
7-28-2014

Parent-Adolescent Storytelling in Canadian-Arabic Immigrant Families (Part 2): A Narrative Analysis of Adolescents' Stories Told to Parents

Lynda M. Ashbourne
University of Guelph, lashbour@uoguelph.ca

Mohammed Baobaid
Muslim Resource Centre for Social Support & Integration

Follow this and additional works at: <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr>



Part of the [Quantitative, Qualitative, Comparative, and Historical Methodologies Commons](#), and the [Social Statistics Commons](#)

Recommended APA Citation

Ashbourne, L. M., & Baobaid, M. (2014). Parent-Adolescent Storytelling in Canadian-Arabic Immigrant Families (Part 2): A Narrative Analysis of Adolescents' Stories Told to Parents. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(30), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2014.1034>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the The Qualitative Report at NSUWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Qualitative Report by an authorized administrator of NSUWorks. For more information, please contact nsuworks@nova.edu.



Parent-Adolescent Storytelling in Canadian-Arabic Immigrant Families (Part 2): A Narrative Analysis of Adolescents' Stories Told to Parents

Abstract

This paper is the second of two papers presenting the results of a qualitative analysis of interviews inviting Arabic-Canadian immigrant adolescents and parents to reflect on the stories they tell each other in the context of everyday family life. The first paper provides the results of a Grounded Theory Methodology and proposes a substantive theory of intergenerational storytelling during adolescence. This paper augments these results by presenting Narrative Analysis of a separate part of the interview inviting adolescents to tell a story to the interviewer as if telling it to their parents. Based on the stories told by 10 adolescents (5 male, 5 female), this analysis provides an initial representation of how the broad projects of acculturation and collective identity, as well as changes in parent-adolescent relationships, are brought directly into parent-adolescent day-to-day interaction in the form of small stories. These small stories present teens as performing in their day-to-day lives, with friends and strangers, and in the face of challengers and strange or familiar circumstances. The stories provide a context in which parent-adolescent interactional voices are prominent, and wherein understanding of unusual events, co-construction of self and family identities, broader social influences, and autonomy/connection dialectics emerge.

Keywords

Parent-Adolescent Relationship, Storytelling, Acculturation, Narrative Analysis, Social Constructionism

Creative Commons License



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-Share Alike 4.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements: Research funding is from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We would also like to extend our thanks to Wisam Al Dabbagh, M.Sc., and Laura French, M.Sc., who assisted in transcribing, coding, and analysis of interview data; and to Reem Ebied and Sarah Darsha who conducted all interviews.

Parent-Adolescent Storytelling in Canadian-Arabic Immigrant Families (Part 2): A Narrative Analysis of Adolescents' Stories Told to Parents

Lynda M. Ashbourne

University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada

Mohammed Baobaid

Muslim Resource Centre for Social Support and Integration, London, Ontario, Canada

This paper is the second of two papers presenting the results of a qualitative analysis of interviews inviting Arabic-Canadian immigrant adolescents and parents to reflect on the stories they tell each other in the context of everyday family life. The first paper provides the results of a Grounded Theory Methodology and proposes a substantive theory of intergenerational storytelling during adolescence. This paper augments these results by presenting Narrative Analysis of a separate part of the interview inviting adolescents to tell a story to the interviewer as if telling it to their parents. Based on the stories told by 10 adolescents (5 male, 5 female), this analysis provides an initial representation of how the broad projects of acculturation and collective identity, as well as changes in parent-adolescent relationships, are brought directly into parent-adolescent day-to-day interaction in the form of small stories. These small stories present teens as performing in their day-to-day lives, with friends and strangers, and in the face of challenges and strange or familiar circumstances. The stories provide a context in which parent-adolescent interactional voices are prominent, and wherein understanding of unusual events, co-construction of self and family identities, broader social influences, and autonomy/connection dialectics emerge. Keywords: Parent-Adolescent Relationship, Storytelling, Acculturation, Narrative Analysis, Social Constructionism

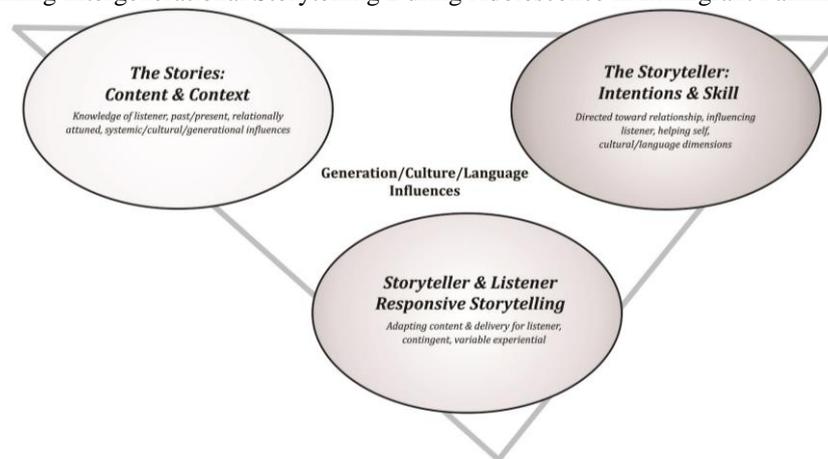
This paper is the second of two papers in which we present the results of our qualitative analysis of interviews inviting Arabic-Canadian immigrant adolescents and parents to reflect on the stories they tell each other in the context of everyday family life. This study extends understanding of intergenerational storytelling between parents and adolescents; provides a window on meaning-making and relationship processes as part of the day-to-day interactions that comprise family life; and attends particularly to the family life experience of immigrant parents and adolescents.

The first paper (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2014) provides an initial conceptualization of intergenerational storytelling during adolescence in immigrant families - substantive theory we generated using Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) from a constructivist orientation (Charmaz, 2006) to analyse interview data with both parents and adolescents (see figure 1). In this paper, we describe Narrative Analysis (NA) we conducted as a second and complementary phase to the GTM analysis of interview data, focusing on the interviews conducted with adolescent participants. The NA of stories told by adolescents during these interviews in response to a request to “tell me (interviewer) a story that you have told your parent in the past couple of weeks – tell it to me as if I was your parent” augments the conceptualization of intergenerational storytelling by providing a more finely tuned analysis

of the *content* of stories and *how* they are told. NA provides evidence of the narratives and “voices” that are incorporated into the stories these adolescents tell their parents, with potential links to broader cultural narratives.

This local study has global significance in a context of global migration and within the substantive area of family relationships, specifically adolescent-parent relationships, communication, interactions, and meaning-making. In this study, we pay specific attention to the experiences of Arabic migrant families whose family life occurs against the backdrop of dominant cultural discourses and norms that may differ significantly from their culture of origin and/or family values. In addition, the current study extends methodological considerations of how multiple qualitative analytic methods may inform and augment results of qualitative studies. The intended audience for this paper is family and social science researchers, as well as qualitative researchers interested in the complementary use of GTM and NA.

Figure 1: Conceptualizing Intergenerational Storytelling During Adolescence in Immigrant Families



Literature Review

This study is situated within a social constructionist theoretical perspective. We view parent-adolescent relationships as *dialogic* (Bakhtin, 1986) in reference to the joint construction of meaning by listener and speaker, the emergent nature of meaning in the context of parent-adolescent interactions and conversations, and the presence of push-pull tensions that influence both meaning-making and relational processes (Baxter, 2004; Ashbourne, 2009). A social constructionist perspective also premises the influences of broader social discourses, such as those associated with the dominant surrounding cultural context or with a family/local culture, on meaning-making (Ammerman, 2003; Few, 2007; Gergen, 1994; Hammack, 2008).

For migrating families, the process of acculturation (understood here as adaptation to the family culture or surrounding culture within which the family is embedded) can also be understood as dialogically and relationally constituted (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). A dialogic, multivoiced understanding of self, culture and how they are intertwined directs attention to points of contact such as those associated with global migration (Hermans, 2001), where “moving cultures where here and there, past and present, country-of-origin and hostland, self and other are constantly being negotiated with each other” (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, p.15). In addition to each other, individuals also engage with and deviate from “master narratives” or stories of collective identity (Hammack, 2008). The pace of acculturation can differ for parents and adolescents, and significant acculturation differences can contribute to intergenerational conflict (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Religious and ethnic identity

construction is heavily influenced when family migration means a move from being part of a religious majority to one that is in minority (Duderija, 2007). Such a radically different cultural context influences both practices and beliefs that may have been held or “taken for granted” in the country-of origin (Ammerman, 2003), potentially changing family practices and interactions.

Daily, relationally-constituted negotiations between parents and adolescents influence parental monitoring/knowledge and information sharing (Kerr, Stattin, & Burk, 2010; Smetana, 2008) and choices about time spent together and apart (Ashbourne & Daly, 2010; Crouter, Head, McHale, & Tucker, 2004; Larson, Wilson, Brown, Furstenberg, & Verma, 2002). These parent-adolescent interactions frequently involve managing the dialectical struggle between autonomy and connectedness (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Youniss & Smollar, 1985) or conflict and closeness (Laursen & Collins, 2004). Parent-adolescent researchers often view parents as intentionally engaging in monitoring or questioning adolescents (Smetana, 2008), and adolescents as making choices about whether and what to disclose to their parents (Mazur & Ebesu Hubbard, 2004; Smetana, Villalobos, Tasopoulos-Chan, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2009). A closer examination of what is shared and how it is shared by adolescents during day-to-day conversations with parents extends understanding of these interactions.

Across cultures and to varying degrees parents and caregivers use storytelling in a variety of ways to socialize children, teach preferred values or morals, and to pass along family and cultural legacies (D’Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Manoogian, Walker, & Richards, 2007; Mathews, 1992; Wang, 2008). In addition to serving as a *medium* of socialization within families, telling and listening to stories can also be seen as a *meaning-making* activity for the teller and the listener (Pratt & Fiese, 2004). Bruner (1990) identifies that while cultural location generally makes understandable what is ordinary or expected, stories serve to illuminate the “rare” or that which requires explanation. Thus, in times of change (developmental, family reconfiguration, relocation) the stories that are told between members of families take on particular meaning vis-à-vis dominant cultural norms and serve to make sense of the unexpected or out-of-the-ordinary.

Storytelling as meaning-making has been linked to adolescent identity development (Habermas, Ehlert-Lerche, & de Silveira, 2009; McLean, 2005; Pasupathi & Hoyt, 2009). Collective remembering in families (Reese & Fivush, 2008) contributes to co-constructing narratives of personal and familial experiences that begins in early childhood and develops throughout adolescence. This plays an important role in developing understanding of one’s sense of self embedded in a larger familial and cultural context (Fivush, Bohanek, Roberson, & Duke, 2004), and contributes to the formation of family and individual identities (Koenig Kellas, 2005; Thompson, Koenig Kellas, Soliz, Thompson, Epp, & Schrodt, 2009). The cultural context in which reminiscing and storytelling take place influences “memory conversations” in families, specifically, the functions of remembering and recounting past events and differences in socialization goals for these activities (Wang, 2004, 2008). Wang has demonstrated that these influences are both culture-specific and take into account the broader cultural milieu (see also, Hammack, 2008). McLean and Thorne (2006) advocate the consideration of storytelling in more natural settings, with specific audiences, and including “the listener as part of the intended meaning” (p.125).

In the current investigation, we take Bamberg and Georgakopoulou’s (2008) ideas related to *small stories* as a valuable lens from which to view the stories shared in the context of mundane or everyday family life. Bamberg (2011) describes the benefits of conducting narrative analysis of small stories in understanding identity construction, and attending specifically to the role narratives play in “position[ing] a sense of self in relation to culturally shared values and existing normative discourses” (p. 321). Orienting to small narratives

“where co-conversationists seek and find ways to mitigate the interactive trouble and fashion a portrayal of themselves in ways that are interactively useful” (Bamberg, 2004; p. 368) is particularly valuable when looking at adolescent narratives. Bamberg argues that adolescents may not yet be as practiced at constructing or presenting more complete life-narratives, making the case for analysing these small stories situated in everyday talk-in-interaction. In this study, we are particularly interested in the family context as one key setting in which adolescents are co-constructing identity in interaction with their parents through storytelling.

Interviewing members of Arabic immigrant family members who reside in a predominately non-Arabic social context provides an opportunity to examine family storytelling in a group of families who are relatively homogeneous culturally, as well as the potential influences of broader dominant cultural discourses. Previous GTM analysis (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2014) provides a substantive theory in the area of parent-adolescent storytelling in these families (see Fig. 1). Briefly, the theory generated describes storytelling between parents and adolescents as involving interaction, communication, and meaning-making. Essential elements of relationship maintenance and development include:

- (i) content and context of stories;
- (ii) intentions and skill of storytellers; and
- (iii) responsiveness between storytellers and listeners.

Adolescents and parents indicated that the stories that were told and how/when they were told were often related to personal experiences; that storytellers used their knowledge of and unique relationship with the listener, their experience of what has worked before, and opportunism about best times to share. The storytellers’ intentions included eliciting parental pride/understanding or adolescent learning, entertaining the listener and engaging in culturally-valued storytelling skills, omitting or exaggerating detail to engage or obtain desired response from listener, and selective use of language (Arabic/English). Language choice was based on the original context of storied events, language proficiency of teller and listener, and desired response. Responsive storytelling was evidenced by storytellers’ sensitivity and awareness to listeners’ mood, judgment, attentiveness, and enjoyment. This awareness, coupled with knowledge of listener, anticipated response and nature of their relationship shaped the delivery of stories, for example: telling a story quickly to avoid questions, or telling a story slowly and with detail to ensure understanding. Storytelling was acknowledged to be sometimes quite dramatic or emotional. Culture served as the basis for many intergenerational stories – adolescents described telling their parents stories about their experiences of running up against religious/cultural taboos in public spaces, and parents told of passing along culturally-based teachings in the form of stories.

The NA of adolescent stories told to parents, utilizing a Listening Guide (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008) approach provided us with an opportunity to more finely attune our analysis of how stories are told and what content is incorporated than was possible using GTM. In addition to looking for the multiple voices present in these narratives, we were also interested in considering, from a different analytic perspective, some of the language and cultural influences described in GTM results. The results of NA will be valuable in *thickening* the description of the finer aspects of the presented theory of parent-adolescent storytelling (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2014), contributing to understanding some of the potential areas of conflict and growth, closeness and distance in the relationships of parents and adolescents in immigrant minority families.

We, the two authors, are both engaged in working with and supporting a wide range of families, parents, and adolescents as they negotiate family life. As a family therapist

(LMA) and psychologist (MB), we are interested in how meaning is constructed in families and the day-to-day communication and relationship practices of parents and adolescents specifically. We are both parents of adolescents and young adults, and have previously worked together in a community agency with parents and adolescents in immigrant and non-immigrant populations. MB immigrated to Canada with his family from the Middle-East. LMA is Caucasian and her family immigrated to Canada between 2 and more generations ago. We both recognise the ways in which spiritual/cultural practices and the migration experience influence our own and others' families. MB is currently the executive director of an agency engaged in establishing social support networks for the diverse London Ontario Muslim community in dealing with issues of integration, family conflict, domestic violence, and children in conflict with the law. As such, he is engaged in working toward building the capacity needed to overcome challenges that Muslim families may face at different stages in their lives. He has observed that a key element of coping with these challenges is family communication and relational practices during adolescence. LMA is currently a faculty member in a couple and family therapy graduate training program in Guelph Ontario. In training new therapists to attend to the intricacies of culture, ethnicity, migration, adolescence, and interpersonal practices in families, she holds that an enhanced understanding of the micro-processes of communication and meaning-making between parents and adolescents can make a positive contribution to interventions and therapeutic conversations designed to build on existing strengths and address relationship challenges. We were engaged directly in the design and implementation of this research project, mentoring interviewers and graduate student research assistants in NA interview and Listening Guide analysis procedures. The two interviewers, immigrant women who have been associated with the work of the Muslim Resource Centre for Social Support and Integration in London, Canada, and two research assistants from the University of Guelph, contributed their own knowledge and life experience as well as careful attention and enthusiasm as researchers to the overall team. Our reflexive practices included written memos, face-to-face conversations, and team discussions throughout the course of research design, recruitment, mentoring, interviewing, transcription, and both GTM and NA analysis.

Method

We designed this study to engage participants in two types of interview questions. The first of these were directed at contributing to grounded theory generation and were thus informed by Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) concepts of theoretical sensitivity - following up on interesting leads in interviews, and theoretical saturation - eliciting rich descriptions of family storytelling experience (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A final question in each interview invited participants to tell a story to the interviewer as if telling it to their parent or teenaged son/daughter - providing 'stories' that we wished to analyse from a Narrative Analysis (NA) methodology. We see these two types of interview questions and subsequent data generation as meeting our intentions to generate preliminary theory related to parent-adolescent storytelling and to examine more closely the nature of the actual stories told by parents and adolescents. We see the initial theory generation as contributing to our NA by setting a conceptual framework for understanding storytelling in families during adolescence. We also see the NA as enriching that preliminary theory by providing finer, more detailed analysis of the way that stories are constructed and presented during the telling. We describe in this paper the NA data collection, analysis, and analytic results.

Narrative analysis provides access to the *voice* or rather multiple voices, as well as relational contexts that comprise the stories that adolescents tell (Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg, & Bertsch, 2003). Building on Gilligan's *Listening Guide* (Gilligan et al., 2003),

Doucet and Mauthner (2008) provide further delineation of the Listening Guide for approaching NA through several readings of transcripts to examine “reflexively constituted narratives, relational narrated subjects, and constructed and critical subjects” (p. 405). We are drawn to this NA approach to considering immigrant adolescents’ stories told as if to their parents in order to highlight the subjectivity, reflexivity and relational aspects of these small stories.

In 2011, we interviewed 10 adolescents (5male, 5female) as part of a larger project that included interviews with parents. Following institutional research ethics board approval from the University of Guelph, recruitment took place through word of mouth and posters placed in community centres, etc., by staff at the Muslim Resource Centre for Support and Integration in London, Ontario, Canada. The adolescent participants ranged in age from 15-20 years (mean age = 17.4 yrs) and had been in Canada for 2-17 years, migrating from countries of origin in the Middle East. All adolescent participants were full-time students (Gr. 10 - 3rd year university) and lived at home.

Interviewers for this study spoke both English and Arabic, but conducted the interviews primarily in English. Prior to beginning the interviews, the first author provided a training session for the two female interviewers that included principles for collecting rich descriptions that met GTM requirements and ideas for eliciting storytelling from each participant that reflected the types of stories shared in families. The first author also met regularly by phone with the interviewers during data collection to provide mentoring and consultation regarding the interviews. The initial question in these interviews was “Describe the stories you tell to your mother/father/son/daughter – when, how, with what purpose do you tell these stories?” and, as stated earlier, the interviews followed constructivist GTM (Charmaz, 2006) approaches of eliciting more detail and following up on emergent themes in order to develop substantive theory in the area of intergenerational storytelling. At the end of each interview, the interviewer asked each participant to tell a story *as if* they were telling the story to their parent/teen. This proved to be a quite difficult task in imagining for parents and the stories elicited in this manner were deemed by our research team to be of insufficient quality (in terms of being *addressed* to their sons or daughters) for NA. Further analysis of these segments of the parent interviews was not completed. However, responding to this question did not seem to be a difficult task for the adolescents, and the transcribed adolescent-told stories were analysed using Doucet and Mauthner’s (2008) Listening Guide approach to NA.

Some adolescents told more than one story, and these were transcribed verbatim with dashes indicating pauses and words such as “like” and “um” included. A total of 11 stories from all 10 adolescent participants (two stories from one female participant, one each from remaining nine participants) were analysed utilizing NA. While a word count is a relatively inaccurate measure of the length of stories told due to asides and short prods in some cases from interviewer, 10 of the narratives ranged in length from 109 words to 311 (mean = 195 words, with most narratives < 200 words). One narrative that became more focused on what father’s storytelling in response to son’s initial story would include was comprised of 1189 words.

We followed the Listening Guide practices outlined by Doucet and Mauthner (2008) in order to complete this NA. These practices encourage capturing the researchers’ reflexive and critical perspectives in response to successive readings of narrative. We recorded our analysis utilizing adjacent columns (in a word-processing document) for, first, the transcribed story, followed by our analytic memos associated with each level of analysis. As outlined by Doucet and Mauthner (2008), we engaged in multiple readings and levels of analysis. At each turn, we read the transcript and listened carefully to the recording, documenting our own interpretations and responses to each story in analytic memo columns. The first reading was

oriented to hearing the central storyline or plot and listening for the relationally-constituted nature of the story as told to another (recurring words, themes, events, chronology, protagonists, plot, subplots, key characters – together with researchers' responses recorded in analytic memos). We documented not only what we were hearing/seeing, but our own responses and perspectives that could be influencing our interpretations. The second reading was oriented to listening for the narrator in the story by identifying 'I poems', the recorded use of I throughout each narrative (as in "I said," "I laughed," "I was thinking that"). The third reading involved listening for voices or themes as presented in relationship (opposition or harmony) to each other – again this provides direct attention to the narrator and listener in relation to each other. Our final reading and analysis was oriented to listening for and identifying the conceptual narratives represented in the story. This allows, according to Doucet and Mauthner (2008), for us to consider the structures that influence or frame the stories that are told by these adolescents to their parents. Two members of the research team comprised of the first author and two graduate research assistants reviewed and analysed each narrative carefully as described above, and we discussed our interpretations and responses in team analysis meetings with all three members. Finally, the second author who was not part of interviewing or prior team analysis reviewed all analytic notes for coherence and consistency with the narratives. One of the graduate research assistants and the second author were both Arabic immigrants themselves – one a father of adolescents, and one a young adult son.

The "I poems" were initially recorded but were not considered to be useful in further analysis based on inconsistency, perhaps related to use of language. These poems ranged from the complete absence of I-statements, to several instances of two to three I-statements, and several narratives including 12-16 I-statements. This means of analysis did not seem to generate particularly meaningful results, so we did not include discussion of this part of the analysis in the Results section of this paper.

We present the analytic results in the following section under headings related to the multiple readings associated with the Listening Guide approach: Listening for the Plot; Voices; and Conceptual Narratives. Transcripts are provided to support or demonstrate analytic claims, and because of the nature of the NA, these include the entire story as presented by the participant unless otherwise noted. Dashes (-) are used to indicate pauses in the telling, and ellipses (...) are used to indicate that part of the transcript was removed for presentation. Participants are identified by sex and ID number.

Results

Listening for the Plot

For the most part, the analysed adolescent-told stories involved events that had taken place earlier in the day, outside of family context. There were six stories that shared these similar plots. The teens told several of these stories with lots of detail, amusing voice and arm gestures, and described events that they had witnessed or directly experienced. For example, the following story included dramatic telling, some laughter and humorous voice, likely including language and ideas about others that can be more acceptably voiced to one's mother using the voice of the 'other':

[Female 001] Today on my way, I just, like, me and [name] we're like going to [the mall], and then this random fat guy in my bus had his head phones all on and he started like dancing (laughs). He was like going crazy.

– And then, I don't know, then I was like, I, I don't know like, I just basically

wanted to say that, obviously I'd make it more enthusiastic, I'll start waving (laughs), and then what's it called, like pretty much that's what I'd be like and then I don't know, then I'll just be like –
 And then I left to go to [the mall] then I was, and then I go, I went inside the washrooms and then I wanted to leave, and then I saw him, and then he wouldn't move, he was like “sorry...my fat ass was in your way” (laughs) - I never saw him again. And then I'd be like, yeah, me and [name] are going to [restaurant] like on Thursday or something - (laughs) pretty much.

These stories were mostly about the teen's interaction with others – strangers on the bus, or in a mall or store; classmates, friends or strangers at school or the mosque. Plots include action and conflict resolution; cultural difference; strangers/others as supportive, amusing, or sinister; the adolescent narrator as passive or active. In some cases stories were told with some humour and drama. Some endings suggested that not enough had been done by other adults in positions to act, while others ended fairly abruptly with a limited sense of what might happen next. One story, told about a close friend with serious family concerns, ended with tentativeness related to whether or not the teen had done enough to support the friend. In all but one of these stories, the narrator played a central role in the story. One adolescent told his story in a quite passive manner, positioning the other characters as nameless strangers who were engaging in illegal behaviour and threatening him following a brief interaction. This story was interesting in that both the implied threat and the narrator's response appeared to be understated. He also indicated that he would not provide an identity for these others to his mother:

[Male 009] When I was walking home from school I saw, like, three kids and they were smoking, say, weed or something, and then they, uhh, walked up to me and asked for money I guess, and, and then they said “see you tomorrow” or something. I wouldn't, I didn't wanna give them money, and they said “oh see you tomorrow”, so...I guess that's it. [Interviewer: And how, like, what would her response be?] Uhh, her response would be like – “Who are they? Do you know them? Where are they from?” – yeah. And then I'd just answer “I don't know them, they're just random people on the road” – yeah.

In addition, there were three stories that served to present the adolescent's achievements to the parent. One teen told a story was told about her efforts at cooking on her own, using humour to tell her mother about her mixed success. In the other two stories, the storyteller paid close attention to how hard working and successful the narrator had been with respect to schoolwork. These narratives included positioning the narrator's efforts as superior in comparison to others, and the apparent intent of these was to obtain parental acknowledgement. Note in the following exemplar that the plot of the narrative appeared to be heavily influenced by the direction of the parent's responses:

[Female 003] Mom I, I got 86 in class. And then she would be like “oh, what did you have before?” I would be like, oh I had 88, only dropped two percent. And then she would be like “oh why did it drop?” And then she'd start getting angry about that. And I would be like but, I have the highest mark, an 86 is still good, half the people in the class have uhh really low mark. And I'll tell her what my other friends have. So I'd be like oh, uhh this person has only a 70 or this person has something else. And she would be like “are you studying? You should be studying more.” And she would start and that would

annoy me, so I would be like I do study, I just, cause she thinks I'm on the computer a lot, I would tell her you can study on the computer, I write my, I do my homework on it and I use Google as my research, and I would explain that. She would probably get distracted about my sister and brother and I'll just keep talking about my marks, and tell her every time I mention one mark, I tell her what I have in my other classes. So I would say and then in Math I have 73 and in English I have an 89 or something. And then she, she would either, if she's happy with it, she would be like "oh okay" and then the thing would be done. But if she's upset, she would start like telling me "why aren't you doing this - you should study more." And then I would be like, I would explain again the story until it gets the message across, and my dad is usually not home that time cause he works late.

The interaction of parental responses and adolescent intent was quite evident in two of the narratives. One presentation of "story" may not fit a defined narrative, but was identified as such by the male participant. He presented an argument he would make to his father touting the benefits of purchasing a motorcycle, while also acknowledging that his father would not, and did not, go along with this request. The second of these followed a teen's attempt to make connections between her father and her teachers, who he had met earlier in the day, by providing him with more information about them. This story appeared to be structured in a way that was woven back and forth between checking in with her father and underlining potential similarities or connections with teachers. Ultimately, the storyline seemed to be directed at providing an entry for the daughter to obtain desired information from her father:

[Female 004] So Dad, today, umm, you came to pick me up and I showed you to my teachers, remember Mr. [name] and Mr. [name]. - He's like "yeah", umm, and he's probably gonna ask "oh, which one is it?" - I'm like okay, do you know the science one, he's the one who has glasses, who was usually, he, he was sitting down and then he was working on his computer. - "Oh yeah that one." - I'm like yeah, he's really nice, but sometimes he's a little bit weird because he yells randomly, and then he makes [laughs] random jokes and that no one really laughs at. - "Oh he seems nice." - Yeah, my brother knows him too. - And now he's probably gonna be like "oh, yeah, I think I seen him", and umm, what's it called, I would say, umm - Yeah he usually talks about my brother too, cause he had him. - He's like "oh yeah, I remember him, yeah." - But he was usually, he was surprised that my brother really umm took me out, he was really nice to me. - like "oh okay." - Yeah, umm, and do you remember the history teacher? - "Yep" - He's the one that you spoke in German with. - He's like "oh okay yea." - So what were you guys talking about? - "Umm, nothing just usual things." - I'm like oh okay, you're saying my name a lot, what was that about? [laughs] - He's like "no, I was just telling him that I was proud of you." - I'm like oh okay thanks. Yep, that's basically it.

We see in this story that the teen presents brief identifiers of the two teachers, waits for her father to indicate that he is following her before adding more detail in telling stories about what the teacher does and how he is connected to her brother, and finally moving to the second teacher (who speaks German). Once she is more certain that her father and she are talking about the same teacher, and that he is

with her in the unfolding narrative, she asks about what they were talking about together (that involved the use of her name). This represents a building plot-line, and intended arc for the story, and consistent check-in with the listener in order to ensure that the question, when asked, is understood by her father and provides her with information in which she is quite interested.

The consideration of storylines provides evidence of the ways in which story content and delivery are grounded in day-to-day experiences, relational aspects of entertaining and soliciting feedback, and connection between these teens and their parents.

Voices

In listening for voices in these narratives, we were interested not only in singular voices, but also in the push/pull between voices – either what was left unstated, or the implicit tension between opposing perspectives. The most frequently evident voices included

- (i) a voice of self-determination or persistence, and an associated voice of performance and acknowledgement-seeking;
- (ii) a voice of outside or difference (together with a voice of inclusion);
- (iii) a voice of agency with an opposing voice of helplessness; and
- (iv) interactional voices of adolescent and parent shaping narratives.

The voices of self-determination and persistence, performance and acknowledgement-seeking, were evident in various ways across six of the 11 narratives. An example of the presence of these voices was captured by a participant [Female 005] who told her mother about her attempts at cooking a traditional chicken dish. While this daughter described cooking as an important age-related skill, she did not tie this to either independence or marriage. She described cooking traditional food in a non-traditional manner, presenting a push-pull that is perhaps related to generational differences – she cooked the same dish but did it on her own terms. This participant told her story in an amusing manner with evident intent to entertain her mother with a *post facto* story of twists and turns rather than asking her mother to teach her or provide advice at the time or in advance. A voice of self-determination and self-reliance was evident as the daughter said “I want to learn how to cook this summer and actually cook because I’m 18 and I don’t know how to cook yet.” She went on to include her mother’s response: “and then she’d be like ‘yeah see, I told you, you have to learn, what you wanna get married now?’ ... I just like brush her off”. It appears that this daughter wanted her mother to acknowledge her attempt to learn a new skill (cooking), and to acknowledge (either accept or reject) the differences in her cooking style and preference from traditional practices. At the same time, the point of the story for her did not appear to be in line with her mother’s statement about this being a marriage-related skill as evidenced by her final comment that she would simply brush off this remark.

Some narratives incorporated a voice of bringing the outside (experiences and observations in public spaces, most often associated with dominant cultural practices or strangers’ actions) into the parent-adolescent space or family context. These voices were also evident across a different group of six narratives analysed. Observations and interactions with strangers were described. These persons were not referred to by name, but were described as “this old guy,” “just random people,” “the teacher...the principal,” and, as indicated earlier, “random fat guy.” In one exception to this practice, a daughter [Female 004, described earlier] spent some time making connections between what her father knew and who she was

talking about: “I’m like okay, do you know the science one, he’s the one who has glasses, who was usually, he, he was sitting down and then he was working on his computer”. More often, while detail was shared about the action and dialogue of the story, there was limited detail about who the unknown players were. They were variously described as amusing, threatening, engaging in illegal or taboo activities such as smoking drugs or watching horror movies, and ineffective in addressing concerns highlighted in the story. One stranger was described as being surprisingly supportive regarding a daughter’s wearing of the hijab (scarf). The voice that was presented in these stories was most often the voice of the observer, who was also described as being relatively uninvolved in the action. These stories and this presentation may provide a safer or more neutral way to introduce more difficult topics (females talking about or interacting with males, the forbidden activities of others, threats) into family discussions, while not necessarily asking for advice or direction. While these stories were predominately positioning the “other” as part of the dominant society, one son told a story of nameless others in from within his own cultural community (Sunday school) – still outside of family context, but in some contrast to other narratives situated in the mall, street, bus, or school.

A small number of participants utilized a voice of agency (the capacity to act) or helplessness in their stories (three narratives). Two different sons presented their stories in a relatively passive voice that did not include any of their own action and primary focus on their observations of others who were threatening them or each other. One stated that his mother would likely ask about the identities of these people and that he would tell her they were just “random guys.” The other’s fairly dramatic telling came to an abrupt end: “then the Principal came and then, yeah, it all turned out really bad and then eventually they just like shook hands and they just walked away” [Male 006]. One daughter related a story about her concern and worry about a friend who was dealing with a parent who was quite seriously ill. The voice of this narrative was a worried voice that described what she had done alongside her ongoing concern and uncertainty about what, if anything, would be helpful her friend.

Finally, there were interactional voices noted in five of the narratives. In these instances, the adolescent participants indicated that they would have difficulty telling a story as if to their parents without also incorporating parental response. When these interactional voices were included, it was evident that the story was shaped by both voices. For example, one son [Male 002] described the back-and-forth nature that his storytelling with his father would take. Evident in this recounting was the relative positioning and re-positioning of son and father in response to each other’s statements. For example, in this interactional narrative, the father responded with “good for you” in a restrained fashion and then presented an alternative perspective; the son said that his father’s idea of aerospace career was good, but then stated that this was not what he wanted for himself. Son and father provided restrained praise or support for each other’s statements, followed by examples from their own lives to support alternative perspectives. The movement described by this son of a conversation began with his own academic achievement and career aspirations and eventually moved to the father’s storytelling about his own youth and adult experiences linked to his son’s introduction of his current decision-making dilemmas.

The response of parents appeared to play a role in influencing how the story was told. One daughter described her persistence in the face of her mother’s demand for explanations and assumed deficiencies. The daughter continued to present comparisons with others and evidence of her hard work in response to her mother’s position. Interestingly, there is no evidence in the narrative of how final outcome would be determined or demonstrated – the daughter said “until the message gets through,” but we don’t know how she would know this.

Other narratives provided evidence that the lack of parental response was in itself influential, indicating the presence/influence of interactional voices even when one voice is

quite silent. Two narratives, from a son and a daughter, incorporated minimal or no response from the listening parent. In the case of the daughter's storytelling [Female 004] about her school teachers, the occasional "yeah" or "which one is it?" appeared to provide sufficient evidence of her father's attention that she continued to move the story along to her intended conclusion (asking her father a question). A son who told a quite passive story appeared to have a father who was a similarly passive listener. In this story-telling, there was no inclusion of the narrator as an active participant in story, or of his response until the end when he referred to his assessment of events turning out "really bad" – this was then linked to a description of his father as sitting and listening but not providing a verbal response. From the perspective of interactional voices, an unresponsive listener influences the narrator, or perhaps a passive story invites limited response.

Conceptual Narratives

As one of the multiple readings of these adolescent-told stories, we looked for evidence of broader conceptual narratives, reflecting the context of negotiating intergenerational relationships and cultural adaptation. These stories all incorporated adolescents' experience of the world beyond the family and outside of their relationship with their parents. How were these brought to the parent-adolescent dialogue, and what do function do these stories appear to be serving?

At one level, these narratives provide a vehicle for *bringing in* difficult, confusing, or uncomfortable experiences. This was done in entertaining, informative, and engaging ways. The narrators often placed their own perspectives (labelling the key characters in the story, describing their own reactions or current confusion, taking a convincing stand in order to ensure that parents understood what they were seeing) as central to the narrative. Sometimes the dilemma itself was presented with some adolescents seeking their parents' perspectives or acknowledgement, while others appeared to desire only to share the story without parental response. The difficult topics introduced through storytelling included talking about members of the opposite sex (a traditionally taboo topic within the cultural group being interviewed), potentially threatening strangers and situations in public spaces, difficult interactions with peers and concerns about peers' well-being in the face of serious parental illness, school performance, and learning culturally-based skills. These storied events provide parents with a window on adolescent's daily lives and their concerns. By sharing these in story form, teens can recount in a manner that takes into account anticipated parental response and attempt to ameliorate undesirable responses (limit what is said, present with humour and detail to entertain, engage in comparison and logical argument to convince parents) and present these events of their lives in their own way.

Secondly, there appeared to be a broad narrative of interaction and inclusion of both adolescent and parent voices in the adolescent telling of these stories. While the stories reflected individual teens' experiences, in most cases the parents' response, present or absent voice, or their own stories were an identifiable part of the what stories were told and how they were told. Narrators used their own perspective to invite that of the parent listener, explicitly identified differences, or actively engaged in helping parents make connections with what they were talking about. Teen storytellers acknowledged that sometimes they were looking for parental approval, and that other times they would disregard parents' perspectives or attempt to convince them of their error in judgement.

Broader narratives evident in or potentially underlying these stories include those related to age or generation, gender, culture, power and construction of 'the other'. Generational narratives associated with adolescence are, not surprisingly, evident. In some cases these intersect with culture and gender. Struggles with more adult or complex troubles

such as a friend's parent's serious illness are brought to parents as part of storytelling. These adolescents provided evidence of their independence as they told stories of their activities away from home on the bus or at the mall. Girls, who are culturally prohibited from interacting with men at this stage in life, are able to describe, with humour or language such as 'fat guy', situations which otherwise might be perceived as inappropriate or difficult to talk about with their parents. Boys who may be coming to terms with their own position or culturally-expected behaviour as men, similarly describe their observations of male strangers who engage in illegal, violent, or taboo behaviours. Playful storytelling of experimenting with learning to cook allows an adolescent girl to manage the tension between embracing some aspects of tradition and rejecting others – cooking on her own terms and not in order to be marriage-ready – and bring this into her conversations with her mother. The significance for these families, likely related to cultural expectations, of academic success is evident in the stories that demonstrate high grades, hard work, and comparison with other, less-successful and hardworking peers.

Narratives of power and authority are evident in some of these stories. Teachers, principals, parents are accorded power which they are described as using productively to solve problems and change a situation, or as being helpless to make changes. Incorporating these narratives into stories told to parents may allow adolescents to begin to exercise their own influence or intentions in voicing their concerns or inviting more information from parents.

Others are variously described as amusing, threatening, surprisingly supportive, violent, drug-using, less hard-working or successful than the adolescent storyteller. This construction of other in stories potentially invites both the narrator and the listener to engage in positive construction of the individual adolescent and the collective family.

Discussion

Narrative analysis of the stories told by adolescents *as if* to their parents provides some added perspective to parent-adolescent storytelling in these Canadian immigrant Arabic families. The dialogical and relational constitution of acculturation (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009) appears to be evidenced in how these particular stories are brought by adolescents into parent-child interaction and conversations. This storytelling demonstrates how both teens and their parents may be invited into the negotiation of here/there, our culture and others', cultural taboos and dominant cultural practices referenced by Bhatia and Ram (2001). These stories themselves provide evidence of how the narrator is engaging with master narrative and collective identities (Hammack, 2008) of both country of origin and their new homeland, and the challenges of conflicting practices and beliefs (Ammerman, 2003; Duderija, 2007). What the NA results provide is a beginning representation of how these broad projects of acculturation and collective identity can be brought directly into the parent-adolescent day-to-day interaction in the form of small stories.

The NA of these stories also contributes to extending knowledge in how adolescents share information with their parents. Sometimes, in the stories examined as part of this study, information-sharing is indirect, as in talking about men by relating a funny or strange incident observed on the bus or in the mall. Humour, inviting interaction, or selective telling appears to allow these adolescents to control what is told and how it is presented to their parent as seemingly serious or trivial. While the apparent seriousness may not be evident in the initial telling, identifying a concern or an event can invite further discussion or an opportunity to press the adolescent's own position. These storytellers build on the dialectics of autonomy/connectedness and conflict/closeness by recounting events that allow them to

demonstrate difference or independence while also engaging in close interaction and conversation with their parents.

In terms of links to what others have said about storytelling and meaning-making, our analysis in the current study supports the notion that stories can allow a context in which to further understanding of unusual events or those requiring further explanation (Bruner, 1990). The stories analysed herein provide evidence of the ways in which adolescents introduce and invite further formation of self and family identities – presenting their own actions, challenges or support for cultural norms, and the integration of new experiences and observations, as aspects of their emergent selves. These selves are presented in the context of family, ethnic minority and dominant social cultural contexts (Fivush et al., 2004). By providing this in story form to parents, co-consideration of meaning and identity are invited to some degree, including performance and highlighting of adolescents' preferred beliefs about themselves. The presence of interactional voice in many of these stories illustrates the importance of considering the listener as part of the intended meaning in analysing narratives (McLean & Thorne, 2006). Finally, our current analysis provides an example of the value of considering small stories as advocated by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), as these stories open a window into the identity construction by adolescents in interaction with their parents during mundane, daily interactions. The small stories present these teens as performing in their day-to-day lives at home, school, and in public spaces; with friends, peers, and strangers; and in the face of challenges and strange or familiar circumstances. Such portrayal allows adolescents to present aspects of themselves to their parents in ways that are interactively useful.

This is an exploratory analysis of a small number of adolescent stories. While limited in numbers, these results do provide more description of how and what stories are told at the intersection of parent-adolescent storytelling. These interview data are also somewhat limited by the artificial nature of the 'storytelling' to an interviewer 'as if' she is the parent. As seen with the parents' interview data, this is a difficult imaginary leap to take. This led to our decision to not use the parents' storytelling part of the interview data for NA. However, most of the adolescents interviewed appeared to be able to enter into the spirit of the telling in this contrived setting. The interviewers used prompts such as "ok, I'm your mom/dad" and "where would you be telling this story," as well as inviting the participants to use "you" language to remind themselves that they were telling the story to their parent. This appeared to work reasonably well based on the stories that were recorded, but future studies could be designed to record and analyse actual storytelling between adolescents and parents.

Using NA to further examine the stories told by adolescents confirms the importance identified in the conceptual model of parent-adolescent storytelling that was proposed based on grounded theory analysis of interviews with parents and teens in these immigrant families. In particular, this analysis underlines the importance of story content and context, the intentions and skill of storytellers, and narrator/listener responsiveness. Further examination of parent-adolescent storytelling in more diverse families and including parents' stories will provide enhancement to this model and extension to current understanding of how and with what effect parents and adolescents talk with each other.

References

- Ammerman, N. T. (2003). Religious identities and religious institutions. In M. Dillon (Ed.), *Handbook of the sociology of religion* (pp. 207-224). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

- Ashbourne, L. M. (2009). Re-conceptualizing parent-adolescent relationships: A dialogic model. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *1*, 211-222. DOI: 10.1111/j.1756-2589.2009.00027.x
- Ashbourne, L. M., & Baobaid, M. (2014). Parent-adolescent storytelling in Canadian-Arabic immigrant families (part 1): A grounded theory. *The Qualitative Report*, *19*(59), 1-21. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR19/ashbourne59.pdf>
- Ashbourne, L. M., & Daly, K. J. (2010). Parents and adolescents making time choices: Choosing a relationship. *Journal of Family Issues*, *31*, 1419-1441. DOI: 10.1177/0192513X10365303
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). In C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Eds.), *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bamberg, M. (2004). Talk, small stories, and adolescent identities. *Human Development*, *47*, 366-369. DOI: 10.1159/000081039
- Bamberg, M. (2011). Freedom, narrative, and happiness. *Journal of Family Theory and Review*, *3*, 320-325. DOI: 10.1111/j.1756-2589.2011.00109.x
- Bamberg, M. & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk*, *28*, 377-396. DOI: 10.1515/TEXT.2008.018
- Baxter, L. A. (2004). Relationships as dialogues. *Personal Relationships*, *11*, 1-22. DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-6811.2004.00068.x
- Bhatia, S., & Ram, A. (2001). Rethinking 'acculturation' in relation to diasporic cultures and postcolonial identities. *Human Development*, *44*, 1-18. DOI: 0018-716X/01/0441-0001\$17.50/0
- Bruner, J. (1990). Culture and human development: A new look. *Human Development*, *33*, 344-355. DOI:10.1159/000276535
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crouter, A. C., Head, M. R., McHale, S. M., & Tucker, C. J. (2004). Family time and the psychosocial adjustment of adolescent siblings and their parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *66*, 147-162. DOI: 10.2307/3599872
- D'Andrade, R., & Strauss, C. (Eds.) (1992). *Human motives and cultural models*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Doucet, A., & Mauthner, N. S. (2008). What can be known and how? Narrated subjects and the Listening Guide. *Qualitative Research*, *8*, 399-409. DOI: 10.1177/1468794106093636
- Duderija, A. (2007). Literature review: Identity construction in the context of being a minority immigrant religion: The case of western-born Muslims. *Immigrants & Minorities*, *25*, 141-162. DOI: 10.1080/02619280802018132
- Few, A. (2007). Integrating black consciousness and critical race feminism into family studies research. *Journal of Family Issues*, *28*, 452-473. DOI: 10.1177/0192513X06297330
- Fivush, R., Bohanek, J., Robertson, R. & Duke, M. (2004). Family narratives and the development of children's emotional well-being. In M. Pratt & B. Fiese (Eds.), *Family stories and the life course* (pp. 55-76). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.
- Gergen, K. J. (1994). *Realities and relationships: Soundings in social construction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gilligan, C., Spencer, R., Weinberg, M. K., & Bertsch, T. (2003). On the listening guide: A voice-centred relational method. In P. M. Camic, J. E. Rhodes, & L. Yardley (Eds.), *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design* (pp. 156-172). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

- Grotevant, H. D., & Cooper, C. R. (1986). Individuation in family relationships: A perspective on individual differences in the development of identity and role-taking skill in adolescence. *Human Development, 29*, 82-100. DOI: 10.1159/000273025
- Habermas, T., Ehler-Lerche, S., & de Silveira, C. (2009). The development of the temporal macrostructure of life narratives across adolescence: Beginnings, linear narrative form, and endings. *Journal of Personality, 77*, 527-559. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-6496.2008.00557.x
- Hammack, P. (2008). Narrative and the cultural psychology of identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 12*, 222-247. DOI 10.1177/1088868308316892
- Hermans, H. (2001). Mixing and moving cultures require a dialogical self. *Human Development, 44*, 24-28. DOI: 10.1159/000057038
- Kerr, M., Stattin, H., & Burk, W. J. (2010). A reinterpretation of parental monitoring in longitudinal perspective. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 20*, 39-64. DOI: 10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00623.x
- Koenig Kellas, J. (2005). Family ties: Communicating identity through jointly told family stories. *Communication Monographs, 72*, 365-389. DOI: 10.1080/03637750500322453
- Larson, R., Wilson, S., Brown, B., Furstenberg, F., & Verma, S. (2002). Changes in adolescents' interpersonal experiences: Are they being prepared for adult relationships in the 21st century? *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 12*, 31-68. DOI: 10.1111/1532-7795.00024
- Laursen, B., & Collins, W. A. (2004). Parent-child communication during adolescence. In A. L. Vangelisti (Ed.), *Handbook of family communication* (pp. 333-348). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc. Inc.
- Manoogian, M., Walker, A., & Richards, L. (2007). Gender, genocide and ethnicity: The legacies of older Armenian American mothers. *Journal of Family Issues, 28*, 567-589. DOI: 10.1177/0192513X06297605
- Mathews, H. F. (1992). The directive force of morality tales in a Mexican community. In R. G. D'Andrade & C. Strauss (Eds.), *Human motives and cultural models* (pp. 127-162). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Mazur, M. A., & Ebesu Hubbard, A. S. (2004). "Is there something I should know?": Topic avoidant responses in parent-adolescent communication. *Communication Reports, 17*(1), 27-37. DOI: 10.1080/08934210409389371
- McLean, K. (2005). Late adolescent identity development: Narrative meaning making and memory telling. *Developmental Psychology, 41*, 683-691. DOI: 10.1037/0012-1649.41.4.683
- McLean, K., & Thorne, A. (2006). Identity light: Entertainment stories as a vehicle for self-development. In D. McAdams, R., Josselson, & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *Identity and story: Creating self in narrative* (pp. 111-128). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Pasupathi, M., & Hoyt, T. (2009). The development of narrative identity in late adolescence and emergent adulthood: The continued importance of listeners. *Developmental Psychology, 45*, 558-574. DOI: 10.1037/a0014431
- Pratt, M., & Fiese, B. (2004). Families, stories, and the life course: An ecological context. In M. Pratt & B. Fiese (Eds.), *Family stories and the life course* (pp.1-24). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.
- Reese, E., & Fivush, R. (2008). The development of collective remembering. *Memory, 16*, 201-212. DOI: 10.1080/09658210701806516

- Smetana, J. (2008). It's 10 o'clock: do you know where your children are? Recent advances in understanding parental monitoring and adolescents' information management. *Child Development Perspectives*, 2, 19-25.
- Smetana, J. G., Villalobos, M., Tasopoulos-Chan, M., Gettman, D. C., & Campione-Barr, N. (2009). Early and middle adolescents' disclosure to parents about activities in different domains. *Journal of Adolescence*, 32, 693-713. DOI: 10.1016/j.adolescence.2008.06.010
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *The basics of grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Tardif-Williams, C., & Fisher, L. (2009). Clarifying the link between acculturation experiences and parent-child relationships among families in cultural transition: The promise of contemporary critiques of acculturation psychology. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33, 150-161. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.01.001
- Thompson, B., Koenig Kellas, J., Soliz, J., Thompson, J., Epp, A., & Schrodt, P. (2009). Family legacies: Constructing individual and family identity through intergenerational storytelling. *Narrative Inquiry*, 19, 106-134. DOI: 10.1075/ni.19.1.07tho
- Wang, Q. (2004). The cultural context of parent-child reminiscing: A functional analysis. In M. Pratt & B. Fiese (Eds.), *Family stories and the life course* (pp. 279-301). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.
- Wang, Q. (2008). On the cultural constitution of collective memory. *Memory*, 16, 305-317.
- Youniss, J., & Smollar, J. (1985). *Adolescent relations with mothers, fathers and friends*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Author Note

Lynda M. Ashbourne is a family therapist and faculty member in the Couple and Family Therapy MSc. Program in the Department of Family Relations & Applied Nutrition at the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada. Her research interests include the social construction of meaning and relationship in families and therapy contexts.

Mohammed Baobaid is the Executive Director of the Muslim Resource Centre for Social Support & Integration in London, Ontario, Canada. The MRCSSI is engaged in establishing social support networks for local Muslim and Arabic communities directed at dealing with issues of integration, family conflict, domestic violence, and children in conflict with the law, and building capacity to overcome the challenges that these families may face at different stages in their lives.

Correspondence for this manuscript can be made to Lynda M. Ashbourne, PhD, at the following: Associate professor, Dept. of Family Relations & Applied Nutrition, University of Guelph, Guelph, ON Canada N1G 2W1; E-mail: lashbour@uoguelph.ca

Acknowledgements: Research funding is from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We would also like to extend our thanks to Wisam Al Dabbagh, M.Sc., and Laura French, M.Sc., who assisted in transcribing, coding, and analysis of interview data; and to Reem Ebied and Sarah Darsha who conducted all interviews.

Copyright 2014: Lynda M. Ashbourne, Mohammed Baobaid, and Nova Southeastern University.

Article Citation

Ashbourne, L. M., & Baobaid, M. (2014). Parent-adolescent storytelling in Canadian-Arabic immigrant families (part 2): A narrative analysis of adolescents' stories told to parents. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(60), 1-18. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR19/ashbourne60.pdf>
