own culture (from a particular standpoint or perspective), to how each other's cultural ways of being shape and are shaped in and through our relational interactions. As Taylor (1994) elucidates, ". . . real judgments of worth suppose a fused horizon of standards, as we have seen; they suppose that we have been transformed by the study of the other, so that we are not simply judging by our original familiar standards" (p. 70).

In sum, my aim in taking a relational stance is to explore and learn how being cultural *with* others, rather than assuming others' cultural ways of being, transforms our understanding of each other and ourselves. Therapeutic encounters, then, can be seen as spaces for immigrant family members to connect with versions of themselves previously denied or considered unreachable (Paré, 2014), to create new versions in their conversations. In this dissertation, I explore how immigrant family members together with their therapists, engage in their therapy conversations as relational spaces and are open to being changed by others. I am interested in how immigrant family members (together with therapists) move forward from recognizing what is different about their cultural identities, to recognizing instead how such differences are generated, maintained, and dealt with in relationships.

The Research Project

In this qualitative and exploratory discursive research project, I studied the conversations of 5 volunteer families who immigrated to Canada in the last 5 years. These families have been living in Canada for a minimum of 2 years, and they attended family therapy at the Calgary Family Therapy Centre (CFTC) in Calgary, Alberta. The participant families had at least one

member who was a teenager (between 13 to 19 years of age). I approached the CFTC to conduct my research because of its excellent family therapy services at no cost for families in Calgary. Participating family members were asked to identify one or two instances in each of five videotaped sessions of negotiating cultural identities in ways that they individually and collectively deemed successful. Those were instances in which family members invited and responded to each other's talk while acknowledging and orienting to different ways of being cultural that were meaningful to them. I subsequently interviewed each family member separately on his/her experiences of reviewing these videotaped instances and the interventions they found most helpful from their family therapist.

To analyze the data collected through the videotaped sessions and subsequent interviews with participants, I used discursive psychology (DP; Edwards & Potter, 1992). My aim by combining these sets of data —families' and therapists' actual interactions and family members' retrospective comments— was to achieve a better understanding of how family members performed and later made sense of how they negotiated preferred cultural identities during their family sessions. I closely examined how family members and therapists used talk to advance the conversation by being understood and recognized according to cultural memberships that fit for them. I also examined which interpretative repertoires (Wetherell, 1998) were invoked by family members to make sense of their responses to each other, and how family members dealt with tensions between different positions in the interpretative repertoires they brought to the conversations. In order to better understand these tensions, I explored the different positions family members, and therapists, engaged in, and shifted towards, in negotiating cultural identities in their conversations together.

My Story

Like many others, my family history is filled with immigration examples. My father and paternal grandparents immigrated from Poland to Argentina before WWII, and my maternal great-grandparents and grandparents immigrated from Ukraine and Lithuania to Argentina in the early 1900s. I have extended family in Israel and Spain. Continuing what seems to be a family tradition, I immigrated to Canada as an adult. In 2001, I moved to Calgary as an international student, and years later became a Canadian citizen. When I arrived, I participated in a university orientation for new international students. In addition to the general information on courses and university life, the orientation facilitators spoke to us about the process of integrating to a new culture which included something I had never heard of before: "culture shock." At the time, I felt somewhat anxious about not having learned of this process in Argentina, and wondered when it would happen to me. It never did in the way it had been proposed at the orientation.

Probably because I was more attuned to the possibility of this process happening, I began noticing other things that I considered signs of my integration to the cultural environment of Calgary. I learned to figure out which kind of butter and milk were similar to the ones I knew. I got used to taking back home the food I had brought to a potluck, and tried (very unsuccessfully at first) to understand humour and to make jokes people would understand as such. I started noticing small details about the life in Calgary, and I also learned new expressions and events in Argentina I didn't know about. I started to notice that the more I talked about these things with other people and the more others shared similar experiences to mine, the more questions I had. Understanding better how people who immigrate to a different country integrate and adapt to new traditions in ways that fit with their ongoing cultural identity work has become a passion of

mine. It is not one that I would have expected, but one that I hope to continue exploring in the future.

This dissertation is dedicated to better understand how families who immigrate to Canada, successfully negotiate new cultural identities, in ways that fit for them individually and collectively. In the next chapter, I describe how cultural identities can be understood relationally as well as some of the common issues immigrant families seem to encounter. I will also provide a brief review on the utility of family therapy in approaching these issues from a relational standpoint. In Chapter 3, I focus on the methodology I used for the present study, including my research design and how it was carried out. In Chapter 4, I present my analysis of the conversations and accounts of the 5 families participating in this study. Finally, in Chapter 5, I discuss my findings, implications for counselling, and provide some concluding remarks.

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Chapter 2: On Being Canadian

 "The first time I took the citizenship oath, back in 1979, I was 12 years old . . . .My dad

kept saying (over and over): "This is a Very Important Occasion. When we come home

today we'll be Canadian." I had no idea what he meant: would we stop eating rice? Stop

using our Korean names? Stop being. . .Korean??? And when I looked around the room,

things got even more confusing. Everyone was white, except for us. As far as I knew,

white people were already Canadian. So what were they doing here? Suddenly, my

mother nudged me—it was time to stand up and take the oath. I raised my left hand,

instead of my right, swore allegiance to Canada, but in my mind—stayed loyal to Canada

AND Korea. This time, 31 years later, I did it right. As I stood there with all the new

Canadians in the crowd, I was as happy and proud—as they were". (Sun-Kyung (Sunny)

Yi, October 25, 2010)

Until we try to "fit" somewhere else, it is not uncommon for our cultural ways of being to

go unnoticed. But as Canadian documentary filmmaker, Sun-Kyung (Sunny) Yi (October 25,

2010) describes, integrating into a different cultural community can be a cumbersome process.

New customs, languages, and social practices may need to be considered and possibly

incorporated into one's life, and the differences may influence our understanding of our cultural

identities and those of others. Most commonly however, negotiating new cultural ways of being

with others tends to be associated with isolated events (e.g., the actual geographical move or

taking a citizenship oath) which do not account for the culturally diverse, intricate, and change-

infused experiences of people who immigrate to a new country.

When people move to a different country such as Canada, their cultural ways of living

acquire a new significance as cultural memberships and participation are worked out between

newcomers and hosts. As Yi's (October 25, 2010) account demonstrates, there are many elements and considerations involved in integrating and performing novel identities in a new cultural context. Does it mean leaving one's language of origin behind, changing nutritional customs, or becoming someone different? These questions may invite different responses in family members who move to Canada. As family members' understandings of this process differ, their relations may also change. Becoming Canadian (i.e., knowing *about* being Canadian as well as knowing *from within* its cultural practices; see Chapter 1) is not something that happens automatically nor overnight. Confusion over new social practices, variations in how family members "do things" together, and understand their new cultural participation may occur.

In the first part of this chapter, I distinguish three theoretical approaches to culture, cultural identities, and cultural integration. I describe how these conceptualizations led to different psychology and family therapy approaches along with research on how immigrant parents and their children develop novel cultural identities when integrating to new cultural contexts. Next, I describe how negotiating cultural identities is understood from a social constructionist stance; a stance I take as a researcher. I reflect on the issue of *recognition* which I view as grounding the co-constructing of peoples' cultural identities in general. Recognition by self and others, in the sense I will use it in my dissertation, refers to the relational nature of cultural identities. I will provide a brief overview of the politics involved in recognizing and being recognized by others, which influences my understanding and analyses in this study. Finally, I discuss some of the challenges faced by immigrant families and why social constructionist-informed family therapy is a useful practice to deal with these issues.

Understanding Culture and Cultural Integration: Theoretical Approaches

Attempts to understand and describe what makes cultural groups unique are reflected in the numerous definitions of culture available in the literature (e.g., Geertz, 1973; Gudykunsk & Kim, 1984; Ho, 1995; Krause, 2012; Monk, Winslade, & Sinclair, 2008). For example, culture has been used as a monolithic and stable explanation of social behaviours (Blommaert, 1987; Burbules & Rice, 1991; Philips, 2007) independent of time, space, and circumstances. Culture has also been described as representing the shared values, meanings, linguistic signs, and symbols of a cultural group as a unified and homogeneous entity (Benhabib, 2002). Further, cultures have been conceptualized in terms of dichotomies, such as Eastern/ Western, or collectivist/ individualist (Hermans, 2001). These various views on culture have influenced psychology, counselling, and family therapy differently. From the perspective I take in this dissertation, informed by social constructionism (e.g., Shotter, 1993a), I view culture as co-constructed in social interactions. I discuss this view more in detail later in this chapter.

In reviewing the literature on multicultural counselling and family therapy, I distinguished three perspectives that scholars and researchers have taken on culture and how this understanding plays out in their conceptualization of immigrant family members' cultural identities and their cultural integration. The first group of scholars characterized culture as a stable, external structure that causally influences individuals and hence, their cultural identity and integration to new cultural environments. From this perspective, culture homogenously impacts groups of people. The second group of scholars I encountered proposed culture as a set of beliefs, customs, and ideas influencing individuals and families. From this perspective, cultural identities are a compound of different and shared characteristics, such as gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation among others. Therapists are encouraged to be aware

of how these cultural characteristics influence their own and their clients' cultural identities and social integration. A third perspective is the one informing my research; cultural identities are understood as co-constructed in social interactions. I will briefly describe these three perspectives including research conducted based on these premises.

Culture as a Causal Determinant of Differences Among People

Traditionally, counsellors and family therapists advocated specific ways to work with "diverse" groups, many times meaning persons ethnically and racially different from Western, Caucasian populations (e.g., Gurung & Mehta, 2001; Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012; Moore Hines et al., 1999; Rasmi, Daly, & Chuang, 2014; Yang, Haydon, & Miller, 2013). Cultural identity, from this perspective, was understood as internal, singular, and separated from social, political, and cultural contexts (Winslade, Monk, & Drewery, 1997). In therapy, practitioners were encouraged to deal with cultural differences by knowing about clients' culture, rather than focusing on how clients and therapists from different cultural groups related to one another (Rober & De Heane, 2013). This approach limited understanding of how cultural differences are recognized and dealt with in relationships (Krause, 2012; Rober & De Haene, 2013). For example, a practitioner working with immigrant family members and who interacts with them based only on his or her assumptions about the cultural group they belong to, may miss what makes this family unique. He or she may also fail to see how performing cultural identities is shaped by and within relationships, including the relationship between the family and himself or herself. These stereotypically reified views of cultures prevent practitioners from seeing the persons before them in all of their complexity (Pakes & Roy-Chowdhury, 2007) and may constrain therapy interactions.

Researchers promoting culture as an external variable that determines behaviour have focused extensively on immigrant families' cultural integration as psychological processes. For example, immigrant parents' retention of cultural practices from their country of origin has been considered a way to predict their behaviour in the new setting (e.g., Devos, 2006; Renzaho, McCabe, & Sainsbury, 2011). The differences in how family members adjust to the new environment is viewed as one of the causes for intergenerational conflict between immigrant parents and children from this approach (e.g., Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Morrison & James, 2009). Further, differences in *acculturation* (Berry, 1997) are seen as influencing negatively parent-child relationships.

The concept of acculturation has been used to explain how people manage the transition of successfully integrating to a new cultural environment. From this perspective, individuals' integration is the result of four acculturative strategies (i.e., assimilation, separation, marginalization, and biculturalism-integration) with the belief that biculturalism is optimal (Berry, 2005). The overriding assumption of this model is that immigrants and their families adjust to new cultural contexts (Monk et al., 2008), by going through a universal psychological process (acculturation; Chirkov, 2009). To achieve a successful integration, immigrant family members are expected to retain features of their existing cultural identity and adopt those of the host culture as well (Costigan & Dokis, 2006).

The concept of acculturation as a universal psychological process has been incorporated in psychology (e.g., Berry, 2005, 2008; Kosic, Kruglanski, Pierro, & Manetti, 2004), as well as some family therapy approaches (e.g., Baptiste, 2005; Khanna, Mcdowell, Perumbilly, & Titus, 2009; Mirkin & Kamya, 2008). However, this concept has been criticized by many scholars as limiting understandings of immigrants' experiences (e.g., Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011; Bhatia &

Ram, 2009; Bowskill, Lyons, & Coyle, 2007; Maciel et al., 2009; Tardif-Willliams & Fisher, 2009). A main criticism of explaining immigrant families' experiences through the concept of acculturation is that it portrays immigrants as "stuck" between old and new countries, as if only one trajectory between these two countries was possible. Further, people who are seen as stuck in this trajectory may be portrayed as a kind of people (Hacking, 2006)—immigrants—who never fully belong or integrate to one place. Although this may be a useful way to refer to the protagonists of a geographical move, the term, immigrant, is in many ways a limiting one. Dominant cultural discourses on immigrants' experiences (e.g., as going through the same, universal psychological process or as remaining connected only to their culture of origin) may overshadow how people who immigrate negotiate new cultural identities with others in Canada.

The concept of acculturation has been used overwhelmingly in counselling and family therapy research with immigrant families. For example, researchers have examined the differences between how immigrant parents and their children experience acculturation (e.g., Boski, 2008; Ho, 2010; Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012; Navarra & Lollis, 2009; Pasch et al., 2006; Sabatier & Berry, 2008). These differences are seen as creating disagreements between how immigrant parents and children understand their cultural values, a source of family conflict and stress (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, & McCabe, 2008; Stevens, Veen, & Volleberg, 2014).

The differences in cultural memberships between children and parents are explained as *intergenerational conflicts* (e.g., Wu & Chao, 2011; Yang, Haydon, & Miller, 2013). Scholars using the concept of acculturation to understand immigrant families' experiences portray parents as retaining cultural values from pre-immigration, as if their cultural identities were detached from their present circumstances (e.g., Birman, 2006). Further, they describe immigrant parents

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and their children's understanding of each other's cultural identities as dissonant (e.g., Baharassa, Juan, & Lee, 2013). Children of immigrants, or second-generation youth are portrayed in the literature as conflicted between endorsing their parents' cultural values and the values of the cultural context in which they live (e.g., Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010; Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). In addition, some researchers have indicated that different therapy modalities need to be tailored to immigrant families according to their cultural backgrounds, aiming to increase individual cultural adaptation (e.g., Abdulahad, Delaney, & Brownlee, 2009; Cardona et al., 2012; Mirecki & Chou, 2013; Sotomayor-Peterson, Figueredo, Christensen, & Taylor, 2012). For scholars endorsing acculturation as a universal process, immigrant parents and children need to achieve a similar, host country-dominated, usually Westernized cultural identity, rather than a preferred, context-situated one.

In contrast to models of acculturation as a universal process, the notion of *diaspora* has been used by dialogical-self and post-colonialist scholars as an alternative way to understand immigrant experiences (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, 2009; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Kastoryano, 2007; Tölöyan, 1996). The diaspora refers to immigrant communities who distinctly attempt to maintain connections with and commitments to their homelands, and recognize themselves and act as collective communities. Diaspora communities are usually formed when immigrants experience the silencing of their culture by the host culture (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Thus, developing diaspora communities can be understood as arising when a community (or individuals) is not given a voice by others (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

Supporters of the acculturation model in general predict poor outcomes for adolescents and parents' relationships, as well as for their general well-being (e.g., Baptiste, 2005; Chen,

Gance-Cleveland, Kopak, Haas, & Gillmore, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2013). Contrasting with the available research on immigrant families' relationships, my research focuses on how family members find ways to integrate to new environments while maintaining satisfactory (to them) family relationships. Rather than applying a model (e.g., acculturative strategies; Berry, 1997) of cultural adaptation to family members' experiences and relationships, my interest is to learn from family members themselves how they find ways to "fit" in their new environment, by performing and being understood according to their preferred cultural memberships.

Instead of viewing integration as a one-way, a-priori psychological process, immigrant families' cultural integration can be seen as an ongoing negotiation between past and present, homeland and host country, self and others (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Further, some scholars suggest that acculturation and identity issues need to be thought of as contested, mixing, and moving (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). More than ever, equating culture with the geographic space of a nation falls short in describing complex relationships between people from different cultures. For example, Falicov (2008) proposes that practitioners strive to understand immigrants' experiences as transnationals or transmigrants who maintain multiple relations (e.g., familial, economical, religious, social) spanning geographic, cultural, and political borders. Transnationalism, according to Falicov (2008) "upsets the applecart of traditional linear ideas about the gradual assimilation of immigrants" (p. 35).

From the perspective I take in this dissertation, the changes and adjustments made by immigrant families occur in both original and host countries, where new as well as old relationships and cultural practices are initiated and maintained. Such changes can create spaces for new cultural negotiations and hybridizations among family members, which many times remain unacknowledged. I view immigrant family members' integration to new cultural contexts

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not as a linear process, but as an ongoing negotiation between them, as well as with others outside of their families. In conversations with each other, family members negotiate how they want to be understood as cultural by others, regardless of their country of origin or country of residence. In family therapy conversations, acknowledging negotiations regarding cultural identities between family members may have a powerful effect on their relationship. In recognizing each other in their preferred ways of being cultural, family members may orient to each other in novel, creative ways. Potentially, this change can move family members towards a more satisfactory relationship for them, as I will show in my analysis (see Chapter 4).

Cultural Awareness: Culture Influences Everyone

The need for clinicians to recognize diverse ways of being by developing cultural sensitivities or awareness has been pointed out by many scholars in the counselling and family therapy field (e.g., Arthur & Collins, 2010; Benhabib, 2002; Daniel, 2012; Falicov, 1995; Gutmann, 1994; Rober, 2012). After the 1980s, following a time of active feminist critique, a growing number of family therapy scholars and clinicians embraced a culturally sensitive approach focusing on how their cultural background influenced their work with clients (e.g., Falicov, 1988; 1995). Feminist critiques of systemic family therapy were also crucial in inviting practitioners to consider broader social issues (e.g., Carter & McGoldrick, 1989; Hare-Mustin, 1978, 1994). Scholars endorsing a cultural awareness perspective conceptualized culture as a set of variables shared by all peoples (e.g., gender, religion, socio-economic status, sexual orientation; Sue & Sue, 2012). From this perspective, a person's cultural identity is created by an intersection of different cultural characteristics (e.g., being male, Christian, gay, and a professional).

Instead of comparing groups of people as culturally different, some scholars promoting cultural awareness choose the term minorities to refer to groups commonly marginalized as different from Western or dominant groups (e.g., Sue & Sue, 2012). Others refer to dominant and non-dominant groups (e.g., Arthur & Collins 2010) in an effort to highlight how some cultural groups have been misrepresented by counselling and psychology researchers and practitioners. Further, attention to the misrepresentation of groups of people prompted scholars to discuss how to conduct research with non-dominant groups (e.g., Moodley, 1999; Offet-Gartner, 2010). Cultural sensitivity from this perspective refers to knowing the cultural context of the group with whom a researcher wishes to work (Liamputtong, 2008).

Scholars promoting cultural awareness advocate for research that reflects the culture of the groups being studied (Liamputtong, 2008), rather than having culture explained beforehand. As a result, studies endorsing cultural awareness focus on making the experiences of non-dominant groups visible (e.g., Falicov, 2005; Krause, 2002; Sue & Sue, 2012). Researchers advocating for cultural sensitivity have focused, for example, on refugees and immigrant families' experiences (e.g., Mirkin & Kamya, 2008; Schweitzer & Steel, 2008) and how discrimination impacts immigrant family members (e.g., Chaudry et al., 2010; Pumarieaga & Rothe, 2010).

Promoting cultural awareness and sensitivity has been paramount in ensuring a more respectful stance towards clients from all cultural backgrounds in counselling and family therapy. However, I believe more can be done to recognize cultural identities as they are negotiated through immigrant family members' therapy conversations. Clinicians can facilitate these conversations by helping family members find preferred ways to be cultural without forfeiting their family relationships. My research aims to highlight how family members, and

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family members with their therapists, use talk to acknowledge cultural differences in ways satisfactory to them.

The lack of research on how immigrant family members negotiate preferred cultural identities is apparent. After a literature search using the database PsycINFO with the terms "immigration," "cultural identities," "social constructionism," "and family therapy," I found seven articles that related to these keywords. Two of the articles shared a similar focus with my area of study. Moriizumi (2011) focused on identity negotiations of intercultural Japanese-US couples. In this study, the researcher explored how dominant ideologies and societal structures related to negotiating intercultural married couples' identities. Moriizumi also focused on how these couples negotiated the relational, family, and cultural identities in their relationship. Maciel and Knudson-Martin (2013) conducted a study using grounded theory to look at how Mexican adolescents construct relational identities within their families, at school, with friends, and in broader society. According to Maciel and Knudson-Martin, adolescents are often faced with a core identity bind. They have to choose between messages instructing them to be different than their immigrant parents, and societal messages emphasizing how immigrant teenagers differ from their American peers. Other than these articles, the lack of research in my area of interest was quite apparent. My aim is to contribute to the fields of family therapy and counselling by learning how immigrant family members negotiate new, preferred cultural identities in their family therapy conversations, and how family therapists help them through this process.

My Positioning as a Researcher: Taking a Social Constructionist Stance

In general, when we are invited to, or invite others into, culturally similar practices, we tend to take these for granted without questioning or being surprised by them. These cultural customs constitute the background information we orient to in understanding and relating to each

other. For example, my office-mate and I do not need to remind ourselves to speak English with each other; I know I need to show my bus ticket to Calgary bus drivers, or to pay the cashier at the end of my grocery shopping. We perform, or enact this kind of knowledge without paying attention to it, as the ""seen but unnoticed," expected, background features of everyday scenes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 36). In our relationships, we tend to assume that others will perform certain cultural practices in similar ways. We assume we all know how to ride the bus, greet, shop, or barbeque. While cultural practices may seem similar across cultures (e.g., playing soccer), how they get done by cultural groups may differ. We are part of, produce, and maintain many of the shared cultural customs of our everyday, local, situated social life. We become cultural beings in our relationships with others, and recognize others as members of similar or different cultural groups.

My dissertation is informed by social constructionism (e.g., McNamee & Gergen, 1992; Shotter, 1993a). Following social constructionists I view cultural identities as negotiated through the use of language with others, in a particular historical time and place. Our cultural identities result in part from being recognized in our relationships: as a daughter, a friend, or a co-worker. At the same time, to be recognized as having a particular cultural identity, a person engages in social practices associated with those cultural ways of being. In the back and forth between being recognized and recognizable by others, our existence as human beings is ensured (Butler, 1997). As Taylor (1994) explains, "we define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us" (p. 33). At times, the "struggles against" may prevail. Family members will invite others to confirm their membership to particular cultural groups (e.g., as being metal or blue-collar) by performing according to that group's practices or customs. However, they may find their invitations to confirm their preferred

cultural identities rejected or contested by other family members. Going back to Yi's (October 25, 2010) story, her decision to swear allegiance to Canada but secretly remain loyal to Korea at the time could be interpreted as her way of responding to her parents' insistence on the importance of becoming Canadian. Negotiating ways of being cultural with other family members may be easy and straight forward for some, and tense or conflicting for others (see Chapter 4 for further examples).

The importance of familial and social relationships in developing and maintaining a person's cultural identity has been thoroughly discussed in the literature (e.g., Appiah, 2005; Benhabib, 2002; Butler, 1997; Maciel & Knudson-Martin, 2013; Shotter, 2009; Taylor, 1994). Being recognized and recognizable makes us intelligible to ourselves and others. It allows us to relate to each other as persons and as members of cultural groups, and orients us in relating meaningfully to others. What is more, mutual recognition (recognizing and being recognized by others) has been proposed as a necessary condition for individuals' self-realization (Appiah, 2005; Honneth, 1995). Although at first glance this could seem a straight-forward and simple process, achieving mutual recognition is not without complications. When families immigrate, their members may have to find new ways to mutually recognize each other as members of their family and as cultural beings. As previously mentioned, this can be particularly challenging when family members align with, and become informed by, different cultural memberships in the new cultural location. At times, being associated with (or associating oneself with) new cultural memberships may create difficulties in orienting to, and recognizing others' preferred cultural identities. A case of *misrecognition* (Taylor, 1994) may transpire between family members. Misrecognition occurs when a family member's preferred cultural identities are disregarded or not acknowledged in family conversations and interactions. Misrecognition also

occurs when family members insist other members exclusively respond to them on the basis of their preferred (or expected) cultural membership. This might arise, for example, when a parent expects a child to converse or interact solely in ways consistent with his or her cultural traditions; or, when a child expects a parent to respond to him in ways inconsistent with that parent's cultural preferences. In the next section, I will provide a brief review of the concept of recognition as it relates to how immigrant family members negotiate new and fitting (to them) cultural identities after moving to Canada.

Recognizing Self and Others

The significance of *recognition* as inherently relational owes its inception to the philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1805-6):

> In recognition, the self ceases to be this individual. It exists by right in recognition, that is, no longer in its immediate existence. The one who is recognized is recognized as immediately counting as such, through his being—but this being is itself generated from the concept. It is recognized being. (as cited in Honneth, 1995, p. 42)

Drawing from Hegel's work, Honneth (1995) explains that "all human coexistence presupposes a kind of basic mutual affirmation between subjects, since otherwise no form of being-together whatsoever could ever come into existence" (p. 43). Recognizing oneself as a person requires recognizing the other person. In recognizing each other relationally, our identities and cultural practices are both sustained and remain dialogical throughout our lives (Taylor, 1994). Dialogical, to me, refers to the relational nature of cultural identities. When the relational nature of cultural identities is denied or ignored, a person's preferred cultural identity may be silenced, or shadowed. Non-recognition of preferred cultural identities greatly influence immigrant family members' relationships, as I will show in my analysis later on. Misrecognition,

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or non-recognition can be a form of oppression (Taylor). Similarly, Honneth (1995) proposes that disrespect, or the denial of recognition carries the danger of "an injury that can bring the identity of a person as a whole to the point of collapse" (p.132).

Through our use of language, cultural identities are produced, maintained, and reproduced by responding to others in ways we presume to be understood as belonging to a cultural group. For instance, when I meet with someone on the street I may recognize her as someone I know and with whom I have some kind of relationship: my boss, my neighbour, my classmate. At the same time, she may recognize me and our relationship as well (e.g., as an employee, neighbour, or classmate) and respond to me confirming our relationship (e.g., saying "Hello Inés!" or nodding as she passes by). By performing these recognizing actions, our identities (and practices) are relationally sustained through time. These ways of recognizing others according to certain preconceived cultural categories (e.g., male/female, employer/employee, neighbours) will frame the interactions between us: Greeting an employer with a hug may be seen as inviting a different kind of relationship than a work-related one. On the other hand, a simple "hey!" between my classmate and me may suffice for us, to acknowledge and confirm our friendship.

Honneth (1995) indicated that the possibility of identity-formation depends on being granted recognition by others whom one also recognizes (i.e., mutual recognition). He distinguished three forms of mutual recognition: *familial love, legal rights, and solidarity*. According to Honneth, *familial love* is an "affirmation of independence that is guided" (p. 107), that is, loving relationships that produce the degree of basic human self-confidence needed for participation in any community. This form of recognition is seen as a pre-condition for persons to become morally responsible and able to take the perspective of the *generalized other*

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(Honneth). This entails recognizing other members of the community and themselves as bearers

of rights by knowing the normative obligations to others. According to Honneth, this form of

mutual recognition, *legal rights*, is a conceptual claim, as for the most part it can only be

perceived in its negative—when members visibly suffer from a lack of it. An example may be

viewed in exceptional historical circumstances, such as the civil rights movement of the 50s and

60s in the US, during which withheld recognition lead to social shame (undermining the

possibility for individual self-respect), and yet led to liberation through resistance and protest

(Honneth).

Finally, Honneth (1995) distinguishes a third form of mutual recognition, *solidarity*. He

proposes solidarity as an interactive relationship in which members of a community respect each

other equally, allowing them to mutually sympathize with the various ways of life. According to

Honneth, to esteem one another equally means to be "free of being collectively denigrated" (p.

130). It is to be part of a society in which a person is recognized and respected for his or her

accomplishments and abilities as valued to that society's shared praxis (Honneth).

For the purposes of this dissertation, I use Honneth's (1995) distinction among forms of

mutual recognition as a guiding framework to understand how family members negotiate new,

preferred cultural identities while maintaining satisfactory (to them) family relationships in their

therapy conversations. I find Honneth's distinction useful for three main reasons. First, he

considers the fundamental role of family relationships in cultural identities formation, an aspect

that will become evident in my analyses. Second, Honneth's distinction of legal rights is helpful

in understanding how family members negotiate with others (i.e., family members and outsiders)

their membership in particular cultural groups. For example, going back to Yi's (October 25,

2010) story at the beginning of this chapter, taking a citizenship oath could be viewed as being

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formally recognized as a member of the Canadian community, by which she and her family are granted the same rights as any other Canadian citizen.

Third, Honneth's (1995) distinction of *solidarity*, is useful for understanding how family members negotiate their cultural identities with others outside their family, and how recognizing what is valuable (or not) to them and others, may influence family relationships/negotiations. Through their conversations, immigrant family members and therapists have opportunities to recognize and acknowledge preferred identity claims, as well as resist unwanted ones (Paré, 2014). In particular, I believe that the ways in which mutual recognition is negotiated in macro-social interactions (what Honneth would refer to as solidarity) and brought into therapy conversations among immigrant family members and therapists needs to be considered and discussed. This type of mutual recognition is not without its complications, as I will explain next.

The Politics of Recognition

"Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need." (Taylor,

1994, p. 26)

In therapy conversations, misrecognition by family members or therapists may have undesirable consequences. Family members may engage in resisting unwanted cultural identities, rather than displaying memberships meaningful to them. This process may negatively influence their relationships with one another; for example, a teenager that is seen as disrespectful when embracing Canadian cultural practices rather than practices from his parents' culture of origin ones may retaliate by mocking his parents' cultural customs. From a politics of multiculturalism perspective (Taylor, 1994), a person or cultural group may suffer real damage if those around them "mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves" (p. 25).

As Taylor's (1994) quote makes clear, there is much more to recognition than naming

what is different or similar about people. In his influential paper, "The Politics of Recognition,"

Taylor (1994) proposes that identities are partly shaped by being recognized by others or by the

absence of recognition or misrecognition. Taylor's proposal demonstrates the complexity of

understanding relational recognition. On the one hand, in being recognized by others we orient

ourselves to perform and maintain particular cultural identities from what is available in the

cultural context in which we are located. For example, a woman who moves from a country in

the Middle East to a country in Europe may be exposed to novel ways of performing being a

woman that she may have not been exposed before (e.g., in using different clothing, ways to

relate to men, and access to career opportunities). On the other hand, being recognized by others

contours the performing of those same cultural identities (e.g., a person who does not smile or

avoids talking during a conversation would probably not be understood as a "social butterfly").

In this way, cultural identities as relationally recognized can be seen as both constraining and

generative, both dynamic and stable.

The seemingly paradoxical nature of identity negotiation is further complicated by taking

into account the historical context in which this negotiation takes place. For example, Butler

(1997) proposed that to be called a name is both one of the conditions by which a subject is

constituted in language (naming), and one of the first forms of linguistic injury learned (insult).

In Butler's (1997) words, "the responsibility of the speaker does not consist of remaking

language ex nihilo, but rather of negotiating the legacies of usage that constrain and enable that

speaker's speech" (p. 27). Thus, what gets negotiated is not only being recognized and

recognizable as having a particular cultural identity, but speaks to how that identity is understood

and recognized in the larger social context. Historically, well-known examples are abundant in

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this regard—starting with the Greek distinction of "barbarians" given to those who did not speak the Greek language and were seen as less than Greeks because of this deficiency (Todorov, 2010), being recognized as Jewish during the World War II, or as gay before the 1960s. More subtle examples may also be seen today, as I describe next.

On July 2nd, 2013, the media (in Canada) covered an alleged terrorist attempt targeting the British Columbia Legislature building during the Canada Day celebrations. According to the news, the plot was linked to international terrorism, inspired by al-Qaeda (CBC News, July 2, 2013). During the news coverage, the two persons arrested in the case were referred as "two Canadian born citizens" (CBC, The National, July 2, 2013).[3] One could argue that the distinction between Canadian born citizens and Canadian citizens born outside of Canada describes well Canada's multicultural population. At the same time, using the distinction between Canadian born citizens and Canadians born elsewhere in a case related to international terrorism, in particularly after the events of 9/11, could be seen as implicitly distinguishing Canadians considered more likely to engage in acts of terrorism from those who are not. The danger with this distinction is that it could potentially contribute to maintaining patterns of discrimination already prevalent in North America (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, 2009).

Being "othered" or racialized is part of many non-European immigrants' experience most likely influencing their cultural identities (Arthur et al., 2010; Daniel, 2012; Mirkin & Kamya, 2008). The inequities faced by immigrants due to their nationality, race, and gender may be exacerbated by explanations that minimize or misunderstand the complexities they face in

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[3] The same description (i.e., a Canadian born citizen) was used by the media during the Parliament shooting on October 23, 2014.

negotiating cultural identities in social interactions (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). In particular, the assumption in cross-cultural psychology that all immigrant groups undergo the same psychological acculturation process obscures the complexities involved in negotiating new cultural identities when integrating into a new cultural context (Bhatia & Ram, 2009).

In family therapy conversations, for example, being recognized solely as "immigrants," may be an isolating experience for parents trying to better their relationships with their adolescent children. Parents may be portrayed as frozen in time and space, as if they were stuck in the practices of their country of origin and unable to understand or join their children in local cultural practices. Rather than performing preferred cultural memberships, for example as international citizens who can flexibly adapt to different cultural practices, parents may need to oppose unsolicited cultural identities rather than co-construct preferred ones with their children.

From the perspective that I take in this dissertation, recognition involves welcoming novelty or difference rather than responding to people from frozen cultural stereotypes. As Gadamer (1989) explains:

> The joy of recognition is rather the joy of knowing more than is already familiar. In recognition what we know emerges, as if illuminated, from all contingent and variable circumstances that condition it; it is grasped in its essence. It is known as something. (p. 114)

To summarize, in this dissertation I use the concept of recognition as a grounding for understanding ways immigrant family members negotiate new cultural identities and maintain a satisfactory relationship within their families. From this grounding, my study will primarily focus on recognition as a cultural-relational activity: People engage and respond to each other from what is culturally meaningful and important to them. To move forward in therapy

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conversations, I view immigrant family members as negotiating ways to be recognized that they meaningfully embrace. They do so by acknowledging, accepting, resisting, or creating new cultural memberships with which they associate themselves and others. I examine recognition as recognizing with—as co-constructing who we are culturally and how we perform cultural related practices in our interactions.

Responding to, and inviting, cultural perspectives and ways of being is a messy process. For example, immigrant family members may negotiate their membership with more than one cultural community (e.g., host and country of origin). They negotiate with others memberships to several cultural groups as well as what it means to be members of their own family. Further, to be recognized and recognizable as cultural members (of multiple cultural groups including their family), they also need to negotiate with others what counts as being a member (e.g., a member of the Japanese community, the Calgary community, the Jones' family). These multiple relational recognitions that immigrant members engage in involve complex processes.

At times, being a member of one cultural group may be problematic to the relationship with members of other cultural groups. An extreme case of how families deal with these tensions can be seen with the Shafia family case (CBC News, January 29, 2012). The Shafia family immigrated to Canada in 2007 after fleeing from Afghanistan 15 years prior. In January 2012, the parental couple and their son were convicted of first-degree murder in the deaths of four female family members, due to what was described as "a betrayal of the family patriarch's Afghan traditional values" and an "honour killing" (CBC News, January 30, 2012). The Shafia's case can be seen as an appalling example of how negotiating new cultural identities can become limited from positions that promote a view of reified cultural practices.

Rather than viewing cultures as reified totalities, postcolonial scholars propose focusing on "the crossroads between cultures" (Lossau, 2009, p. 65). These are spaces where cultural practices interlace with one another, in some cases creating something new (Lossau). My interest is in learning how immigrant family members create and use these spaces to successfully negotiate new cultural identities, particularly how family members use these spaces so that everyone in the family feels recognized as part of the family, and in their preferred cultural memberships. Bhabha (1994) describes these crossroads between cultures as a *third space,* which "constitutes the discursive sites or conditions that ensure that the meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity" (p. 55). It is in these sites, through language use, that cultural meanings "can be appropriated, translated, and historicized anew" (p. 55).

I view these third spaces or cultural crossroads as demarcated by the tensions, responses, and mutual understandings that immigrant family members engage in when moving to a different country. Yet in therapy conversations, these spaces seem to be overlooked, emphasizing the tensions and conflicts between family members regarding cultural practices. The focus on what culture a person may belong to seems to be given much more attention, by professionals, media, and society at large. Instead, my research focuses on how immigrant family members recognize each other relationally according to cultural identities claimed by them or for them as meaningful. Rather than taking recognition for granted, my analysis shows how recognition is achieved in the turn-by-turn of the conversation, and how family members make sense of it retrospectively.

Similar to viewing all immigrants, regardless of their origins or date of immigration, as a homogeneous group, sociologists studying generational groups or cohorts assume such generations or cohorts *are* definitive groups or categories of people (Foster, 2013). Youths also

tend to be represented as a stable group sharing social and cultural experiences, irrespective of the place and time those experiences take place (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003). Being from a particular generation (e.g., adults or youth born in a particular era) has been proposed as the sole determinant of cultural experience (e.g., baby boomers as rejecting of traditional roles, or generation Y'ers as having a strong sense of community). Alternatively, such generalizations can be understood to inform discourse (Foster, 2013), encapsulating the ideas, views, or articulations to which people may orient to, to account for their actions. In a similar manner, youths can be seen as "culturally determined in a discursive interplay with musical, visual and verbal signs that denote what is young" (Fornäs as cited in Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003, p.10) in relation to what is considered adult or childish.

Differences in understandings, negative stereotypes, or ideas of what is "proper" or "expected" may influence how family members are recognized and recognize each other as cultural beings. This may also prevent family members from accepting other family members' preferred ways of being cultural. Further, misrecognition may result when people recognize a person's cultural identity as a demeaning picture of themselves (Taylor, 1994). For example, a common phrase I heard in my work with immigrant families, usually said from a parent to a child, was "you are becoming *too* Canadian." This could be seen as a father's reaction to experiencing part of his cultural identity being misrecognized, both by his daughter and the larger community (e.g., a father who is Chilean-Canadian and experiences his Chilean heritage as neither shared nor respected by his daughter raised in Canada).

At times, immigrant parents may view their children adopting new cultural practices as ways of distancing from their family, or, even more, as disrespectful. Honneth (1995) describes disrespect as an injustice that injures a person with regards to the positive understanding of

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themselves they acquired intersubjectively (e.g., by being recognized and recognizable by others as Chilean *and* Canadian). Parents may view cultural practices from the community they are integrating to (e.g., Canadian) as a threat to the relationship with their children. New cultural practices may be seen as interfering with family relationships, particularly when they conflict with other practices central to immigrant families.

Differences in how immigrant children who grow up in Canada, and their parents who arrive in Canada as adults, are recognized culturally may contribute to tense family relationships. It is not uncommon for immigrant parents and adolescents to disagree on how the other understands and engages in particular cultural practices. Conflicts between parents and children may intensify as children try to act like their peers while parents see these behaviours as distancing from "their" family cultural values (Mirkin & Kamya, 2008). Intergenerational conflicts may also be fueled by differences in how parents and youth integrate to the new environment. Children may develop skills (e.g., learning the language, understanding customs) faster than parents do, which may be a source of tension in their relationship. In sum, immigrant family members integrating to a new culture negotiate membership in different cultural groups— with each other, and with others outside their family. They also position themselves in how they understand each other's cultural membership. This positioning influences their relationship as a family and their membership in other cultural groups. Reified views on cultures (and cultural groups), when acted upon, have a negative effect on immigrant family members and their relationships, as they may be misrecognized or disrespected, and experience inequality in their relationships with others.

Culture as Knowing With Others

Instead of viewing culture as explaining a person's behaviour (i.e., guided by a mental representation), culture can be understood in line with Shotter's (1993b) proposal, as *knowledge of the third kind*. This refers to "knowledge of the moral kind, for it depends upon the judgments of others as to whether its expression or its use is ethically proper or not" (p. 7). Culture can be seen as living in and through our interactions with others, as it is negotiated and maintained between and through common practices, customs, and rituals. Cultures provide both the background knowledge (e.g., knowing how to prepare *mate*[4] tea) and what makes social interactions meaningful (e.g., my mate tea-drinking ritual is recognized by others as such). Cultural practices are co-constructed, managed, and in constant transformation through our relationships with others (Shotter, 1993b). This background understanding is to a large degree embodied and enacted through third spaces: "a form of understanding, a making sense of things and actions; at the same time, it is entirely unarticulated, and third, it can be the basis for fresh articulation" (Taylor, 1995, p. 173). Culture usually goes unnoticed, until it is specifically drawn upon in our actions, until it is recognized as part of a social practice that stands out as different from or unfamiliar in a social interaction. My Canadian friends respond with curiosity to my mate tea-drinking practice. This invites my account of drinking mate as the Argentinian part of my cultural identity, influencing our friendship, and our understandings of Canadian and Argentinian tea-drinking customs.

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[4] Tea beverage. *Tomar mate* (mate tea-drinking) is a common social practice in South America, especially in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Tomar mate as a practice requires knowing of its preparation and the rules for sharing it with others.

The relationships we establish with others are always, in one way or another shaping and shaped by culture, with our own contributions to cultural interactions part of that shaping process. Instead of seeing culture as a causal determinant of social behaviour (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003), culture can be seen as produced, maintained, and transformed by people (Shi-xu, 2005). Through language use in social interactions, we make sense of each other's actions while performing in ways that we presume to be understood culturally. To speak of someone's social (and cultural) identity is to speak of what attaches to them by virtue of their membership category, constituted by social agreement or imposition (Antaki, Condor, & Levine 1996). However, peoples' cultural identities may be seen as determined by certain historical or social events such as belonging to particular generations.

Our performance of cultural identities can be understood as actions of inviting and responding to each other, negotiating our cultural background with others in particular places and times. For example, a cultural ritual such as marriage will look different according to people from different countries. Thus, actions need to be performed in acceptably familiar ways (Lock & Strong, 2010) for speakers—and members of a cultural group—to make sense of their actions, or further negotiate a shared understanding of a ritual such as marriage. Wetherell (1998) proposes the term *interpretative repertoires* to describe cultural resources used to accomplish a shared understanding of an activity such as marriage. She describes interpretative repertoires as "the common sense which organizes accountability and serves as the back-cloth for the realization of locally managed positions in actual interaction" (p. 400). Consider the following: It is quite common for attendees at a Jewish wedding to engage with others in performing the rituals of the ceremony as they know it, influenced by local customs or traditions. For example, a Jewish wedding in Argentina will have some similarities and some differences when contrasted

with a Jewish wedding in Israel. Thus, in our interaction with others, we draw from, maintain, and produce cultural discourses, at the same time positioning ourselves "locally" (in the here and now within particular circumstances) in our relationships with others (Fairclough, 1995).

My research invites practitioners to attune to how they relate culturally with immigrant family members (and how family members respond to their ways of relating). In doing so, therapists also may orient to cultural practices and understandings influencing their therapeutic relationship. This may help them bring forth family members' preferred and acceptably familiar ways of being cultural. Therapists exercising cultural reflexivity engage with aspects of otherness and difference (Daniel, 2012). Following this idea, with my research I invite therapists to explore and learn about being cultural with clients, rather than assuming clients' cultural preferences. Therapists can contribute to unfolding social justice in their conversation with clients (Paré, 2014) by moving forward from recognizing what is culturally different to exploring how these differences are generated, maintained, and dealt with in relationships.

Negotiating a Cultural Breach

Differences in how immigrant family members take up and understand local cultural practices may lead to uncoordinated and challenging interactions within families. As previously mentioned, how family members deal with and understand new cultural ways of being and relating may also be dissimilar. For example, teenagers may be exposed to, and invited to cultural practices (e.g., in school, with friends) in the new country that generationally differ from those their parents are exposed to (e.g., at work, community). In addition, family members' accustomed practices may be experienced as a cultural breach by locals. A *breach* is a rupture in the presumed cultural rules by which interactions are maintained and understood (Garfinkel, 1967; e.g., not using a helmet when riding a bicycle in the city, or refusing to take home left-over

food brought to a potluck dinner). Such family members may need to negotiate and learn new ways to greet, ride a bicycle in the city, and shop, to name a few common practices. They may have to negotiate new ways of being recognized as members of a cultural group while maintaining satisfactory family relationships. A cultural breach can be seen as an opportunity for family members' cultural understandings to be recognized in their relationships (Sametband & Strong, 2013). However, not acknowledging different cultural understandings may result in immigrant family members potentially slipping into a case of misrecognition (Taylor, 1994), by which family members' cultural membership preferences may be silenced in their dialogues.

As immigrant family members take up different stances and voice particular cultural perspectives meaningful to them, they engage in new ways of being cultural with each other. Immigrant family members bring cultural discourses to their dialogues that contribute to different shades of meaning about their own and others' cultural identities. At the same time, family members may temporarily adopt different stances at various times depending on the situation. Further, in this ongoing dialogue, family members take up multiple cultural discourses that are available to them, from which they bring forth unique accounts of who they are as a family, and as individuals in a particular socio-cultural and historical context (Wetherell, 1998; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2003).

We organize our interactions based on what is considered culturally appropriate. For example, clients tell their concerns to therapists, a judge asks brides and grooms if they take each other as spouse, and children usually need their parents' permission to go to a friend's house. Even more, groups of people orient to situated and historically recognized cultural ideas or patterns to make experience intelligible to them and others (Illouz, 2012). A person attributing his or her current financial situation to the 2008 economic crisis in North America would be

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easily understood by someone living currently in the United States, but maybe not by others

elsewhere. Similarly, formally recognizing a group's cultural particularities (e.g., through their

language, customs, history) may serve to ensure equal rights for the members of these groups

(Guttman, 1994; Todorov, 2010). Historical examples of such forms of recognition have been

granted to members of the civil rights, feminist, post-colonial, and Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and

Transsexual (GLBT) movements, to name a few. Recognizing or not recognizing cultural

differences and similarities (e.g., the language we speak, the cultural rituals and practices

followed) shape the relationships we have with each other as people.

In social interactions, we relate to one another by orienting to and negotiating from

culturally situated positions—performing in ways we hope to be recognized as cultural. A focus

on recognizing *with* (i.e., in relation to) others brings to the forefront what is usually assumed or

taken for granted in everyday life: How peoples' cultural identities (and practices) are generated,

maintained, and reproduced in social interactions. Furthermore, when family members immigrate

to another country, these taken-for-granted assumptions may influence their new relationships

with others, a situation I explore next.

In dealing with tensions between different ways of understanding cultural practices,

family members may need to shift their positioning on how they orient to those cultural practices

in dialogues with each other (e.g., on the practice of wearing a helmet when riding a bicycle).

Positioning refers to the personal stories that make intelligible a person's actions, which are

relatively stable as social acts and have specific locations or stances within a conversation (van

Langenhove & Harré, 1999). Family members as well as family therapists take up particular

positions in relation to cultural discourses (Winslade, 2005) from which they negotiate, in

conversations, shared understandings of cultural practices. For example, during a therapy

session, family members may invite a therapist to assume a position of advisor, while others may seek to be listened to by the therapist. The therapist may need to facilitate a conversation to help family members negotiate their different positionings to move forward in the family session.

Family therapists have opportunities to collaborate with immigrant family members in conversationally negotiating preferred cultural stances with each other (cf. Sutherland, Sametband, Gaete Silva, Couture, & Strong, 2013). To do so, family therapists need to reflect on how cultural discourses influence families, family members' interactions, and family therapy (e.g., relationships, social practices, individual, and group identities). In the next section, I briefly describe some of the problematic issues identified in the literature as commonly associated with the lives of immigrant families. I do not propose these as generalized descriptions of what goes on for families; rather, I explore what may be junctures or dilemmas family members may encounter in new cultural contexts. Immigrant family members may need to shift their cultural positionings and how they negotiate their way forward from these dilemmas as a family, while participating in dialogues from their preferred cultural stances.

Differences over Cultural Memberships between Parents and Children

It is not uncommon for conflicts to intensify between immigrant parents and youth. Frequently, teenagers try to fit in with peers and parents see these behaviours as distancing from their family cultural values (Mirkin & Kamya, 2008; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). Researchers have reported that differences in family members' responsibilities and expectations are some of the issues immigrant parents and youth tend to disagree on, increasing the occurrence of family conflict (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Dugsin, 2001; Sluzki, 1979). In some cases, the family rules that members established in the country of origin may be insufficient for the new context and need to be re-negotiated (Sluzki, 1979).

Some researchers propose that adolescents in particular have difficulties dealing with differences between school expectations and those existing at their home (Arthur et al., 2010). Similarly, they may experience discrepancies between what was expected from them in the country of origin versus expectations common to their new country. For example, parents may expect their children to take on responsibilities previously assumed by other relatives or friends in the country of origin (Sluzki, 2008).

Family members may need to negotiate how to continue their relationship with extended family members in their country of origin. Some families have embraced information communication technologies (ICTs; e.g., twitter, text messages, Skype, and other computer software and hardware) as a way of overcoming geographical distance and national boundaries (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). However, little is known about how the use of ICTs to maintain distant family relationships influences relationships between immigrant family members (Falicov, 2007, 2008). The clinical and public tone of opinions about ICTs is often negative rather than focused on its potential to strengthen family connections (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011).

Co-constructing Gender Relationally

According to Melendez and McDowell (2008), practitioners are sometimes uncertain about how to deal with cultural values and gender expectations. Therapists' desires to be respectful of cultural and religious views may limit topics brought up in clinical conversations. Although questioning about marital hierarchies can be seen as disrespectful for some clinicians, Melendez and McDowell (2008) indicate that immigrant partners or family members are likely to question gender discourses. The process of immigration to a different cultural context involves access to new and potentially conflicting gender discourses for immigrant family members.

These potentially new gender discourses may influence how immigrant couples organize their family lives in a new cultural context (Maciel, van Putten, & Knudson-Martin, 2009).

Couples may need to reconcile differences between their understandings of gender expectations in their country of origin and in their new country (Lim, 1997). These new ways of understanding gender may also influence parents' relationships with their children, who are exposed to, and adopt different ways of being gendered. For example, it is not unusual for immigrant women to experience a double workload burden having to enter the workforce and fulfilling domestic responsibilities (Dion & Dion, 2001), which can contribute to a shift in family dynamics (Garcia-Preto, 2008; Melendez & McDowell, 2008). According to some researchers, immigrating to a new environment can contribute to changes in behaviours that are perceived as gender-related (Dion & Dion, 2001; Galanti, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). For example, as partners are exposed to different discourses on gender in their new workplace, they may bring in and practice these in their couple relationship, inviting the other partner into a new way of understanding gender expectations. This may cause further disagreement or conflict between them or it may be welcomed, allowing partners to experiment with new ways of understanding gender discourses and how these influence their relationship.

Family Members dealing with Discrimination and Racism

As previously mentioned (see page 27), a case of misrecognition by others can be a form of oppression (Taylor, 1994). Immigrant family members, in particular those who are not of European descent, are more susceptible to racism and discrimination after the events of 9/11 (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, 2009). Furthermore, some researchers have demonstrated how political debates can function to produce, reproduce, and stabilize racism (Capdevila & Callaghan, 2008).

The injustices faced by immigrants as a result of their nationality or race may be ignored or minimized by the suggestion that all immigrants undergo the same psychological processes in their integration journey. At times, immigrants have been inferred to have individual pathologies or ill practices (Lyons, Madden, Chamberlain, & Carr, 2011). They may be portrayed as seeking financial gain from the immigration process rather than being committed to integrating to their new cultural context (Triandafyllidou, 2000). When the complexities of integrating and negotiating cultural identities are described as combining those of the homeland and host cultures only, the inequities faced by certain immigrant groups due to their nationality, race, or gender tend to go unnoticed (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). As a result, stories of discrimination, suffering, and abuse are kept alive in most non-dominant immigrant communities which have played a large part in constructing and maintaining diaspora communities (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

In sum, family members' integration to a new cultural environment does not come without its complexities. To deal with some of these, families may consult with a mental health practitioner (e.g., counsellor, psychologist, family therapist) to help them find ways to have satisfactory relationships as a family. In the next section, I describe why social constructionist-informed family therapy in particular may be helpful in dealing with some the abovementioned issues.

Social Constructionist-informed Family Therapy

Influenced by social constructionism (Gergen, 1985; McNamee & Gergen, 1992; Shotter, 1993a), some family therapists propose that we use language to maintain meaningful interactions with each other, and to share a reality (Anderson & Goolishian, 1988). From this perspective, families are seen as living systems; as linguistic, self-creating, and independent entities (Anderson & Goolishian, 1988).

Challenging assumptions of an unbiased, objective knowledge of the world, social

constructionists invite us to take a critical position towards taken-for-granted ways of

understanding (Anderson, 1996). From this perspective the ways in which we understand and

construct knowledge is seen as historically and culturally bound (Burr, 2003). Social

constructionists view culture as a way of life (Monk, Winslade, & Sinclair, 2008) dynamically

produced and re-produced in relationships, and by people through time. Cultural differences, as

part of human nature, are recognized and welcomed as such by family therapists taking a social

constructionist stance. Thus, rather than ignoring cultural uniqueness, or creating a "different

than" category in which cultural differences are compared against what is considered the norm

(e.g., Western ideas), social constructionists welcome and encourage a multiplicity of cultural

voices and views.

For family therapists informed by social constructionism, language is used to maintain

meaningful interactions between people, and to create a shared a reality (Anderson &

Goolishian, 1988). Clinicians taking a social constructionist stance join clients in dialogues to

creatively generate and negotiate new meanings through talk, with clients' preferred ways of

living as a guide (Gergen & Kaye, 1992). Shotter (2011) describes aspects of dialogue:

> Our *outgoing* responsive expressions towards others (or othernesses) are continually
>
> intermingled in with the equally responsive incoming expressions of others towards us—
>
> with listeners actively responding back to speakers in the course of their talk, and with
>
> speakers being responsive in the course of their talk to listener's expressions. (p. 36;
>
> emphases in original)

Dialogue, then, can be seen as *joint action* (Shotter, 1984); it requires both openness to

others' utterances (being responsive), and speakers' active partaking. From this perspective,

therapists' involvement can be better described as *participation*; therapists are participant observers and facilitators of conversations (Anderson & Goolishian, 1988). Practitioners view language use in therapy as "constructive of 'reality' of clients' lives, identities, and relationships" (Sutherland, 2007, p. 195).

Under the umbrella of family therapy approaches informed by social constructionism (e.g., Shotter, 1993a, 2011), most notable are the collaborative approaches (Anderson, 2012; Anderson, & Gehart, 2007; Anderson & Goolishian, 1988; Madsen, 1999), narrative therapy (Freedman & Combs, 1996; White, 2007; White & Epston, 1990), solution focused therapy (De Jong & Berg, 2002), and bringforthism (Tomm, 1987a, 1987b, 1988). Although these approaches differ in practice, they share similar theoretical assumptions about family therapists' participation in their work with clients. I will discuss these theoretical assumptions next.

Promoting a collaborative conversational partnership. Family therapy informed by social constructionism has been described as a participatory and goal-oriented approach (Hoffman, 1992; Tomm, 1988), one in which conversation becomes central to change. In these conversations, creating new meaning through the interaction between participants is seen as a key task. Being collaborative, from this perspective, refers to how therapists and clients orient to, act, and respond to each other in mutually responsive ways (Anderson, 2012). To promote collaboration, therapists must be able to avoid the imposition of particular meanings that are only representative of the therapist's discourse or culture (Paré & Larner, 2004; Strong & Sutherland, 2007; Weingarten, 1992).

This collaborative stance is consistent with maintaining a relational approach that promotes recognizing immigrant family members' cultural identities as legitimate. Rather than engaging with immigrant family members and assuming to know their cultural background,

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therapists can encourage a plurality of cultural stances and understandings from family members and themselves in their conversations together. By doing so, therapists aim to engage in conversations with clients in a mutual search for understanding and exploration to articulate their preferred relationships and cultural identities.

Advocating for a multiplicity of voices. Family therapists can be seen as disentangling voices and creating space for different perspectives and interpretations to be brought forward in conversations (Aronsson, 1998). Family therapists may help immigrant family members to understand how reified accounts of culture can constrain their relationships through limiting and dichotomizing cultural understandings (e.g., it could be argued that the Shafia family mentioned earlier may have been dealing with some of these constraints). According to Pakes and Roy-Chowdhury (2007), these constraining discursive effects can reduce cultural sensitivity and therapeutic efficacy.

Bringing forth preferred cultural identities. Family therapists informed by social constructionism focus on how knowledge and understandings are produced, performed, and negotiated dialogically through language in social interactions (Anderson, 2007; Lock & Strong, 2010; Shotter, 1993a). They view the production of meaning as contested and negotiated between people, embedded in cultural practices that support some cultural discourses while shadowing others (Kogan, 1998). Family therapists view cultural identities as situated in time and context: a matter of "becoming" as well as "being," belonging both to the future as much as to the past (Hall, 1990). Rather than seeing identities as internal processes, family therapists

consider their and clients' actions (talk) as contributions to ongoing action sequences understood by making reference to local and cultural contexts.

Cultural contexts become locally relevant as they are maintained by people's actions. For example, family members may maintain certain customs, such as engaging together in teasing the mother when she speaks passionately about gardening. They may respond with wry remarks when this topic comes up in conversation. An outsider to the family may notice family members' closeness through this practice and understand it as "a Jones' thing." This way, cultural identities (e.g., being the Jones' mother) are produced socially, as the local context in which they exist is being jointly performed. Cultural identities can be seen as *interactional accomplishments* (Linell, 2009), which cannot be separated from locally relevant contexts (i.e., performances).

Accordingly, cultural identities as interactional accomplishments change when the co-constructed cultural contexts they exist in change as well. This may be the case when family members introduce or are introduced to novel cultural understandings that transform their practices. For example, the daughter of the Jones family mentioned above may not engage in teasing after being exposed to some of the feminist ideas on gender equality. She may realize that teasing her mother can be seen oppressing—a stance that undermines her preference for gender equality. Her lack of participation in family "teasing" may serve as a starting point for other members to question their practice, and possibly change it. In time, the mother's (and other members') identities may change, as the relevant context in which it was co-constructed dissolves.

In responding to others, we maintain but also may modify our understanding and performing of local cultural contexts—the ways in which we make sense of things and communicate this sense to others. By doing so, cultural identities may be maintained or changed,

according to understandings that better fit our experience. As Taylor (1985) elucidates, "Our feelings incorporate a certain articulation of our situation . . . .but at the same time they admit of—and very often they call for—further articulation. . .and this further elaboration can in turn transform the feelings" (pp. 63-64). Immigrant family members, in particular, engage in negotiating together new cultural contexts when settling in Canada. Therapists' participation can be helpful to families in creating and fostering a space where they are responsive in negotiating what is important to them.

Being relationally responsive. Anderson (2007) indicates that collaborative (i.e., social constructionist) therapies require a particular "way of being" (p. 43) both in relationships and conversations. Rather than being guided by pre-conceived ideas of which outcomes should be achieved (a particular treatment, for example), therapists engage clients in a *relationally responsive manner* (Shotter, 2011). That is, instead of assuming the traditional position of an expert, family therapists invite clients into a shared inquiry about the task at hand (Anderson, 2007; McNamee & Gergen, 1992). Family therapists engage clients in what Shotter (2011) calls *withness-thinking*: a form of reflective interaction that contrasts with usual exploratory methods of thinking *about* things (as pictures or representations).

According to Shotter (2011),

Only if we can learn how to see everything from within our own ongoing, always unfinished, practical involvements with others and otherness around us and to see them from within the multifarious dynamics of those involvements, will we be able to see the unfolding dynamic events occurring within these involvements that give them their "shape," their character. (p. 41)

Family therapists' expertise, then, is in fostering an environment that invites generative

conversational processes, by tentatively approaching knowledge (Anderson, 2012). Informed by

social constructionism, family therapists join immigrant family members in their conversations

to generate, maintain, or change preferred cultural identities. By engaging from within family

members' dialogues, rather than orienting to a priori (cultural) knowledge, clinicians can

facilitate dialogues in which preferred cultural identities are recognized and acknowledged in

how they are performed.

Concluding Remarks

"By implicitly invoking our standards to judge all civilizations and cultures, the politics

of difference can end up making everyone the same." (Taylor, 1994, p. 71)

In this chapter, I proposed that how immigrant families and individuals integrate to a new

cultural context can be seen as an ongoing negotiation of cultural identities performed in social

interactions. How this negotiation takes place is of utmost importance for family therapists in

their work with immigrant families and individuals. Family therapists may invite immigrant

family members to bring forward a multiplicity of cultural voices, stepping away from

monolithic interpretations of culture and cultural identities.

Therapeutic conversations offer opportunities to explore cultural meanings and address

the influence of cultural discourses on therapists and clients. Family therapists can become more

intentional when working with clients by paying closer attention to how cultural identities are

negotiated and performed in families' conversations. They may also help clients to become more

aware of how performing cultural identities may be influenced by cultural discourses that do not

reflect immigrant family members' preferences. I believe that in ethical practice, therapists foster

conversational opportunities to explore those preferences as co-constructed locally and culturally

in social interactions. As McNamee (1992) explains, conversations can be seen as opportunities to define experiences (e.g., integration to a new country) in different ways, by recognizing how particular forms of conversation create and sustain identities, and lines of action. By focusing on how cultural identities are negotiated in conversations, family therapists may help immigrant family members allow for their preferred ways of being cultural to be sustained together with other family members.

In sum, family therapists can become aware of and practice from an ethical stance that supports people's preferred ways of living. Family therapy may become a space of possibility to jointly negotiate new meanings with regards to how immigrant family members integrate to a new cultural context, recognizing and acknowledging the multiplicity of perspectives participants perform in therapeutic conversations. In the next chapter, I will focus on the methodology I used to study how immigrant family members negotiate preferred cultural identities in therapy conversations.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

"The act of recognition becomes an act of constitution: the address animates the subject into existence." (Butler, 1997, p. 25)

Photographers know about finding a right combination between their cameras' features (e.g., light, focus, or framing) and what they will photograph, to make a good picture. Too much zooming in will likely make them lose the context, too much zooming out will lose what they are trying to portray. Depending on the focus and frame, photos will communicate different things to viewers. Some combinations (of frame, focus, and scenes) may be anticipated and look familiar, but for the most part, photographs can effectively communicate novel and creative stories. Similarly, my research combines different focuses, frames, and scenes that can be interpreted in more than one way. To analyze immigrant family members' therapy conversations I chose a discursive approach that allows me to zoom in at times, focusing on the turn-by-turn of talk in therapy conversations, or to zoom out, to focus specifically on the cultural practices in which these conversations take place and how participants make sense of these[5]. These two analytic foci allow for different perspectives in understanding how family members' cultural identities are formed, changed, or maintained in their therapy conversations with each other.

In this chapter, I will first describe the research methodology I chose for my study. I follow Wetherell's (1998) recommendation to use both micro and macro views of discourse as a synthetic approach to discursive analysis, such as discursive psychology (DP; Edwards, 2012; Potter, 2012a). Using discursive psychology allows me as a researcher to shift my focus on immigrant family members' conversations, in the same way a photographer would use her

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[5] Collins (2010) uses a similar metaphor.

camera to zoom in and out of her photographic objective. Zooming in on immigrant family members' therapy conversations helps me understand how through mutual invitations, they orient to and take up different cultural memberships in the turn-by-turn of their responses to one another (e.g., a daughter rolling her eyes after a mother's request). I zoom out of their conversations to understand how immigrant family members make use of cultural repertoires and associated practices available to them (i.e., from their socio-cultural environment) to make sense of who they are as persons (Bamberg, De Fina, & Schiffrin, 2011). Next, I will review discursive psychology's theoretical tenets, and how these are a fit for my study of immigrant families' therapy conversations. I will follow with my view of the fit between discursive research and family therapy, a discipline in which families' communication has been the primary focus. I will explain next how cultural identities are understood from a discursive perspective, and then will describe my research design, including a description of how I prepared for my discursive analysis.

An Integrative Approach: Discursive Psychology

Given the purpose of my research, to explore how family members negotiate preferred identities in their conversations and how they account for their understandings of each other as cultural beings, I chose an approach that integrates both a macro and micro focus on discursive work: discursive psychology (DP; Potter, 2012a). DP incorporates a variety of research in communication, language, sociology, and psychology (Hepburn & Wiggins, 2005), with a focus on language use in social interactions. Drawing from ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, and post-structuralist discourse theories (among others), discursive psychologists became interested in making sense of psychological topics as discursive performances (Edwards, 2012; Edwards & Potter, 2001; Potter, 2012a; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). For discursive psychologists,

the analytic focus shifted from examining individual cognitive processes within situated

interactions, to studying "how psychological issues and objects are constructed, understood and

displayed as people interact in both every-day and institutional situations" (Potter, 2012, p. 3).

Discursive analysts have made substantial contributions to the study of language use in

social interactions using both macro and micro analytic foci. Within the discursive researchers'

community, historical debates have prevailed over whether a macro (e.g., Billig, 1999a, 1999b;

Edley, 2001; Potter, 2012a; van Dijk, 2001) or micro focus (e.g., CA; Sacks, Schegloff, &

Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1997, 1999) for the study of discourse is more adequate (e.g., Billig,

1999a, 1999b; Schegloff, 1999; Wetherell, 2001). Such tensions between macro and micro views

created a fruitful field for alternative and complex perspectives on discursive research to grow.

As a result of these debates, discursive research methods have evolved in different directions

(Potter, 2012b). Influenced by different schools of discursive analysis, discursive psychologists

treat discourse as having four key characteristics (Potter, 2012a), which I describe next in

relation to my topic of research.

Discourse as Action-Oriented

In my analysis, I explore how immigrant family members use language (verbal and non-

verbal) in their interactions to display and negotiate preferred cultural identities. Following

discursive psychologists, I understand discourse as the primary and practical medium for action

(Potter, 2012a). Said differently, people's talk is seen as social action—as the ways by which a

person carries out activities significant to him or her, in ways that will be understood by others.

For example, a compliment from an immigrant parent to his child involves a particular use of

language; the parent bestowing the compliment uses positive words, while the child receiving it

may show his/her appreciation by saying "thank you." A compliment could also be interpreted as

a preamble for asking a favour, in which case the person on the receiving end may respond differently. In other words, immigrant family members need to coordinate their talk by displaying their understandings of what is going on in a conversation with one another (e.g., such as when receiving a compliment). They complete each other's actions, making this practice understood (e.g., "complimenting" is responded to with "appreciating"), or not.

As a tool to examine therapy sessions with immigrant families, a micro-focus on discourse, such as the one provided by conversation analysis (CA; Sacks et al., 1974; ten Have, 2007), is useful in attending to key aspects of therapy conversations (e.g., Strong & Massfeller, 2010). For instance, immigrant family members' sensitive identity-descriptions (e.g., being "culturally traditional" or "too Canadian"), and how they respond to them (e.g., avowals, disavowals), can be seen as co-constructed by and used in participants' turn-by-turn contributions to their emergent conversations. For the purposes of my study, this micro-focus on participants' invitations and responses helps me to understand the steps and moves they take to negotiate cultural identities in satisfactory ways for them.

I use critical discourse analysts (CDA; Fairclough, 1995) as my guide to taking a macro-focus. Critical discourse analysts advocate taking a political stance by exposing how speakers' use of discourses maintain and legitimize social inequalities (Shi-xu, 2005). I share critical discourse analysts' concern with how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted in social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2004). Thus, in my analysis I attend to discourses family members use that may reproduce social inequality (Van Dijk, 1999) in their interactions. This macro-focus provides me with a framework to better understand how individuals take up, negotiate, or resist cultural discourses on identity. It also helps me understand how resistance is generated and sustained, or how immigrant family

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members are "hailed" by cultural discourses (Lupton 1995). Different cultural discourses may be resisted, or endorsed by participants in conversations through time. Cultural discourses, for discursive psychologists, are viewed as situated in a particular time and place.

Discourse as Situated

"Situated" implies that talk (action) makes sense in the contextualized here and now of a conversation (Potter, 2012a). Immigrant family members' actions orient to what was said/done in the previous turn, and build or renew a context for what will happen next. For example, a husband nodding in response to his wife stating that their daughter is becoming too Canadian means something different than nodding rhythmically when music is playing. Thus, from a DP perspective, participants' talk is seen as shaping and shaped by broader contexts (e.g., institutional, cultural) in which a conversation takes place. To return to compliments, these may be done differently in China than in Belize. For example, a couple from Belize may engage in "praising" in front of their Chinese friend who may be puzzled by the interaction because of not sharing a similar background on "praising." To understand each other, speakers' actions (verbal and non-verbal) must be suitable for conversational participants' social/cultural context (Heritage, 1984). Misunderstandings (cross-cultural ones being more obvious) are a good example of how conversational partners may need to negotiate new ways to orient to, and make sense of their conversation together (Sametband & Strong, 2013).

When taking a micro-focus on discourse in my analysis I examine how immigrant family members make sense of their interaction for themselves and others. An observer to a dialogue would be able to recognize the back and forth between speakers as couples narrate the stories of their holidays, or in how adult children and their parents negotiate who pays for dinner. Depending on the context, immigrant family members will orient to a variety of cultural

expectations on how they embody and perform relevant identities, to promote situated understandings of their actions in relation to those identities (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Potter, 2012a). For example, immigrant family members and therapists will show each other their understandings of how their locally situated conversation should unfold (e.g., who asks questions, and who responds, when, and how), or how they negotiate new cultural identities with each other. In short, by viewing discourse as situated, I can focus on how immigrant family members use talk in the immediacies of making, maintaining, and changing their relationships with each other.

In response to previous utterances, and oriented to other possible versions of these, speakers' utterances are shaped by, yet also shape, the context and conversations in which they occur (Wetherell, 2001). People do things with discourses; for example, they may engage in interactions co-constructing and maintaining cultural identities such as mother or daughter, and relate to each other in ways they understand a mother and daughter would, influenced by cultural discourses available in their local context. A mother may instruct her daughter to say, "thank you", when offered a cookie at the local bakery, inviting the daughter to comply (e.g., by saying "thank you"). The mother and daughter's actions can be seen as organized by (and organizing of) a hierarchical relationship in which the mother is positioned as the "instructor" and the daughter as the "instructed", a type of parent-child relationship supported by social conventions (Kendall, 2007).

Cultural identities (e.g., mothers and daughters) are in part determined by the socio-cultural and historical context in which they are understood and enacted. A daughter's response to her mother's instructions may have illustrated full compliance in the 1800s, while in the year 2014 it may be seen as begrudging, and even accompanied by rolling of eyes. The strength of

any identity's description is influenced by its local reference points (Antaki, Condor, & Levine, 1996), both in how immigrant family members respond to one another, and the context they co-create and maintain together.

Discourse is Produced as Psychological

Rather than understanding discourse as directly mapped onto underlying cognitive representations of knowledge (Edwards & Potter, 1992), discursive psychologists propose that people produce versions of external reality and of psychological states (Edwards & Potter, 2001). Following discursive psychologists, I view discourse as the situated versions, descriptions, and formulations *used* in social interactions to achieve or complete a certain cultural practice, such as therapy. Therapy conversations, then, can be seen as co-produced by its participants orienting to one another and recognizing each other's performed identities as therapist and client (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). In therapy conversations, immigrant family members respond to particular *position calls* (Drewery, 2005), through rhetorical invitations that can be taken up or declined, and formulate what is relevant to them, producing accounts and performances that can be seen as psychological.

From cultural discourses available (i.e., present in a socio-historical context), immigrant family members can be seen as responding to each other in psychological ways (i.e., through conflict between parents and children) that may invite new enabling or constraining ways of relating to one another.

New cultural discourses and a range of different positions become available to families (and family members) immigrating to new countries. How they deal with this new range of possibilities may add complexity and tensions to their dialogue as a family, tensions for which they may seek family therapy. By focusing on immigrant family members' conversations, my

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aim is to better understand how they orient to each other while invoking preferred repertoires. They may need to negotiate new *position*s (Harré & Slocum, 2003) to make sense of their interactions moving forward in ways that their preferred cultural identity claims will be recognized within their family and by others.

In conversations with each other, family members can claim a particular position for themselves, or be "called" to a recognizable position by someone else (e.g., as honest, or demanding; Drewery, 2005). The implication of the discursive act of a person positioning himself or herself is that the person is also positioning the one being addressed (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). For example, children usually do not have the same speaking rights as their parents (e.g., a mother is entitled to instruct her daughter on manners but typically not the other way around). In this case, children can be seen as positioned as recipients of parents' disciplinary admonitions (Harré & Slocum, 2003). At the same time, family members *use* their identities with each other as warrants for prerogatives (Harré & Slocum, 2003) they make and challenge (e.g., a mother using her cultural identity as a parent to instruct her daughter on how to behave in public). These identities invoke change in family members' relationships as they are negotiated in response to each other's utterances confirming or disconfirming previous identity claims (e.g., a daughter responding to her mother by saying "I know, Susie," challenging her mother's identity claim as a parent).

When conversing, immigrant family members orient and respond to each other's actions invoking certain *interpretative repertoires,* a term coined by Wetherell (1998) that refers to the "culturally familiar and habitual line of argument comprised of recognizable themes, common places and tropes" (p. 400). These interpretative repertoires comprise family members' methods to make sense of present situations, and each other. In social interactions, these repertoires serve

as the back-cloth for the realization of locally managed positions (Wetherell, 1998). For example, there are many recognizable ways to be a "parent" such as authoritarian, caring, or playful and each may have different moral value locally. These versions being a parent can be seen to invoke different repertoires or lines of argument from which parents invite certain kinds of responses from their children (i.e., disciplining, playing, instructing) that may or may not be taken up by the children (e.g., children may challenge parents' line of argument by invoking a different one). By drawing from particular repertoires, a parent may perform conveying a recognizable sense of being "authoritarian." He may use being "authoritarian" in other situations as well (e.g., at work, with friends) as one way to be described by others or himself. He may also resort to other repertoires (e.g., "supportive") when his co-worker tells him about his marital problems.

Positionings may also be challenged by participants in conversations. A person may position herself and others using several cultural memberships and the related storylines (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). For example, a mother may instruct her daughter on what she considers proper clothing, invoking her cultural membership as a parent (and taking into account cultural expectations on how to be a "responsible" parent, for example). This positioning may be questioned by her teenage daughter, who could understand her mother's positioning as treating her like a young girl. She may roll her eyes ignoring her mother's instruction and challenging the parent's *position call* (Drewery, 2005) that the daughter perform as a young girl. Paraphrasing Wetherell (1998), by invoking a culturally recognizable interpretive repertoire of "authoritarian or annoying parents", the daughter may orient to the cultural identity "little girl" as problematic within this local moral order.

Participants in conversations claim, accept, or resist particular positions (Potter, 2012b). In their discursive performances (e.g., rolling eyes), they also show how they orient to their conversational partners' talk. For instance, they display their "preference" for certain positions (e.g., resisting being treated as a little girl by calling a mother to position as annoying). In my analysis, I examine how immigrant family members both use discourse and display an orientation to other family members' discursive performances, presenting themselves (or even resisting others' presentations of them) in preferred ways. In doing so, they display their taken-for-granted understanding of what is valued locally. My analysis focuses on how immigrant family members' interactions can be understood as meaningful responses usually following local rules or customs. Having a background understanding (e.g., local customs, rules, and conventions) allows family members to negotiate their understanding of each other's actions, for example, in their therapy conversations. In doing so, they co-create accounts of events and the cultural practices in which they engage together. Indeed, discourse is viewed as constructed and constructive by discursive psychologists, as I explain next.

Discourse is Constructed and Constructive

Through discourses, immigrant family members construct specific versions of events including cultural practices comprising these versions, and what these practices achieve by being performed. An example may be a parenting assessment to determine if parents are fit to take care of their children. It is likely that there will be differences between the involved parties' interests. Parents may emphasize their parenting abilities, professionals may describe and assess parents according to a psychological theory as well as their professional code of ethics, and local children's services may have their own set of expectations guided by governmental laws and policies. In other words, all parties involved may be influenced by different institutional and

cultural discourses in ways that shape their relationship with others and they may need to negotiate these differences to enable collaborative movement toward a common goal.

When negotiating new cultural identities between immigrant family members, for example, rigid assumptions about cultural groups and practices may make family members "invisible" to others in dialogues (Sametband & Strong, 2013). A-priori assumptions about family members' cultural identities may obscure the uniqueness of how they interact with other family members or outsiders (e.g., family therapists). A-priori assumptions may also be drawn to position a family member as culturally inadequate. For example, a woman who chooses to wear Western clothing may be seen as challenging accepted cultural/religious clothing customs of her family. This may result in the woman being isolated, or dismissed by her relatives, with her cultural membership questioned. Her relationship with other family members may be influenced by such powerful and taken-for-granted institutional discourses.

Revisiting my photographer metaphor, it is my aim to zoom in and zoom out exploring different aspects of how immigrant family members negotiate cultural identities with each other in the context of family therapy. I will examine how they take up, resist, or create new cultural memberships with one another, and what they consider successful negotiations. Guided by discursive psychology (e.g., Edwards & Potter, 1992, 2001; Potter, 2012a, 2012b), I explore how relevant identities are negotiated in family therapy interactions through multiple foci as a way to achieve a rich understanding of their conversations.

In the next section, I will focus on how discursive research methods are congruent with social constructionist-informed family therapists' theoretical and practice stance.

The Fit between Discursive Research and Social Constructionist-informed Family Therapy

The importance of language use in social interactions has long been recognized as a central feature in systemic family therapy. Systemic family therapy was born out of a group of scholars who believed in communication and language as centering family life (e.g., Bateson, 1972; Haley, 1962; Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967). As Hoffman (1981) writes, family therapy is "a kind of communications research focusing on the face-to-face relationships of people in ongoing groups" (p. 17). In tune with these assertions, collaborative family therapists give priority to clients' language and agency rather than a particular model or technique (Anderson, 2007; Larner, 2004). Similarly, my discursive research focuses on what immigrant family members view as successful talk-negotiations. What interests me is their use of talk in responding meaningfully to each other's ways of being cultural.

Within contemporary discursive research, researchers have explored families' lives in particular situations (e.g., Gordon, 2004; Tannen, 2006; Wingard, 2006), family lives through time (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1997; Sirota, 2006; Tannen, Kendall, & Gordon, 2007), and bi-national or cross-cultural every-day family situations (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1997; Michael, 2009; Petraki; 2001). Little attention has been dedicated to the lives of families over the course of family therapy (Gordon, 2004), with the exception of Dreier's (2008) work, whose focus is on the interplay between therapy sessions and the client family members' ongoing everyday lives in other places. In addition, the lack of research on immigrant family members' cultural identities negotiation is noticeable in the literature. Although researchers have focused on family members' identity negotiations from a relational perspective (e.g., Maciel & Knudson-Martin, 2013; Moriizumi, 2011), little is known about what immigrant family members consider successful negotiations or how they account for these conversational achievements. My research

will contribute to the field of family therapy and counselling by exploring clients' actual conversations and their perspectives on successful conversations. My hope is that in better understanding clients' perspectives on cultural negotiations in therapy conversations, therapists will have opportunities to join clients in creating, or maintaining, preferred ways of being cultural with each other.

Considering that communicative interactions are fundamental for families and family therapy and that discursive research methods focus particularly on language use in social interactions, the fit between these approaches seems obvious. Discursive methods have been used to study therapeutic conversations (e.g., Buttny, 1996; Couture, 2007; Gale, Lawless & Roulston, 2004; Jones & Beach, 1995; Pain, 2009; Peräkylä, et al., 2008; Roy-Chowdhury, 2006) as well as participants' interactions in family therapy (e.g., Aronsson, 1998; Aronsson & Cederborg, 1994; Couture & Strong, 2004; Frosh, Burck, Strickland-Clark, & Morgan, 1996). In addition, discursive methods have been proposed as useful aids for clinicians looking to increase their awareness and creativity in working with clients (Couture, 2007; Couture & Sutherland, 2007; Strong, Busch, & Couture, 2008; Sutherland et al., 2013).

Family therapists' views on communication resonate with how social phenomena are described in other research approaches such as ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967) and discursive analyses (e.g., Fairclough, 1995, 2001; ten Have, 2007; Wooffitt, 2005). How family members' communicative invitations and responses to each other result in maintaining or changing patterns of interaction between them has long been attended to in family therapy (e.g., Tomm, 1987a, 1987b, 1988; Tomm, St. George, Wulff, & Strong, 2014). Influenced by social constructionist theory, family therapists view changing social interactions as generative of meaning. Tomm (1987) proposes that therapists' actions can be seen as *interventive interviewing*,

or "an orientation in which everything an interviewer does and says, and does not do and does not say, is thought of as an intervention that could be therapeutic, nontherapeutic, or counter-therapeutic" (p. 2). Focusing on the turn-by-turn of family therapy conversations as well as how immigrant family members interpret and orient to each other's responses, can be helpful for therapists engaged in a therapeutic process (Couture & Sutherland, 2007; Gaete, Sametband, & Sutherland, 2014). Family therapists could influence family members' interactions by inviting preferred relationships and understandings (Tomm et al., 2014; White, 2007).

What people do with talk is a primary focus for social constructionist-informed family therapists and discursive researchers; their interest lies in how people develop and maintain certain ways of relating to one another, and make sense of their surroundings from within these ways of talking (Shotter, 1993a). In tune with these ideas, I view people as engaging in embodied dialogical practices (Katz & Shotter, 1996). We relationally make sense of each other's actions while responding in ways presumed to be understood. Drawing from unspoken assumptions and presuppositions, participants in the turn-taking of their conversations attempt to interpret and influence each other's actions (Heritage, 1984). In doing so, a person's identities take shape through interpretive language use when interacting with others in an attempt to coordinate practical activities, constructing a kind of social relationship (Shotter, 1993a). Similarly, immigrant family members negotiate discursively with each other diverse cultural identities by performing and coordinating ways of being cultural together (Pocock, 2012). In the next section, I will describe my view of cultural identities, informed by social constructionism.

Cultural Identities as Discursive

In taking a social constructionist stance, I acknowledge that what is a correct or incorrect way of interpreting reality cannot be advanced in absolute ways or independent of the situated,

cultural standards by which the "correctness" of such practices are to be judged (McNamee & Gergen, 1992). How immigrant family members understand and perform cultural identities and practices is a negotiated process rather than a limited or correct set of options by which individuals "adapt" to a particular cultural group or local context. Through use of language and cultural practices, immigrant family members coordinate ways to be recognized as belonging to particular cultural groups. They do so by performing as is expected by members of those cultural groups (e.g., following certain social rules, dress codes, or language customs). Cultural identities are recognized by being relationally constructed, changed, or maintained through our use of language. As Butler's (1997) quote at the beginning of this chapter suggests, "the act of recognition becomes an act of constitution: the address animates the subject into existence" (p. 25).

Rather than using psychologists' categories, through a social constructionist view, I regard cultural identities as intersubjective resources, as "people's situated and interested descriptions of themselves and others" (Antaki, et al., 1996, p. 488). In interactions with others, we orient to each other's actions by performing in ways we presume to be understood as having certain characteristics. We also use descriptions to make claims about ourselves and our identities. Narratives or descriptions of selves reveal the point of view from where a person represents herself or himself (Bamberg, 2004). An example can be seen in a statement by Ronia Arab, a 16 year old teenager interviewed by CBC News on her experience as a first generation Canadian. She indicated, "in [my parents'] eyes I'm really bad just because I don't follow the [Iraqi] tradition and lifestyle, but to Canadians I'm just a really nice girl" (CBC News, Feb 15, 2012). Ronia provided a description of herself as someone seen negatively by one group (Iraqi) because of her alliance to another (i.e., she is "bad" because she follows Canadian customs). Her

description of herself included being "really bad" and "a really nice girl," pointing to possible tensions in how she and her family understand her cultural identity. As the example shows, discursive practices (e.g., accounts, narratives, or dialogues) can be seen as sites for forming, negotiating, and maintaining cultural identities (Bamberg et al., 2011). Peoples' ways of being cultural are maintained, changed, and experienced both in and through these sites.

By offering an identity narrative, a speaker makes a linguistic claim of who he or she is (e.g., "a really bad girl" for Iraqi parents, a "really nice girl" for Canadians). Through accounts, speakers also respond to what they perceive as other peoples' claims on their identity. Cultural assumptions may function as background understanding for others to explain a person's actions as social locations where subjects are positioned (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). For example, I wonder what Ronia's account would have looked like, had she been interviewed by an Iraqi reporter. Bamberg (2004) distinguishes between small and big stories or master narratives. Small stories are the ones we tell in our everyday encounters with each other, while big stories refer to culturally accepted frames or repertoires according to which courses of events can easily be plotted. This distinction depicts the complex interplay of being positioned as having a particular cultural identity (e.g., as the daughter of Iraqi parents) and positioning self (e.g., as Iraqi-Canadian) by performing preferred cultural memberships. My aim is to address this complexity by exploring how immigrant family members perform and account for their cultural presentations.

Zooming In and Out of Immigrant Family Member's Use of Talk

From a discursive perspective, talk is seen as purposeful and performative in creating and sustaining preferred versions of events through appeals to common sense, cultural discourses, facts, or the natural order (Roy-Chowdhury, 2003). By zooming in on dialogue, I will examine

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how family members negotiate and build up cultural identities (e.g., father, mother, son) by relationally performing a range of practices commonly associated with those cultural identities (Aronsson, 1998; Aronsson, 2006; Butler & Fitzgerald, 2010). For example, family members might call each other by a name that signifies their relationship as a family (e.g., mom, dad, son), or coordinate their daily activities to have meals together in the same house, or share important news and developments in their lives.

Zooming in on their conversations, family members' cultural identities can be seen in how a "membership of a category is ascribed (and rejected), avowed (and disavowed), displayed (and ignored) in local places and at certain times, and it does these things as part of the interactional work that constitutes people's lives" (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 2). A father could also be a friend, worker, or partner. His identity as a father may be confirmed or disconfirmed by others (e.g., his family, colleagues, or acquaintances). For example, his friends may answer his questions by disclosing personal matters, while his teenage son may respond to the same questions by giving him yes or no answers in a frustrated tone of voice. Thus, the father may have to foreground other identities (e.g., taking the position of a "cool" father) if he wants to know more about his son's day. Looking closely at an interaction like the one described, one is able to notice, turn-by-turn, how the father and son orient to each other and engage in ways familiar to both of them in their parent/child relationship. They respond to each other, coordinating their interactions to perform a relationship (e.g., a conversation between father and son). The father and son may work towards moving forward in their conversation to achieve a goal (e.g., knowing about the son's day), maintaining their familiar relationship or they may choose to introduce changes in their relationship by resisting or proposing new ways to interact.

While zooming in on the turn-by-turn of conversations, I examine how family members co-construct their preferred cultural identities. By zooming out of the conversation, I focus on social interactions as practically interpreted by their participants (i.e., making sense of how family members made sense of each other; Beech, 2008; van Dijk, 1985). Taking a macro-discursive perspective, I show how discourses are generated and what is gained (and by whom) from these co-creations (Potter, 2004; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). In zooming out of their conversations, I view family members as drawing (intentionally or without such awareness) from available interpretative repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) influencing their understanding and performance of preferred cultural identities.

As Potter and Wetherell (1987) explicate, interpretative repertoires are "basically a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events" (p. 138). Interpretative repertoires can be viewed as the building blocks (Wetherell & Potter, 1988) participants use to construct versions of events in their conversations. For example, a therapist in her relationship with clients may convey her therapy stance as collaborative, or as a consultant, interpreter, or advice-giver. These different versions of being a therapist may differ depending on how clients respond to the therapist in their interaction. Her responses will shape and be shaped by how she performs as a collaborative therapist, or how she takes a different stance (e.g., being a consultant), and how clients respond to her. Being collaborative could also restrict how she interacts with clients; for example, collaborative therapists (e.g., Anderson, 1997) may not recognize taking exclusively an expert's stance as collaborative.

This complex interplay that immigrant family members engage in when negotiating between preferred and "called to" cultural identities is central to my study. The process of immigration involves a continuous definition and redefinition of one's cultural identities and

membership into larger communities (De Fina, 2003). In this study, I address how immigrant family members develop and negotiate preferred cultural identities through therapeutic conversations. Two research questions guided this exploration: (a) How do immigrant family members successfully develop and negotiate new preferred cultural identities, while maintaining meaningful family relationships?, and (b) What therapeutic actions do family members identify as helpful in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities that are acceptable for all family members? To answer these questions, I engaged in the research process I describe next.

Research Design

In this research I studied five volunteer families who immigrated to Canada in the last 2 to 17 years and who were working with family therapists at the Calgary Family Therapy Centre (CFTC) in Calgary, Alberta. I sought participating immigrant families who had been in Canada for a minimum of 2 years as they would most likely have been in the new environment (Canada) long enough to notice cultural differences and influences these differences had on their family.

The CFTC is a facility that provides no-cost family therapy services in Calgary. Therapists at the centre regularly practice videotaping sessions for training and research purposes. I approached the CFTC as a site for my study because of these characteristics. In June 2013, a flood in the Calgary area forced the temporary relocation of the site of this study (CFTC). This event resulted in some delay and technical difficulties, requiring a re-installation of the videotaping equipment in the new facility. Consequently, I was unable to videotape nor use four of the sessions with participating families for my analysis. I also approached another counselling agency in Calgary (Catholic Family Services), but no families volunteered at this facility.

In total, 9 families participated in the study; however, only five completed the research protocol requiring their comments after videotaped sessions as well as individual follow-up interviews. Two of the original 9 families did not continue working with their therapist and withdrew from the research study. Another 2 families terminated their therapy process while participating in the study, and did not complete the individual research interviews. I followed the remaining 5 families for four to six sessions, however due to technical difficulties on average only four of their sessions were videotaped. In all cases, family members easily identified in the paper form (see Appendix F) one or two segments of each of their sessions they deemed relevant for the study and they were eager to comment on these during their individual interviews with me.

From the 5 families who completed the research process (i.e., participated in the family sessions and individual interviews: families A, B, C, D, and E), 17 family sessions were videotaped. In each of the 17 videotaped sessions, between one and two conversation segments were collectively identified by family members of each of the 5 families as being worth discussing (see Table 1 for a description of segments per session of the families that completed the research process). Participating families varied in composition and presenting concerns.

All family member participants at the CFTC spoke English comfortably, and had emigrated from various parts of the world including Asia, the Caribbean, South, and Central America. The therapists working with the participating families were born and lived in Canada; one of them was a first generation Canadian. All families had at least one member who was a teenager (between 13 to 19 years of age; see Appendix A for a demographic table). In my experience as a therapist working with families, tensions around different ways of being cultural seem more obvious between immigrant parents and adolescents. Adolescence is commonly

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understood as a time of searching for independence from parents or family and pursuing personal and social interests. At times, views on these undertakings may lead to conflict between parents and adolescents, contributing to tense family relationships and the need to seek family therapy (see Chapter 2 for further discussion). This tension was replicated in the conversations of families participating in my research. In general, these families' presenting concern for therapy included conflicts between parents and adolescents, communication difficulties among family members, or a teenager's acting-out behaviour at school.

Table 1: Selected segments per family

Families who completed research process	Family Composition (M: Mother; F: Father; C: Child; (Number): Age)	Family Sessions videotaped per family	Segments Selected by all family members per family
Family A	M, C1(20), C2(17)	2 (Two sessions not recorded)	4
Family B	M, F, C1(17)	4 (One session not recorded)	4
Family C	M, F, C1(15), C2(12)	5 (One session not recorded)	6
Family D	M, F, C1(19), C2(13)	5 (One session not recorded)	4
Family E	M, F, C1(16), C2(11)	4	2

Following approval from the University of Calgary's Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board, I presented on my research during two of the regular research meetings at the CFTC, one in January and another one in October of 2013. Staff, interns and practicum students from various programs and universities attended the research meetings. I provided all attendees with a brief summary of the research, including a breakdown of what families could expect by participating (see Appendix B). I encouraged therapists to contact me if they were working with families who matched my criteria for recruitment, and I asked them regularly to review their

caseload in case they had a new family who met the requirements for the study. Therapists identified families who could potentially participate in the study, and provided them with a recruitment poster (see Appendix C).

Once families indicated to their therapists that they were interested in knowing more about my research, I joined them at the beginning of their next session. At that time I provided information on the study to the family members including a description of what their participation would require. When families indicated their willingness to voluntarily participate in the study, I proceeded with the informed consent process (see Appendices D and E). Of the potential participant families, two decided not to take part in the research when informed of the videotaping component.

After each of their five sessions, volunteer participating family members were asked to identify one or two instances during the session they had just completed that they deemed to be relevant examples of successful negotiations of family members' cultural identities (see Appendix H for a description of this concept provided to families). That is, these were instances in which family members oriented to each other's talk, while inviting, responding, and invoking different ways of being cultural that were meaningful to them. In most cases, family members indicated they understood what I was asking them to identify post-session. For example, some of them nodded and voluntarily provided a description of a situation they were dealing with in which tensions over cultural ways of understanding became obvious. In other cases, I asked family members if they could relate to the situations I was describing, and how (e.g., by asking "does what I'm saying make sense to you? Can you relate to what I'm describing? How?"). In general, family members easily came up with examples in which they saw themselves and other family members negotiating differences over cultural memberships and understandings.

I met with the participating family members after each session and provided them with a paper form (see Appendix F). Family members were asked to fill out this form individually, to identify such instances during their sessions. Once I collected the family members' paper forms after their sessions, I watched each videotaped session and looked for the segments family members had identified as significant for them through the form (see Appendix F). As I watched these videotaped sessions, I was curious to see what family members identified as successful negotiations, a question that I included in the interview. I also watched the videotaped sessions with these questions in mind: Where does the present exchange/negotiation lead participants in the conversation? What is the therapist doing, and how are family members responding to her/him? What cultural identities are they performing/talking about? How do family members display their preferences (e.g., resisting, maintaining, or changing positions)? Are there any common themes among families? After reviewing each tape, I created a file on my password protected computer for each family and identified it with a letter. Inside each family file I organized each selected session segment with a number in the order I would use them (i.e., in the order these appeared in the videotape), so that I could easily access these during my individual interview with each family member. After this process was completed, I interviewed each family member individually.

During the individual interviews, each family member reviewed in his/her videotaped sessions the segments of conversations he or she had chosen on the paper form. In most cases what they had identified in the form and videotaped segments, I had also identified as pertaining to their written comments. If any family member indicated that the segment shown was not what he/she was referring to, we went through the tape together until we found the appropriate segment. This happened twice, once with an adult and once with a child. Once the family

member indicated that the segment I had identified was the one he or she was referring to on the form, I asked him or her questions on each segment (see Appendix G for the protocol used in the interviewing process). These individual interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Separately, I conducted a discursive analysis of those session instances identified by all family members as successful negotiations, together with their comments on these instances during the individual interviews. All video sessions, audio-taped interviews, and transcripts were stored on my password protected computer during the research process. The videotaped sessions are stored at the CFTC and will be managed in accordance with their record-keeping protocol.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data collected through the videotaped sessions and subsequent interviews with participants, I used discursive psychology (Edwards & Potter, 1992, Potter, 2012a) which helped me to take both a micro and macro perspective for the analysis. I used a combination of discursive analytic approaches for my analysis, including positioning theory (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999), critical discourse analysis (CDA, Fairclough, 1995), and conversation analysis (CA, ten Have, 2007). The combination of these perspectives provided me with a methodological framework that covers the complexity of the phenomena I wanted to study.

A micro perspective (e.g., CA) enabled me to look at the session instances, focusing on participants' language use in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities. Using a macro perspective (e.g., CDA, positioning theory), I examined cultural discourses informing and shaping participants' identity negotiations with one another. This provided me with a better understanding of how each family member interpreted belonging to particular cultural groups as meaningful to them, while also fitting with the cultural choices of the rest of their family.

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My aim in combining these sets of data and their analyses—of families' and therapists' actual interactions and retrospective comments about those interactions—was to better understand the tensions between different positions participants responded from in their conversations. I also wanted to hear family members' accounts of why particular conversation segments were successful. I drew from positioning theory's (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) to analyze the different positions family members and therapists took up in negotiating cultural identities in their conversations together, and in their retrospective accounts. For example, I analyzed which categories they used to describe themselves, how they positioned themselves as part of a story line, and categories for membership in particular groups they considered meaningful (Davies & Harré, 1990).

Segments of family therapy conversations chosen by all family members, as successful negotiations of cultural identities, guided my analysis. Family members selected what they considered successful examples of their negotiated preferred cultural identities in therapy conversations (see Appendix G for the script participants were given as guidance in selecting therapy conversation segments). During the individual follow-up interviews, I asked all participants for their accounts of what made the segments they selected successful. I considered it important to examine what struck participants as successful from within their interactions to learn from them about their relationally-responsive performances (Katz & Shotter, 2000), that is, spontaneously performed understandings upon which they based their interpretation of events (i.e., laughter as a response to a joke that would be interpreted as funny as a result). By filling out the paper forms (see Appendix F), participants retroactively pointed to culturally mediated performances of their preferred cultural identities (i.e., being cultural in ways that fit for how a person prefers to be understood by others; see Chapter 1 for further discussion on this concept).

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My interest was also in how participants accounted for these successful identity-negotiating sequences, which I learned more about through the individual interviews I conducted with them.

In my view, selecting the session segments myself would have prevented me from understanding what immigrant family members, upon reflection, considered important as successful cultural identities' negotiations from within their conversations. While their choice of session segments provided me with an opportunity to retroactively view the interaction itself, family members' accounts of those interactions helped me to understand how they later made sense of these interactions as successful. By attending to what participants considered successful or important, my hope was to draw attention to what is only properly known by those producing meaning from within their selected conversation segments (Shotter, 1993a), albeit from a researcher's perspective. In addition to talking about their successful cultural identity negotiations, participants identified how family therapists contributed to or facilitated these processes. I consider this to be very helpful information for other clinicians interested in engaging collaboratively with clients and helping them to achieve their therapy goals. In the next section, I describe how I prepared for my analysis of the therapy conversation segments selected by participating family members.

Preparing for the Discursive Psychology-Informed Analysis

As a discursive researcher, my interest is in studying how the flow of meaning-making in social interactions gets organized into what are (or can become) routine activities (Wetherell, 2003). Said differently, I focused on how immigrant family members coordinate and organize their talk, negotiating with each other new ways to be understood and perform as members of particular cultural groups. In addition, I examined how family members, in their individual interviews with me, retrospectively accounted for these discursive negotiations. To analyze these

different meaning-making activities, I watched the videotaped family therapy sessions and looked for the segments family members had deemed successful examples of cultural identity negotiations. I also listened to family members' voice-recorded retrospective comments on these segments. I transcribed verbatim the conversation segments identified as successful examples by family members, as well as their retrospective reflections during their individual interview with me. Having these two sets of data (conversation segments and retrospective comments) allowed me to look closely at immigrant family members' attempts to coordinate preferred cultural identities (micro focus), and how they made sense of these developments afterwards (macro focus).

My analytic focus was similar for these two sets of data (i.e., conversation segments and retrospective family members' comments) as I looked at how immigrant family members used language to come across as a member of a particular cultural group, or to ascribe cultural membership to others in the conversations. Having these two sets of data, for example, allowed me to focus on different aspects of immigrant family members' language use. By looking closely at the conversation segments' transcripts, I examined immigrant family members' responses to each other in co-constructing new cultural identities; how they negotiated, turn-by-turn, preferred ways to be recognized as cultural. By looking at the therapy conversation segments, I was able to meticulously study language devices used by participants in responding to each other. I studied how immigrant family members used talk, and gestures to show their disagreement with others' cultural membership ascriptions to them. Or, for contrast, I also examined the linguistic ways they used to propose or accept descriptions of their identities (or others'). Examining participants' retrospective comments, on the other hand, my focus turned to cultural repertoires that were drawn from, and that featured in how family members accounted for their cultural

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identity negotiations; that is, in how they made sense of their family interactions and their own performances during sessions.

In total, I collected 20 conversation segments identified by all family members of each of the 5 families that completed the research process. My selection criteria for the conversation segments I analyzed were based on (a) conversation segments that most clearly showed how family members negotiated preferred cultural identities (e.g., segments in which participants displayed their membership to cultural groups such as when they presented themselves as "Canadian," or "Muslim"), how others confirmed or disconfirmed their presentations, and how they responded to these confirmations/disconfirmations, or, in segments that showed family members' responses to being called into particular cultural membership by others (i.e., an adolescent expecting her Mexican mother to respond to her in ways similar to her Canadian peers' parents); (b) segments for which family members provided a richer account on these segments of conversations as successful; and (c) segments that could stand alone as examples of successful cultural identities negotiation.

Some of the segments selected by family members only made sense to an observer who had viewed the complete session from which the segment was selected or a previous session, and were therefore not included in my analyses. An example of a conversation segment with this characteristic is provided below from family E's third session. This is an exchange between Roberta (R; mother), Jeff (J; 16 year-old son), and the therapist (T). Also present in the session were the father and a younger sibling.

Exemplar I Session 3 Segment 1 (the E Family)

31	T:	Mmh (.) have have the two of you {looks at R, looks at J} ever talked? about
32		-about that kinda of experience and whether there was any similarities or what
33		differences there were?=

34	J:	=no thank you
35	T:	you rather not?
36	J:	a:h nah
37	T:	k so what makes that really (.) unappealing to you?
38	J:	(5.1) well (3.5) umh (.) also is not really good to look in the past?
39	T:	Aah?
40	J:	Yeah maybe y'can glance once (.) may- is like pretty much like driving a car y-
41		glance in the view mirrors once in a while (.) but then staring at it too long (.) you
42		just crash right into a hhh the collision will happen right in front of you? pretty
43		Much
44	T:	uh? {looks at R} did you come up with that metapho::r
45	J:	Oh no I'm (2.9) kin-kinda found it
46	T:	you found it so just as if you are driving ca:r=
47	J:	=yeah
48	T:	you glance in the mirror once in a while
49	J:	Yeah
50	T:	but if you stare at it the whole time you are going to get into a crash=
51	J:	=yeah=
52	T:	=with what's in front of you (.) in↑teresting (.) so your philosophy is that you'd
53		rather focus on what's in front of you and what's around you at the moment?
54	J:	Yeah
55	T:	in↑teresting↓ okay (.) well I think you know there may be some merit to that?
56		what-what do you think about that Roberta?
57	R:	well I think u:mh I guess I don't <u>fully</u> agree with that↑ because you can learn a lot
58		from your past
59	J:	Yeah glance once (.) glance back once in a while? (.) yes you-see what
60	R:	well <u>sometimes</u> (.) hh I don't hh (1.2) I don't think you can really::
61		ummh (.) compare it to you know to driving a ca:r but (.) but your your past is part
62		of who you become right now
63	J:	But you can't stare you can't stare at it too long (.) otherwise you would just crash
64		it

Although Exemplar I is a rich example of family members' responses in negotiating a

way forward in their conversation, it was not clear to me from the interaction itself or from

family members' descriptions in the form, how it was a successful negotiation of different

cultural memberships related to the process of immigration and integration to the local context.

When I interviewed the E family members individually, it seemed to me that this exchange had been important to them in their goal for therapy of achieving a better relationship between J and R, but it was not clear from their accounts how they related it to cultural differences they were negotiating. Therefore, I did not include this segment in my analysis as well as others with similar characteristics. Instead, I chose segments that showed clearer examples of cultural identities' negotiations in family members' responses during the sessions, as well as their descriptions, and retrospective accounts.

Summary

In sum, for my analysis I chose a flexible approach (discursive psychology) that enabled me both to zoom in and out of immigrant family members' conversations during their therapy sessions and their comments on these. By considering both macro and micro foci, my aim was to explore how, in the turn taking of therapy conversations, immigrant family members negotiated new cultural identities while also identifying cultural discourses invoked by them during those conversations. Also, I explored participants' preferred positionings in how they accounted for their cultural identities' negotiations through their comments on their sessions. Lastly, these comments were also helpful for understanding some of the therapists' interactions and "moves" that family members found helpful. In the next chapter, I offer my discursive analysis of participating immigrant family members' interactions in family therapy.

Chapter 4: A Discursive Analysis on Negotiating Cultural Identities Relationally

"It is 'in' words-in-their-speaking that we can find the political and ethical influences of interest to us at work". (Shotter, 1993b, p. xv)

Immigrant family members, together with therapists, use talk to negotiate preferred cultural identities within their conversations. These preferred, situated cultural identities are negotiated in their responses to each other, while they draw understandings of these identities from common assumptions about cultural groups. In this chapter, I show how participant family members reach what I view as three landmarks in co-constructing cultural identities that fit for them. I identified these landmarks, or markers in their developing conversations, in three examples. In Example 1, I show how participating family members —with their therapist— orient to each other while recognizing cultural identities featured in a segment of a therapy conversation. I also examine how family members invoke interpretative repertoires in performing cultural identities and how they account for their session conversation.

In Example 2, I focus on tensions in how family members observably show they understand each other's cultural identities, and how they invite and respond to one another from what they gather as preferred ways of being. I show how participants resist, endorse, or create new ways of presenting themselves as cultural beings. Finally, in Example 3, I show how participants move forward in their conversations to relationally respond to each other's preferred ways of being cultural. Throughout these examples, I explore how they retrospectively make sense of the developments in their conversations, and explore how they deem these conversation segments successful examples of negotiating cultural identities.

In sum, my analysis shows both family members' interactions as well as their descriptions of those interactions. Said differently, my interest is on their performing of cultural

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identities, *and* how they talk about and make sense of their interactions. In addition, I examine participating family members' comments on their therapists' participation in their conversations. Through my examination of immigrant family members' conversations, I will respond to my research questions: (a) How do immigrant family members successfully develop and negotiate new preferred cultural identities, while maintaining meaningful family relationships?, and (b) What therapeutic actions do family members identify as helpful in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities that are acceptable for all family members

Using Discursive Psychology as a Method for Analysis

In preparation for the analysis, I watched participants' selected family session segments while reading the transcripts to make sure that the transcription was accurate. I used features from the transcription notation proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and adapted by Kogan (1998; see Table 2 below for a description of the symbols).

Table 2: Transcription notation

Symbol	Indicates
(.)	A pause which is noticeable but too short to measure.
(.5)	A pause timed in tenths of a second.
=	There is no discernible pause between the end of a speaker's utterance and the start of the next utterance.
:	One or more colons indicate an extension of the preceding vowel sound.
Under	Underlining indicates words that were uttered with added emphasis.
CAPITAL	Words in capitals are uttered louder than surrounding talk.
(.hhh)	Exhalation of breath; number of h's indicates length.
(hhh)	Inhalation of breath; number of h's indicates length.
[	Overlap of talk.
?	Indicates rising inflection.
!	Indicates animated tone.
↓	Indicates a stopping fall in tone.
* *	Talk between * * is quieter than surrounding talk.
> <	Talk between > < is spoken more quickly than surrounding talk.
{ }	Non-verbals, choreographic elements.

Although this notation may seem cumbersome, it is helpful in giving readers a sense of

the non-verbal behaviours and subtleties of talk, such as intonation, speed of talk, and pauses that

speakers perform in ways relevant to their conversations. Further, these features help with

understanding what speakers *do* with their talk —how they responsively use it to perform

preferred cultural identities. I engaged in a similar process with the individual interviews: I

listened to audio files while reading the transcripts to ensure accuracy. In this chapter, I present

two conversation segments from sessions with two of the participating families (families A and

C; see Table 1, <mark>p. 74</mark>). Examples 1 and 2 feature therapy conversations with the A family, while

Example 3 is taken from family C's therapy.

Example 1: Recognizing Cultural Identities in Therapeutic Conversations

The A family consists of the mother, Maureen[6] (M), the oldest daughter Julia (J; 20

years-old), and younger daughter Stephanie (S; 17 years-old). The A family had consulted with a

family therapist at CFTC due to frequent arguments between Maureen and her daughters,

particularly regarding their use of free time. Right before Exemplar I, which all family members

had identified on the paper form (see Appendix F) as an example of successful negotiation of

cultural identities, Maureen noticed that Stephanie and Julia had been more active with house

chores and also talked more openly with her in the weeks prior to the session. They had been

talking about Stephanie's graduation and Maureen's upbringing, for which she previously

thought her daughters were disinterested. In the conversation prior to this exemplar, the therapist

(T) had asked Julia and Stephanie about their mother's experience coming from a large family of

origin and how this experience had influenced who she had become.

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[6] All personal information has been changed to protect research participants' privacy.

Exemplar II: Session 1 Segment 1 (the A family)

```
1   T:   do you have any other ideas about how that may have kind of
2        influenced the person your mom's become?
3   S:   (2.5) yeah (.) probably↓
4   T:   *any guesses on how*
5   S:   (4.5) Mmh none that I can think of >wo-she probably like<
6        (2.5) missed like a lot of opportunities I guess cos' they were so
7        much↑ (.) so-s'lot of (.)money and ti:me (0.9) *and al'that*
8   T:   right {nods} (4.5)a lot of(.)people to split the resources and
9   S:   Yeah
```

Zooming in on the Conversation

In this exemplar, I show how T and S negotiate their conversational turns toward a shared understanding of M's preferred cultural identity. In each turn, family members have an opportunity to display their understanding of the previous speaker's utterance or meaning (Heritage, 1984; Madill, Widdicome, & Antaki, 2001). At the beginning of Exemplar II, T uses her turn (lines 1-2) to ask a question that is meaningful in the context of the conversation she is having with this family. She asks S about her ideas on how her mother's experience may have influenced the person she became. By taking turns, T and S can be seen as coordinating their participation in the conversation, as they orient to each other for possibly completing a dialogic sequence, such as question-response pairs (Sacks et al., 1974). For example, in line 3, S provides a response to T's question ("(2.5) yeah (.) probably↓").

Following T's initial question in lines 1-2, there is a pause (2.5 seconds) before S responds. Although pauses in conversations can be very significant, reasons for their significance may not be clear. Further, to record a pause in conversation is to reflect what it means interactionally: how participants conjointly manage this pause in the conversation (Jefferson, 1989; Schegloff, 1968). In this exchange, restraining from taking back the turn by breaking the

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silence, T treats this pause as part of S's turn, which she takes up after 2.5 seconds. T's rising

intonation at the end with "?" in line 2 shapes her utterance as a question, commonly viewed as

inviting an answer (ten Have, 2007) from the other party. This sequence is repeated in the

following *adjacency pair* (e.g., question-answer; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) in lines 4 to 7, when

T asks a follow-up question. T's conversational move can be seen as initiating a self-repair (Rae,

2008) to re-coordinate how she and S might continue their conversation forward (Schegloff et

al., 1977). By showing understanding of the prior turn, S confirms her engagement with T in the

conversation (Heritage, 1984; Holtgraves, 1992; Lerner, 1996). In this conversational back and

forth, T and S show how they take up or resist aspects of cultural memberships they performed in

the interaction. For example, during this exchange S and T take up positions that are common in

an institutional setting such as therapy; S responds as a tentative client and T as a persistent

therapist.

　　　With each conversational turn, T and S respond with preferred or dispreferred actions

(Pomerantz, 1984), negotiating their way forward while performing in mutually meaningful and

relationally acceptable ways. For example, S's response to T's question (line 3) could be

understood as partly dispreferred, as it seems vague and comes after a long pause. A preferred

response would be one in which S joined T by responding with an invitation to move forward;

for example, if she uttered "yes I do" after T's question. A dis-preferred response, on the other

hand would be one in which an expected completion of a sequence of talk between speakers,

such as question-answer, is delayed or does not occur (Pomerantz, 1984). For example, S's

response can be seen as a minimal agreement token (Bercelli, Rossano, & Viaro, 2008),

indicating that she is not completely engaged in joining T's query to describe her mother, which

would be a preferred response. After T's repair in line 4 ("*any guesses on how*"), T joins with

S in a long pause, after which S utters "Mmh none that I can think of," and provides a description of her mother as someone who missed a lot of opportunities due to lack of financial resources and time (lines 5-7). In my view, S's response (line 3) to T's question (lines 1-2) invited T to follow up with her (line 4), which, in turn, elicited a longer and richer account from the teenager describing M's upbringing (lines 5-7). Thus, at a first glance this segment of conversation between S and T may seem trivial. However, by closely examining their turns in the conversation I show how they finely negotiate and coordinate their actions/talk. They join each other in a pause, in the context of an emergent reflexive question, to generate a description about M's cultural identity.

In this short exchange, T treats S's response in line 3 as problematic, or insufficient as an answer. Her response seems to elicit a question from T to the same effect as in her previous turn (lines 1-2; "do you have any other ideas…"). T's persistence may be seen as using her rights as a therapist to ask questions and request answers from clients (Aronsson, 1998; Heritage, 2012). Indeed, T and S's talk is organized in a way in which their contextually-bound identities therapist and client (Boyd & Heritage, 2006; Heritage & Clayman, 2010) are performed, but perhaps never talked about: T as the one asking questions and S responding. However, performing these cultural identities does not suffice for T and S to understand and have a meaningful conversation with each other. They need to negotiate their identities turn-by-turn (Bamberg, et al., 2011; Heritage 2012), orienting to each other's actions, co-producing, while recognizing each other's identities as therapist and client (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). By being conversationally responsive to each other's identity proposals while proposing their own preferred cultural identities (Edwards, 1998; Sutherland et al., 2013; Taylor, 1994), T and S negotiate, turn-by-turn, aspects of their cultural identities. In this segment for example, S positions herself as privileged

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in relation to M; as having more "opportunities" and not having to "split the resources" as M did

growing up.

At times, participants in conversations take up new positions, after which they put

forward various alternatives and assessments of the acceptability of those alternatives by others

(ten Have, 2007). S's hesitancy and tentativeness in responding to T may have been oriented to

her mother (M), also present in the room and listening to the conversation. S may have *designed*

her response (Sacks et al., 1974) in a way that will more likely be accepted by her mother. With

each response/turn, T and S elicited each other's (and others in the room) contributions to

generate or extend meaning about M's publicly transacted cultural identity in conversation.

In sum, zooming in on the conversation I showed how T and S coordinated their

responses producing culturally relevant descriptions —understandings— of each other's

identities and of M, thus co-creating their relationship with one another. Zooming out from the

turn-by-turn of the conversation I will focus next on how participants account for what they do

with talk in conversation.

Zooming Out of the Conversation

To have a cultural identity is to be cast into, or to perform, an identity category according

to its commonly associated, or stereotyped, characteristics (Stokoe, 2012). For example, being

recognized as a therapist implies association with recognizable practices actively used by

therapists in profession-bound activities, such as asking questions as T does in Exemplar II.

Similarly, immigrant family members can be categorized (or recognized) by others as having

particular cultural identities when they display characteristics commonly associated with those

cultural identities. These categorizations may serve to locate persons as group members, and that

group's membership can be invoked and deployed in local conversations for participants to

accomplish multiple tasks (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Edwards, 1998). In exemplar II for example, S's presentation of M as someone who missed opportunities (lines 5-7) can be seen as a way in which she "displays culture in action" (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2009, p. 346). S categorizes M as a member of a cultural group ("they"). T and M accept S's description as compatible with M's preferred cultural identity (T in line 8; "right {nods} (4.5) a lot of(.) people…", and M in Exemplar III "I think they are in line with things yeah="). In this context, S's categorizing her mother in a favourable fashion helps her to preempt being cast by M as an unappreciative daughter who does not recognize what her mother has done for her. In responding to one another, S, T, and M can be seen as co-creating descriptions of M. Rather than providing or receiving information, in their dialogue they generate and coordinate ways of understanding M as a cultural being in the context of their family therapy.

Through discourses, family members and their therapists define events and make relevant what is important to them given the categorizations they use (Edwards, 1998; Gordon, 2007; Stokoe, 2012). For example, in Exemplar II T could have asked who M had become as a mother, which may have elicited a different response from S. For instance, she might have viewed M as a woman whose main activity is to care for others. Instead, T's question in lines 1-2 points to how M's upbringing may have influenced who she became as a person, which had been made relevant previously in the conversation. As I will explain next, M's cultural identity is rhetorically developed from within a conversational process, rather than as already having a cause.

T's question in lines 1-2 invites S's account of her mother as someone who had a hard life (line 5-7). S describes her mother as someone who missed opportunities, using an identity category conveying that M had been deprived or disadvantaged. S proposes that this category,

disadvantaged, is linked to access to a lack of resources such as "money and ti:me." She utters

"*and al'that*," which presents as non-problematic, common sense, the assumption of a category

of disadvantaged people having the characteristics described. Further, she presents this category

and its characteristics as presumptively *shared knowledge* (Antaki, 2008) between the

participants in the conversation.

T's open-ended question (lines 1-2) is one way to elicit and facilitate family members'

understandings of each other's experiences (Anderson, 2012). The way in which T poses this

question may be seen as claiming a position of curiosity rather than certainty compared to

asking, for example, how M became a good person (see Couture, 2007). Exploring influences as

a way of understanding is common among collaborative practitioners of family therapy (e.g.,

Tomm, 1987b) for inviting family members' understanding of each other's choices, behaviours,

or preferences. Family therapists try to be sensitive to responses of multiple family members and

at the same time be aware of, and responsive to, the complex responses members offer to each

other (Couture, 2007). In this exemplar and the ones that follow, T can be seen as following an

agenda by routinely restricting topics, turn types, turn length, number of turns, and speaker order

(Antaki, 2008; Antaki, Barnes, & Leudar, 2005; Avdi, 2005; Jones & Beach, 1995).

I view T's observable agenda, negotiated turn by conversational turn, in this session

segment as facilitating family members' understandings of each other's cultural identities. T's

conversational practices can be seen as inviting recognition (Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994; see

chapter 2) of preferred cultural identities, through generative dialogue within this family's

therapy (Gergen & Kaye, 1992; Kogan & Gale, 1997). My analysis shows that therapists can

purposefully engage with clients in inviting, recognizing, and acknowledging preferred cultural

identities, while helping them maintain family relationships satisfactory to them. In Exemplar I,

how S responds to T's questions will likely influence other family members' perceptions of her and of their relationship, as well as how the conversation will continue forward (Couture, 2007; Mudry et al., 2015). For example, a very different dialogue could have unfolded had S described M as a privileged child within her family of origin.

In their therapy sessions, family members take up positions that may or may not fit for them in conversationally responding to each other. Family members' responses may also invite particular positions from others– what has been termed *position calls* (Drewery & Winslade, 1997; see also Antaki, Condor, & Levine, 1996). In responding both positively and negatively to these position calls, S, T, and M show how they prefer to go on in their conversation (Drewery, 2005; Suoninen & Wahlström, 2009). For instance, in Exemplar II, T asks, or *calls* S to share her "ideas" on how M's upbringing might have influenced her. S's vague response occasioned T to re-phrase her request (line 4), treating S's utterance as an insufficient answer. T's use of the word "guesses" matches S's performed tentativeness (line 5; "probably"). Her choice of words can be seen as confirming S's reluctance to take a more certain position, and as co-producing a position of tentativeness (e.g., Couture, 2007). By shifting her invitation more tentatively (i.e., "*guesses*"), T created an opportunity for S to describe her mother in her (i.e., S's) own words. T and S can be seen as negotiating and coordinating their actions in moving towards new understandings of M's cultural identity.

In sum, my analysis of Exemplar II shows an example of how cultural identities are relationally and discursively constructed. In this short exchange, T and S coordinate their talk, making themselves understood as cultural beings while co-constructing a description of M as a person. T and S implicitly perform as therapist and client by asking and responding to questions, respectively. They also coordinate their understandings by accepting each other's previous turn

— or by fixing any problems in coordinating their understandings when these arise. As their

conversation moves forward, T and S paint a picture of M as a person; this description is later

accepted by M (see Exemplar III). Through this back and forth, a researcher may begin to

understand who participants observably prefer to be in this conversation. In the next exemplar, I

focus on how M uses her responses to T to address her daughters and what she views as

differences between her cultural identity and theirs.

Exemplar III: Session 1 Segment 1 (the A family)

26	T:	so what's:(.)what are your thoughts on what your daughters are saying
27		about how they understand your experiences does it fit for you or?
28	M:	I think they are in line with things yeah=
29	T:	=mhm
30	M:	=yeah
31	T:	Mhm
32	M:	(.) there are some things that uhm (.) they have more opportunity (.)to(.) <u>do</u> than
33		what I did↓
34	T:	Mhm
35	M:	yea:h that's correct

In this segment of conversation, T shifts her focus from S to M, and checks with her on

her views of the conversation so far (lines 26-27). By checking with her (lines 26-27), T offers M

an opportunity to be heard by her daughters, ensuring that all family members can participate

equally (Aronsson & Cederborg, 1994; Nishizaka, 1999). M, in turn, uses her turns responding to

T while also addressing her daughters. She confirms S's description of her (line 28: "… in line

with things yeah=") and shows she accepts this description by providing several agreement

tokens in the following turns (Pomerantz, 1984; line 30's "=yeah" and line 35's "yea:h that's

correct). In addition, M's responses to T in lines 28, 30, and 32 can be seen as possibly

contributing to the conversation in two ways.

First, M's description proposes a different formulation than S's account: M suggests her daughters have more opportunities than she had herself (line 32). Second, she shifts her focus from her story of growing up, to that of her daughters' upbringing. Thus, M makes relevant two cultural identity categories in this dialogue: Her children, as those who are privileged, (line 32) and those who are disadvantaged like herself (line 33). I view these articulated cultural identities as connected to a discursive repertoire (Wetherell, 2001) associated with experiences of immigration. A common view is that people emigrate from less economically developed countries to highly developed countries in search of better quality of life. For instance, the United States is seen as *the land of opportunity* (Dovidio & Esses, 2001). In her response, I view M as invoking this repertoire to relationally position herself and her daughters as members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups. She indicates that her children had more opportunities than she given that she grew up in a country commonly considered as less developed. Thus, M can be seen as contributing a new nuance in negotiating family members' cultural identities by accepting S' previous description of her as someone who had less opportunities while inviting her daughters to acknowledge their privilege compared to her own upbringing.

Noticing how therapists and family members conversationally co-produce new meanings in every turn may help therapists to be more aware of how they listen and use talk in their conversations with clients. Therapists may appreciate the benefits of exploring, together with family members, how new understandings of each other's preferred cultural identities influence their relationships. Even more, therapists may engage more deliberately in dialogues, inviting family members to acknowledge, prevent, repair, and hopefully learn from any instances of misrecognition that take place in therapy conversations.

During the individual interviews with the A family members, I had opportunities to further explore and unpack some interpretative repertoires invoked when constructing accounts about what was important for them during the family sessions. Interpretative repertoires provide descriptive terms and narratives for how a person may position himself or herself when interacting with others (McLean, 2012). By asking family members to provide their accounts of selected segments they deemed successful negotiations, I explored how they made sense of the interactions, listening for the cultural repertoires at play. In her individual interview, S provided an account of the family session segment she had selected (Exemplars II and III).

Individual Interview with S *(R: Researcher; S: Stephanie)*

R: Okay, so - what, umh, what made you think about this part of the conversation as important, why did you think it was successful?

S: Uh, well because for my mom, I guess, when she was like growing up and stuff, like, she didn't really have much. And like, us being here, like we have so many things we can do, like, school and stuff, we have more time for that, and like, just like more resources and stuff.

One feature of interpretative repertoires is that their users take them for granted as they become familiar in the cultural setting they are being used (Wetherell & Potter, 1988). In her account, S uses rather unspecific language presenting her account as trivial shared knowledge (Holmes, 1990): in addition to using two or three times "and stuff," she uses other vague expressions such as "many things we can do" and "just like more resources." By doing so, S positions herself as more privileged than her mother growing up ("…like we have so many things we can do… just like more resources and stuff."), in line with how S described M in the family session.

During her individual interview S positions herself as privileged by presenting her life story as different from M, and ascribes the differences between her experience and her mother's

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to "growing up" and "us being here." S's positioning in her account can be seen as a

difference/sameness dilemma (Bamberg et al., 2011): she draws a sense of self as differentiated

within her relationship with her mother and navigates this dilemma according to the context of

the conversation. S's positioning can be seen as connected with a repertoire of immigration as

opportunity, similar to one used by M during the session (Exemplar III, lines 32-33). In this

repertoire, immigration to Canada is seen as facilitating economic, educational, or social

opportunities that are not granted in an immigrant's country of origin (Dovidio & Esses, 2001;

Lyons, Chamberlain, Madden, & Carr, 2011).

At times, immigrants are viewed as longing for something more than what they had in

their countries of origin, as a response to exigent circumstances such as political oppression or

economic deprivation (DeHaan, 2010). This distinction between opportunities in Canada versus

disadvantages in the country of origin seems to be what S invoked in her account ("we have so

many things we can do") and is present also in M's account during her individual interview,

when she explained that she wanted her daughters to develop insight into the opportunities they

had compared to what she had growing up (see below).

Individual Interview with M *(R: Researcher; M: Maureen)*

M: Well, I was so, I was referring to the opportunity that Stephanie and Julia had, umh, there's just so much that they can achieve, or so much that they can do, comparing to when I was growing up, there was eleven kids. And umh, we didn't get that one-to-one, as it's supposed to, supposed to be here.

R: M-hm. And what was it, why was it important for you that they knew that, like what was important to reference this to that?

M: M: Well, because umh ... so they can get a, a, a insight of um, how much of a opportunity that they do have. Rather than when I was growing up, it was um, a little bit more difficult for me.

In this family therapy session segment, and in their retrospective reflections, M and S

present understandings of each other as having more or fewer opportunities in life. Belonging to

advantaged and disadvantaged groups is one way they orient to and recognize each other's cultural identities during this segment of conversation. They both acknowledge a difference between being advantaged or disadvantaged as resulting from opportunities available where they grew up (e.g., Canada, the Caribbean). Exploring how this difference may influence M and S's parent-child relationship could be beneficial in the context of therapy, and in fact, T initiates this therapeutic direction in Exemplar III. In addition, I wonder what would be M and S's response had T named these cultural identities as the ones being performed. They may have responded by shifting their orientation towards more preferred ways of being relationally recognized as cultural; for example, they could have chosen to cast themselves as women, and used this category to resist, maintain, or change their membership based on privilege. Had this been the case, their conversation may have evolved in a different direction.

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, in recognizing each other relationally, people's cultural identities can be sustained (Taylor, 1994) or challenged by others. In this segment of the therapy conversation, the A family members can be seen as negotiating their relationships by performing and recognizing each other's satisfactory (to them) cultural identities. In their conversations, family members continuously display and check in with each other regarding their understanding of who they are as members of a group (e.g., adolescents, relatives), as relevant for the therapy goal they sought (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; De Fina, 2012). At times, they navigate different positionings to make themselves understood and to understand others' preferred cultural identities in the conversation. When S positions herself as privileged, she likely views the world from the vantage point of a privileged person and makes relevant story lines showing this positioning (e.g., "like we have so many things we can do… just like more resources and stuff;" Davies & Harré, 1990). In responding to each other, S and M are called to

take up various positions, displaying different aspects of themselves to others, for example, to

me as an interviewer (Moore & Seu, 2010; Wetherell, 2001). Through this process, their present,

local, and situated identities are co-constructed relationally (Suoninen & Wahlstrom, 2009), by

claiming and ascribing, confirming and rejecting discursive positions such as belonging to

advantaged or disadvantaged groups.

In Example 1, I examined some of the cultural identities and associated cultural

repertoires invoked (i.e., made observable and accountable) and used in the conversation

between the A family members and the therapist. In Example 2, I examine tensions in how

family members understand each other's cultural identities, and how they deal with these

tensions while inviting and responding to each other to co-produce meaningful ways of relating.

I show how members of the A family resist being cast under dis-preferred memberships, and

instead present themselves in ways that fit for them as cultural beings.

Example 2: Negotiating Tensions in Preferred Cultural Identities

Exemplar IV: Session 1 Segment 1 (the A family)

49	T:	right (1.5) and what sort of hopes did you have for yourself for for your life?
50	M:	(2.4) Th (.) to be an independent person {nods} to work to work for <to be a hard
51		worker>
52	T:	↑Mhh↓ (4.1) and how do you think those values have kind of
53		influenced you as you've grown up and come to where you are in your life now
54	M:	I-I don't think I've any regrets: I don't think so (2.5)
55	T:	So are those values you've like you've been able to-to work toward yah
56	M:	{nods}
57	T:	to embrace. ok. and how have you found those values to influence how you've
58		interacted with your daughters as they've been growing up
59	M:	Of course umh (4.5) the things that I would love to see for them emh in society and
60		the things that the friends that they do have or (.) what they interact with or
61		whatever. it's not gonna be the same that (.) maybe there will be some rebellion?
62		umh towards that? but umh (.) I just expect for them just to be (.) to <u>try</u> and be the
63		best that they can
64	T:	so when you refer to society and friends what do you mean by tha:t what's
65		significant about that for you?

In this segment of the conversation, M and T can be seen as co-producing features of a meaningful cultural identity for M (Taylor, 1994; Wetherell, 1998) and continuing to jointly build up her history with it (Antaki et al., 1996; Antaki, 2012a). First, responding to T in line 49 (and to her daughters; Aronsson, 1998; Couture, 2007), M invokes cultural attributes (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2003) to display the kind of person she sees herself as: "independent" and a "hard worker" (lines 50-51). M's description of herself was previously alluded to by her daughter S (Exemplar I, lines 5-7; "…wo-she probably like< (2.5) missed like a lot of opportunities…"), and confirmed by M (Exemplar III, line 28; "I think they are in line with things yeah=", line 32; (.) there are some things that uhm (.) they have more opportunity (.)to(.) do than what I did↓," line 35; "yea:h that's correct"). In the following turn (Exemplar IV, line 54), M responds to T's question as if T had insinuated that she felt regretful following her hopes. Indeed, M's response in line 54 can be seen as a way of presenting a preferred way of being (Edwards, 1998; Sutherland et al., 2013), or at least a way of being she does not regret. M's response invited a repair (Schegloff, 1992; ten Have, 2007) from T in line 55, in which she offered a *candidate understanding* (Antaki, 2012c; Heritage, 1984; "So are those values you've like you've been able to-to work toward yah"). T's utterance elicited M's confirmation of the account (line 56), signalling to T that shared understanding had been secured at this point in the conversation (Ruusuvuori & Peräkyla, 2009).

Following M's confirmation of T's candidate understanding, in lines 57-58, T continues the conversation by posing a follow-up question: "and how have you found those values to influence…" T rephrases her question about M's values, showing her understanding that M is talking about something important for her ("those values you've been able to work toward, to

embrace. ok"). T's statement and reflexive question (Tomm, 1988; lines 57-58) invites M to share further with her daughters her preferred cultural identity and how she relates to them based on what is important to her. Reflexive questions are quite common for collaborative therapists (Anderson, 2007, 2012). Given that these questions are intended to co-produce new understandings, T's reflexive questions in lines 52-53 and 57-58 may have had a generative effect on the conversation, relevant to how M's identity was discursively co-produced.

Responding to T's question in lines 57-58, M continues to position herself as if she was rejecting possible criticism from T and perhaps from her daughters about who she is. In lines 59-63, she utters what can be seen as a *disclaimer*. Billig (1987) has related such remarks to rhetorical actions speakers use to deflect criticisms directed against their integrity and identity. M works discursively to fend off being associated by others, such as her daughters and T, with a category of an unreasonable mother. She uses the phrase "of course" (line 59), a marker to assert a proposition with confidence (Holmes, 1990), possibly to avoid any resistance from her audience regarding what she is about to say. Indeed, with this long turn and by responding to her daughter's presentation of her, M can be seen as engaged in *credentialing* (Hewitt & Stokes, as cited in Billig, 1987), a strategy used to achieve an accommodating middle ground in negotiating her preferred cultural identity with a potentially critical audience.

"Of course" is also a marker of claimed undisputed shared knowledge, attitudes, or beliefs shared by a community (Billig et al., 1988; see also Holmes, 1990). Such invocations of implicit knowledge shared by a community (i.e., interpretative repertoires) can be brought into conversations for speakers to display their positions in orienting to others. In this exemplar, a repertoire of being a local person is invoked by M using "of course" to claim a position of "reasonable mother." Turn by turn, M uses her utterances to negotiate with the others in the room

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and claim a new way —arguably preferred by her— of understanding who she is in relation to her daughters.

In lines 61-62, M draws from a common interpretative repertoire regarding teenagers as rebellious (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003; Burman, 2008; "maybe there will be some rebellion? umh towards that?"), and thus entitled to rebel against values important to their mother (line 59; "Of course umh (4.5) the things that I would love to see for them…"). By invoking this repertoire, M can be seen as inviting her daughters to preserve their relationship with her. S and J's choice of different cultural values is justified by M as the result of the cultural environment in which they grew up. Others have speculated that such a common belief relates to immigrant parents experiencing their children as not wanting to continue with their cultural traditions (Watters, Hossain, Brown, & Rutland, 2009).

The strength of M's argument in this turn (lines 59-63) seems to have gained rhetorical force through her previous utterances and through how she has made her self-presentation acceptable to others in the room. Previously, she had accepted S's recognition of her as someone who had fewer opportunities than her Canadian daughters. Next, through T's acknowledgment in line 52 ("↑Mhh↓"; Gardner, 2012), without overt objection (Strong & Tomm, 2007) from her daughters, M's preferred self-description is accepted (i.e., as independent and as a hard worker). In the subsequent and longer utterance (lines 59-63), she alludes to the difference between her own and her daughters' values as a result of "society" (lines 59-60).

Finally, as part of her disclaimer, M implies a sort of commitment for a possible future discussion (Billig, 1987) with her daughters: that she expects her daughters to try to be "the best they can" (lines 62-63). In each turn, M and her daughters relate the story of who M prefers to be understood as and how she views her daughters in relation to her. A story of differences between

the mother and daughters' cultural memberships was also invoked in M and J's reflections during their individual interviews with me (see below). By positioning themselves in contrast to each other, M and her daughters draw boundaries around themselves so that their cultural memberships become audible and textually visible (Bamberg et al., 2011; see below).

Individual Interview with Julia *(R: researcher; J: Julia)*

R: When your mom was talking about, in terms of the differences with, she was talking about friends and society, what was going on for you?
J: Um - yeah I agree like, of what she is saying like, in the matter of like, the way she sees things and like, we see things when it comes to society and friends is different 'cause, we were born here and we were, we're used to customs and how things are here.
R: M-hm.
J: And she's not. Not familiar with it.

In both responses, J stresses the differences between how she and M understand things. She emphasizes this difference as a result of having been born in different places. Since cultural identities differ according to what people find important, J's portrayal of M as understanding things differently can be seen as positioning M as a member of a group unfamiliar with customs in Canada. J supports her view using a research-identified interpretative repertoire that promotes immigrants as "stuck" in their culture of origin or unwilling to integrate practices from the new culture (Berry, 2005; Watters, et al., 2009; see Chapter 2 for further discussion). In addition, M described in her individual interview the difference in perspectives between herself and her daughters.

Individual Interview with Maureen *(R: researcher; M: Maureen)*

R: Or what's your sense of their response to you?
M: I think they probably think um, we are living in a different era, different time.
     (…)
R: M-hm. And how is it for you to feel, I mean I, y'know I'm not, I don't know if this is the way it is but, how is it for you to feel that they might think, well that's from a different, different era, like how does that influence your relationship with them
M: ... hmm. I don't know how to answer this one. ... I just hope, hope that they would see the

kind of, the strength that I have. And they'd both want to, um, to be, to be like that.

While reviewing this videotaped segment of her family session, M reflected on the difference between how she and her daughters view life in general. She uttered "…they probably think um, we are living in a different era, different time," arguably alluding to how she and her daughters may be positioned from within different cultural discourses. She also indicated her hopes for her daughters' appreciation of her strength ("I just hope, hope that they would see the kind of, the strength that I have..."). During her reflection, M also drew from a view of immigration as disrupting cultural values for future generations (Mirkin & Kamya, 2008; Sluzki, 2008). At the same time, M's response invited a different kind of relationship with her daughters, one she hopes her daughters will recognize and appreciate an aspect of her identity ("the strength I have").

From my theoretical perspective, identity is partially shaped by recognition or its absence, and often by the misrecognition of others. For example, misrecognition by a daughter drawing from a culturally dominant discourse may narrow or offer demeaning versions of a mother's cultural identity (Taylor, 1994; see also Chapter 2). In exemplars II, III, and IV, M can be seen as resisting being associated with a cultural membership that is not preferred by her. Although it is not clear from the interaction what M is resisting, I argue that she may object to being recognized with a demeaning picture of herself, (Taylor, 1994; see also Widdicombe, 1995). For example, she may reject being portrayed as *stuck* between old and new countries (Tardif-Willliams & Fisher, 2009; see Chapter 2). Interestingly, during her individual interview M responded to my second question on how her self-description invoking generational differences (Foster, 2013) influenced her relationship with her daughters as a challenging

question ("I don't know how to answer this one"). However, she continued her turn expressing a "hope" as somewhat relevant to the question ("I just hope…they would see…the strength that I have").

M's utterance and plea for her daughters to appreciate her strength can be seen as calling them to participate in a third form of mutual recognition, *solidarity*. Solidarity, according to Honneth (1995), occurs in an interactive relationship in which people respect each other equally, and sympathize with various shared ways of life (see Chapter 2). In her account, M expresses her hope for her daughters to recognize her strength; she also speaks about her hope for her daughters in adopting this strength ("And they'd both want to, um, to be, to be like that"). M's hope may be that her daughters will also view, and possibly adopt, her self-identified strength as an aspect of her cultural identity, as preferred. Also, her hoped-for daughters' recognition may help her become more open to her daughters' values and preferred cultural identities. If her account had been uttered during the family session, it could have served as an opening for family members to negotiate their preferred cultural identities while maintaining a satisfactory relationship further (e.g., Paré, 2014). For example, a family therapist may have explored how knowing about M's strength may influence her daughters as persons as well as their relationship with their mother, and possibly with others outside the family.

To summarize, in Example 2 I showed how immigrant family members negotiated cultural identities throughout their conversation by claiming and interactionally inviting others to take preferred discursive positionings. I examined how, in negotiating their preferred cultural identities, M and her daughters drew from interpretative repertoires to privilege how members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups may be different (Bamberg et al., 2011; Tan & Moghaddam, 1999). In their dialogue, M, S, and J temporarily occupied different positions in

dilemmas with opposing themes (Billig et al., 1988) by positioning each other using different interpretative repertoires (e.g., reasonable vs. unreasonable mother; advantaged vs. disadvantaged). Through their responses to each other, M, S, and J negotiated ways in which they understood each other and expected to be understood in their conversation together. By closely looking at their dialogue, I was also able to reflect on T's participation and on what other opportunities therapists could create or take up in helping families deal with tensions over differences and move forward in their therapy conversations. In Example 3, I examine how members of family D, together with their therapist, talk beyond these tensions and move forward in conversations by negotiating new ways to understand their and others' preferred cultural identities.

Example 3: Moving Forward in Conversation

The next conversation segment takes place during a session with family C consisting of Estela (E; mother), Oscar (O; father), Laura (L; 15 years old), and Julián (J; 11 years old). Estela and Oscar divorced 2 years prior to the session, and the children alternated between their parents' homes weekly. In the next session segment, selected by Estela and Laura through the paper form), E and L were working with the therapist (T) on their mother/daughter relationship, which had been one of their presenting concerns. Exemplar V takes place at the beginning of the fourth family session (see Appendix J for a complete transcript of this segment) when T invited E and L to speak openly about what was bothering them rather than acting it out at a later time. L indicated she was concerned about her mother paying more attention to her new partner than to her children. After talking about this issue, T invited L to tell her mother what else she wanted her to understand (see below).

Exemplar V: Session 4 Segment 1 (the C family)

35	T:	What would you like your mum to understand in this situation
36	L:	Like society is different here? like teenagers (.) like in the grade nine party
37		everyone was picked up at one or two and you {looks at E} picked me up you
38		wanted me there like at (.) twelve or [eleven]
39	E:	[twelve] {nods}
40	L:	everyone everything was getting together at twelve when I left everyone was like
41	T:	It was just getting fun
42	E:	but [past twelve]
43	T:	[So]
44	E:	for a fifteen years old lady I think is= {looks at T}
45	T:	=so hold on so let's understand that for a second (.) so she said everything (.) so here
46		is a little bit different. curfews are a little bit more(.) rela:xed (.) so part of
47		understanding and showing her that you could understand is just to repeat that yeah
48		here curfews are more relaxed you are right that is quite different than at home (.) or
49		do you call it here home now? where do you call home {looks at E, looks at L}
50	E:	Here
51	L:	Mmh u-hum {nods}

Responding to T's question (line 35), L queries her mother's understanding of how teenagers' curfews are practiced in the present cultural context (line 36; "here"), presumably compared to their country of origin. L performs her initial claim ("like society is different here?") in a confirmation-seeking mode (i.e., use of intonation, marked with "?"; Psathas & Anderson, 1990). T does not visibly confirm L's claim, and L proceeds to share a small story (Georgakopoulou, 2007; lines 36-40), in which she elaborates on her initial statement that society *here* is different from an un-stated but alluded society *there*. It is probably safe to assume, in the present context, that the implied society refers to E's cultural background and hence to her cultural identity (Taylor, 1994). Said differently, L's rhetorical question (Edwards, 2012) can be seen as calling E to position herself as a member of a group different than hers (Louis, 2008; Tan & Moghaddam, 1999). In this conversation segment, E and L's relationship

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becomes more tense, given how they negotiate preferred cultural identities: here, L seems to use the cultural differences between her and E to evaluate E's adequacy as a parent.

As discussed earlier, group memberships (e.g., "parents" or "Christians") can be powerful cultural resources in warranting, explaining, and justifying someone's behaviour (Sacks, 1979; Widdicombe, 1998). In Exemplar V, L orients to E based on the group membership she ascribes to her portraying her as a somewhat inadequate parent in the local cultural context (lines 37-38). L accounts for this inadequacy by casting E as a member of a different category of parent (e.g., Colombian, or outsider) compared to her peers' parents, who are cast as local. L's implied ascription of her mother to the category of being an outsider imputes unfavourable inferences about E: for example, as being an inadequate parent for the local context (Widdicombe, 1998).

In this segment, I view L's statement as invoking an interpretative repertoire emphasizing generational differences between parents and youth in regards to curfews (lines 37-38; "everyone was picked up at one or two and you {looks at E} picked me up…"). This repertoire can be seen as trans-cultural; it is not uncommon for parents and youth, at least in Western countries, to actively negotiate teenagers' curfews by invoking generational differences (e.g., Foster, 2013). However, in this segment of the conversation L can be seen as using the difference between society "here" and E's un-stated cultural background as a rhetorical device to negotiate a curfew with E. Invoking a repertoire of cultural differences between society *here* and elsewhere may result in a different conversational outcome than supporting her claim on generational differences, as well as a different mother/daughter relationship.

In response to L's position call as an outsider in line 39, E performs a *justification account* (Scott & Lyman, 1968; Waring, 2007). She accepts responsibility for picking up her

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daughter at twelve o' clock but proposes this action as non-problematic ("twelve] {nods}"), and

she continues to propose this practice as non-problematic in lines 42 and 44). Rather than

accepting L's call to apologize for her actions, E resists this position call from L and claims for

herself a position of being knowledgeable about local norms, and hence justified in her actions

(line 39). In the following turn, L reiterates her claim that the curfew set by her mother is not

appropriate, and by implication, that E is being inappropriate as a mother (line 40).

T responds to L's claim in line 41. She provides a candidate understanding (Antaki,

2012c; Heritage, 1984; "it was just getting fun"), which can be seen as summarizing L's

experience and giving her the opportunity to confirm this understanding (Antaki, 2012c). T's

candidate understanding may have also been designed to introduce a change in the direction of

the conversation by acknowledging that E and L may have different accounts of the same event.

In addition, T's response can be seen as displaying *alignment* (Jefferson & Lee, 1992; Stivers,

Mondada, & Steensig, 2011) with L. Aligning responses involve understanding rather than

agreeing with what is said (Steensig, 2012). E's interruption to T's utterance (line 42, "but past

[twelve]"; O'Reilly, 2008; Sacks et al., 1974) shows that she treats L's claim as problematic, and

that she orients to T's utterance as potentially validating L's claim, as if T was agreeing with L's

claim. E uses a turn-initial *contrasting marker* "but" (Kuo, 1994; Schiffrin, 1987) to mark her

utterance as a disagreement and recover the floor in an effort to dispute L's claims. T also

interrupts E's disagreement response in line 43 ("[so]"), possibly to repair the observable

tensions in the interaction. The difficulties for the participants to continue negotiating ways of

understanding E's preferred cultural identity (i.e., other than as an outsider) are evident by the

overlapping of talk (lines 42-43 noted with "[ ];" Jefferson, 2004; Sacks et al., 1974) and turn-

taking in lines 44-45 (noted with "=;" Jefferson, 1973; Schegloff, 2000), when no discernible pause is visible between the end of E's and the start of T's utterances.

Responding to L's claim in line 44, E avoids taking up the category of outsider parent implied by L in the previous turn. She invokes a cultural repertoire of age privilege to reclaim the adequacy of her actions as a parent ("for a 15 years old lady I think is=") and looks at T, possibly for confirmation of her being justified in her claim. It is in this muddled context that T interrupts for a second time in the conversation (line 45). T launches a repair (Schegloff, 1992; ten Have, 2007), construing her intervention as "let's understand" rather than agreeing with L's claim ("=so hold on so let's understand that for a second (.)").

In a long turn (lines 45-49), T allocates turns (Aronsson, 1998; Aronsson & Cedeborg, 1996) to possibly prevent further conflict and turmoil in the flow of the conversation. In everyday interactions, exchanges such as the one described between L and E may deteriorate into a repetitive pattern of interaction performed in a variety of ways. This pattern can be seen as a pathological interpersonal pattern (PIP; Tomm, 1991, 2014). A PIP refers to family members' mutually reinforcing behaviours; for example, a family member accusing another who responds by defending himself or herself (see Figure 1 below). These interactionally performed behaviours may increase negativity between family members. At this point in the conversation, E and L can be seen as engaging in a PIP in which L's accusations invite E's defensiveness, which leads to more accusations and defensiveness from both parties. Had E and L continued in this pattern, the tension between them could have developed into further conflict, which may have had a restrictive effect on how they negotiated their cultural identities. For example, L could have continued orienting to E as an outsider who does not understand local parenting customs inviting E to defend herself in an attempt to resist such positioning. However, by re-repairing her

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talk as one seeking alignment rather than agreement, T interrupts this PIP (line 45; "=so hold

on…"). T defers the need for agreement that L (in lines 36-40) and E (in lines 42-44) made

relevant in their respective assessments (Pomerantz, 1984) and invites them instead to consider

each other's views.

Figure 1: Pathological Interpersonal Pattern (PIP)
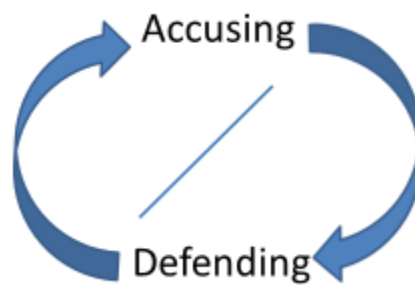
In this segment of the conversation, T positions herself as a mediator (Antaki, 2008; Tan

& Moghaddam, 1999), inviting E and L to co-create a new storyline for their relationship. T's

formulation (Antaki, 2008; Pain, 2009) in lines 45-49 invites E and L to recognize different

cultural ways of understanding and practicing "curfews" – a step towards what Honneth (1995)

describes as solidarity (see page 29 and Chapter 2). T says, "let's understand for a second (.)"

(line 45), and aligns with both L and E without making judgements on what was said; rather, T

recognizes the topic being discussed, a common practice among therapists (Pain, 2009; Tomm &

Acton, 2011). Subsequently, T paraphrases L's previous comment, describing the difference

between curfews in Canada and "home." By doing so, T gives voice to L's claim, treating it as

non-problematic (lines 45-46; "so she said everything (.) so here is a little bit different..").

Following the cultural distinction made about curfews from a stance of respectful

curiosity (Anderson, 2012; Anderson & Goolishian, 1992), T checks with L and E where they

consider "home" to be (line 49). T's utterance has a powerful effect. On the one hand, it creates

an opportunity for E to declare herself as a local. On the other hand, it gives L a chance to test

her assumption of her mother being an outsider. In their responses (lines 50-51), E and L can be

seen as arriving at a *common ground* (Edwards, 1998; Shotter, 1993a); having a common set of

terms such as "home" or "here," in which to share agreements or disagreements openly. I argue

that this point of arrival in the conversation can be seen as an opportunity for L and E to shift

how they orient towards each other in the conversation, as I will show next (see Exemplar VI

below).

Exemplar VI: Session 4 Segment 1 (the C family)

52	T:	Here. so to say that it's not how it was when I was growing up but is very different
53		that way and to acknowledge that for her
54		(1.2)
55		so that is a good place to start for her is acknowledging the difference
56	E:	Mmh
57	T:	do you see what I mean?
58	E:	Yes
59	T:	Yeah
60	E:	but ah it's just I - yeah I- I know it is different? but fo:r is not beca:use (.) I feel
61		teenagers do it it doesn't me:an like [everyone do it]
62	T:	[everyone]
63	E:	because I have friends
64	T:	Mmh?
65	E:	who have teenagers as well and they went at home at ten or ten thirty
66	T:	[right]
67	E:	[right?]
68	T:	Yeah
69	E:	so not everyone is outside past eleven or twelve (.) but but sometimes when it is
70		something umh (.) I don't know like a party or something y-you stay at twelve (.)
71		one day you stayed at twelve thirty or something like that remember that?
72		it was twelve thirty?
73	L:	{nods}
74	T:	so there's times when you are flexible in your curfew with her
75	E	yeah because that time ah Jimmy's mother- it was the mother? {looks at A} (.)
76		She said umh (.) she was going to look for them and to drive them home so I was
77		like - Iwas concerned anyways bu::t I went ok -ok let's do that

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After E and L agree that "home" is the present context, T resumes her invitation for E to acknowledge her experience growing up as different when contrasted with L's experience (lines 52-54). It takes T three turns before E responds with an agreement in line 57. Following T's turn in lines 52-53, there is a *switching pause* (Heldner & Edlund, 2010; Jefferson, 1989; line 54), indicating the listener's responsibility to end the silence (Kuo, 1994). When confirmations or agreements are invited, speakers usually provide strong agreements in the immediate following turn. A switching pause on the other hand, may signal a potential disagreement (Kuo, 1994; Mazeland, 2006). E's initial reluctance to comply with T's offered conversational slot invites T to re-state her assessment on how L and E are understanding each other's preferred cultural identities (line 55; "so that is a good place to start…"). E responds to T's observation with a minimal agreement token ("Mmh;" Bercelli et al., 2008; Pomerantz, 1984).

T treats E's response as insufficient and pursues a stronger agreement by performing a repair, double-checking her understanding (line 57; "do you see what I mean?"). In line 58, E utters "yes," and she initiates a troublesome turn in line 60. As Pomerantz (1984) has shown, speakers express disagreements producing troublesome or "dispreferred-action turn shapes" (p. 64). Preferred responses in conversation, for Pomerantz (1984), are those socially expected (i.e., assessments and their acceptance) rather than an individual choice. T's deferral of affiliation/validation can be seen as eliciting E's partial disagreement: both acknowledging the difference ("…yeah I-I know it is different?") while maintaining a preferred cultural identity (i.e., resisting being positioned as an outsider). E objects to L's assumption of teenagers' curfews as a local norm ("…I feel teenagers do it it doesn't me:an like [everyone do it]") and brings into the conversation an exception to L's assumption (line 63, 65; "because I have friends…who have teenagers as well…"). With her overlapping "everyone" (line 62), and her acknowledgments in

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lines 66 and 68, T shows her understanding of E's claim, and this time she aligns with E.

Arguably, T's alignment helps E display a culturally preferred identity/position as a

knowledgeable mother, while calling L to take up a position of being a teenager both "there"

(i.e., in the country of origin) and in the local context.

In the next turn (lines 69-72), E continues presenting her preferred identity as a

knowledgeable parent using the word "so" to formulate the upshot of their prior segment of talk

("so not everyone is outside past eleven or twelve (.)"; Antaki, 2008). Further, she continues

working on her preferred identity by initiating a small story (Georgakopoulou, 2007) in which

she recalls a time when she allowed L to return from a party after twelve. L confirms her

mother's new positioning by accepting the development in the storyline (line 73; "{nods}"). T

notices this interaction as a new development and recognizes E's preferred identity by providing

a candidate elaboration (Pain, 2009) in line 74 ("so there is times when you are flexible…").

Indeed, T uses the same 'so' particle (Antaki, 2008) to describe E as "flexible" in her curfew

with L. E accepts T's assessment (line 75) and the conversation moves forward with E

explaining further how she has been flexible with L's curfew in the past, while L asks her mother

to consider being flexible in other scenarios. For example, she asks about her curfew when she is

at someone's house compared to in a public setting (not included here; see Appendix J for the

full transcript).

In their individual interviews with me, E and L talked about what helped them move

forward in the conversation (see below).

Individual Interview with Laura *(L=Laura; R=Researcher)*

R: Mhm. Mm. was there something in particular that helped you, do you think, um, move
     forward in the conversation with, with your mom at that particular time?
L: Well cause T was there. Like, usually if I was at home and I was telling her, she

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would be like, oh well but it's enough, so you're not gonna go out, so yeah. That's it. Right? She will just end the conversation? But if we're here, and I wanna talk about that, then T wants to keep talking about that too.

R   I see

L: So it kind of forces the conversation to happen.

R   Okay. And what are some of the things that you notice T does during the session that helps this conversation to keep going rather than stopping and not being able to talk?

L: Well she asked my Mom, like she kept on asking her, like, do you understand where, how she feels? Like, do you know how, how that is, right?

During her individual interview, L highlighted the difference between how a query on curfews would have evolved at home with her mother when contrasted with the same line of inquiry in a therapy setting. L can be seen as invoking a repertoire supporting parents' entitlement to decide what gets talked about (or not) in their private conversations with their children. She positions herself as "being told" at home, whereas in the therapy conversation she portrays herself as having an advocate (Anderson, 2012) in T, who facilitates L's position to be heard by her mother. L describes T as the facilitator of the conversation, possibly implying that in the therapy setting, T's participation elicited E's positioning as someone accountable for her actions rather than having her accountability taken for granted. In other words, E must discursively engage in both listening and providing an account that is acceptable both to L and T (e.g., "she is 15 years old") rather than imposing her will upon L. It is this local discursive context that "kind of forces the conversation to happen," as L stated. Further, L's comment "like you know how that is, right?" seems to be an invitation for her mother to connect with her from understanding her perspective (solidarity), rather than pre-judging her actions.

Similarly, E indicated that she and her daughter had moved forward in their conversation (see below).

Individual Interview with Estela *(E=Estela; R=Researcher)*

R: So, do you get a sense of what allowed to to, I mean both of you, right, to move forward?

        And not get stuck in a conflict?

E: Uh, I think we changed the conversation little bit {laughs}. Because, I mean, at the end, I didn't agree with her? And she didn't agree with me. But, of course I'm the mom, so ... um, but yeah, I think we didn't -

R: So she, she accepts the fact that, you know, you have a say because of being her mom.

E: Mhm, yeah.

During her individual interview, responding to my assessment (Pomerantz, 1984) that both of them had moved forward in the conversation, E stated that she and L had "changed the conversation little bit." She accounted for this change by making a distinction that movement forward was not about accomplishing an agreement ("because I mean, at the end, I didn't agree with her? And she didn't agree with me"). In her response, E seemed to render talking in the presence of T as significant for her and L, as perhaps hopeful that relating this way may lead to further understanding between them. In retrospect, it would have been useful for me to ask for E to account further for the conversation change. This could have given me a better understanding of what E saw as facilitating a move forward in the session. However, in the context of the conversation, it seems clear that E was validated in her preferred identity as a mother rather than an outsider. Unfortunately, I was not able to find out if my conversation with E had any influence in how she viewed her preferred cultural identity.

In their interviews with me, E and L highlighted the importance of both being recognized and understood when performing and negotiating preferred cultural identities in family conversations. Both E and L seemed to appreciate T's invitation to recognize and acknowledge each other's preferences, rather than being caught in assuming, or even imposing, a cultural identity on the other. In doing so, E and L described themselves as moving forward in their therapy conversation.

Summary: Stepping Away from Misrecognition

Identity has become the watchword of the times, for it provides the much needed

vocabulary in terms of which we now define our loyalties and our commitments.

(Shotter, 1993a, p. 188)

As Shotter's (1993a) quote illustrates, in the therapy conversations I analyzed, family

members showed their commitment, loyalties, and in some cases resistance to the cultural

identities ascribed to them or that they took up for themselves. Family members needed to step

away from misrecognizing (Taylor, 1994) others to move forward in their conversations, as I will

explain next.

In their therapy conversations, family members used cultural identities as resources to

negotiate their relationships with other members. These negotiations can be seen as common

practices in any given conversation (Watzlawick et al., 1967). What is more, people negotiate

cultural identities in all interactions; however, these negotiations (and the identities assumed or

imputed within them) tend to be taken for granted and placed in the background of

conversations. When people share similar understandings of what is expected as members of a

particular cultural group, they go about their interactions assuming similar cultural

understandings on who they are from others. For example, a teacher assumes she will teach her

students, or a father instructs his teenage son assuming he will do as he says. The conversations I

analyzed had an added component: immigrant family members invoked different cultural

understandings in negotiating preferred cultural identities.

Participating family members negotiated cultural standards (or expectations) by which

they understood and performed preferred cultural identities. To move forward in dialogue,

participating immigrant parents and their children needed to recognize and negotiate differences

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in the standards they drew from and invoked in performing cultural identities (Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994). They negotiated their preferred identities by stepping away from misrecognizing others. Misrecognition, as I showed in Example 1 may result when people relationally recognize a person's cultural identity as a demeaning picture of him or her (Taylor, 1994; see p. 30). In Examples 1 and 2, M and her daughters, together with the therapist, used talk to generate new understandings of who (in this case) M was as a person. In Example 3, being an outsider was used by the daughter, L, to position her mother as less adequate than other (local) parents. According to the adolescent, her mother did not understand how curfew was done in the present context. Different standards were invoked to make sense of how parents should manage teenagers' curfews in that conversation; the therapist's intervention was key for mother and daughter to understand these differences.

Interestingly, the segments of conversations that families A and C's members identified as successful negotiations shared some characteristics. First, family members occupied, and/or called other family members to align with cultural memberships in opposition with each other, such as being privileged compared to underprivileged, or an outsider compared to being a local member. These cultural memberships seemed to be invoked by the use of interpretative repertoires featuring immigration as a hindering process, as inadequate or out-dated. These cultural identities were available through and supported by a larger social local context, as members of these cultural groups are talked about in the larger community. Family members were seen as resisting cultural identities that diminished or demeaned them, and instead negotiated with others meaningful ways to be relationally recognized as cultural members.

As the conversations moved forward, my analysis showed that family members, with therapists' assistance, found new ways of displaying and understanding who they were for others

in the local context of the conversation (e.g., "I'm the mom"). Secondly, family members chose examples of their family sessions in which "successful" didn't mean that they necessarily agreed with each other's choices; rather, with their therapist's help, they found ways to continue their conversation by accepting (at least temporarily) each other's descriptions and performances of cultural identities that fit for them in relating to others. In the next chapter, I will further discuss these findings, as well as their implications for practice.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

"When people meet me, they want to know what culture I come from or where my family is from. They want to put me in a box or assign me a label. So the question of 'what are you' has always made me feel defensive of who I am and how I'm presented in the world". (Shirley Acuña, September 21, 2014)

As the quote above illustrates, explaining and making cultural identities understood is not an easy task for some. How assumptions about people's cultural identities —informed by interpretative repertoires— are used in dialogues profoundly influence relationships. Their seemingly undisputable nature makes them easy to overlook, their influence on relationships remains unnoticed. As I closely examined therapy conversations between immigrant family members and their therapists however, such assumptions became of utmost importance. In the turn-by-turn of the conversations and of family members' accounts, how these assumptions were discursively used to relationally coordinate their preferred cultural identities came to the forefront.

Examining how family members oriented to, and performed, their relational interactions according to different cultural repertoires in their dialogues helped me to understand how they negotiated preferred cultural identities. My analysis shows how, through talking, family members used presentations of themselves and of each other as cultural beings to generate or limit meaningful directions *within* conversations (i.e., in the turn-by-turn of the conversation). Family members responded to each other's cultural membership presentations, negotiating their way forward to relationally recognize and acknowledge preferred cultural identities.

Two questions guided my analysis of immigrant family members' therapy conversations:

(a) How do immigrant family members successfully negotiate preferred cultural identities while maintaining meaningful family relationships?

(b) What therapeutic actions did family members identify as helpful in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities acceptable for all family members?

Taking a relational stance, I view therapists and clients relating from their different cultural ways of living and being. Culture, from a relational standpoint, is co-constructed in social interactions, rather than an external variable determining a person's behaviours. Consequently, I explored how family members co-constructed preferred cultural identities in family therapy conversations. My focus was on how family members used knowledge about cultural memberships to transform their relationships. I examined how they relationally negotiated being cultural, and how cultural ways of being transformed their understanding of each other. I also examined what family members identified as helpful therapeutic actions from therapists in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities during the session segments they had selected. Their comments on their family interactions and on helpful actions from therapists, together with their actual therapy conversation segments, helped me discriminate three conversational practices in which I saw them engage. I named these practices *resisting misrecognition, foregrounding cultural identities,* and *recognizing preferred cultural identities*. Through these practices, immigrant family members made their way forward in therapy conversations successfully coordinating ways of being cultural with each other that fit for them. By distinguishing these conversational practices in immigrant family members' conversations, I hope to contribute advancing knowledge on therapy conversations as opportunities for client families to relationally generate meanings that fit with who they are culturally, individually and as a family.

These three conversational practices, resisting misrecognition, foregrounding cultural

identities, and recognizing preferred cultural identities on which I elaborate in this chapter, are

dialogical in nature (Shotter, 1993a); they involve both (a) family members negotiating cultural

identity preferences with each other and (b) therapists responding to (and inviting) such

preferences in a joint effort to move towards mutual recognition (Honneth, 1995). Thus,

consistent with these three practices, I answered questions (a) how family members negotiated

preferred cultural identities, and (b) what these families reported as helpful therapists' actions in

successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities. Following these answers I turn to sharing

what I see as implications for therapeutic practice and future research, and limitations to my

study.

Three Discursive Practices in Negotiating Preferred Cultural Identities

Resisting Misrecognition

Relationally recognizing each other through similar or different memberships, helped

family members make their preferred cultural memberships visible (Bamberg et al., 2011).

Family members claimed for themselves and for each other cultural identities they viewed as

fitting within the therapy conversation they were having. They also described other family

members' cultural identities during follow-up, individual interviews. In both occasions, family

members oriented and responded to each other implicating them as members of particular

groups. To do so, they claimed preferred positions with which they self-identified, and at the

same time they *called* others to take up particular positions. By calling others to present

themselves in ways that would confirm (or disconfirm) such cultural memberships in their

dialogues, family members relationally generated preferred cultural identities. For example, by

self-identifying as members of an advantaged group, family members called others to position as

disadvantaged growing up. In turn, those who were positioned as disadvantaged responded confirming, disconfirming, or claiming a different membership for themselves. At times, cultural memberships were conversationally used in taken for granted ways —treated as if these had been previously accepted by all members. Family members brought forth objections (Strong & Tomm, 2007) to cultural memberships claimed *for* them, when these memberships were not those by which they preferred to be associated or when the cultural identities used in conversation were problematic to them, as in a case of misrecognition. On these occasions, family members *resisted misrecognition* by signaling to each other (and to their therapists) they were being called to, or positioned, in ways that did not fit for them at that particular time. Interestingly, in the conversation segments I analyzed, it was usually the adolescents who oriented to their parents by calling them to dis-preferred positions; for example, as less knowledgeable of local parenting customs. Parents could be seen as being misrecognized (Taylor, 1994) and ascribed a membership that presented them in a demeaning way (Fraser & Honneth, 2003) to which they objected.

From a relational stance (see Chapter 1), I view misrecognition as a series of conversational invitations and responses that perpetuate interpersonal relational patterns not preferred at least by one family member (i.e., PIPs; Tomm, 1988, 2014; see Chapter 4). I will call these *misrecognition PIPs*: patterns of imposing meaning/memberships, further reinforced by being unresponsive to another's requests to be understood differently, culturally. Indeed, being ascribed a dis-preferred cultural membership, and denied recognition of a different one seemed to be what parents resisted in the families' therapy conversations I analyzed. Parents seemed to reject problematic ascriptions (i.e., misrecognition) when these were at stake in the conversation, usually initiated by one of their children. For instance, an adolescent publicly

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implying shared knowledge about his or her parent's cultural identity could be alternatively seen as inviting the parent to resist such ascriptions. In some occasions, a parent resisted being called to a dis-preferred position by also calling his or her daughter/son to a position that did not fit with the adolescent's preferences; who, in turn, resisted being attributed such a membership, inviting the parent to respond in similar ways, and so on.

In the conversation segments I analyzed, such misrecognition PIPs seemed to become more problematically patterned when these involved interpretative repertoires portraying immigrants as a less valued membership (see Chapter 2 for more discussion on this topic). In these repertoires, immigrant parents are described as predominantly conservative and sticking to idealized identities and practices from their cultural heritages. From this perspective, immigrants' children are portrayed as settling in new cultural communities at a different rate than their parents (Birman, 2006), therefore caught between accepting and rejecting parents' values and cultural customs (Giguerè et al., 2010; Watters et al., 2009) which increases the incidence of parent-child conflict (Bahrassa, Juan, & Lee, 2013; Juang, Syed, & Cookston, 2012; Lim et al., 2009). These repertoires were discursively invoked by family members in their therapy conversations. Their use in conversations seemed to have a restrictive effect, rather than contribute in generating creative ways to relate. By invoking repertoires that promoted a view of immigrants as rigid, or as conservative, parents and adolescents seemed to negotiate memberships within these descriptions only. Thus, their position calls were restricted to being an outsider compared to a local parent, or advantaged compared to disadvantaged growing up. As a result, parents and adolescents seemed to cast each other as members of opposite groups as the only option. For example, in exemplar V, the daughter (L), engaged in a misrecognition PIP with her mother (E). L presented her mother as an outsider, or not knowledgeable of local norms (see

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p. 107). In turn, E invoked a repertoire of age privilege ("for a 15 years old lady…" p. 106), not taking up L's position call as an outsider. Instead, E self-identified as a knowledgeable parent, and by doing so claimed a membership as the daughter for L. As discussed in the analysis, this misrecognition PIP could have escalated without the therapist's intervention of inviting mother and daughter to recognize different ways of understanding curfews.

Resisting misrecognition can be seen as a first attempt to interrupt a dis-preferred cultural identity ascription. Indeed, by publicly resisting having cultural memberships claimed for, family members opened possibilities for generative conversations in negotiating preferred cultural identities. By noticing, or interrupting family members' resistance, therapists may facilitate conversations in which preferred memberships start to be recognized and acknowledged.

In their follow-up individual interviews with me, some family members indicated that therapists interrupting, or noticing their resisting misrecognition had been helpful for them during the sessions. In particular, some family members indicated they welcomed these interruptions as these gave them opportunities to be heard by other family members. Therapists' actions (e.g., noticing and interrupting) were reported as helpful in making visible for everyone in the room understandings that were previously taken for granted, or assumed as a preference by one family member. One adolescent indicated, for example, that the therapist's intervention "forced the conversation to happen" (p. 114; i.e., in a way it wouldn't have developed at the family home).

As I described in my analysis, therapists responded to family members resisting misrecognition by asking clarifying or reflexive questions, and offering candidate understandings. Therapists' actions elicited family members to publicly position themselves as cultural members in ways that their preferences were more explicitly acknowledged and

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validated by their relatives. Noticing or recognizing family members' resistance to misrecognition in therapy conversations, thus, can potentially be a first step to initiate change in family members' relationship with each other.

While family members actively resisted misrecognition, this practice seemed to be talked about when it was interrupted, or noticed. That is, this resistance was discursively *performed*, and only talked about when noticed, usually by a therapist. Indeed, interrupting, or noticing family members' resisting misrecognition opened possibilities to talk about dis-preferred cultural membership ascriptions. Family members engaged in foregrounding cultural identities, a second practice which I describe next.

Foregrounding Cultural Memberships

Through foregrounding cultural memberships, participants made visible and tested out in their conversations what they assumed about, and claimed for themselves and each other's cultural identities. Said differently, rather than orienting to each other by classifying them as particular cultural members, family members talked about, or brought forward, these cultural memberships with each other, as part of jointly examining and re-examining what was at stake for them in conversation. For example, during one of the sessions (Exemplar III, the A family p. 94), responding to a therapist (T) a daughter (S) described her mother (M) presumably in a way she hadn't done before —as someone whose upbringing lacked "resources and money."

By foregrounding cultural identities in the therapy conversation, family members had opportunities to negotiate and relationally recognize cultural identity ascriptions or positions that better fitted their preferences. Differently than resisting misrecognition, foregrounding cultural identities provided family members with opportunities to make visible cultural memberships that were meaningful to them in presenting themselves or other family members. Rather than

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resisting a dis-preferred cultural identity, foregrounding cultural identities can be seen as a propositional practice. Through this practice, family members elaborated on how cultural memberships ascribed to them made sense for how they wanted to be seen (or saw others) as cultural members. More importantly, family members' accounts on cultural memberships made more explicit the kind of relationship these memberships bound them to be in with each other. For example, at the beginning of the A family's selected conversation segments, S used her understanding of M's cultural identity to position her mother as a member of a disadvantaged group (Exemplar II, p. 87). Her description during the session seemed thin compared to the one she provided during the follow-up interview. In her retrospective reflection, S articulated more explicitly how different cultural memberships influenced her relationship with her mother ("Uh, well because for my mom… she didn't really have much. And like, us being here, like we have so many things we can do…"). S's reflection seemed to resonate with her mother's preferences, who indicated the importance for her that her daughters appreciated the opportunities they had growing up, given what she had experienced.

In regards to therapeutic actions identified as helping the practice of foregrounding cultural identities, family members highlighted therapists' *foregrounding questions*. Family members indicated that these kind of questions were helpful as they facilitated exploring preferences on who they were culturally ("do you have any other ideas about how that may have kind of influenced the person your mom's become?; any guesses on how?"), and how these preferences influenced their relationship with each other. One family member described the therapist's questions in the selected segment as "deeper," and identified these as "how" questions. Further, she indicated these questions helped to "put yourself in the other person's shoes."

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Through these questions, therapists invited family members to start articulating together, ways of describing and understanding each other's cultural identities and how they oriented to each other from these positionings. Sharing these descriptions publicly in the therapy room made visible for family members how they oriented to each other according to these foregrounded cultural identities, and whether these were ways in which they wanted to relate to each other. As I described in my analysis, by foregrounding cultural identities family members (either on their own, or with the assistance of a therapist) responded to each other offering new descriptions/understandings of their cultural identities, and claiming those they preferred. They moved beyond resisting ascribed dis-preferred cultural identities, becoming curious and engaged in a joint exploration of preferred cultural memberships and relationships. Therapy conversations, then, can be seen as places for immigrant family members to co-create, co-edit, and try out with and for each other preferred cultural descriptions in acceptable ways within their relationship as a family.

Recognizing Preferred Cultural Identities

In moving beyond the aforementioned misrecognition PIPs, family members oriented to others from alternative, shared understandings of their cultural identities from which they generated (or could potentially generate) new ways to relate. Parents invoked alternative repertoires to position themselves as members of acceptable (to them and their children) cultural groups to attempt to re-establish a satisfactory relationship with them while maintaining preferred cultural identities. For instance, in Exemplar IV, the parent (M) engaged in credentialing (Hewitt & Stokes as cited in Billig, 1987) to find a newer, acceptable ground from which what was meaningful for her could be heard and accepted by her daughters. M also used a marker of a community's shared knowledge (i.e., "of course") to show her understanding of her

daughters' positions (i.e., as adolescents). By so doing, she claimed a preferred position for herself while displaying her understanding of her daughters' position. Similarly, in Exemplar VI (p. 112) the parent (E) used a justification account to position herself as knowledgeable of local parenting norms, which can be seen as an invitation to her daughter to re-establish their parent/child relationship. From these new positionings, parents brought to conversations alternative, meaningful cultural memberships to them, from which they invited their children to relate. Parents performed new, acceptable (to them and to their children) cultural versions of being a parent, for example, inviting their children to position within their parent/child relationship differently as well. In sum, talking *about* preferred cultural memberships seemed to help family members shift directions in their therapy conversations. Rather than remaining stuck in misrecognition PIPs, family members discursively recognized ways of being cultural in which they positioned themselves (or were positioned by others) in a different kind of relationship with each other.

The practice of recognizing preferred cultural identities required family members' and therapists' hard conversational work. Although family members identified therapy interactions where this recognition took place, it was not easy for family members to retrospectively distinguish specifically what therapeutic actions had been helpful in these interactions. In general, family members identified therapists' presence in the conversations, their foregrounding questions and comments as creating conditions for these significant interactions to take place. For the time being and hypothetically, I suggest that by taking a relational stance, family therapists facilitated family members' cultural identities co-construction processes in the presence of significant others. Given that significant others' understandings are constitutive of a person's cultural identity (Taylor, 1994), family members' presence can be seen as making a

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difference in searching for preferred ways of relationally describing/understanding each other's cultural identities. As I will discuss later on, I believe it would be important to address more fully this research finding that deserves further consideration in future research.

Locating the Three Discursive Practices Within the Multicultural Field

Within the multicultural counselling psychology and family therapy fields, the concept of acculturation (Berry, 1997, 2005) has had a tremendous influence in how immigrants' integration to new cultural communities is understood and explained by practitioners. As previously discussed (see Chapter 2), such a conceptualization can be seen as inadequate to understand the complexity and diversity of immigrants' experience. Viewing immigrants' integration to new cultural communities as the result of a universal, psychological process (i.e., acculturation; Chirkov, 2009) may portray immigrants as solely retaining or rejecting values and customs from their country of origin or from new cultural communities, or as stuck in between cultural worlds. In my study, I offer an alternative way to understand immigrant families' integration to new cultural environments. As my analysis shows, the process of integrating to new cultural communities is far from being simple, or straight forward. Part of this integration process occurs through family conversations. Immigrant family members invite and respond to each performing (i.e., verbally and non-verbally) ways to be understood as members of cultural groups meaningful to them. I will discuss next how my study differs from the aforementioned theoretical perspectives on immigrants' integration.

Rather than viewing the process of integrating to a new cultural community as resulting from four acculturation strategies or preferences (e.g., assimilation, marginalization, separation, and integration; Berry, 2011), my study highlights how immigrant family members jointly co-construct (through their communicative interactions) preferred cultural memberships, through

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which they integrate to new cultural communities. These memberships may be used differently, depending on what participants in conversation deem relevant and acceptable (for them) ways to be understood culturally. For example, being an outsider was used by a teenager to position her mother as having a different membership than hers (see p. 56). Her mother, in turn, showed herself as knowledgeable of local parenting norms, as a way to counter a cultural identity ascription that may have not been meaningful for her. Responding to each other, mother and daughter coordinated their talk-actions in ways they would understand each other according to preferred cultural memberships.

In this study I offer an alternative view on cultural identities to that which proposes cultural identity as an individual, psychological construct (e.g., Berry, 1997, 2005). I view cultural identities as negotiated in social interactions. From a relational standpoint, immigrant family members can be seen as negotiating cultural identities through language. That is, they present themselves and others in ways they presume or want to be understood. It is through this process that I view family members engaging in the discursive practices previously discussed (resisting misrecognition, foregrounding cultural identities, and recognizing preferred cultural identities). In my view, these discursive practices contribute to understanding the complexity and the relational nature of cultural identities, and how family therapists can intervene by noticing these practices, or helping family members engage in these?

To summarize, by taking a relational stance (see p. 8) I examined how immigrant family members perform cultural identities in the immediacies of family therapy conversations. Rather than focusing on cultural integration to indicate immigrant family members' well-being, I focused instead on how family members responded to each other, with descriptions and performances of cultural identities acceptable to them. I explored how this process was

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negotiated uniquely (i.e., in specific instances) between family members, and how they achieved understandings of cultural identities meaningful to them.

In taking a relational stance, I hope to contribute to the counselling and family therapy fields making relevant a perspective that does not collude with discourses promoting immigrants as a "kind of people," viewed as "less than" the rest of local community members. Discourses of this kind have promoted limited understanding of immigrants' experiences and have prevailed in the mental health professions. Instead, by focusing on the discursive practices through which immigrant family members, with their therapists, were engaged, I hope to have shown the richness, complexity, and creativity they used in finding meaningful ways to self-identify and recognize each other as cultural members.

In the conversation segments I analyzed, family members conversationally performed resistance to particular cultural memberships ascribed to them (i.e., misrecognition). Resisting dis-preferred cultural identity ascriptions occurred; for example, when memberships such as being an outsider or disadvantaged (examples 1 and 2) were used to position parents as "less than" other groups (i.e., local, or advantaged). By resisting these membership ascriptions in both examples analyzed, parents engaged in a struggle against memberships to which others had aligned them (cf. Taylor, 1994). Resisting misrecognition involved hard and sensitive conversational work for these family members. Further, I believe therapists can make a difference by noticing or acknowledging family members' efforts to be understood in meaningful (to them) and acceptable ways. Therapists may engage in acknowledging a family member's struggle for their preferred cultural membership to be recognized, which in turn may be seen as invitation for other family members to articulate similar cultural preferences in dialogue with (rather than struggling against) each other.

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In sum, my analysis shows how therapists can help family members respond to each other in preferred descriptions and responses with respect to cultural identity. Noticing the three discursive practices identified in this study (resisting misrecognition, foregrounding cultural identities, and recognizing preferred cultural identities) may help family therapists facilitate conversations in which expressing or responding to one's cultural preferences is paired with recognizing those preferences. By recognizing their preferred memberships, family members may orient to each other acknowledging what is important and meaningful to each of them. Doing so may prevent family members from relating through limiting categories of sameness or difference. Further, recognizing preferred cultural memberships in therapy conversations may help therapists (and clients) to avoid silencing of cultural memberships historically seen as less important or valuable than other ones. Noticing conversational partners' resisting misrecognition, then, may become an opportunity for new understandings to be created and performed about how immigrant family members want to be understood by others, as I further discuss below.

Implications for Therapeutic Practice

Family members resisting misrecognition (by other members) can be seen as an invitation for therapists to review how family members may conversationally misunderstand each other's preferred cultural identities. Taking up such an invitation can help them become more responsive to further ways of understanding and displaying cultural memberships relevant to family members and help members recognize how they may be engaged in misrecognition practices. Family members are often unaware of how interpretative repertoires informing dis-preferred cultural identities influence their relationships. They may relate to each other on the basis of such dispreferred identities them without recognizing how these repertoires may limit how they culturally interact. From a politics of multiculturalism perspective (Honneth, 1995; Shotter,

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1993; Taylor, 1994; see Chapter 2), to re-establish a sense of worth people need to be recognized in acceptable and preferred cultural identities. As I showed in Example 3 (p. 106), by being relationally recognized according to preferred memberships, family members helped by therapists, engaged in exploring interpretative repertoires from which they understood and performed preferred cultural identities.

The use of repertoires portraying immigrants as "stuck," or as "traditional," to make sense of their cultural identities makes it more difficult for immigrant family members to recognize each other culturally in ways preferred by them (see also Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Daniel, 2012). Rather than viewing family members as "caught between two worlds," family therapists can help family members understand how interpretative repertoires shape and are shaped in their relationships, and find ways to be recognized in memberships (and interpretative repertoires) that fit for them individually and as a family.

Therapists can help immigrant families by facilitating, and/or encouraging the practice of conversationally foregrounding problematic cultural identities family members ascribe to each other. Usually, cultural memberships are presupposed in conversations; people go about their lives assuming to be understood by others as cultural beings. However, when these assumptions bring forth objectionable interactions (Strong & Tomm, 2007), recognizing problematic cultural memberships as these are used in dialogues may provide opportunities for family members to shift in how they are orienting/relating to each other. Rather than assuming knowledge of each other's preferred cultural memberships, family members may engage in trying out and contesting (i.e., relationally recognize) their claimed cultural identities with each other.

The three practices I identified through my analysis (see above) may serve as a guide for therapists working with immigrant families who encounter tensions or conflict in how they

understand and perform preferred cultural identities with each other. By using these three practices as guidance, therapists may choose to challenge taken for granted cultural memberships, or inquire about a family member's resistance to be understood culturally in a dis-preferred way. They may help family members orient to others recognizing each other's preferences, acknowledging there are many ways to be cultural. The following are some examples of questions family therapists may use in helping families recognize preferred cultural identities:

- What cultural group do you see Mary belonging to? Do you think she would agree with your categorization, yes/no/why?

- Is this cultural identity similar/different to yours? And to those of the rest of the family?

- How would you describe yourself culturally?

- What is your sense of how your cultural identity is understood by the rest of your family? What would you like them to understand differently?

- How do you (as a family) deal with these cultural differences? How do you respond when Nathan does X (e.g., speaks back in English when a parent is speaking their language of origin)?

- What would you say is the impact of this practice (i.e., speaking different languages with each other) on your relationship?

- What do you appreciate about John's cultural identity?

- What is something you didn't know about how he is describing himself now? What difference does his present description make in your relationship with him?

- What cultural group would you say John prefers to be associated with? How does that cultural group fit with you as a parent/sibling/in your family?

- What would you say is your preferred cultural identity as a family? How did you decide to be associated with it as a family? What happened first in the process to be associated with it? And next?

In recognizing preferred cultural identities, family members may need to renegotiate how they orient to each other, given that they may draw from different interpretative repertoires to understand their preferred cultural identities. Family therapists can collaborate with immigrant family members by noticing how cultural discourses influence family relationships (see for example Mudry et al., 2015; Schultz-Hall & Sametband, 2014; St. George & Wulff, 2014). They can also inquire how interpretative repertoires invoked in therapy conversations help family members make sense of their preferred cultural identities, and those of each other. Family therapists can help family members notice how cultural discourses influence their relationships, by asking, for example:

- What is your understanding of how John's cultural identity is viewed by others outside of your family, or society in general?

- How would you say these understandings influence how you view John's identity? Would you say that John would describe his identity in the same way? Why?

- Are there other views on John's cultural identity that you are aware about? What is your understanding of how these other views came to be? Are there some understandings that seem more adequate than others? What would be different if more people viewed John's cultural identity this way?

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- What is your sense of how these understandings influence your relationship with John? What would be your preference?

In sum, the three conversational practices I offer in this chapter can guide therapists in helping family members relate from varied cultural ways of living and being cultural by taking a relational stance (Daniel, 2012; Paré, 2014; Sametband, Wilson, & Tsai, 2014). Specifically, therapists can notice family members' resistance to being ascribed problematic cultural memberships as suggesting a need to review their preferences in being cultural with each other, rather than taking these preferences for granted. By considering cultural identities as co-constructed in conversations, therapists may help family members become more responsive to multiple ways of understanding and displaying cultural memberships, and from these, co-articulate new ways members can relate as a family. Therapeutic encounters, then, can be seen as relational spaces for immigrant family members to connect with descriptions of themselves previously denied or considered unreachable (Paré), to create new identifications in their conversations with other family members. I invite therapists to use my research as a resource in helping clients move forward from recognizing what can be problematically different about each other's cultural identities, to recognize instead how such differences are generated, maintained, and dealt with in the communicative interactions of their relationships.

Implications for Research

In multicultural counselling and family therapy, researchers have largely described immigrant family members' settlement into new countries as a universally shared process, and explained the development of their new cultural identities as resulting from acculturation (e.g., Berry, 2005; Bowskill, Lyons, & Coyle, 2007). In this research context, how immigrant family

members perform and negotiate cultural identities with each other seems to have been overlooked. Addressing this oversight, my research illustrates immigrant family members' cultural identities as situated, co-constructed, discursive descriptions used in their interactions. Rather than assuming that family members' cultural background linearly determines how their cultural identities develop, in my study I focused on how cultural backgrounds are "done" in their conversations; how family members orient to each other when negotiating their preferred cultural memberships in a particular time and place.

Except for a few researchers focusing on family members' identities from a relational perspective (e.g., Maciel & Knudson-Martin, 2013; Moriizumi, 2011), little is known about how immigrant family members discursively negotiate preferred cultural identities, or how they account for these negotiations as successful conversational achievements. Future research on family members' spontaneous, relationally performed understandings (Katz & Shotter, 2000) and how they retrospectively make sense of such understandings may help researcher-practitioners become more aware of these new, situated, cultural identities' descriptions and their discursive use. That is, such research could provide better understandings of how immigrant family members perform and account for preferred cultural identities in relating to each other. Further, a focus on family members' relationally performed understandings in therapy conversations could contribute to expand interventions as *preference-animated practices* (Sutherland et al., 2013).

Counselling and family therapy interventions can be seen as preference-animated practices (Sutherland et al., 2013), by which clients' understandings and wishes, articulated and displayed in dialogues, influence and are integrated in therapy conversations. From this perspective, clients' conversational participation is a main ingredient rather than of secondary importance to therapy dialogues. In my research, I extended this preference-animated

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intervention focus by asking participants to identify "successful negotiations" of preferred cultural identities from videotapes of their participation in therapeutic dialogues at the CFTC. By doing so, I learned from participants what they viewed as relevant in being recognized according to preferred cultural memberships. Future research could focus on what participants consider relevant therapist conversational practices that facilitate being recognized in preferred cultural identities; that is, on better showing what counts – for clients – in being recognized according to preferred cultural memberships. Family therapists may benefit from this research focus, as it could help them understand and enhance conversational directions relevant for immigrant family members' preferred cultural identities to be recognized in therapy dialogues.

Combining two discursive foci — a micro focus on participants' actual conversations and a macro focus to analyze their retrospective comments— proved useful for my study, as it helped me create a binocular view on family members' discursive co-constructions. By zooming in family members' therapy conversations, I focused on how they oriented to and took up different cultural memberships in the turn-by-turn of their responses to each other. Zooming out of their conversations, I explored how immigrant family members made use of cultural repertoires to make sense of who they are culturally. A micro and macro discursive focus provides a both/and perspective on discursive phenomena (Wetherell, 2001), which could be beneficial for future research on immigrant families' interactions. For instance, combining a macro and micro focus could be useful for researchers to explore further how immigrant family members converse beyond misrecognition PIPs to co-articulate preferred cultural identities with each other, and how they make sense of this direction. Research with this focus may be useful for family therapists trying to elicit similar conversational movements with client families. In particular, exploring how parents and youth make sense of each other's preferences in new cultural contexts

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may help them to recognize and acknowledge how these new, co-articulated preferences shape their relationships as a family. In addition, future research could focus on family therapists' accounts of how family members discursively negotiate preferred cultural identities. Family therapists may contribute a unique perspective on family members' identity-related interactions.

Although I did not explore this issue with family members, I wonder if being positioned as a member of an opposite (i.e., dis-preferred) group threatened family members' familial love (Honneth, 1995). Being positioned as a member of dis-preferred (e.g., disadvantaged) groups may challenge family members trying to orient to what is meaningful to them as a family, which they access through a cultural community (i.e., relational recognition; Taylor, 1994). Research has already shown that an individual's sense of worth is shaped by the value that others attach to the group he or she belongs to (Martineau, Meer, & Thompson, 2012). Better understanding the consequences for families, when members have been limited by others to dis-preferred identity positions, could help therapists better serve immigrant families wanting to address such misrecognitions through their dialogues in family therapy.

Limitations

Rather than trying to develop a list of generalizable practices, in this study I explored possibilities of language use (Peräkylä, 2004) to examine ways in which immigrant family members discursively negotiated preferred cultural identities in therapy conversations. I present this study and the results of my analysis as non-comprehensive, as one plausible yet contestable way to describe immigrant families' conversations in and out of therapy, cognizant that other researchers may describe the same phenomena differently. To enhance the reliability of my study, I carefully transcribed families' therapy conversations (Peräkylä, 2004) attending to how, in each turn and in their individual interviews with me, they used language (verbal and non-

verbal) to perform understandings of preferred cultural identities. Another researcher working with the same data may have transcribed and therefore interpreted their actions differently.

To conduct my analysis I privileged the quality instead of the quantity of the data I collected. I analyzed conversation segments in which the combination of family members' performances, and their accounts of them, showed more clearly how they negotiated (or attempted to negotiate) preferred cultural identities with each other. However, I encountered some difficulties in the research process that had an impact on how the conversation segments were selected. Due to unforeseen circumstances, some of the videotaped sessions were lost. This event restricted somewhat the total of participants' selected segments from which I chose the final segments to analyze. There may have been clearer examples of successful cultural identities' negotiations among the lost data that I was not able to analyze. Nonetheless, as I required participants to select from each session a successful example of cultural identities' negotiations, the segments I analyzed were complete in themselves, and family members offered their retrospective comments on the videotaped sessions with ease.

Some may argue that my data collection was selective as it was limited to one site only. Indeed, all the data collection took place in the Calgary Family Therapy Centre (CFTC). Although I made arrangements to recruit volunteer families from another counselling service in Calgary, no families there volunteered for my study. The CFTC still proved to be a suitable site for my research because of being a training facility with videotaping equipment, and for having staff and trainees dedicated fully to provide family therapy.

My analysis focused mainly on family conversations between parents and adolescents, in which tensions over cultural identities were visible. These tensions could be understood as resulting from parents and children belonging to different generational groups, as has been

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studied in the literature (e.g., Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008; Wu & Chao, 2011). However, generational differences can also be understood as a discourse (Foster, 2013) invoked by family members in their preference negotiations. Thus, in my analysis I considered generational differences (without making these differences my research focus) for how these were discursively used by family members (see Exemplar V), and for what purposes.

Finally, my study did not include family therapists' accounts of their participation in the selected segments. Including their participation exceeded the scope of my research, as my focus was on how family members negotiated preferred cultural identities with each other. Other researchers may choose to include family therapists' participation in family members' conversations, a focus that could bring further understanding on these discursive negotiations.

<div align="center">**Summary**</div>

"We act more Canadian than other parents". (Family member participant, individual follow-up interview)

In this study, I examined immigrant family members' therapy conversations as collective meaning-generating moments (McNamee, 2010), and focused on how they relationally recognized and co-articulated with each other their preferred cultural identities. Analyzing segments identified by participant family members proved to be a fruitful decision. They seemed to relate to their post-sessions conversations with me, with ease, and provided rich accounts in their retrospective reflections —ones that an outsider to their therapy dialogue would have not been able to provide in the same way. My hope is that this preference-animated research will be useful for family therapists to collaborate with immigrant families, in helping them converse beyond misrecognition PIPs to find relational patterns that suit them better as a family. By foregrounding relational patterns of dis-preferred cultural identity ascriptions (i.e.,

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misrecognition PIPs), family members may find alternative ways to relate they want to develop. My research may also help family therapists to be more aware of how discursive negotiations of cultural identities influence immigrant family members' relationships through time.

As a result of my analysis, I identified three practices (resisting misrecognition, foregrounding cultural identities, and recognizing preferred cultural identities) that may serve as a guide for therapists. They may co-facilitate conversations in which family members bring forth interpretative repertoires that positively influence their relationships and cultural identities. By engaging in this process, therapists may be able to help families prevent possible future conflicts when dealing with tensions over cultural membership preferences.

I offer this research as an invitation for therapists to be curious about how cultural identities are conversationally *done* in relationships between people. Rather than focusing on the differences between family members' cultural identities, focusing on how identities are relationally co-constructed family therapists can help immigrant family members to generate and negotiate acceptable ways to relate. Taking a relational stance to facilitate immigrant families' therapy is in tune with what Taylor (1991) recommended; namely, that recognizing cultural differences means moving from knowing about someone else's culture (from a particular standpoint or perspective), to taking into account how each other's cultural ways of being shape and are shaped in and through our relational interactions. In line with this perspective, my hope is that therapy can become more of a place in which participating family members can converse beyond misrecognizing interactions for conversations that enable preferred cultural identities.

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Participants' Demographic Information

Family identification	Family Composition*	Years in Canada	Sessions reviewed /videotaped	Individual interviews completed
Family A	M, C1(20), C2(17)	17	2 (Two sessions not recorded)	Yes
Family B	M, F, C1(17)	15	4 (One session not recorded)	Yes
Family C	M, F, C1(15), C2(12)	5	5 (One session not recorded)	Yes
Family D	M, F, C1(19), C2(13)	2.5	5 (One session not recorded)	Yes
Family E	M, F, C1(16), C2(11)	14	4	Yes
Family F	M, F, C1(15), C2(12)	3	1	No
Family G	M, F, C1(16)	12	1	No
Family H	M, F, C1(16), C2(10)	3	1	No
Family I	M, F, C1 (15), C2 (3), C3 (3)		3	No

(M=mother; F=father; C1=oldest child; (10) = child's age; O= other member)

<u>Research Project: How do Immigrant Family Members Successfully Negotiate Cultural
Identities in Family Therapy: A discursive analysis</u> – Inés Sametband

What is this research about?
Immigrant families in Canada have to deal with lots of changes: A new environment, sometimes
a new language, relationships, and customs (i.e., clothing, food, traditions). Sometimes, family
members engage in these changes differently, according to how they understand their own
culture. For example, they may align with, talk from, or follow the customs of particular cultural
groups that are different than other members of their family. In some cases, these differences can
create tensions between family members and may influence their relationship as a family. These
differences can be seen as a way in which family members express their cultural identities. **The
purpose of this research is to better understand how immigrant family members
successfully develop and negotiate preferred cultural identities; that is, how they self
identify, describe, and align and/or carry out a membership in particular cultural (i.e.,
groups according to nationality, ethnicity, or religion, to name a few) while maintaining
meaningful family relationships**.

Who are the participants?
Volunteer families that:
- have immigrated (e.g., all family members immigrated, or parents immigrated and
  some/all children were born in Canada) and have been living in Canada for a minimum of
  two years, and attend family therapy at the centre;
- have at least one member who is a teenager (between 13 to 19 years of age);
- all participating family members self-identify as comfortable in carrying out a
  conversation in English.

What do families have to do as participants?
1) After sessions with you (the therapist), family members will be asked to identify in a
   paper form relevant moments in which they were conversing and dealing with different
   cultural views or understandings during your family session. **This process will take
   approximately five minutes and it will be repeated after five of your family sessions.**
2) At a later date, family members will participate in an individual interview (approximately
   half an hour) with me (Inés Sametband), to review the segments they chose and comment
   on your choices and experience. This interview will be audio-recorded. All information
   on your participation in this study will be kept confidential.
Time commitment: Approximately 2 hours in total.
What is asked from you (therapists) from this project?

- To invite families who meet the criteria to participate in the study, and provide them with the **RECRUITMENT POSTER**. Explain to them very briefly what would be required from them to participate (also in the recruitment poster). If families are interested in participating, ask them if it would be okay for them to meet with Ines, before their next session with you (maybe 15 minutes before the session), or, if they prefer to meet at a different time, ask them if it would be okay for you to give Ines their contact information to schedule a meeting.
- To ask families their **consent to be videotaped** (using the centre's consent form for videotaping)

Questions or comments? Contact me!   Ines   insametb@ucalgary.ca

VOLUNTEER PARTICIPANT FAMILIES NEEDED FOR RESEARCH STUDY

How do Immigrant Family Members Successfully Negotiate Cultural Identities in Family Therapy: A discursive analysis

Immigrant families in Canada have to deal with lots of changes: A new environment, sometimes a new language, relationships, and customs (i.e., clothing, food, traditions). Sometimes, family members engage in these changes differently, according to how they understand their own culture. For example, they may align with, talk from, or follow the customs of particular cultural groups that are different than other members of their family. In some cases, these differences can create tensions between family members and may influence their relationship as a family. These differences can be seen as a way in which family members express their cultural identities. The purpose of this research is to better understand how immigrant family members successfully develop and negotiate preferred cultural identities; that is, how they self identify, describe, and align and/or carry out a membership in particular cultural (i.e., groups according to nationality, ethnicity, or religion, to name a few) while maintaining meaningful family relationships.

Volunteer participants should be families who immigrated and have been living in Canada for a minimum of two years, who have been referred to a centre that offers family therapy, and have been assigned to a family therapist. All participating family members should self-identify as comfortable in carrying out a conversation in English. Families will have at least one member who is a teenager (between 13 to 19 years of age).

Your participation for this study requires a commitment of approximately two hours. After sessions with your therapist, you will be asked to identify in a paper form relevant moments in which you and your family were conversing and dealing with different cultural views or understandings during your family session. This process will take approximately five minutes and it will be repeated after five of your family sessions. Afterwards, you will be invited to participate in an individual interview (approximately half an hour) with the researcher Inés Sametband, to review the segments you chose and comment on your choices and experience. This interview will be audio-recorded. The session instances you identified will not be discussed with the rest of your family by the researcher or your therapist(s). **All information on your participation in this study will be kept confidential.**

If you would like to volunteer for this study or would like to know more about it, please let your therapist know or contact Inés Sametband at insametb@ucalgary.ca.

Research Project Title: **How do Immigrant Family Members Successfully Negotiate Cultural Identities in Family Therapy: A discursive analysis**
Consent Letter for participating families involved in the research.
Investigator(s): Tom Strong, PhD. Professor, Educational Studies in Psychology – University of Calgary, and Inés Sametband, Doctoral Student in Counselling Psychology – University of Calgary

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Immigrant families in Canada have to deal with lots of changes: A new environment, sometimes a new language, relationships, and customs (i.e., clothing, food, traditions). Sometimes, family members engage in these changes differently, according to how they understand their own culture. For example, they may align with, talk from, or follow the customs of particular cultural groups that are different than other members of their family. In some cases, these differences can create tensions between family members and may influence their relationship as a family. These differences can be seen as a way in which family members express their cultural identities. The purpose of this research is to better understand how immigrant family members successfully develop and negotiate preferred cultural identities - how they describe, self-identify and carry out membership in particular groups according to nationality, ethnicity, tradition, or religion, to name a few - while maintaining meaningful family relationships.

Your participation (individually and as a family) will entail consenting to be videotaped for research purposes as you work with a family therapist at the Calgary Family Therapy Centre (CFTC) during the years 2012 to 2013. At CFTC, because of its training mandate, families normally have their sessions videotaped. If you and your family voluntarily consent to participate in this project, you will be asked to identify individually (in a paper form) one or two instances you consider relevant examples of how you and your family conversed together to deal with tensions coming from different cultural understandings or traditions. These instances would have occurred during one to five sessions with your therapist, and would be ones in which you or other family members invited and responded to each other by acknowledging and recognizing different ways of "being cultural" that are meaningful to you. The session instances you identify will not be discussed nor shared with the rest of your family by the researchers or your therapist(s). These session segments will be analyzed by the doctoral student, Inés Sametband.

In addition, at a future time when you come to CFTC, you and the rest of your family will be asked to participate in an individual interview with Inés Sametband regarding the instances you had previously identified and to comment on what interventions you found most helpful from the family therapist(s) working with you. This interview will be confidential, approximately 30 minutes long and will be audio recorded and transcribed, so that it can be analyzed by Inés Sametband. No personal information will be collected in the interview.

Families participating in the videotaped family therapy sessions and audio taped interviews will not be identified in any published or presented material resulting from the study. The videotaped session(s) would only be seen by the researchers and Calgary Family Therapy Centre staff (your

therapist(s)) who are professionals or professionals-in-training whose ethics extend to expectations of keeping their conversations or observations of you confidential. Only the principal investigator (Dr. Tom Strong), the doctoral student researcher (Inés Sametband) and the transcriber will listen to the audiotapes as part of this study, whose ethics also extend to expectations of keeping their exposure to your conversations confidential.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to having your sessions videotaped and individual interviews audiotaped and analyzed for research and purposes. In no way does your informed consent waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without any further consequences. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. In the event that you do not wish to continue to participate in the study, any data you have provided up to the point of ending your participation will be retained and used for the study. Should you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, and what your participation in it might entail, please contact: Dr. Tom Strong of the University of Calgary.

If you have any questions concerning your rights as a possible participant in this research, please contact The Chair of the Conjoint Health Research Ethics Board, University of Calgary. We ask each adult participant to retain a signed copy of this consent form for your personal records.

Participant's Signature

                    Date

Investigator and/or Delegate's Signature   Date

Witness' Signature

                    Date

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.
The University of Calgary Conjoint Health Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

hi

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Division of Applied Psychology

How do Immigrant Family Members Successfully Negotiate Cultural Identities in Family Therapy: A discursive analysis

INVESTIGATORS:

Dr. Tom Strong, R.Psych. Professor, Educational Studies in Psychology (PI)

Inés Sametband, MSc., Doctoral Candidate in Counselling Psychology   (Co-I)

This consent form is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your child's participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please ask. Take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information. You will receive a copy of this form.

BACKGROUND

Immigrant families in Canada have to deal with lots of changes: A new environment, sometimes a new language, relationships, and customs (e.g., clothing, food, traditions). Sometimes, family members engage in these changes differently, according to how they understand their own culture. For example, they may align with, talk from, or follow the customs of particular cultural

groups that are different than other members of their family. In some cases, these differences can create tensions between family members and may influence their relationship as a family. These differences can be seen as a way in which family members express their cultural identities. This study looks at how immigrant family members develop and deal with having to negotiate differences in talking from particular cultural groups or cultural traditions. More specifically, this study looks at 1) how family members describe and align with cultural ways of being, or carry out membership in particular groups according to nationality, ethnicity, tradition, or religion, to name a few - while maintaining a positive family relationship, and 2) what therapeutic actions are identified by family members as helpful in working out ways to talk from and share their cultural preferences. As a training and research centre the Calgary Family Therapy Centre (CFTC) routinely videotapes family therapy sessions. Where all family members in a family have given their consent, and when there are videotaped passages (one or two) identified by all family members, we will analyze these passages. To analyze these, we use a method of analysis known as a discourse analysis which is used to identify recognizable patterns in people's words and ways of talking. Knowing more about patterns that promote successful ways of recognizing and acknowledging different preferences in how a person self-identifies as a member of a cultural group (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, customs, etc.) in therapeutic conversations will help us to recognize how these negotiations occur, what therapeutic actions facilitate them, and how are these useful to immigrant families.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The primary purpose of this project is to better understand how immigrant family members successfully develop and negotiate preferred cultural identities while maintaining meaningful

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family relationship. A secondary purpose of this study is to learn what family therapists' therapeutic actions are identified by family members as helpful in successfully negotiating preferred cultural identities.

WHAT WOULD MY CHILD HAVE TO DO?

In addition to participating in the family therapy you sought by coming to the Calgary Family Therapy Centre, your child will be asked to be part of a videotaped session, and later to identify and write on a paper form instances in the session they considered examples of successful negotiations of cultural identities. The paper form and your child's choice will not be discussed with other members of the family, by the researchers, or your therapist. On a later day, your child will be asked to be interviewed for approximately 30 minutes regarding those times in which a successful negotiation had occurred. During this interview, your child will be audiotaped so that the interview can later be transcribed and analyzed. If you provide your informed consent your session will be videotaped and the interview audiotaped for the purposes identified above.

WHAT ARE THE RISKS?

The risks involved in participating in the study would be no different from those any child faces when participating in family therapy sessions with their family. The videotaped session(s) would only be seen by the Calgary Family Therapy Centre staff who are professionals or professionals-in-training whose ethics extend to expectations of keeping their conversations or observations of you confidential. Only the primary investigator (Dr. Tom Strong), the doctoral student researcher (Inés Sametband) and the transcriber will listen to the audiotapes as part of this study, whose ethics also extend to expectations of keeping their exposure to your conversations confidential.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS FOR ME AND/OR MY CHILD?

Your consent to be videotaped will enable your family therapist to get feedback on her or his session with you, thus possibly improving your continued work with therapists.

If you agree for your child to participate in this study there may or may not be a direct medical benefit to them. The concerns which brought you as a family to the Calgary Family Therapy Centre may be improved during the study but there is no guarantee that this research will help them. The information we get from this study may help us to provide better treatments in the future for patients seeking family therapy.

DO I OR DOES MY CHILD HAVE TO PARTICIPATE?

If your child does not wish to participate in the study, you can indicate this preference and your family therapy will continue to be offered to you and your family, without videotaping, interviewing, or audio recording for the purposes of this research project and without consequence for your family therapy.

The participation of your children is voluntary and you may withdraw your consent to be videotaped, interviewed, and audiotaped at any time, without any consequence for your continued family therapy. Similarly, as researchers we may elect to stop videotaping your family therapy sessions. If this occurred, it would not affect your continuing family therapy. Should one of your children turn 18 during the period of the study we would require their adult consent to be

videotaped, interviewed, and audio recorded for the purposes of the study. Their preference to not give their consent would not affect their therapy, or that of the whole family.

WHAT ELSE DOES MY AND/OR MY CHILD'S PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

There are no other expectations of your children in this study, other than to be videotaped in the course of their family therapy, potentially identify the above mentioned instances of successful negotiation of cultural identities, and be interviewed and audio recorded.

WILL WE BE PAID FOR PARTICIPATING, OR DO WE HAVE TO PAY FOR ANYTHING?

There are no costs involved should you consent to participate in the study, save for the normal parking expenses you might occur in coming to family therapy. The family therapy you receive at the Calgary Family Therapy Centre would be offered to your family at no cost by one of the Centre's staff therapists.

WILL MY AND/OR MY CHILD'S RECORDS BE KEPT PRIVATE?

Yes. There will be no identifying features (names, etc.) used in any of the research analyses or reports. Our interest is solely with general patterns of communication within families, so we make no specific reference to participants in this study, only what happens in their communication.

IF I AND/OR MY CHILD SUFFERS A RESEARCH-RELATED HARM, WILL WE BE COMPENSATED?

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Nothing said in this document will adversely affect legal rights. All necessary medical assistance is available just as if outside the study.

SIGNATURES

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your child's participation in the research project and agree to their participation as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw, or withdraw your child from the study at any time without jeopardizing their health care.

Parent/Guardian's Name	Signature and Date

Child's Name	Signature and Date

Investigator/Delegate's Name	Signature and Date

Witness' Name	Signature and Date

If you have any questions concerning your rights as a possible participant in this research, please contact The Chair of the Conjoint Health Research Ethics Board.

The investigator or a member of the research team will, as appropriate, explain to your child the research and his or her involvement. They will seek your child's ongoing cooperation throughout the study.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Health Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

A signed copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Research Project: Negotiating Cultural Identities among Immigrant Family

Members in Family Therapy

Dear Participant,

Immigrant families in Canada have to deal with lots of changes: A new environment, sometimes a new language, relationships, and customs (i.e., clothing, food, traditions). Sometimes, family members engage in these changes differently, according to how they understand their own culture. For example, they may align with, talk from, or follow the customs of particular cultural groups that are different than other members of their family. In some cases, these differences can create tensions between family members and may influence their relationship as a family. These differences can be seen as a way in which family members express their cultural identities.

When you think back to your family session today, **what are one or two moments you recall that were relevant in the conversation with your family and your therapist, where you talked from different cultural ways of being or understandings, as a member of a particular cultural group (i.e. certain cultural tradition, religion, nationality, etc.)?**

1) Please add a few words on describing what the conversation was about at the time so that the researcher can find the segment easier:

      When we were talking about…

_____

_____

_____

Approximate time during the session (please mark with an **X**:

a) At the beginning of the session____   b) Half way through____

c) Around 3/4 of session____   d) At the end of the session____

2) Please add a few words on what the conversation was about so that the researcher can find the segment easier: When we were talking about…

_____

_____

_____

Approximate time during the session (please mark with an **X**:

a) At the beginning of the session___   b) Half way through___

c) Around 3/4 of session___   d) At the end of the session____

Thank you!

Individual Interview Guiding Questions

In the last five sessions with your therapist,

1) What were some of the important instances you recall in which you and your family's talk brought forth cultural ways of being in how you and/or other family members understand things?

2) After watching this session instance you had identified as relevant… what is this like for you?

3) What made this moment important for you? Do you think this moment was important for other family members? Explain…

4) If you focus on the interaction between you and your family members, what made it possible for you and family members to move forward? What do you notice working well at the time? How do you make sense of it? Were you aware of this at the time?

5) How were you trying to negotiate your view/what you were doing/saying in this instance?

6) What made it possible for you and your family to move forward in the conversation about…?

7) What is your understanding of what other members were trying to do/say?

8) How do you think this moment influences your relationship with your family?

9) What were some of your therapist's questions? moves (e.g., questions, comments) that were helpful for you? And for your family?

10) What were some of your therapist's responses to you that you found helpful? And to your family?

11) Any other comments you would like to make at this time?

Negotiating cultural identities: Verbal description used to explain this concept to families

"When immigrant families arrive to Canada, they have to deal with lots of changes. For example, they have to get used to the new environment, sometimes a new language, relationships, and customs (i.e., clothing, food, traditions). Sometimes, family members engage in these changes in different ways; one obvious example may be clothing. Sometimes, some members of the family continue to dress according to the customs of the place they were coming from, while others may want to dress the way people dress in Canada (e.g., teenagers). Does that make sense to you…? These differences can be seen as a way in which family members express their cultural identities. When the differences become too big (e.g., when family members don't agree in how they dress, or speak one language only), they may create tension in the family's relationships, and family members may need to find new ways of relating to each other that also respect their preferences in how they understand and live by some cultural practices. What I'm looking for are times during your conversation with (name of the therapist) when you experienced that your way of being cultural, or understanding your culture was respected and understood by your family".

"I'm going to ask you to fill out a paper form once the session is finished. I will ask you to think back to the session, to see whether at any point in your conversation with your family here today, you engaged in the kind of exchange I described to you. That is, any parts in the conversation in which you and your family members were dealing with differences in how each of you understands your cultural identities, and how you were dealing with these differences in ways that were satisfactory to you and to everyone in your family. In the paper form, I will ask you to write down a couple of words on what you were talking about at that time, and approximately

when during the session this happened – at the beginning, middle or end of the session – so that I can find it in the tape to show it back to you when we meet for the individual interview".

Transcript: Segment 1 Session 1 the A family

1	T:	do you have any <u>other</u> ideas about how that may have kind of
2		influenced the person your mom's become?
3	S:	(2.5) yeah (.) probably↓
4	T:	*any guesses on how*
5	S:	(4.5) Mmh none that I can think of >wo-she probably like<
6		(2.5) missed like a lot of opportunities I guess cos' they were so
7		much↑ (.) so-s'lot of (.)money and ti:me (0.9) *and al'that*
8	T:	right {nods} (4.5)a lot of(.)people to split the resources and
9	S:	Yeah
10	T:	T: mhm (3) have you heard her talk about her experiences o:r: is this from your (.)
11		kind of sense of them or <how did you come to develop these ideas about
12		{shifts body in her seat} her hhh
13	S:	Well she's talked about sometimes like (.) she missed on some things at school (.)
14		cause she would have to like babysit or whatever or l' do cho:res and stuff
15	T:	Mhm
16	S:	(2.3) >yeah<
17	T:	(5) so what about you Julia what (.)hhh what thoughts do you have about what it
18		would have been like for you mu::m and how that might have influenced her
19	J:	(2.4) Uhm (3.1) I think cause she kinda' helped her mom take care of like the
20		younger (.) like (0.7) her nieces and nephews and stuff tha:t (.) she kinda of (.)has
21		like this {moves right hand in circles} caregiving towds' other people kinda'
22		influences a little bit more
23	T:	↑Mmhmm↓ (1.2) so that ability she has to care for others you wonder maybe that
24		kind of has developed (inaudible)=
25	J:	=yeah
26	T:	so what's:(.)what are your thoughts on what your daughters are saying
27		about how they understand your experiences does it fit for you or?
28	M:	I think they are in line with things yeah=
29	T:	=mhm
30	M:	=yeah
31	T:	Mhm
32	M:	(.) there are some things that uhm (.) they have more opportunity (.)to(.) <u>do</u> than
33		what I did↓
34	T:	Mhm
35	M:	yea:h that's correct
36	T:	So what was it that (.)kind of was it (.)<about having the number of children in the
37		family where there other things that you felt sort of limited of opportunities a bit
38		more?>
39	M:	(1.5) Maybe th-the number of umh kids in the family
40	T:	Mhm
41	M:	(5.7) some of the opportunities just (2.5) my parents couldn't afford to to (.) do (.)

42		whatever they(.)probably wanted for us >yeah yeah< {nods}
43	T:	so when you were growing up did you know what your parents hopes were for you
44		is that something that was often talked about in the family?
45	M:	Not really. Maybe for older ones yeah (1.2)but uh they did attend to me probably
46		(inaudible) {laughs}
47	T:	{laughs} that would be understandable I guess {laughs}
48	M:	{laughs}
49	T:	right (1.5) and what sort of hopes did you have for yourself for for your life?
50	M:	(2.4) Th (.) to be an independent person {nods} to work to work for <to be a hard
51		worker>
52	T:	↑Mhh↓ (4.1) and how do you think those values have kind of
53		influenced you as you've grown up and come to where you are in your life now
54	M:	I-I don't think I've any regrets: I don't think so (2.5)
55	T:	So are those values you've like you've been able to-to work toward yah
56	M:	{nods}
57	T:	to embrace. ok. and how have you found those values to influence how you've
58		interacted with your daughters as they've been growing up
59	M:	Of course umh (4.5) the things that I would love to see for them emh in society and
60		the things that the friends that they do have or (.) what they interact with or
61		whatever. it's not gonna be the same that (.) maybe there will be some rebellion?
62		umh towards that? but umh (.) I just expect for them just to be (.) to try and be the
63		best that they can
64	T:	so when you refer to society and friends what do you mean by tha:t what's
65		significant about that for you?
66	M:	(3) well (.) every every hh- home's of whatever different bringing up or principles
67		or things to follow rules or whatever hhh so(.) what I think maybe what hhh say for
68		example Stephanie's friend would be <u>doing</u> or their parents let them <u>do</u> umh maybe
69		they're maybe I'm a little more stricter than their parents? you know so they
70		probably see that uhm why can't I they do that why can't I let her do that
71	T:	{nods} ri:ght
72	M:	you know so just (.) >the bringing up<
73	T:	They may have been comparing to some of the other households yeah
74	M:	Yeah
75	T:	so what about society more generally what kind of influences have you seen with
76		That
77	M:	(3) mmh (3.5) I just think that there are just some things that the kids they do
78		nowadays umh (.) it's just so (.) I can't find the word for it it's just that they can get
79		away with thin<u>gs:</u>
80	T:	so what sort of changes have you noticed or things these days have you noticed that
81		seem <u>different</u> to you than what you experienced
82	M:	(5.3) respect in general young or older people the respect (3.9)
83	T:	that in terms of like how they communicate or how they interact=
84	M:	=communicate or interact yeah
85	T:	So what sort of differences I'm curious do you think have kinda' taken place in
86		society o:r in this country that have kinda contributed to that

87	M:	(2) I think umh (2.3) family is just so (2.3) there is so much of a dema::nd
88		especially for uh for the poorer families which people have to work two or three
89		jobs to make ends meet and not being there or with their(.)children or they send
90		them up to a babysitter or something like that(.)or for those who do the wealthy
91		ones they can pay their way out for ah(.)for their kids to be
92		uhm taken care of.
93	T:	So it sounds like kinda for economic reasons whether cause they have to work a lo:t
94		or can afford=
95	M:	=you can afford it just
96	T:	having other people
97	M:	ye:ah so you can see the <u>differences</u> with that yea::h
98	T:	Mmh ok and that- so have you noticed those differences (.)between you and your
99		daughters↑ in particular?
100	M:	(2.2) well when they were much younger I could have spend a little bit more ti:me
101		with them but umh (.)it wasn't feasible because I had to (.) work two jobs in order
102		for them to umh (1.2)
103	T:	Then' curious if like this idea about differences may be in how respect is understood
104		or communicated if tha:t's (.) if you've noticed <u>those</u> differences in your
105		Relationships
106	M:	a little bit <a little bit>
107	T:	(1.3) and is that something that causes problems or something that you kinda' more
108		just noticed that there's been some changes with that
109	M:	Maybe that's where the communication comes in
110	T:	Mmh yeah {nods} yeah so how do you see that being relevant or important
111	M:	<But now> that they are getting older and understand the things more I think (.) you
112		know like we said we can talk about things yeah (.)
113	T:	so as they're getting older what sort of things do you think they are coming to
114		understand a bit more or maybe (1.4) share mo:re closely with you
115	M:	(1.7) maybe that the confidence that umh(3.4)that we can have open
116		Communication
117	T:	and are there any ways you think you might have helped build that confidence for
118		them?
119	M:	(17.5) no not of the top of my head
120	T:	ok maybe I'll check in with you Stephanie what sort of things have you seen your
121		mum doing that have created an environment for open communication
122	S:	(4.0) mmh (3.4) >nothing right the top of my head but< (.) yeah well now she says
123		like that we don't know what she's thinking so we should still like go t'her
124		and ask that we can't assume things (1.4)
125	T:	So she's kinda' trying to remind you to check those assumptions
126	S:	Yea:h
127	T:	instead of kinda assuming ok (writes down on paper)(2.3) and do you when when
128		you when she kinda' reminds you that do you find that that you're more likely to
129		kinda go in and and check in (.) with what her perspective might be?
130	S:	yeah, like certain days (.) not too much {laughs}
131	T:	cer-certain areas you notice that you might- what-what are those kinds of areas?

132	S:	O:h definetly (.) schoo:l (inaudible)
133	T:	so in the pa::st or even now what assumptions or worries might you have about
134		what your mum's perspective is
135	S:	(5.6) whe' she kinda' like expected more I guess (.)than (.) yeah
136	T:	So is-do you mean that something you would - like if you ima:gining what her
137		perspective would be you you'd be expecting her to want-to want more than what
138		you're doing=
139	S:	=Yeah
140	T:	what you'd be doing? ok and is that something you'd been checking like trying to
141		check in with? like what is she expecting or <so I make sure I'm understanding>
142		(2.5) how would you explain that
143	S:	well she's more like (.)unders:tanding I guess now (.)or like she still wants
144		more'bout like not in the sense that she's like (.)like would put you down or
145	T:	Mmh! so you are seeing more understanding and less putting down?
146	S:	Ye:ah for me yeah
147	T:	So how has she been demonstrating that understanding
148	S:	(10.2) I can't really think of anything really
149	T:	sure ok so Julia, you were kinda' indicating maybe you had a different opinion?
150		o:r I was trying to read hhh your body language {laughs}
151	J:	(laughs)
152	T:	or maybe I'll just go back to the original question umh what sort of things have
153		you noticed your mum doing to kinda'of encourage more open communication in
154		the family
155	J:	umh (4) like she talks us about things that she had in the past like there's still
156		kinda' like the: things you kinda like can't go to her for ca:use (.) you don't know
157		what she's going to say hhh but (.) we talk much more bout everything
158	T:	So you're seeing her kinda mindboggling(?) or kinda doing that talk in herself
159	J:	Yeah
160	T:	And would you say that's made you more comfortable talking to?
161	J:	Umh
162	T:	Maybe I'm jumping to far ahead {laughs}
163	M:	{laughs}
164	J:	in some things like some things are a little bit touchy to talk about like when it
165		comes to like schoo:l o:r: getting a job I kinda' don't like getting into that with her
166		cause (.) usually involves me just not getting other things and just being like a big
167		blowout?
168	T:	ok (.) so would you say that your you've kinda become aware or were you always
169		aware of what's the most touchy subjects are and in certain ways and kinda'of(.)
170		maybe reasons for not bringing them up?
171	J:	Yeah yeah
172	T:	ok so do you- is that something new or is that how you always would have sort of
173		dealt with those issues
174	J:	Mmh? (.) it's more like something like the way she reacts to other things that I kinda
175		feel like she'd do the same if not more of a reaction toward th- if asked or something
176		about something that was kinda like taboo

204

177	T:	So is that sort of what Stephanie was talking about that it's like you are kinda of
178		anticipating what her reaction may be and
179	J:	Yeah
180	T:	for that reasons staying away?
181	J:	Yeah
182	T:	are you ok - like how do you feel about things being like that-like is it ok to have
183		those areas when you go to? would you prefer more open communication? cause
184		every family is different so I'm making sure I can see where you stand on that
185	J:	umh (.) I don't think is a::s: important with her like everything cause like there
186		may be something more important with but like (.)like the communication we have
187		now I'm happy with cause like I do need to talk about something I know I can talk
188		to her about it
189	T:	mmh meaning like any topic? Or
190	J:	Umh
191	T:	if you really decided that you wanted to? or
192	J:	Like
193	T:	about the topics you do talk about
194	J:	yeah like just topics that.. kinda' hard to say type of {looks at M}
195	T:	And of those of those kind of topics that could be talked about what percentage
196		would you say are safe
197	J:	umh (3.4) well it depends what it is like I can talk to her about homework only if
198		I'm like in school work that I can talk about to her about. When I'm not in it is't kind
199		of like a different story
200	T:	and does it feel like the majority of topics are kinda' open and would be ok
201		discussing and a minority are more touchy? or would you flip that around?
202	J:	Umh(.) sometimes, and sometimes depe:nds like (.)sometimes I may comment
203		about something and she'll take it the wrong way kinda thing so and sometimes she
204		Won't so it really depends
205	T:	ok so it's hard to kinda say it sounds like
206	J:	yeah
207	T:	right so what sort of things you think that you've done to facilitate that more
208		talking
209	J:	Umh (2.3) well like when we were younger we usually like if my mum or dad told
210		us to do something we usually did it without like saying I guess our opinion on it?
211		because I guess it was kinda like the Caribbean thing to do you kinda'of don't talk
212		back to your parents (.) but like(.) umh I kinda like to express myself more telling
213		her how I felt about things
214	T:	mmh so when you were younger and learning about sort of this don't talk back just
215		tell me more about what sort of messages you kinda'of learned about that
216	J:	Umh well it was just like I don't know I came to like mainly we can't talk back to
217		my dad so that's probably been talk back as much but since you kinda have the non
218		conventional kinda way with my mum where we can kinda' talk about things
219	T:	so what do you mean by non conventional?
220	J:	Umh that we know she wouldn't be like taking it as like as straight disrespect by
221		what we are talking about but like if it was my dad he wouldn't accept that at all

222	T:	so what do you think it is about your mo::m that's kinda (.) allowed her help her to
223		see that in a different way than maybe your dad did or
224	J:	Umh maybe their personality and like I guess her social interactions maybe cause
225		she worked more with the public
226	T:	what about her personality or what you might have learnt through her interactions
227		may be relevant?
228	J:	Umh (.) she doesn't have like a I guess intimidating kind of personality (.) on
229		certain things maybe she does but like is not as much where you can't say I don't
230		like the way you are talking to me or something like that
231	T:	mmh then just create that intimidation of oh if I do that
232	J:	Yeah
233	T:	What's-what's gonna happen ok. So you learned more that you you could express
234		your opinion that it could be ok
235	J:	Yeah
236	T:	Is that something that is valued would you say in your family? expressing your
237		opinion in this family {moves hands signaling to sister and mother}
238	J:	Umh sometimes sometimes I feel like (.)that what my mum says goes kinda' thing
239		{looks at M}
240	T:	(2.1) so I'm just curious we haven't talked too much about it but umh (.) in terms
241		of gender like do you see gender playing a role? like in a family now of of three
242		women I guess how may you see that relevant to your interactions with your mother
243	J:	Umh I think that kinda helps
244	T:	It helps?
245	J:	Yeah, yeah
246	T:	In what ways?
247	J:	Umh (4.4) like I don't think we would be as open if my dad was still there
248	T:	Mmh mmh
249	J:	So I guess kinda'of (.) bonded in a way
250	T:	Mary I see that you were sort of agreeing with that?
251	M:	Mmh
252	T:	do you see that being relevant as well {laughs}
253	M:	{laughs} I think so yeah yeah we talk about ladies' things
254	J:	{laughs}
255	S:	{laughs}
256	T:	do you mean like topics you three may be more interested
257	M:	yeah yeah
258	T:	So Stephanie just picking up from what umh Julia was saying do you think there is
259		something about (.) what it means to be like a Jamaican man or a Jamaican dad that
260		influenced sort of your dad's interactions in the family?
261	S:	Yeah I think so I think just more into like s:how that (.) like (2.3) he's the man I
262		guess as a way? {laughs} just wanting to show like (.) control I guess
263	T:	so is that how that role would kinda' tipically understood would you say? where did
264		learned that that was the role he wanted to take up do you think
265	S:	Just like I don't know
266	T:	There might have something' bout gender more broad do you think?

267	S:	Yeah
268	J:	I don't think it had anything to do with being from the Caribbean because it was his
269		childhood mainly
270	T:	something that he learned in his family?
271	J:	Well all I know is that's pretty much his dad how raised him so probably got like I
272		don't know maybe not the loving and support that he needed as a child so kinda he
273		needed to control what we did
274	S:	Or he didn't really like (.) <u>know</u> how to deal with certain things (1.7)
275	T:	Mmh {nods} He might've felt outside his realm a little bit you would say?
276	S:	Yeah
277	T:	and so have you seen that as significant to you being three women together in the
278		family?
279	S:	Yeah
280	T:	Mmh and how have you noticed maybe gender influencing the interactions with
281		one another?
282	S:	Well if he was there it would be more awkwa::rd cause like he is the only guy and
283		us three we can talk about whatever really and like(inaudible)
284	T:	so you feel like sharing that (.) gender identity in a way helps you understand one
285		another more? and connect a bit more?
286	S:	Yeah

Transcript Session 4 Exemplar I: The C family

1	T:	what do you need from her (.)
2	L:	I don't know like more understanding I guess?
3	T:	Mm:h
4	L:	Cause like when I tell you something then you just (2.2) mmh i don't know (.)
5		like is different y-you don't really <u>know?</u> (2.4) like y'always say like when I was a
6		teenager went through like not exactly the same you know? and giving me advices
7		but it's not exactly (.) the sa:me situation (1.3) just like a lot of different things
8	E:	I don't understand mamacita
9	L:	(1.4) like more understanding I think
10	T:	More understanding around what (.) different situations
11	L:	Yeah like (.) everything you know? like if you are like (.) when I was a kid (.) I
12		couldn't go out (.) till I was like eighteen t-till ten in the morning you know? like
13		you could only be out till ten?
14	T:	Mmh
15	E:	Well yah but that's why I'm (.) because I wasn't allowed to do s:o many things I'm
16		trying to be more understanding with you and Junior and I think I'm(.)I'm doing
17		it(.) I can't(.) I can't do:: everything you want me to do? caus:e you know
18		sometimes you want to be (.) outside before eleven and-and I tell you it's too late?
19	L:	yeah (hhh) exactly
20	T:	Mmh
21	E:	I kno:w I know you feel like I'm not understanding you but (2.4) I'm-I'm doing it
22		right?
23	T:	you are trying
24	E:	Yes
25	T:	is there=
26	L:	=but what about weekend you know?
27	T:	is there places where you could gain more understanding? of her perspective?
28	E:	yeah sometimes uh I feel times umh she stayed at Jimmy's home after eleven
29	T:	Mmh
30	E:	that happened a few times
31		but if you were just hanging out outside in the mall or he wants to do it every
32		weekend just because is a weekend i don't think past eleven is a good time for a
33		teenager to be outside-I I don't know if other teenagers do it before eleven maybe
34		(.)but I'm not their mum right?
35	T:	What would you like your mum to understand in this situation
36	L:	Like society is different here? like teenagers (.) like in the grade nine party
37		everyone was picked up at one or two and you {looks at E} picked me up you
38		wanted me there like at (.) twelve or [eleven]
39	E:	[twelve] {nods}
40	L:	everyone everything was getting together at twelve when I left everyone was like
41	T:	It was just getting fun

42	E:	but [past twelve]
43	T:	[So]
44	E:	for a fifteen years old lady I think is= {looks at T}
45	T:	=so hold on so let's understand that for a second (.) so she said everything (.) so here
46		is a little bit different. curfews are a little bit more(.) rela:xed (.) so part of
47		understanding and showing her that you could understand is just to repeat that yeah
48		here curfews are more relaxed you are right that is quite different than at home (.) or
49		do you call it here home now? where do you call home {looks at E, looks at L}
50	E:	Here
51	L:	Mmh u-hum {nods}
52	T:	Here. so to say that it's not how it was when I was growing up but is very different
53		that way and to acknowledge that for her
54		(1.2)
55		so that is a good place to start for her is acknowledging the difference
56	E:	Mmh
57	T:	do you see what I mean?
58	E:	Yes
59	T:	Yeah
60	E:	but ah it's just I - yeah I- I know it is different? but fo:r is not beca:use (.) I feel
61		teenagers do it it doesn't me:an like [everyone do it]
62	T:	[everyone]
63	E:	because I have friends
64	T:	Mmh?
65	E:	who have teenagers as well and they went at home at ten or ten thirty
66	T:	[right]
67	E:	[right?]
68	T:	Yeah
69	E:	so not everyone is outside past eleven or twelve (.) but but sometimes when it is
70		something umh (.) I don't know like a party or something y-you stay at twelve (.)
71		one day you stayed at twelve thirty or something like that remember that?
72		it was twelve thirty?
73	L:	{nods}
74	T:	so there's times when you are flexible in your curfew with her
75	E	yeah because that time ah Jimmy's mother- it was the mother? {looks at A} (.)
76		She said umh (.) she was going to look for them and to drive them home so I was
77		like - Iwas concerned anyways bu::t I went ok -ok let's do that
78	E:	It's not very often of course bu:t
79	L:	But I just like I think like if I was outside? (.) then I - I get what you're saying I
80		don't want you outside at twelve (.)but if I'm inside someone's house like in the
81		basement
82	E:	But you-you know what happens mamacita=
83	T:	=d'you
84	E:	even if you were inside they are having drugs, they are drinking alcohol they are
85		having sex (.) it doesn't matter that=
86	L:	=but I've never been part of that

87	T:	So but let's just hold on let's hear what did your mum just say(.) what are her
88		concerns can you repeat back?
89	L:	Like if I like do drugs and just=
90	T:	=well I didn't hear her say if you
91		would do drugs(.) repeat back what she said. drugs what else
92	L:	Drink
93	T:	Mmh what else
94	L:	Sex
95	T:	right. so are those do you understand those concerns? as being true legitimate
96		concerns?
97	L:	{nods}
98	T:	Yeah
99	E:	Yeah, she told me by herself what happened in those parties sometimes
100	T:	Mmh
101	L:	Cause I wasn't doing it I was just watching and
102	T:	ri::ght
103	E:	I know and I'm proud of you because=
104	T:	=you made some good choices=
105	E:	=yeah because you don't
106		do it (.) it's just I-I don't want you to be:: (.)there if they are having drugs even if
107		you don't do it because they can do like stupid things
108	T:	What's your worry (overlapping) tell her
109	E:	They can do stupid things I-I can't imagine like (.) an example but when people is
110		not on control?
111	T:	Mmh
112	E:	they can do:: whatever kinds of things mami
113	T:	Aha
114	E:	Even if you are not doing it just because you are there you are in dangerous
115	L:	Wo' the drugs they are like weed you don't get that crazy from weed you don't do
116		anything alcohol maybe alcohol yes it gets you crazy
117	T:	Mmh
118	L:	but there's not enough alcohol ever to get someone that drunk (.) like it's always
119		under control like when Melissa like she was drunk? I was telling her like you
120		need to come home right? we need to leave now (.)get out of the bed and come
121	T:	Mmh
122	L:	She got there and she was like throwing up and I was like you need to like stop and
123	E:	yeah
124	T:	what keeps you from using drugs or drinki::ng or
125	L:	Cause I don't wanna (.) I don't wanna do that right now like there
126	T:	because?
127	L:	I wanna have fun I don't wanna be feeling sick
128	T:	Right. You see that there's some negative consequences of drinking or using drugs
129	L:	Like I just like to talk to people not lay down on the floor drooling
130	T:	Mmh
131	L:	I don't think that's a party

132	E:	and that that happened I think it was the first time that you:: hanged o:ut with
133		these girls together right?
134	T:	Mmh
135	E:	So:: it was a sister or a brother? (.) who give you umh marijuana
136	L:	The sister
137	E:	The older sister of Laura's friend umh she give them marijuana
138	T:	Mmh
139	E:	right? so:: and Laura mmh Laura tell me that that she tried it right and you didn't
140		like the way that you feel and (.) everything that happened that day right and we
141		talk about it and that's good you didn't do it again
142	T:	it's so great that she can be so honest with you (.)that's something that people your
143		age really struggle with with their parents it's to really share
144	E:	Mmh
145	T:	be open about all these things? so the fact that you do that with your mom is really
146		amazing
147	L:	wo cause what happens is like crazy is like you see in the movie
148	T:	Mmh
149	E:	Mmh
150	L:	It's crazy stuff that's why I told her
151	T:	Right
152	E:	(overlapping) and you know I'm not going to be ma::d o-otherwise I mean
153		(.)is-is-is not thing to be ma:d is just-is concerning
154	T:	Right
155	L:	Specially that time I was on the streets (.)
156	T:	what happened
157	L:	I was like drunk and (.) high at the same time
158	T:	Right that's a big concern for your mum
159	L:	And I peed my pants in the middle of the street and changed (.) there
160	T:	wow so there is a safety issue there is so many different things
161	E:	Ye::s
162	T:	and you recognize that(.)right?
163	L:	yeah (.) the next morning I was like wow (.) yeah.
164	E:	and I didn't know everything she was in a sleep over right? so I was just thinking
165		yeah they are just talking but they were-they were outside in the middle of the
166		Night
167	T:	that's pretty scary
168	E:	with alcohol with marijuana
169	T:	yes
170	E:	so::
171	T:	How did you find out she just told you the next day?
172	E:	yeah she told me
173	T:	wow how brave (1.2) did you appreciate that she was so open with you
174	E:	yeah of course yeah I appreciate that
175	T:	that is such a big deal