家 和 專 業 輔 導 中 心
CHINESE FAMILY SERVICES OF ONTARIO

Identifying Promising Practice for Chinese Youth in Conflict with the law in Canada

Siu Ming Kwok, Ph.D. & Dora M.Y. Tam, Ph.D.

Faculty of Social Work

University of Calgary, Canada

April 2018

*This study is funded by Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)

ABSTRACT

This report presents a qualitative research study exploring the views and collaborative efforts of working with Chinese youth in conflict with the law among 27 service providers from the social service, education, and criminal justice sectors in Greater Toronto Area between 2015 and 2016. This study builds upon the finding of another study conducted by this research team in 2005/2006 to investigate the views of 56 youth and parents on Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Greater Vancouver and Greater Toronto Area. As a focal point, the study seeks to recognize how program initiatives could be changed to develop a culturally sensitive practice model for Chinese youth. The practice model aims to facilitate new ways of conceptualizing practices, programs, and policies directed toward youth from the second largest racialized group in Canada. These new conceptualizations include: understanding how the intersection of race and crime with other identity markers (e.g., social class, immigration status) impact on service accessibility; examining the issue of ethnic-matching between service providers and users; and appraising the within group differences in Chinese communities bearing on social service provision.

KEYWORDS

Chinese youth; criminal Justice System; crime; Youth Criminal Justice Act; extrajudicial measures; visible minority youth.

APA CITATION

Kwok, S.M., & Tam, D.M.Y. (2018). *Identifying promising practice for Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Canada*. University of Calgary. Calgary, AB.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	**INTRODUCTION**		1
	1.1.	Background	1
	1.2	Objectives	2
	1.3	Definition	2
2.	**CONTEXT**		
	2.1	Youth Criminal Justice & Extrajudicial Measures	3
	2.2	Police-Report Crime Statistics	5
	2.3	Youth Court Statistics	6
	2.4	Youth Correctional Statistics 2014/15	7
	2.5.	Youth Justice System and Indigenous & Racialized Youth	8
	2.6.	Disaggregated Race-Based Data	9
	2.7.	Characteristics of Effective Prevention Programs	10
3.	**PROMISING PRACTICE FOR CHINESE YOUTH STUDY**		13
	3.1.	Background of the Current Study	14
	3.2	Theoretical Framework	15
	3.3	Literature Reviews on Chinese Youth	16
4.	**METHODS**		20
	4.1	Grounded Theory	20
	4.2	Research Strategy	20
	4.3	Data Collection	20
	4.4	Data Analysis	22
5.	**FINDINGS PART I**		23
	5.1	Criminal Pathway of Chinese Youth	23
	5.2	Structural Context	24
	5.3	Core Strategy	24
6.	**FINDING PART II**		27
	6.1	Demographic Information	27
	6.2	Themes of Findings	27
	6.3	Perceived Blocked Opportunities	29
	6.4	Acculturation Stress	29
	6.5	Access to Criminal opportunities	33
	6.6	Lack of Adequate Support System	34
	6.7	Extent of the Issue	35
	6.8	Cultural Sensitivity Auditing	36
	6.9	Within Group Differences	37
	6.10	Entry Point of Intervention	41
	6.11	Strengthen the Support System	43

7. DISCUSSION & RECOMMEDATIONS 45

8. CONCLUSION 47

REFERENCES 48

TEAM MEMBERS 53

FOR MORE INFORMATION 54

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

There are three enduring questions that have been asked throughout the history of youth criminal justice (Kim, Merlo, & Benekos, 2013):

1) *Why do youth become involved in the justice system;*
2) *What is the best way to support them once they do; and*
3) *How can social sciences research inform interventions to improve outcomes of youth involved with the law?*

This report is aimed to respond the three questions by presenting a qualitative research study exploring the views and collaborative efforts of working with Chinese youth in conflict with the law among 27 service providers from the social service, education, and criminal justice sectors in Greater Toronto Area between 2015 and 2016. This study builds upon the finding of another study conducted by this research team in 2005/2006 to investigate the views of 56 youth and parents on Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Greater Vancouver and Greater Toronto Area. Combined the findings of these two studies, we have a more comprehensive picture to understand the pathway for Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Canada and develop a promising practice model to serve this population.

1.2 Objectives

The main question of the research study is to understand how cultural dimension could play a role to inform practices with Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Canada. Simply put, the question is on what the role of race and culture is when examining the experiences and pathway to criminality of Chinese youth and how it informs practice.

The primary objective of this study is to develop a practice model for Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Canada. This research uses identifying promising practices at the direct practice level as a focal point for studying how program initiatives could be

changed to develop a culturally sensitive practice model for Chinese youth. The practice model developed in this study is not meant to be prescriptive, but it facilitates new ways of conceptualizing practices, programs, and policies directed toward youth from the second largest racialized group in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016a). These new conceptualizations include: understanding how the intersection of race and crime with other identity markers (e.g., social class, immigration status) impact on service accessibility; examining the issue of ethnic-matching between service providers and users; and appraising the within group differences in Chinese communities bearing on social service provision.

1.3. Definition

1.3.1 Chinese youth in conflict with the law

Chinese refer to the cultural heritage of youth identified by the youth and the service providers. Youth refers to the age between 12 and 17 under Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA). In the context of this study, the definition of youth covers the age up to 25 for some cases. Youth in conflict with the law refers to those youth who are at risk or have been in contact with the criminal justice system.

1.3.2. Promising practice

This report employs the guiding principles of the *2008 Review of Roots of Youth Violence Report* in reviewing the literature for proven and promising practices for youth involved with the law. Proven (model) programs/practices are those that have been proven effective through numerous high-quality evaluations in different communities or settings. Promising programs/practices are those that have been subject to limited evaluation and have produced some positive results (McMurtry & Curling, 2008).

2. CONTEXT

2.1. Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) & Extrajudicial Measures (EJM)

In Canada, the YCJA is the law that governs the youth justice system in this county. It applies to youth who are at least but less than 18 years old and who are alleged to have committed criminal offences.

Experiences in Canada and other countries show that community-based interventions and supports outside the court process can provide effective responses to less serious youth crime (Department of Justice, 2013; Wilson & Hoge, 2013). Thus, one of the key objectives of the YCJA is to increase the use of effective and timely non-court responses to less serious offences by youth. Responses to less serious youth offences that can be handled out of the court system are called extrajudicial measures. The YCJA contains provisions to increase the appropriate use of extrajudicial measures for less serious youth offences and includes the following principles (Department of Justice, 2013):

- Extrajudicial measures should be used in all cases where they would be adequate to hold the young person accountable for their actions.
- Extrajudicial measures are presumed to be adequate to hold first-time, non-violent offenders accountable.
- Extrajudicial measures may be used if the young person has previously been dealt with by extrajudicial measures or has been found guilty of an offence. As amended in 2012, the YCJA requires police to keep records of any extrajudicial measures used with a young person. These records will inform police so that they can take appropriate action in the event of subsequent alleged offences.

Additionally, the YCJA requires police officers to consider the use of extrajudicial measures before deciding to charge a young person. Police and prosecutors are specially authorized to use various types of extrajudicial measures prior to considering whether or not to press charges against the youth. The following responses to offense allegations are possible:

- *Take no further action*.
- *Warning*, which are informal warnings given to youth by police officers.
- *Police cautions*, which are more formal warnings given to youth by the police. The YCJA authorizes provinces to establish police cautioning programs. Police cautions may be in the form of a letter from the police to the young person and their parents, or they may involve a process in which the young person and their parents are requested to appear at a police station to talk to a senior police officer.
- *Crown cautions*, which are similar to police cautions but prosecutors give the caution after the police refer the case to them. Crown cautions are in the form of a letter to the young person and the parents.
- *Referral*, which are referrals by police officers of young persons to community programs instead of pressing a charge against the youth. The referral may be to a wide range of community resources, including recreation programs and counselling agencies.
- *Extrajudicial sanction*, which is the most formal type of extrajudicial measure, may be issued pre-charge or post-charge. Unlike the other types of extrajudicial measures, they may be used only if the young person admits responsibility for the offending behaviour and consents to subject to the sanction. The admission of responsibility is not a guilty plea to the alleged offence. Often the offence committed is quite minor and therefore processing within the court system is not warrented. In addition, the sanctions must be part of an extrajudicial sanction program designated by the Attorney General. If the young person fails to comply with the terms and conditions of the sanction, the case may proceed through the court process. An extrajudicial sanction can be used only if the young person cannot be adequately dealt with by a warning, caution, or referral.

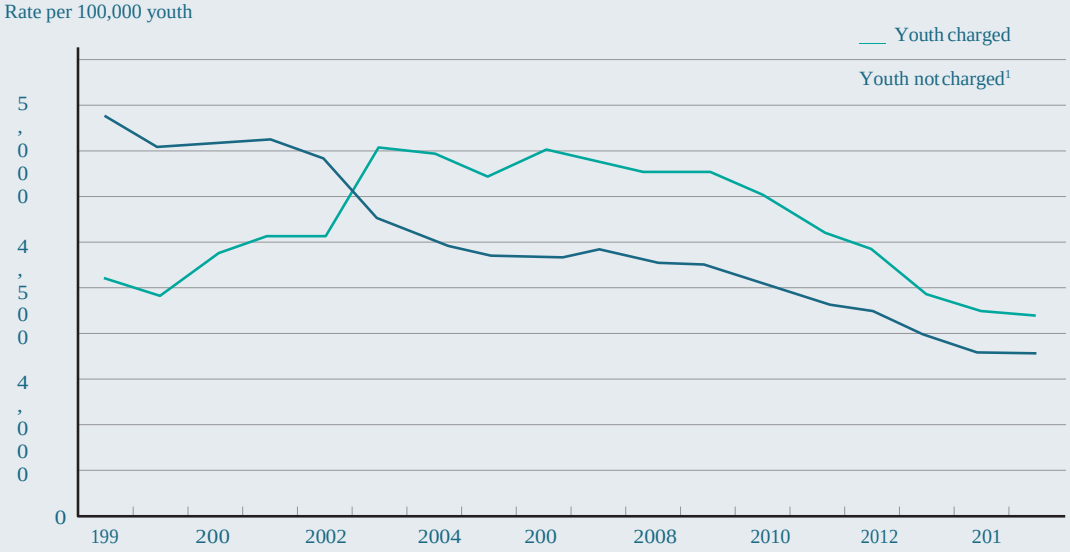
It is important to remember that most adolescents engage in minor crime and naturally grow out of it. Most youth will transition out of involvement with criminal activities, and the less that is done to intervene (particularly through the criminal justice system) the better. Many youth that end up in court eventually have the charges withdrawn. Data from Statistics Canada shows that 42% of cases in youth court in Ontario were stayed or

withdrawn (Department of Justice, 2013). The purpose of pre-charge diversion is to make sure that the cases that are referred are those that would not have otherwise been withdrawn.

2.2. Police-Report Crime Statistics

Overall, the police-reported youth crime rate has been on a general downward trend since peaking in 1991. In total, there were about 9,200 youth accused of a criminal offence in 2015 in Canada. Among these youth, 55% were dealt with by extrajudicial measures, while the remaining 45% were formally charged by police. Since the implementation of the YCJA, the rate of youth dealt with by extrajudicial measures has continued to be higher than the rate of youth formally charged (See Figure 1) (Miladinovic, 2016).

Figure 1 | Youth Accused of crime, by clearance status, Canada, 1998-2015



1. Includes youth diverted from the formal criminal justice system through the use of extrajudicial measures, such as warnings, cautions or referrals to community programs.

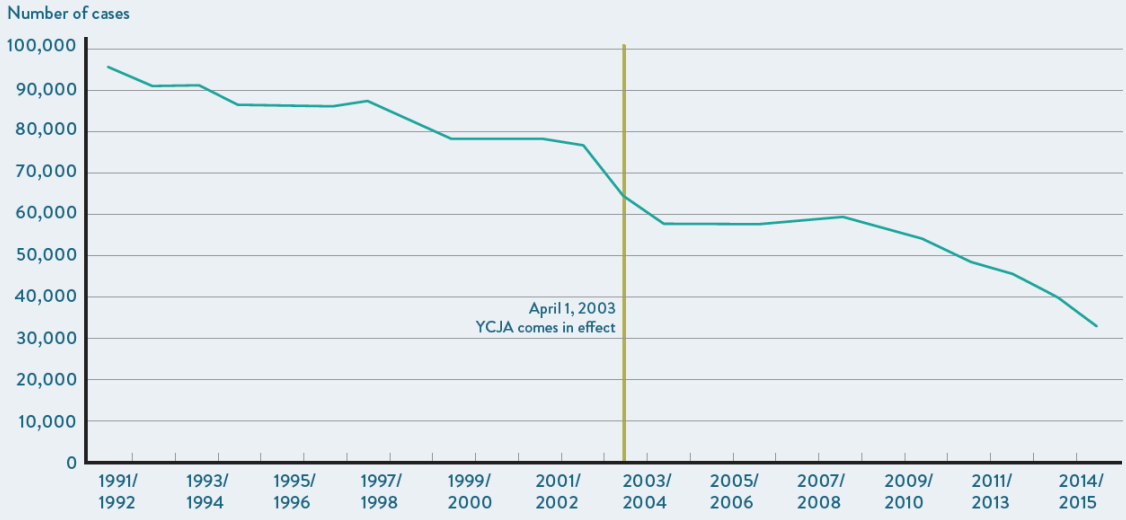
Note: Additional data are available on CANSIM (Table 252-0051). Refers to the number of youth aged 12-17 years who were either charged (or recommended for charging) by police or diverted from the formal criminal justice system through the use of warnings, cautions, referrals to community programs, etc. Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 youth population. Populations are based on July 1 estimates from Statistics Canada, Demography Divison

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey

2.3. Youth Court Statistics

In 2014/2015, Canada's youth courts completed 32,835 cases involving 120,907 charges related to the Criminal Code and other federal statute offences, including offences related to the YCJA. The number is the lowest of completed youth court cases since these data were first collected by Statistics Canada in 2001/1992 (See Figure 2) (Miladinovic, 2016). Ontario, which reported the largest number of youth cases among the provinces and territories, had the largest absolute decrease in the number of cases (-3,340). This corresponds to 23% fewer completed youth cases in 2014/2015 compared to the previous year in Ontario (Miladinovic, 2016).

Figure 2 | Cases completed in youth court, Canada, 1991/1992 to 2014/2015



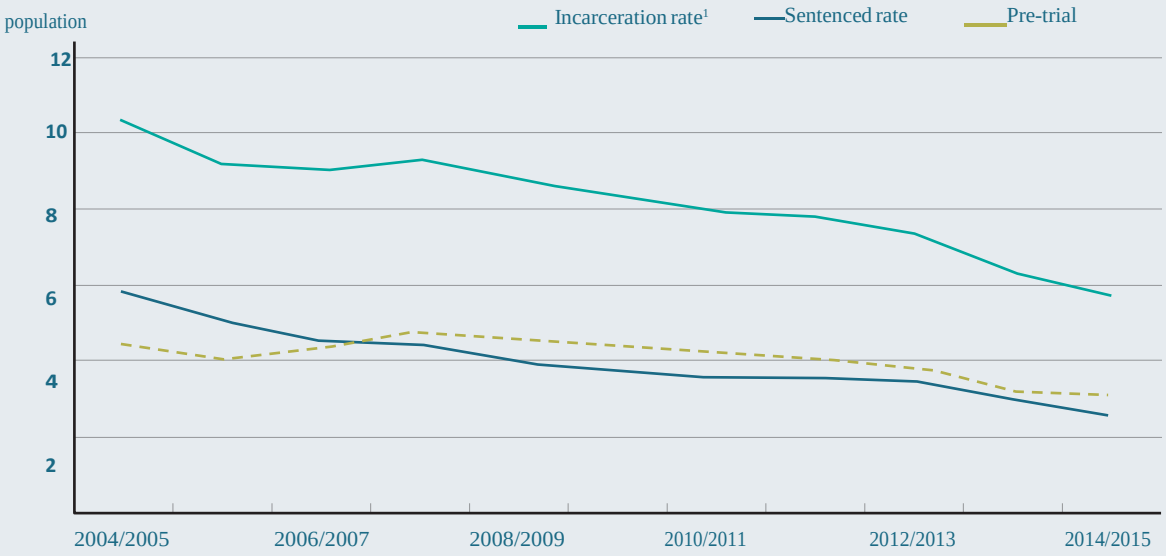
Note: A case is one or more charges against an accused person or company that were processed by the courts at the same time and received a final decision.
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Integrated Criminal Court Survey

2.4. Youth Correctional Statistics 2014/2015

The overall rate of youth in correctional services has decreased. In 2014/2015, there were 7,966 youth aged 12 to 17 years being supervised in either custody or a community program on any given day in the nine reporting jurisdictions services for every 10,000 youth in Canada. The rate of youth in correctional services among reporting jurisdictions fell 14% from the previous year and was down 31% from five years earlier (See Figure 3) (Statistics Canada, 2016b). Under the YCJA, the youth justice system is meant to reserve its most serious interventions for the most serious crimes and reduce the system's over-

reliance on incarceration. In 2014/2015, there was an average of 1,040 youth being held in some type of custody on any given day. This translates into a youth incarceration rate of 6 per 10,000 youth. The rate was down 12% from the previous year and 26% from 2010/2011 (Statistics Canada, 2016b). It should be noted that since 2007/2008, youth held in pre-trial detention have outnumbered those held in sentenced custody. The high pre-trial detention rate is not in line with the spirit of YCJA that asks for using non-custodial means.

Figure 3 | Youth in custody, eleven jurisdictions, 2004/2005 to 2015



1. Incarceration rate includes sentenced custody, pre-trial detention, and Provincial Director remand.

2. Pre-trial detention is to hold a young person temporarily in custody, while awaiting trial or sentencing. It is equivalent to remand for adults.

Note: The average rate of youth in custody at the provincial and territorial level exclude Quebec and Alberta due to the unavailability of data for part of the period covered. Rates are calculated per 10,000 youth population (12-17 years old) using revised July 1st population estimates from Statistics Canada, Demography Division

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Youth Corrections Key Indicator Report, 2014/2015

In 2014/2015, the rate of youth in pre-trial detention was 3.1 per 10,000 youth, while that for sentenced custody was slightly less at 2.5. The rate of youth supervised in the community continues a decade long downward trend. The majority (90%) of youth being supervised in the community were on probation (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

During the 2015/16 year, the average daily population in Canada's youth justice system was about 8,455. Of these, 7,514 youth were under community supervision and 998 were in a youth/custody/detention facility. In Ontario, the number in the youth justice system in 2015/16 was 3,183. Of these 2,872 were under community supervision and 311 were in a youth/custody/detention facility (Jamil Malakieh, 2017)

2.5. Youth Justice System and Indigenous Youth & Racialized Youth

The bifurcation of the youth justice system as laid out in the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) and the emphasis of this statute on the application of extrajudicial measures to first-time and non-violent youth who come in contact with the law is a response to a growing body of results from empirical research that involvement in the youth justice system (Kwok & Tam, 2011; Wilson & Hoge, 2013).

Notwithstanding the decrease of youth incarceration in general, the situation for Indigenous youth is concerning. Indigenous youth continue to be overrepresented in the correctional system even after the YCJA. There were over 5,700 Indigenous youth admitted to correctional services in 2014/2015, representing 33% of admission. This percentage was unchanged from the year before. By way of comparison, Indigenous youth aged 12 to 17 accounts for about 7% of the youth population (Jackson, 2015).

As well, racialized youth are disproportionately overrepresented in criminal justice system in Ontario (Owusu-Bempah & Wortley, 2014; Rankin & Winsa, 2013). This mirrors a broader trend in the adult prison population: between 2003 and 2013, the federal prison's population of racialized groups (adults) increased by 90% (Correctional Investigator, 2014) despite the general decrease in the crime rate in Canada over the last decade. While disaggregated race-based data is difficult to access, data retrieved from Freedom of Information requests found that black male youth are four more times likely to be incarcerated in Ontario than their Caucasian counterparts (Owusu-Bempah & Wortley, 2014; Rankin & Wine, 2013) Extensive research also demonstrates that racialized youth, particularly black male youth, are more likely to experience "stop and

frisk" encounters with police than other youth (Hayle, Wortley, & Tanner, 2016; Meng, Giwa, & Ancha, 2015;).

Another racialized group of young people involved with the law are Asians. While there may be similarities between the needs and experiences of Asian youth involved with the law, there are also important differences. Surprisingly, there is relatively little literature on Asian youth, in particular Chinese youth in contact with the law (Kwok, 2009).

2.6. Disaggregated Race-Based Data & Culturally Responsive Program

There is a desperate need for disaggregated race-based data within the youth criminal justice system (Owusu-Bempah & Wortley, 2014). Unlike the United States and the United Kingdom, the Canadian criminal justice system does not systematically collect or publish statistics on the race of individuals processed through the system (Owusu-Bempah, 2014). The lack of race-based data regarding youth involved with the law creates barriers to effectively providing appropriate prevention and rehabilitation services and program (Kwok, Houwer, HeavyShield, Weatherstone, & Tam, 2017).

In addition to access to data, there is a need for evidence-based culturally responsive programs and practices that meet the needs of different racialized youth. It is surprising that there is relatively little literature about good practices for supporting racialized youth within the criminal justice system (Kwok, Houwer, HeavyShield, Weatherstone, & Tam, 2017). Community-based reports have argued the most proactive approach will require systemic collective actions that coordinate outcomes across education, employment, family health, and social inclusion (Tewolde & Olowaye, 2013).

There is a need for targeted culturally responsive approaches to working with racialized youth. For example, Black, Asian, Southeast Asian, Latino, and Middle Eastern youth are all racialized. However the reasons for their involvement in the criminal justice system may differ and the responses that will best serve them may differ as well. At present, there is a general lack of data and the data that does exist is in aggregate form, meaning it

combines people with very different backgrounds into a single category of racialized or visible minority.

Without appropriate and adequate literature, it is challenging to understand and provide evidence-based, culturally sensitive promising program and services to specific group of racialized youth in conflict with the law. Against the backdrop of limited literature on Chinese youth in contact with the law, the research team of this report have conducted a series of qualitative studies with the youth, parents, service providers, and other stakeholders, in Vancouver and Toronto as well as with the secondary data analysis on the Cycle 4 of the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY) with an aim to develop a criminal pathway framework as well as guiding principles for promising practices with Chinese youth in conflict with the law (Kwok & Tam; Kwok, 2009; Kwok, Lee, & McMulkin, 2016; Tam, Kwok, Visser, & Brown, 2017). Results of these studies will be expounded in the Findings sections of this report.

2.7. Characteristics of Effective Prevention and Intervention Programs

There is limited literature specifically on best practice to support racialized youth in contact with the law. But what would be the characteristics of promising practice and program for youth in conflict with the law? In an extensive literature review, characteristics of "programs that work" are summarized that are also relevant to primary prevention and intervention programs for youth involved with the law (Bond & Hauf, 2004).

- *Successful prevention and promotion programs are based upon sound scientific theory and research in their content, structure, and implementation*. A primary reason that certain programs fail is their lack of connection and adherence to a sound theoretical and research base (Wilson & Hoge, 2013).

- *Have a clearly defined purpose and goals.* Successful programs have goals that are clear, attainable, and broadly agreed upon by diverse stakeholders affiliated

with the program and the agreed upon goals in turn guide assessment of program effectiveness.

- *Adopt a multi-system, multi-level perspective that attends to multiple influences on and multiple pathways of development.* In light of the complex situation of crime commission, effective primary prevention and intervention programs employ multiple strategies to address multiple systems across a wide range of program goals. This systemic approach has been demonstrated to work in programs that support youth with problematic behaviours and young offenders.

- *Attend carefully to dosage as well as boosters or follow-up to achieve and sustain desired outcomes.* Appreciating the multiple levels and systems involved in the developmental process, the multilinear nature of development, and the need to influence its trajectory in order to be effective, successful prevention and promotion programs implement carefully determined levels of intervention dosage as well as follow-up boosters.

- *Consider existing strengths, competence, wellness, and protective factors as well as risks and difficulties facing individuals and systems.* Successful programs have discovered the importance of adopting a strength-based approach and building on those strengths at multiple ecological levels, even when risks and weakness seem most apparent.

- *Be sensitive to the target population in both program content, structure, and implementation*. Effective programs consider the target population's developmental maturity, cultural specificity, potential stigma involved, variation within the target population, and promote empowerment and ownership.

- *Incorporate high quality evaluation and monitoring into program design.* This is essential for many phases of establishing and maintaining a credible, dynamic, responsive program with enduring integrity and applicability.

- *Structure and package the program so as to be transferable and translatable*. The degree to which a program is amenable to translation and transfer depends upon features ranging from the quality of its training programs and manuals to its potential to be adapted to local culture.

- *Attend to diverse resource needs*. Effective programs involve identifying what resources are needed to effectively implement the program and in particular looking beyond money to additional resources that may be significant including: time, legitimacy, people, prestige and power.

- *Successful programs are characterized by socio-political sensitivity*. Organizations must be willing to participate in the politics of both community planning and community decision-making. They must be adept at building constituencies for their program.

Nonetheless, how could those characteristics for promising practices apply to the Chinese youth in conflict with the law? And what is the role of cultural dimension relates to promising practices for Chinese youth in conflict with the law?

3. PROMISING PRACTICE FOR CHINESE YOUTH STUDY (CURRENT STUDY)

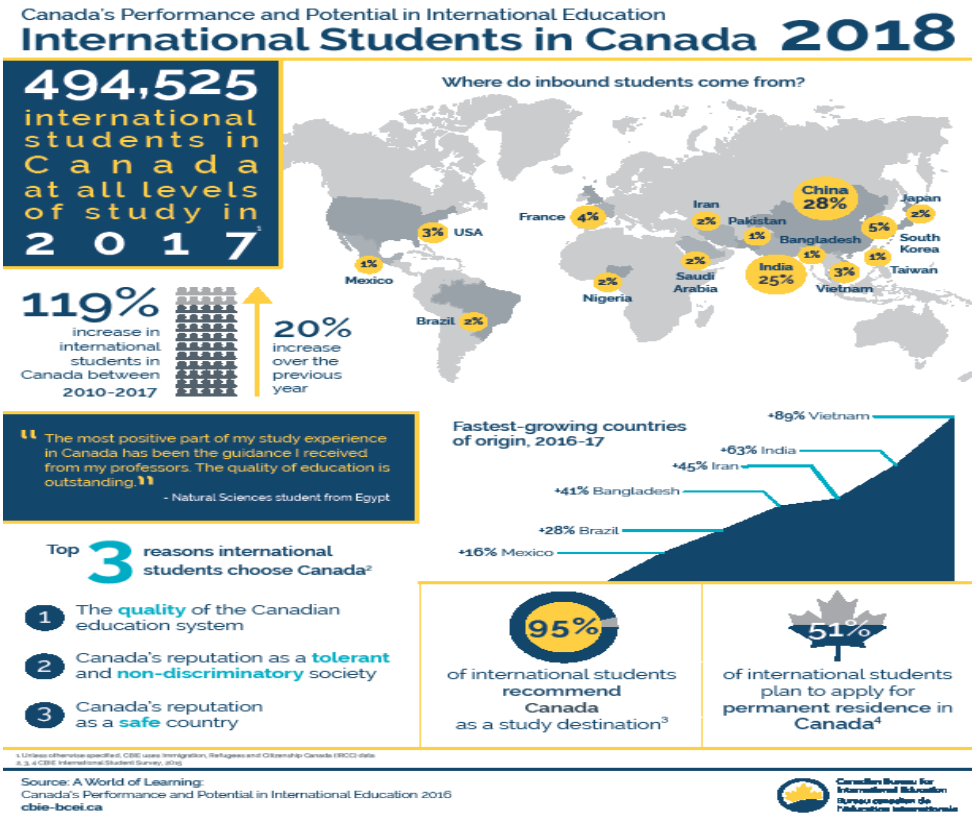
3.1. Background of the Current Study

This research study stems from an awareness of the cultural uniqueness of Chinese youth, growing concerning about youth crimes, and the paucity of literature regarding intervention with this population. Literature has documented that crimes committed by youth from racialized groups can be explained by economic and social marginalization (Gonzales & Cauce, 1995; Wortley & Tanner, 2006). Nonetheless, Chinese have some unique responses that differ from other ethnic groups. Zhang (1993) found that Chinese parents were more emotionally upset than Black parents concerning their children's involvement with the criminal justice system. Other studies revealed that Chinese were less trusting of the criminal justice system than their White counterparts (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009). Over the past decade, there is a growing concern from law enforcement and the general public over the crimes and gang activities of youth from racialized groups (Doob & Gartner, 2005). The Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (2006) and the Federal Research Division of the United States (2003) reported that Chinese youth gangs were very active in British Columbia and Ontario. Despite these concerns, we have limited knowledge on how to address the needs of this population. As explained in the previous section of this report, the under-researched topic of crime and racialized youth arises because of a ban on the release of race-based crime statistics in Canada (Moyer, 2005; Owusu-Bempeh & Wortley, 2014; Wortley, 2003) and the challenges related to collecting field data from ethnic minorities (Kwok & Tam, 2006). Nevertheless, a lack of sufficient data in this area hinders the development of policy, programs and practices for these youth in the criminal justice system (Government of Ontario, 2008).

More recently, the rising population of international students from China and their emotional well-being and their risk for being involved with the youth justice system is an area that literature is limited. In 2017, there are 494,525 international students in Canada at all levels of study of which 28% is from China. Also, the number in 2017 is a 119%

increase in international students in Canada between 2010 and 2017 (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2018) (See Figure 3). In 2015, there are over 8,000 foreign students to attend Ontario's schools, including more than 3,000 in Greater Toronto Area (Harris, 2017). However, there is evidence gathered form the current study that international students, especially from high schools are easily targeted by criminal organizations.

Figure 3: International Students in Canada 2018



Another development which requires attention is the within group difference in Chinese communities in Canada. Hongkongers, who are Cantonese speaking, represented almost all Chinese immigrants to Canada between the 1970s and 1997 – the year of the city's handover from Britain back to China. After 1997, numbers dropped off significantly. Since 2000, most Chinese migrants to Canada have come directly from China and are mandarin-speaking (South China Morning Post, 2017). In 2016 census, the Cantonese-speaking population is 114,670 and the mandarin-speaking population is 111405 in

Greater Toronto Area. In the province of Ontario, the mandarin speaking population (283,735) has already overpassed the Cantonese-speaking (275,315) in 2016 census (Statistics Canada, 2017). Nonetheless, there is limited literature relates to nuance on social services provision and best practice for the two Chinese language speaking population within Chinese communities.

3.2 Theoretical framework

There is no dominant theory relates to literature on the intersections between race and crime (Kwok, 2008; Tsunokai & Kposowa, 2002; Tsunokai & Mao, 2005). Still, Wortley (2003) proposed four different theoretical models (importation, cultural-conflict, strain, and bias) for researchers to study the relationships between race and crime. Each of these models provides very different etiological explanations and intervention implications for the issue. *Importation model* assumes immigrants of ethnic minorities arrive in Canada with the explicit objective of engaging in criminal activities. *Cultural-conflict model* asserts that ethnic minorities maintain cultural practices, such as carrying a kirpan to school, that come into conflict with the Canadian laws. *Strain model* suggests that ethnic minorities' negative live experiences and frustrations with the structural inequalities and social exclusion are the primary causes of crime. *Bias model* holds that racial differences in crime statistics are the result of systemic discrimination within the justice system. Among these competing theories, strain model has been found to be more promising as the explanatory framework for Chinese youth (Chin, 1996; Tsunokai & Mao, 2005). In a study in Alberta on service providers for racialized youth involved in criminal activities, Rossiter & Rossiter (2009) found that strain model best explained the relationship between racialized youth and crime because it reflected youth's experiences of frustrations and social exclusion in Canada. Furthermore, strain perspective is widely used and replicated in studies to examine the intersections of Chinese youth and crimes in the United States (Sheu, 1986; Chin, 1996), Canada (Kwok, 2000; Kwok & Tam, 2010; Wong, 1998), Hong Kong, and China (Bao & Haas, 2009; Liu & Lin, 2007; Ngai, Cheung, & Ngai, 2007; Zhang, 2008).

3.3. Literature on Chinese youth and criminal justice system

The strain model is consistent with classic theories (Anomie theory, social disorganization, differential opportunity structure) that attribute crime to frustrations experienced by individuals from a disjunction of culturally defined goals (i.e., material wealth) and socially approval means for obtaining them (Agnew, 1992; Cloward & Ohline, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Merton, 1938). This model holds that racialized groups are structurally and systemically blocked by discrimination since the legitimate means to acquire wealth are stratified across social class and ethnic lines (Wortley & Tanner, 2006). In New York City, Sheu (1986) found in a survey (n=2,250) that delinquent behaviour of Chinese students was correlated with a failure to comply with the dominant culture's measures of worth. In another ethnographic study of Chinese gang members (n=16) in Vancouver, Joe and Robinson (1980) reported that the perceptions of blocked opportunities for racialized youth were the most probable explanations for their delinquent behaviours.

But how strain model can explain frustrations with structural inequalities and discrimination translate into offending behaviour of Chinese youth? Agnew (1992, 2002) claims that deviance and negative effect are not inevitable reactions to strain-producing situations. Only those strained individuals plagued by negative emotions turn to crime/delinquency. This proposition has spawned literature on those conditioning effects on Chinese youth concerning negative peer exposure, acculturation stresses, and cultural explanations. For peer exposure, the differential association theory is used to explain the link between strains and crimes (Chin, 1996). According to differential association theory, youth offending is the results of exposure to negative peers influence (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978). In a study (n=89) of young Chinese gang members in correctional institutions of the United States, Wang (1994) found that the majority of the respondents (83%) had five or more close friends belonged to youth gangs. In other studies in Calgary (n=15), Toronto and Vancouver (n=56), Chinese youth agreed that negative influence of close friends with a gang background is one of the determining factors for offending (Kwok, 2009; Kwok & Tam, 2007). Further, acculturation stresses are used to account for the offending of Chinese youth under strain-producing situation. Those Chinese youth

who cannot establish a solid identify of their own cultures is a risk factor for problem behaviours (Smokowski, David-Feredon, & Stoupe, 2009). A survey (n=315) in Winnipeg found a positive correlation between acculturation and delinquency of Chinese youth (Wong, 1998). Researchers explained this correlation with the premise that Chinese youth became confused and frustrated in the process of acculturation (Song, Dombrink & Geis, 1992; Toy, 1992). In addition, cultural explanations are used to study the delinquent behaviours of Chinese youth. Along with their frustrations with the structural inequalities and systemic discrimination, Chinese youth and their parents have the propensity to internalize problems. Studies found that Chinese youth thought that they should share the blame as they had violated the laws in the first place (Kwok & Tam, 2010) and their parents are found to blame themselves for inadequate parenting rather than attributing the issue to systemic discrimination (Kwok, 2009; Kwok & Tam, 2007).

By integrating these cultural dimensions (e.g., acculturation stresses, problem internalization) to the strain perspective, we bring a new perspective to allow us exploring a promising practice model for the Chinese population in Canada. But what have we known about Chinese youth in Canada?

Literature on intervention with Chinese youth in conflict with the law is very sparse, however (Kwok & Tam, 2011). Nor is existing literature being well used for policy formulation and program development for youth from racialized groups in the criminal justice system. In 2005, a report reviewing 77 programs for youth gangs across Canada found that there is a clear absence of theoretical foundations underlying most prevention and intervention strategies (Mellor, MacRae, Pauls, & Hornick, 2005). Recent reports on youth violence from the governments of Ontario and British Columbia also stated that most program initiatives addressing youth crimes in ethnic communities in the two provinces were based on intuition and imposed from a top-down manner without the support of research evidence or community consultations, even though there was compelling data to support the need for culturally sensitive practice models of intervention and prevention (Government of Ontario, 2008; Totten, 2008). If policies and programs are made without research support, can they provide effective services?

Programs for youth crime prevention and intervention in Canada are mainly provided by education, criminal justice, and social services sectors (Kwok, 2009; Pih & Mao, 2005); nonetheless, very little is known about the effectiveness of these programs (Governemnt of Ontario; 2008, Mellor, MacRae, Pauls, and Hornick, 2005; Totten, 2008) and none of them were culturally specific for youth from racialized groups (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2008).

Still, the limited literature regarding crime prevention and intervention programs aimed at Chinese youth reveal valuable information about this population (Kwok, 2000; Kwok & Tam, 2007, 2010; Pih & Mao, 2005). These few studies cover the views of the whole spectrum of youth and their parents of Chinese heritage (e.g., new immigrants, and second or third generation) and a variety of crimes (from theft under $5,000 to drug trafficking). Despite their diverse backgrounds and crime involvement, it is still possible to identify common themes related to their experiences with the programs. First, they regard service providers from education, criminal justice, social services as either discriminating against them or not sensitive enough to their cultures. In a survey (n=128) in Southern California, Tsunokai (2005) found that Chinese students were likely to be labelled an Asian gang member even if they were the victim in an incident of school violence. In studies in Vancouver and Toronto, Chinese youth were also found to be less likely to get extrajudicial measures (diversion from court sanction) under the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* once they were being labelled as a gang member by the police (Kwok, 2008, 2009). Second, Chinese have no preference for the ethnicity of service providers. This holds true for those parents who speak limited English (Kwok & Tam, 2010). Third, within group differences are found in the Chinese community in Canada along the immigration status and the city of origin which impact their access to prevention and intervention programs. For example, second generation Chinese immigrant youth were found to be more hostile to the mainstream society than the first generation (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009); mandarin speaking Chinese from the People's Republic of China have more access barriers to social services than the Cantonese-speaking Chinese from Hong Kong because Mandarin-speaking Chinese are

relatively less fluent in English (Kwok & Tam, 2010; Wang & Lo, 2007). Fourth, Chinese youth and their parents prefer concrete advice and tangible services (e.g., how to reinstate the youth to normal class at school after suspension) to clinical counselling at the initial stage of intervention (Kwok & Tam, 2007). Fifth, Chinese youth have a very close tie with the family regardless of their level of crime involvement. In fact, strong family linkage is one of the main motivators for them to stop offending (Kwok & Tam, 2010; Pih, & Mao, 2005). The perspectives from the youth and their parents are invaluable, but a comprehensive practice model could not be built without the views from service providers. However, limited literature is found in this area (Kwok, 2008; Kwok & Tam, 2010).

Moreover, the lack of empirical based crime prevention and intervention strategies and programs for racialized youth (Government of Ontario, 2008; Totten, 2008) is in sharp contrast with the current discussion on evidence-based practices (EBP) in social work (Saini & Azzopardi, 2009). Evidence-based practices refer to the steps to integrate research, practice wisdom, and client preferences for identifying promising practices for primary, secondary, and tertiary interventions at the direct service, program development, and policy formation levels (Gossett & Weinman, 2007; Jenson, 2005). As such, by building upon the current knowledge of the youth's experiences with the service provision, we should study the perspective of service providers to develop a comprehensive and culturally sensitive practice model for Chinese youth. Identify promising practices at the direct practice level is a way to improve program development and policy formation (Gilbert & Terretll, 2002).

4. METHODS

4.1. Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is employed to guide the research process. Grounded theory is designed to develop a theoretical model for the phenomenon under study (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and that fits well into the primary objective of this research study. Grounded theory is useful in understanding patterns of action, daily interactions among various types of social units and structures (Charamaz, 2000). As well, there is a scarcity of studies on practice models for Chinese youth in conflict with the law. Grounded theory is relevant in exploring the area that has rarely been studied (Creswell, 1998).

4.2. Research Strategies

With the assistance of two research community partners in Toronto, Chinese Family Services of Ontario and Across U-hub, A Research Advisory Committee (RAC) of ten members from community are formed. The Committees will include service providers from education, criminal justice, and social services sectors as well as academics. The role of the RAC includes advising the research focus in the research process, assisting in research participant recruitment, providing feedback on the interview guide, data analysis, and offering support to knowledge mobilization plan of this project.

4.3. Data Collection, Research Instrument and Sampling

There are three stages in data collection (individual interview; archival reviews; and focus group). Between 2015 and 2016, a total of 27 participants of service providers from the sectors of education, criminal justice, social services in Greater Toronto Area has joined the individual interview and 6 of them joined the focus group in the later stage as well. In stage one of the data collection, participants joined the individual face-to-face interview. Except two in Cantonese, all individual interviews and focus group were conducted in English and lasted from 1 to 2 hours and the interviewed were audio-recorded with the consent of participants.

Theoretical sampling were employed to recruit members of service providers from education, criminal justice, and social services sectors who are knowledgeable about practices, programs, and policies for Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Canada (Charmaz, 2000). The individual interview includes all levels of service provides (front line, middle management, senior administration) with the aim to identify promising practices at the direct practice and program delivery levels. In addition, a *sampling matrix* was used to achieve the maximum variation of demographic (e.g., ethnicity, years of services, gender and age, etc) of the research participants in the individual interviews.

Questions asked in the interviews are guided by current research findings: "What are the challenges in working with Chinese youth in conflict with the law?" and "How current literature could inform practices/program development/and policy formation for Chinese youth and their families?" Other probe questions include: 1/What are the promising practices at the direct service level? 2/How could organizations in different sectors (education, criminal justice, social services) co-ordinate the services for this population? 3/What changes should be made on program development and policy making to facilitate promising practices at the direct service level?

Findings of these individual interviews were verified by archival reviews as shown in the sections of Context and Literature Reviews of this report. Document and literature review were conducted in order to verify the preliminary framework of practice model developed in individual interview stage and provide more specific and focused questions for the focus group. The focus of the document and literature reviews is on current policy frameworks and program initiatives, and promising practices for youth generally and racialized youth in conflict with the law specifically.

In the last stage of data collection, one focus group with six participants was conducted to address questions arising from the individual interviews and literature review and modify the initial model developed from the first two stages.

4.4. Data Analysis

The analytic process of this proposed project starts right after the first individual interview and continues until finishing all focus group interviews. The analysis is based mainly on three levels of coding (open, axial, and selective) (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Open coding is concerned with identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomena found in the text. It is a systematic process involving line-by-line analysis of the data in search of meaningful indicators, which are assigned with labels. Axial coding is the act of relating categories to subcategories and further development of categories. Selective coding involves the selection of a core category, systematically relating this core category to other categories and verifying those relationships. The formation of the core categories is also the process of theory generation, which integrates all other categories in a theoretical scheme for a practice model for Chinese youth in conflict with the law. The core categories will be further modified and verified in the archival reviews and at the focus groups in later stages of data collection. Along with the three levels of coding, the method of constant comparison will be used. This analytic tool is used to sort, compare, and contrast codes and categories until saturation is reached – that is, until analysis produces no new codes or categories and all data are accounted for in the core categories.

5. FINDINGS PART I

5.1. Criminal Pathway of Chinese Youth

The current research study builds upon the study in 2005/2006 and the findings of this study do support the results of previous study relating to the criminal pathway of Chinese youth. The criminal pathway of Chinese youth is summarized in this section before the findings of the current study is elaborated (see figure 5).

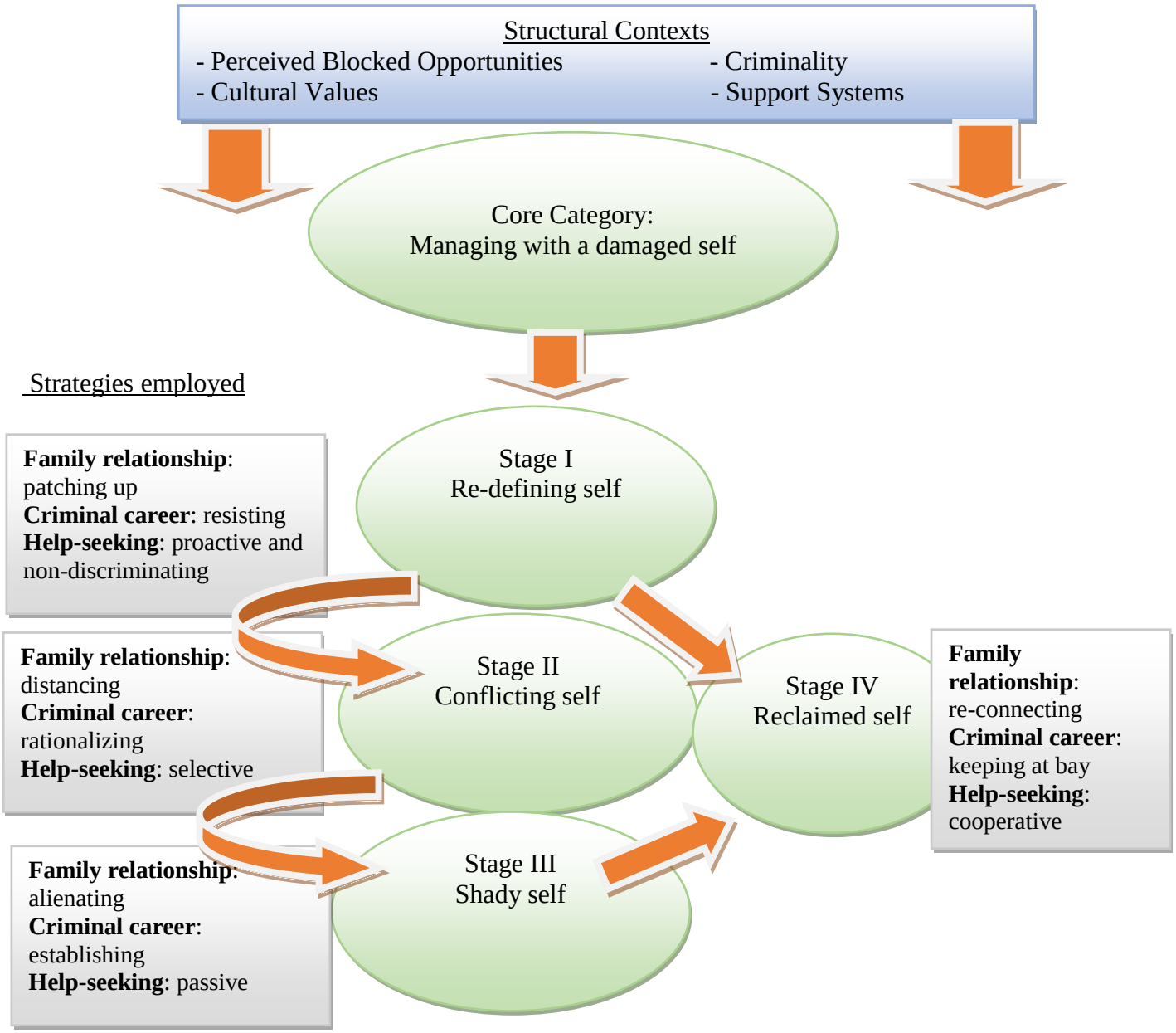


Figure 5 Experiences of Chinese Youth in the Criminal Justice System

The theoretical model summarizes the criminal pathway of Chinese youth in conflict with the law, which is a process of how to manage a damaged self-identity. The model includes (1) the pathway to delinquency, (2) experiences with the criminal justice system, and (3) strategies employed to deal with the experiences. This model has two components – structural context and the core concept of managing a damaged self.

5.2. Structural Contexts

Perceived block opportunities refer to the obstacles perceived by Chinese youth that their way to succeed are being blocked at school and in society. Differential treatment against them is a common theme raised by the youth. *Cultural Values* explains that both parents and youth internalize the problem by attributing crime involvement to their own inadequacy rather than structural reasons such as discrimination or inequality. The use of shame and self-blaming among Chinese are very common. *Criminality* refers to the degree of criminal involvement shaped the youth's individual experiences in the criminal justice system. And *support system* consists of those support resources provided by family, friends, or relatives and the formal support system such as criminal justice professionals (e.g., probation officers), or other services for youth (e.g., school counsellors, youth workers).

5.3. Core Category: Managing a Damaged Self

The criminal pathway of Chinese youth in conflict with the law is about how to *manage a damaged self*. The concept of *managing a damaged self* consists of four stages: (1) re-defining self, (2) conflicting self, (3) shady self, and (4) reclaimed self. These four stages are distinguished from each other along the dimensions of family relationships, criminal careers, and help-seeking pattern.

Stage One: Re-defining self*:* The research youth participants reported that they were being 'labelled' as bad 'students' once they were got involved with the criminal justice system. The youth at the stage of re-defining self adopted a pro-active approach to cope with their experiences. They made efforts to patch up their family relationships, distance themselves from the gang, and seek help from anywhere which they think could be

useful. *Family relationship: patching up:* All research participants agreed that trying to keep a good family relationship was very important to them and described it as the high time to patch up relation with family. It is also an opportunity for family members to re-discover their family relation. *Criminal Careers: resisting:* Youth at this stage did not regard themselves as being deeply involved with criminal activities. Even some of them might have joined a criminal gang already, but they regarded themselves as fringe members only, and left the gang without too much difficulties and consequences. In addition, we should note that all participants described that they had committed their first criminal activities out of peers' pressure and in a group context. *Help-seeking: proactive*: Families are proactive in terms of seeking help for their children, even though they were ashamed that their children were in trouble with the law. Parents would eventually seek outside help after exhausting their own resources.

Stage II: Conflicting Self*:* Conflicting self is the stage at which Chinese youth found that their continuous involvement in criminal activities does not fit into the description of the self they prefer. *Family Relationship: distancing:* Youth minimized contacts with their family and hid out in their friends' places when the police was looking for them. Nonetheless, they said that they still felt the concerns from their families. *Criminal Career: rationalizing:* Youth used various techniques as discussed by Sykes and Matza (1957) to neutralize and rationalize their criminal activities at this stage. *Help-seeking pattern: selective:* Youth are now more knowledgeable about the criminal justice system. Help-seeking at this stage is more discrete and the main aim is to fulfil the requirements of the probation order. Family only plays a secondary role; this is the time when the youth who would make the decision on where and who they would approach for help.

Stage III: Shady Self: Shady self is the stage where the research participants convinced themselves that they would be leading a criminal life. Youth at this stage became more confident with their knowledge and skills to succeed in criminal world. *Family relationship: Alienating:* The family accepted the notion that their children are criminals and adopted an indifferent attitude regarding their children's criminal involvement. *Criminal career: Establishing:* Youth at this stage are focused on honing their skills to

become career criminals. They have a clear goal of gaining material rewards and avoiding unnecessary conflicts with other gangs and the police. *Help-seeking pattern: Passive:* Since the youth at this stage did not conceive that they would turn around. Their attitude towards seeking outside help was passive and lukewarm.

Stage IV: Reclaimed Self: At the stage of reclaimed self, the youth participants have determined to restore the self they had prior to their involvement with the criminal justice system; however, they are still haunted by the past and they learnt how to mange to live with that. *Family relationships: Re-connecting:* With the youth participants who tried to re-connect with their families, they have "re-discovered" the care from their family members. *Criminal career: Keeping at bay:* The focus of the strategies at this stage was to keep the youth out of trouble with the law. Some youth participants who were fringe members of the gang used the technique of "drifting" away from the gang and refocused on schoolwork. *Help-seeking pattern: Cooperative:* Help-seeking at this stage is more selective. They are convinced that they could go back to a regular way of life through determination and cooperation with the helping professionals. Helping professionals are advised to mobilize family support to help the youth at this stage and provide tangible services such as job referrals and interview skills training to these youths.

The concept of managing a damaged self in relation to self image, family relation, criminality, and help-seeking pattern is summarized in figure 6.

Figure 6. Managing a damaged self

Self	Family	Crime	Seeking help
Re-defining	Patching	Resisting	Proactive
Conflicting	Distancing	Rationalizing	Selective
Shady	Alienating	Establishing	Passive
Re-claimed	Re-connect	Keeping at bay	Co-operation

6. FINDINGS PART II

6.1. Demographic Information

In this study, the research team interviewed a total of 27 participants in Greater Toronto Area in 2015/2016 from the sectors of social services (14), criminal justice (10), and education (3) with 15.7 years of average working experiences in his/her respective profession. Detailed demographic information is listed in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Demographics of Participants (n=27)

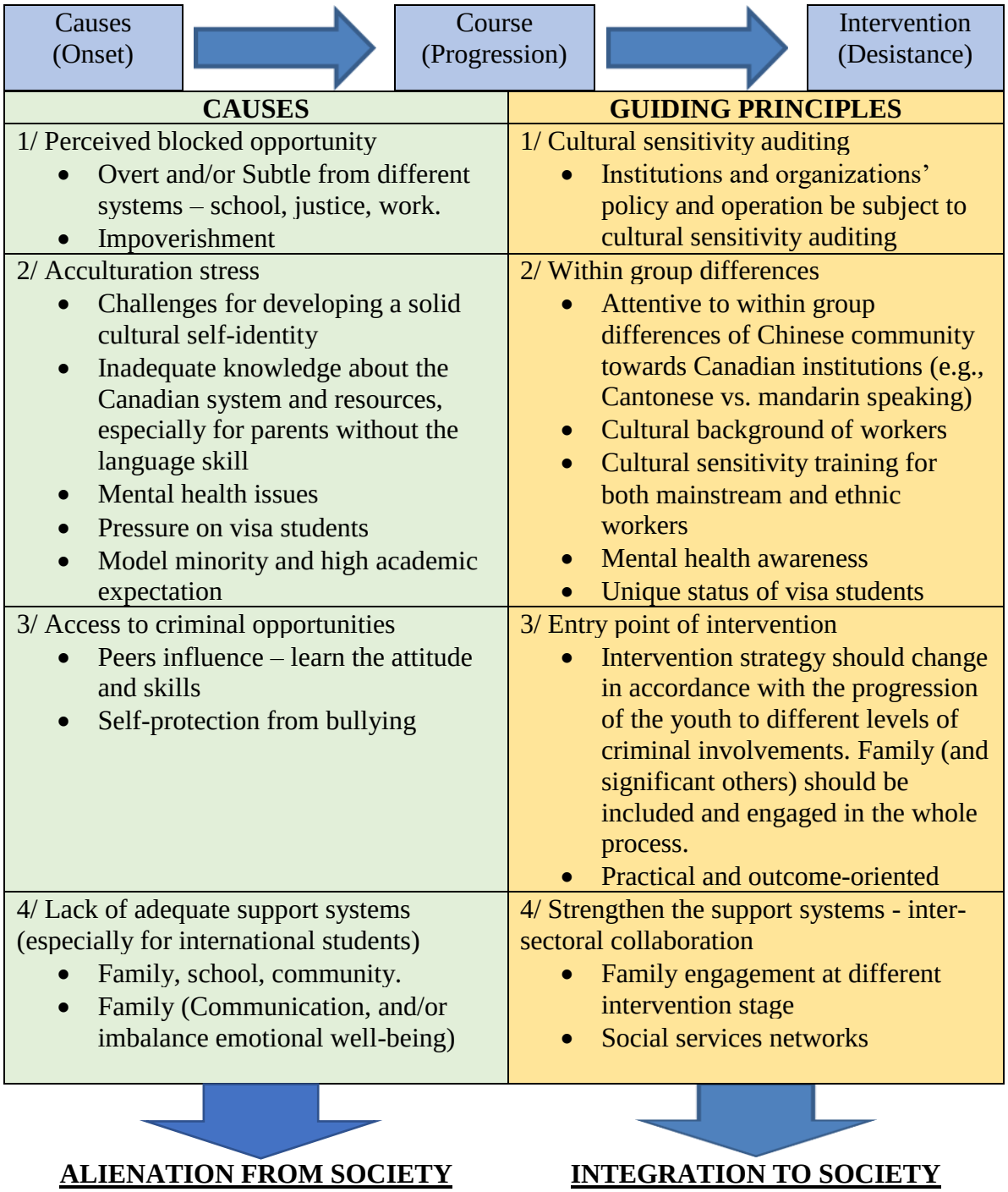
Sector	Level	Number (n)	yrs. (max)	yrs. (min)	Average
Social Service	Front Line	9	40	2	15.7
	Middle	2			
	Senior	3			
Criminal Justice	Front Line	7			
	Middle	2			
	Senior	1			
Education	Front Line	2			
	Middle	1			

6.2. Themes of Findings

Findings from current studies relating to the risks factors of criminal pathway for Chinese youth in conflict with the law are corroborated by the previous study in 2005/2006. As for identifying the promising practice model for this population, findings from the study doesn't meant to be prescriptive. Themes from the findings of this study, nonetheless, provide guiding principles and direction for developing promising practice in working with Chinese youth in conflict with the law (See figure 8). *Perceived blocked opportunities, acculturation stress, access to criminal opportunities, and lack of adequate support system* are the four main themes identified as the risk factors from the findings. Whereas, *cultural sensitivity auditing, within group differences, entry point of intervention,* and *strengthen the support system* are the four themes come up from the

findings and incorporate as the guiding principles for promising practice for Chinese youth in conflict with the law.

Figure 8. Promising Practice Model for Chinese Youth in Conflict with the Law



6.3. Perceived Blocked Opportunity

There is a sense of blocked opportunity among the Chinese youth and Chinese community regardless the efforts they might have made in different areas.

> *"There is why they (Chinese community) are always here and the mainstream there. You rarely hearing the voices of East Asian people (including Chinese) in politics or in anything." (Participant 24)*

> *"Women have glass ceiling…. (we have) it (blocked opportunity for Chinese) is called 'bamboo ceiling'...nobody recognizes them (Chinese) but they are working bees so they never get promotion and the career advancement is very limited." (Participant 24)*

6.4. Acculturation Stresses

It is found that Chinese youth have a lot of stress in adapting to Canadian society and keeping their own Chinese cultural identity. The ***searching for cultural self-identity*** creates stresses and tensions within the youth and between the youth and the parents, especially the parents who are newcomers and are still struggling to adjust to the lives in Canada.

> *"I can see (in my program) there is a lot of anger and rebellion (among Chinese youth)….they have a negative sense of Chinese identity……They start to think about their (parents) English speaking is not their type." (Participant 16)*

There is even more concern about Chinese males' self-identity.

> *"I have more concern for Chinese male. I think they have more struggles...They (Chinese males) have no role models. They are intimidated easily by other groups and as you can see a lot of East Asian*

> *females, at least they go out, they have their interracial relationship with whatever different groups but not so much for East Asian (and Chinese) males… they (Chinese males) cannot even find their own girlfriends from their own group. we were joking one time that "our Chinese boys will have to go back and find their wives in China." (Participant 24)*

On the other hand, Chinese youth would like to be more comfortable to come to their ethnic group even though they might be struggling with their own cultural identity.

> *"They (Chinese) tend to stick more to themselves. They tend to feel more comfortable with their own culture." (Participant 14)*

Some Chinese youth might like to be more identifying with the local cultural and their peers. Yet, it is otherwise against the social norm of Chinese culture and consequently creates tensions and conflicts with their parents.

> *"In the high school what it translates to is if you are "cool' or not. Most likely you are also trying out or experimenting with some drugs, smoking weed… and consuming alcohol. In the Canadian culture, how marijuana is perceived is very different than how it is perceived in Chinese culture." (Participant 1).*

The finding indicates that there is a ***high expectation on academic achievement*** for the Chinese youth. And the Chinese youth and their parents are usually very respectful to school system and other authority figures.

> *"There is a huge pressure to do well and to get really high marks… but get like 90s and 80s is an Asian (and Chinese) fail." (Participant 14)*

> *"Chinese parents… you (their children) must get the 100 score. You cannot get the 99 score at school." (Participant 2)*

> *"Got into trouble, minor things, but (Chinese youth) still managed to finish high school, go to university even though they lived in the underprivileged area of Toronto." (Participant 11)*

The concept of ***model minority*** has added additional layer of stress to Chinese youth that leads to any issues the Chinese youth might have would go unnoticed by the school and other helping professionals.

> *"Because of the perception (from teachers) that we are (Chinese) are doing so well academically…… they are not causing problems… they (teachers) don't see any need for their (Chinese) students because they (Chinese students) are not causing trouble on the surface." (Participant 24).*

> *"It is common to see Asian students to be a bit more reserved… they may have higher marks; however, social interaction is limited to smaller group amongst themselves. In addition, if there is problem they tend to try to solve by themselves…they will not reach out to a perceived authority figure." (Participant 25).*

In fact, for those Chinese youth who are academically average is the group which have received less attention.

> *"But for Chinese youth, I find that there are kind of mediocre, they are not doing really well at school, but they are not failing. They are the group that are kind of missing out on a lot of things." (Participant 1)*

It is also noteworthy to mention that most parents and Chinese youth do not have adequate knowledge about the Canadian system and how to access the resources,

especially for those parents and youth who has ***language barrier*****.** They would feel overwhelmed when the youth are in contact with the law.

For the use ***extrajudicial measures (diversion program)*****,** it is found from this study that there is evidence that Chinese youth are under pressure from their parents to plead guilt in order to go to the diversion program. One participant said the pressure applies to youth from other cultures as well.

> *"I do find that a lot of the (Chinese) parents who do come to (the court) are overwhelmed… they are very embarrassed or ashamed to come to court." (Participant 10)*

> *"I can see there (the Chinese youth) being pressured to plead guilty and (go to the diversion program) when they are not guilty. It could easily happen." (Participant 9)*

> *"Absolutely, (but) I don't think it is just unique to Chinese, I think most parents will ask their children (plead guilty and go to the diversion program) do… A lot of parents just do so because they don't want to take more time off work." (Participant 8)*

Participants in this study generally agreed that the increasing number of ***international students*** from China over the last decade could be an emerging issue if not properly handled. More concerning is that there is an increasing trend that the age of overseas students is getting younger over the years and studying in high schools. The high school age is the period which requires closer parental guidance and supervision. However, most parents of Chinese international students cannot come with children to Canada. They have to rely on the quality of guardian who does not have full legal responsibility on the visa student.

> *"The (Chinese) international students was targeted by external routes to get him into fraudulent activities… the youth had told me that "the guy had told me to buy something with a fake credit, he is like a big brother to me." (Focus group, participant 6)*

> *"The school does not have a connection with the parents (of the visa students). Accordingly, to the system, (we) will contact the guardian (of the visa student) because the custodian is the legally responsible for the student, right? (but) not all guardians are reliable." (Participant 19)*

There is evidence from the findings that the ***mental health issues*** are not adequately recognized and addressed in Chinese community in relation to youth in contact with the law. It is agreed that some court cases, in particularly the domestic conflicts, and youth at-risk cases are mental health related instead of criminal cases related. However, without the proper recognition and clinical diagnosis, the youth would be ending up in the criminal justice system without necessary.

> *"There is definitely a reluctance for them (Chinese youth and parents) to seek support (mental health issue). And for them to even to acknowledge the mental health issue" (Participant 14)*

> *"I think in general Chinese community need to be more educated on mental health… I don't think they (the youth) should set foot in the courthouse because they are not being dealt with appropriately (in the first place)." (Participant 10)*

6.5. Access to Criminal Opportunities

Another risk factor identified in the finding is the accessibility to criminal opportunities. It could be either from peers' influence or for self-protection for involving in gang activities.

"He said why they (Chinese youth) are involved (in gang), because for new immigrants they want to protect themselves, it is better to be in that kind of group, so you are not being bullied." (Participant 7)

6.6. Lack of Adequate Support Systems

There is in general strong support in Chinese family. Nonetheless, the emotional well-being of the youth is not well taken care of. Against the backdrop of the internalization of problems, the youth is very hesitated to disclose issues to family and approach for outside help. Even if they would like to approach the outside help, the experiences of in contact with criminal justice system is overwhelmed as they have no knowledge of the criminal justice system. The language barrier, especially for parents, is another layer of challenge for them. Even more, the formal system such as school and criminal justice do not have adequate resources to provide service to this population.

"Regarding the emotional piece…they (youth) are really lacking. I can also find their parents do not know how to talk about their emotions. They (parents) can't say anything about their own emotions. You cannot even share about your emotions; how do you expect their kids to share their emotions." (Focus Group, Participant 4)

"There is nothing(brochure) that I have seen that is specifically outlining what happens in court, youth court. Like what is the divergent program? There is information sheet in English but there is nothing in Chinese. Usually, we would just get the interpreter to sit down and interpret line by line ..Sometimes there is not much time.. but if there was something like a handout or brochure (in Chinese) that we could give the family to say like "divergence is not a criminal record" ….they could take it home and understand the court procedures." (Participant 10)

"If the youth does not speak English, then there is not much I can do (to refer services to him/her….I think that if the youth can speak English, that is a completely different things." (Participant 1)

6.7. Extent of the issue of Chinese youth in Conflict with the law

The themes of risk factors (*perceived blocked opportunity, acculturation stress, access to criminal opportunities, lack of adequate support system*) about Chinese youth in conflict with the law has already explained in the early part of this section. Yet, how serious the problem of Chinese youth in conflict with the law is from the views of participants. It is very hard to determine the seriousness of the issue since there is no race-based data collected in Canada. Participants could only conclude it from their experiences and anecdotal observation. For the participants, they did not see the number is very high, given the great number of Chinese population in Greater Toronto Area. And from their work, the criminal activities involved range from lower level to drug selling.

"I don't see a lot of Chinese (court case) activity, especially given the huge (Chinese population) in the city. Most of them are more on lower level charges and just from my own perspective I don't see that there is a phenomenon….There might be underreporting to the police…maybe there is a form of more insular communities where things are dealt with internally in the community and it is not really brought to the police attention." (Participant 8)

They (Chinese youth) may be involved in selling drugs because they can make easy money. By selling a small amount, not a big amount of drugs in school or in the community….Yeah, they have also involved in the gang because with the gang they can access with the drug." (Participant 19)

In terms of the gender perspective, there are more Chinese males and females in contact with the criminal justice system.

> *"I can't say percentage wise….but I don't really see too many female youth in custody. Most of them (females) are high school charges like stealing from locker or stealing from the store and then the police usually release them from the (police) station. The people in custody I usually just dealt with are males." (Participant 10)*

Themes of guiding principles (*Cultural sensitivity auditing, within group differences, entry point of intervention, and strengthen the support system*) are explained in the following in respond to those risk factors.

6.8. Cultural Sensitivity Auditing

The participants proposed that all sectors (criminal justice, education, and criminal justice) could undergo cultural sensitivity auditing on their program provision, program delivery, and protocol relating to prevention and treatment programs in order to allow organizations and staff members to be more culturally aware of the population they are serving with. For example, the program should be more culturally sensitive to the stresses related to acculturation among both the youth and parents for their developing or re-developing their own cultural identity in Canadian society. Other stresses such as language barriers to access services, stigma associated with being involved in the criminal justice system, lower level of awareness and acknowledgment associated with mental health issues within Chinese community, lack of role models form their own ethnic group in the criminal justice system, and the daily struggles of being a newcomers in Canadian society should be recognized by the organizations as well.

> *"They (Chinese youth and parents) really see me in the criminal justice system in an adversarial role rather than that we are trying to help*

them…there is strong stigma involved (being with the court system) in their (Chinese) culture." (Participant 9)

"First of all, they have to come on a day that they don't want to come, say the Chinese New Year, that is more bad luck that we are asking people to put themselves up with." (Participant 9)

"I think in some ways they (criminal justice system) meet the needs of young people. I don't' think they meet the needs of the parents. So, kind of in a holistic fashion. I think there is a significant gap…..the young person becomes a translator to their parents which is not fair to the young person." (Participant 5)

For the diversion program, most participants think it is working. But should certainly be more cognized of the situation where parents or significant others might pressure Chinese youth to plead guilty even they are not, due to the internalization of problems and time considerations.

"I think the diversion program really does works. I know that it is a way that they can get rid of the charges, but I am oaky with that…. if they learn something from it, I am fine. Sometimes, it takes a long time for things to click." (Participant 9).

"I can see there (the Chinese youth) being pressured to plead guilty when they are not (guilty). I could easily happen." (Participant 9)

"I do see that (The Chinese youth being pressured to plead guilty). I would tell the parents to sit away… and then I will explain all the options to the youth." (Participant 10)

6.9. Within group differences

Program should make changes in response to the change of demographics of Chinese communities in Canada over the last two decades. Identifying within group differences in the Chinese communities between cantonese-speaking and mandarin-speaking populations help refine the program design in relation to providing culturally sensitive prevention and treatment services to Chinese youth and their parents. These differences include the support system, language barriers, and understanding of Canadian criminal justice system, and awareness of mental health issue and criminal justice system. It is concluded from the findings that the Mandarin-speaking Chinese communities require more support and services for adjusting to Canadian society and navigating the criminal justice system.

> *"They (parents from China) have less support networks here (when compared to Cantonese-speaking population who have a longer immigration history in Canada)…Most of my cases from China send their kids back to China to their relatives or grandparents to look after until they (the kids) are 4 or 5 years old and then they send the kids back for kindergarten. For those 4 years…are very important years for bonding between parents and children. But for them, because they need to work…" (Participant 4)*

> *"Whereas (Parents) from China, they don't really have a lot of families around so basically they rely on themselves." (Participant 4)*

> *"It is easy if you are (like Cantonese-speaking population from Hong Kong) coming from a commonwealth country that you would kind of understand the role of a judge, the role of a prosecutor, the role of defense lawyer, but if you are coming from a country like China, I think that their criminal justice system is very different.…I am not very sure if the Chinese criminal justice system has the presumption of innocence. You have certain constitutional values that you would have to abide by in Canada*

and you would defend your client on the basis of certain rights and I am not sure that they (clients from China) have the same concepts." (Participant 8)

It is found from this study that there is also conflicts among youth in different Chinese communities.

"I have noticed the shift (more mandarin-speaking students over the last decade) and I have heard from other colleagues in other schools….We (School) handle the cultural differences (within Chinese communities)..Even there is cultural differences among Chinese students. Canadian born vs. non-Canadian born Chines students, they also have conflicts amongst themselves. The is a perceived superiority with Canadian born students. I guess it is a language thing." (Participant 25)

It is worthy to note that matching of ethnic background between the service users and service providers is important in the prevention and treatment process. This principle not only applies to parents who does not speak English, but also to those who are English speaking youth.

"I encounter some (Chinese) youth…. speak English. They go into the office of professionals they are not Chines or Asian background. Some of them (youth) struggles that the professionals do not understand them (the youth). Like why you feel so stressed and all those things." (Focus Group, Participant 5)

"They (Chinese youth) feel more comfortable sharing their experiences with me (with Chinese cultural heritage), although I may not speak their (Chinese) language, but just having a familiar skin tone and understanding of Asian culture and values or traditions. They already feel

more at ease and they are less intimidated by sharing their feelings." (Participant 25)

"Because the clients feel comfortable (with the same cultural background)… When I hired more mandarin-speaking workers, we have more mandarin-speaking clients." (Participant 18)

"As one of the non-Asian social workers in the school that has huge Asian population, yes, I can speak with the youth no problem. But then there is quite a barrier for me in terms of connecting with the parents (who do not speak English). I either have to ask interpreter comes and help me. That's okay for an initial assessment meting, but if you are doing ongoing work. That makes it very difficult to make the connections (with parents)." (Focus Group, Participant 3)

Nonetheless, training for mandarin-speaking workers in social services to understand the Canadian context is required if they are also new immigrants.

"This is the same as for some of these social work-trained mandarin-speaking workers. They are coming from China. Some of them might have not have the idea (of the Canadian context). I have to retrain the Mandarin-speaking social workers as well (to help them understand the Canadian social service context)." (Participant 18)

Also, for those workers who are non-Asian, non-Chinese background, culturally sensitive training would help them to approach the Chinese clients.

"Even for people (workers) don't speak the language but if they can get more training in general about the culture, the acculturation stresses, and the stigma associated with court system, it helps to reach out to the (Chinese parents)." (Participant 20)

For the within group difference within Chinese community, the increasing number of international students from Canada is another new development which this research team did not find in the previous study in 2005/2006. In this study, the international students from China is an increasing concern to the participants. At the time of this study, there is no specific services provided to international students.

> *"I definitely see that (international students from China) in the court….They (international students) technically don't have status so they are on student visa so when we are talking about bail it is a huge problem because they need someone (family members) to deposit money for their bail….the problem is they don't have an family here." (Focus group, Participant 6)*

> *"Many of the (Chinese) international students are looking for a sense of belonging……most of the them are in relationships, so very quickly that they have a boyfriend, they have a girlfriend." (Focus Group, Participant 2)*

> *"Some of the younger kids (international students from China)….they broke the law without even knowing it. Another (international student from China) was made used by and involved in organized credit card fraud." (Participant 12)*

6.10. Entry Point of Intervention

Intervention strategy should change in accordance with the progression of youth to different levels of criminal involvements. For example, more services and resources should be invested in prevention and early intervention. When youth progress to a deeper level of criminal involvement, it would be more challenging on the part of service providers to intervene. Moreover, as there is a strong relationship between youth and the

family in Chinese culture, family should be engaged and helped to understand the importance of parents' involvement in the whole process of prevention and intervention process. As well, it is found from this study that treatment program should be focused on practical and outcome-oriented approach for Chinese youth and parents.

> *"I see the big difference between if the parents are more involved and willing to engage in counselling, doing something together with their youth. It makes a big difference opposed to those who say 'you (worker) to fix her or you have to fix him.'" (Focus Group, Participant 4)*

> *"If I can get the family to come by my side to have more information sharing. I am sure that the work would be a lot more effective in helping the person to get on the right path." (Focus Group, Participant 1)*

> *"You cannot just focus on youth without talking about parents." (Participant 24)*

> *"Of course, connecting them (parents) with the resources… The parents need the social emotional support too, not just the youth." (Participant 25)*

> *"They (Chinese parents) are very result oriented. Chinese people have to see something in order to…. Willing to spend time (in the intervention program). If they don't see any outcome, they think it is a waste of time… They are very practical." (Participant 20)*

Moreover, there is a stigma associated with mental health issue in Chinese community. The mental health program should be reframe in a way relates to school achievement in order to make it more acceptable to parents.

"When we have topics of mental health…it was difficult to get parents to come. ..So I need to approach it differently. Not from a mental health perspective, but in 'what is good to support your school' or 'what is good way to help your child to be successful in school.' So, they (parents) come." (Focus Group, Participant 3)

"The first one (section) might be just an educational kind of piece. But the next one might be more having actually agencies presenting the mental health components to them." (Focus Group, Participant 3)

6.11. Strengthen the support system – intersectoral co-ordination

It is found that the current services are operating in silos. The experiences in contact with the law is challenging. The cultural background and language barriers add another layer of complexity to the already overwhelming and challenging experiences. Participants proposed that coordination of services is the first step to provide better services and lower the anxiety of youth and parents in contact with the law. Additionally, it is suggested that training workshop could be organized among professionals in different sectors (education, criminal justice, and social services) for more understanding of each others' work and services.

"If social service organizations could provide the court, probation, victim services of more community resources. At least, I am not too aware of these services that where we should refer our cases to." (Participant 10)

"I am hoping social services, so settlement workers or any type of settlement service that someone who speaks the language to get to the (Chinese)parents.. and students at school…administration must support an initiative that supports newcomer (Chinese) students, that may involve a group (of settlement workers) coming in and doing workshops." (Participant 25)

"In York Region,… (there is) Chinese Social Services Network (CSS)…what we do is to meet once very 2 months or so.. a lot of other Chinese social services and agencies sent representatives and share information and resources….I don't know if GTA (Greater Toronto Area) has something like this… I find that CSS in York Region is a great way for people to connect and make referrals." (Focus Group, Participant 2)

"I do find that there is a total lack of funding. We can collaborate many things if we have the manpower. If we have the funding, a lot of things could be done together... The network is of course a good thing, but what is the next step after setting up the network?" (Focus Group, Participant 4)

"I think maybe more training (for workers and staff) with respect to law. Sometimes we come across those cases but because we don't have a lot of training on legal knowledge. We therefore just pass the case or refer the case out… we don't have enough education to help the client to understand more." (Participant 19)

7. DISCUSSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study have addressed our research questions on understanding how cultural dimension could play a role to inform practices with Chinese youth in conflict with the law in Canada. Even more, it brings our attention to questions on the challenge to investigate the seriousness of this problem, demographics shift within Chinese community over the last decade, mental health issue and criminal justice system, diversion program and Chinese youth, the international students' issues, program development and delivery strategy, and intersectoral networking and co-ordination.

The need for disaggregated race-based date. There is a desperate need for disaggregated race-based data within the youth criminal justice system (Kwok & Tam, 2006; Owusu-Bempah & Wortley, 2014). The lack of race-based data regarding youth involved with the law creates barriers to effectively providing appropriate prevention and rehabilitation services program. As a result, it is a challenge to investigate the scope of the issue relates to the Chinese youth in conflict with the conflict in this study.

Acculturation stresses and internalization of problem. Develop a strong cultural self-identity for the youth and for the Chinese community should be a focus for prevention and intervention programs for youth in conflict with the law. Moreover, internalization of problem relates to youth criminal justice system will downplay the issue of systemic discrimination against youth from racialized groups (McMurtry & Curling, 2008).

Demographic change within Chinese community. It is very clear that there is a swift of Chinese language from cantonese-speaking domination before 2000 to the recent increase of mandarin-speaking population in Canada. The within group differences in Chinese community between the cantonese-speaking immigrant from Hong Kong and mandarin-speaking population from China requires particular attention in terms of service provision. For example, language barrier is a critical issue for mandarin-speaking parents as well as their knowledge of the criminal justice system in Canada (Kwok & Tam, 2010; Wang & Lo, 2007).

The concept of model minority. There is an impression among service providers that Chinese youth are respectful and are high achievers academically. Less attention is subsequently paid to them by the school authority. However, emotional well-being of Chinese youth is a concern found in this study. Then, the school does not easily detect minor behavioural problem or emotional issues among Chinese students. That would lead to larger problem later (Kwok & Tam, 2010). Additionally, it is found that those Chinese youth who is not the academic high achievers, but is also not failing the class, are the group most neglected by the school and social service organizations. In addition to providing leadership training to high achiever students, prevention programs should also be offered to this segment of students for helping them develop life skills and strong cultural self-identity.

Mental health issue in Chinese community. This is a major theme in the finding of this study. More public education is required to bring the attention mental health issue to Chinese community. Many mental health cases are unnecessary ending up in the criminal justice system.

Diversion program and Chinese youth. Chinese youth are pressured by parents to plead guilty even they are not in order to join the diversion program (Kwok & Tam, 2009). That would compromise the legal rights of the youth from racialized groups and is not the original intention of diversion program under Youth Criminal Justice Act (Bala, & Anand, 2009). Criminal justice professionals should be more alert to this. Parents should be clearly explained the original intention of the diversion program.

International students. The raising number of international students from China over the last decade is a concern, especially for the high school students without proper and appropriate services to support their emotional well-being. The lack of local support network makes them vulnerable to become the target of criminal organizations. Coordination of program services among school, social services, and criminal justice system is required to address this issue.

Ethnic background matching between service providers and service users. If possible, Chinese youth and parents should be matched with professional workers with similar cultural heritage. However, if the professional worker is also a new newcomer, proper training should be provided to the workers about the Canadian system and context.

Program development and delivery. Family should be engaged and involved in the prevention and intervention strategy. Also, the program design should be result and outcome-oriented for better evaluation (Bond, & Haulf, 2004).

Inter-sectoral co-ordination. It is found that service providers in different sectors are working in silos. Funding for better co-ordination and networking among different sectors working with Chinese youth in conflict with the law is recommended.

8. CONCLUSION

This is a constant challenge to conduct research with racialized group involved with criminal justice system in Canada due to the ban of race-based data and access to the racialized group (Chin, 1996; Kwok & Tam, 2007). Nonetheless, with the help of local community research partners, this research team is able to finish the research study and fill the void in literature relates to criminal pathway of Chinese youth and promising practice to this population. Nonetheless, the scope of the problem and the gender perspective on this issue reminds unanswered and requires further investigation in future.

REFERENCES

Agnew, R. (1992). Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency. *Criminology, 30,* 47-87.

Agnew, R. Brezina, T., Wright, J.P., Cullen, F.T. (2002). Strain, personality traits, and delinquency: extending general strain theory. *Criminology, 40*, 43-71.

Bala, N., & Anand, S. (2009). *Youth Criminal Justice Law*. Toronto. Irwin Law.

Bao, W.N. & Haas, A. (2009). Social change, life strain, and delinquency among Chinese urban adolescents. *Sociological Focus, 42,* 285-305.

Bond, L.A & Haulf A.M.C. (2004). Taking stock and putting stock in primary prevention: Characteristics of effective programs. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 24(3), 199-221.

Canadian Bureau for International Education (2018). *Canada's performance and potentials in international education*. Retrieved from https://cbie.ca/media/facts-and-figures/

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research (2nd ed., pp. 509-535). Thousand Oak, CA: Sage.Chin, K.L., & Fagan, J.K. (1993). Methodological issues in studying Chinese gang extortion. *The Gang Journal, 1*(2), 25-36.

Chin, K.L. (1996). *Chinatown gangs: extortion, enterprise, and ethnicity.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Cloward, R.A. & Ohlin, L.D. (1960). *Delinquency and Opportunity.* New York: Free Press.

Cohen, A.K. (1955). *Delinquent boys.* New York: Free Press.

Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System. (1995). *Report of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System.* Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Queen's Printer for Ontario.

Correctional Investigator. (2014). *Annual report 2014-2015*. Ottawa, ON: Queen's Printer

Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (CISC) (2006). *Project spectrum: 2006 situational overview of street gangs in Canada.* Ottawa: Author.

Department of Justice Canada (2013). *The youth Criminal Justice Act: Summary and Background*. Author: Queen's Print.

Doob, A.N., & Gartner, R. (2005, August 12). *Aim at crime's cause*. Globe and Mail, p. A13.

Federal Research Division (2003). *Asian organized crime and terrorist activity in Canada, 1999-200*2. Washington, D.C: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.

Gilbert, N. & Terretll, P. (2002). *Dimensions of social welfare planning* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Gonzales, N.A., & Cauce, A.M. (1995). Ethnic identity and multicultural competence: Dilemmas and challenges for minority youth. In W.D. Hawley & S.W. Jackson (Eds.), *Toward a common destiny: Improving race and ethnic relation in America* (pp. 131- 162). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.

Gossett, M., & Weinman, M. L. (2007). Evidence-based practice and social work: An

illustration of the steps involved. *Health & Social Work, 32(2),* 147-150.

Government of Ontario (2008). *The review of the roots of youth violence.* Toronto, Ontario: Author.

Hayle, S., Wortley, S., & Tanner, J. (2016). Race, Street Life, and Policing: Implications for Racial Profiling 1. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 58(3), 322-353.

Jackson, N. (2015). Aboriginal youth overrepresentation in Canadian Correctional Services: Judicial and non-judicial actors and influence. *Alberta Law Review*, 52(4), 927-947.

Jamil Malakieh (2017) Youth correctional statistics in Canada 2015/2016. Juristat (Catalogue no. 85-002-X). Statistics Canada.

Jenson, J.M. (2005). Connecting science to intervention: Advances, challenges, and the promise of evidence-based practice. *Social Work Research, 29(3),* 131-135.

Joe, D., & Robinson, N. (1980). Chinatown's immigrant gangs. *Criminology, 4,* 337-345.

Kim, B., Merlo, A, V., & Benekos, P. (2013). Effective correctional intervention programmes for juveniles: review and synthesis of meta- analytic evidence. *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, 15(3), 169-189. DOI: 10.1350/ijps.2013.15.3.310.

Kwok, S.M. (2000). Exploring the experiences of Chinese in drug treatment programs in Vancouver, Canada. *British Journal of Social Work, 30*(5), 663-672.

Kwok, S.M., & Tam, D.M.Y. (2004). Delinquency of Asian youth in Canada. *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work & Development, 14*(2), 5-18.

Kwok, S.M. & Tam, D.M.Y. (2006), Methodological Challenges in Studying Asian Gangs in Canada, *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work & Development, 16(2), 43-52.*

Kwok, S.M. & Tam, D.M.Y. (2007). Chinese youth in the criminal justice system of Canada. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, 2(2), 305-313.*

Kwok, S.M. (2008), Experiences of Asian Youth in the Criminal Justice System of Canada, *Journal of Gang Research, 15(3), 1-17.*

Kwok, S.M. (2009), How Asian youth cope with the Criminal Justice System in Canada: A Grounded Theory Approach. *Asian Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development, 19*(2), 21-37.

Kwok, S.M., & Tam, D.M.Y.(2010), Chinese immigrant youth and justice system in Canada.
Canadian Social Work Journal, 12(2), 114-122.

Kwok, S.M., & Tam, D.M.Y. (2011). Bifurcation of youth justice policy in Canada: Is it the end or just another round of youth penal policy debate? Crime and Criminal Justice International, 17(Sept), 89-114.

Kwok, S.M., Lee, B., & McMulkin, M. (2016). *Promising Practice for Chinese Youth in Conflict with the Law in Canada.* Presented at the 2016 Council on Social Work Education 64th Annual Program Meeting (November 3-6, 2016), Atlanta, Georgia, USA.

Kwok, S.M., Houwer, R., HeavyShield, H., Weatherstone, R. & Tam, D. (2017). *Supporting Positive Outcomes for Youth Involved with the Law.* Youth Research and Evaluation eXchange (YouthREX). Toronto, ON.

Liu, R.X. & Lin, W. (2007). Delinquency among Chinese adolescents: modeling sources of frustration and gender. *Deviant Behaviour, 28,* 409-432.

McMurtry, R. & Curling, A. (2008). *The review of the roots of youth violence.* Toronto, Ontario: Queen's Press for Ontario.

Mellor, B., MacRae, L., Pauls, M., & Hornick, J. (2005). *Youth gangs in Canada: a preliminary review of programs and services*. Prepared for Public Safety and emergency Preparedness Canada. Calgary: Canadian Research Institute for Law and the Family.

Meng, Y., Giwa, S., & Anucha, U. (2015). Is There Racial Discrimination in Police Stop-and- Searches of Black Youth? A Toronto Case Study. *Canadian Journal of Family and Youth/ Le Journal Canadien de Famille et de la Jeunesse*, 7(1), 115-148.

Merton, R. (1938). Social structure and anomie. *American Sociological Review, 3,* 672-682.

Miladinovic, Z. (2016). Youth court statistics in Canada 2014/2015. *Juristat* (Catalogue no. 85- 002-X). Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada.

National Crime Prevention Centre (2008). Promising and model crime prevention programs. Ottawa: Author.

Ngai, N.P., Cheung, C.K., & Ngai, S.Y.S. (2007). Cognitive and social influences on gang involvement among delinquents in three Chinese cities. *Adolescence, 42* (166), 381-403.

Owusu-Bempah, A., & Wortley, S. (2014). Race, crime, and crime justice in Canada. In S. Bucerius & M. Tonry (Eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration* (pp.281-320). New York: Oxford University Press. DOI:10.1093/ oxfordhb/9780199859016.013.020

Rankin, J., & Winsa, P. (2013). Unequal justice: Aboriginal and black inmates disproportionately fill Ontario jails. *Toronto Star.* Retrieved from: https://www.thestar.com/news/ insight/2013/03/01/unequal_justice_aboriginal_ and_black_inmates_disproportionately_fill_ ontario_jails.html

Pih, K.K.H., Mao, K. (2005). Golden parachutes and gangbanging: Taiwanese gangs in suburban and Southern California. *Journal of Gang Research, 12*(4), 59-72.

Rossiter, M.J.,& Rossiter, K.R. (2009). Diamonds in the rough: bridging gaps in supports for at-risk immigrant and refugee youth. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 10,* 409-429.

Saini, M., & Azzopardi, C. (2009). Evidence-based practice for social worker : friend or foe ? *Ontario Association of Social Workers News Magazine, 35*(1).

Sheu, C.J. (1986). Delinquency and identity: *Juvenile delinquency in an American Chinatown*. New York: Harrow and Heston.

Smokowski, P.R., David-Ferdon, C., & Stroupe, N. (2009). Acculturation and violence in minority adolescents: a review of the empirical literature. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 30,* 215-263.

Song, J.H.L., Dombrink, J., & Geis, G. (1992). Lost in the melting pot: Asian youth gangs in the United States. *Gang Journal, 1(1),* 1-12.

Southern China Morning Post (2017, September 10). *With more speakers of Mandarin than Cantonese in Canada now, what future for the southern Chinese dialect there*? Retrieved from http://www.scmp.com/lifestyle/article/2110338/more-

speakers-mandarin-cantonese-canada-now-what-future-southern-chinese.
Statistics Canada (2016a). *Population by selected ethnic origins, by census metropolitan areas in 2016 Census*. Ottawa: Author.
Statistics Canada. (2016b). *Youth correctional statistics in Canada* 2014/2015. Retrieved from http:// www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2016001/ article/14317-eng.htm.
Statistics Canada (2017). Census Profile, 2016 Census. Retrieved from http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CD&Code1=3520&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1
Statistics Canada (2010). Projection of the diversity of Canadian population 2006-2031. Ottawa: Author.
Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Sutherland, E.H., & Cressey, D.R. (1978). *Criminology* (10th ed.). New York: Lippincott.
Tam, M.Y.D., Kwok, S.M., Visser, S., & Brown, A. (2017). *Determinants for healthy development: A comparison between racialized and non-racialized youth.* Presented at 2017 Canadian Research Data Centre Network Conference (November 14-15, 2017) at McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
Tewolde, Y. & Olawoye, L. (2013). *From analysis to action: a collective approach to eliminate youth violence.* Youth anti-violence task force. Toronto, ON.
Totten, M.D. (2008). *Promising practices for addressing youth involvement in gangs.* Vancouver: Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General of British Columbia.
Toy, C. (1992). Coming out to play: Reason to join and participate in Asian gang. *Gang Journal, 1(1),* 13-29.
Tsunokai, G., & Kposowa, A.J. (2002). Asian gangs in the United States: the current state of the research literature. *Crime, Law & Social Change, 37*, 37-50.
Tsunokai, G. T., & Mao, K. (2005). Beyond the lenses of the 'model' minority myth: a descriptive portrait of Asian gang members. *Journal of Gang Research, 12*(4), 37-58.
Wang, S., & Lo, L. (2007). What does it take to achieve full integration Economic (under)performance of Chinese immigrant in Canada? In V. Agnew (Eds.). *Interrogating Race and Racism* (pp.172-205). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Wang, Z. (1994). *Factors affecting gang affiliation among Asian-American high school students: An examination of Fagan's social development model*. (Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1994). Dissertation Abstracts International, 33(03), 749.
Wilson, H.A., & Hoge, R.D. (2013). The effect of youth diversion programs on recidivism: A meta-analytic review. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 40(5), 497-518. DOI:10.1177/0093854812451089.
Wong, S. K. (1998). Peer relations and Chinese-Canadian delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 27*(5), 641-652.
Wortley, S. (2003). Hidden intersections: research on race, crime, and criminal justice in Canada, *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 35*(3), 99-117.

Wortley, S., & Tanner, J. (2006). Immigration, social disadvantage and urban youth gangs: results of a Toronto-Area survey. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 15*(2), supplementary pages 18-37.

Zhang, L. (2008). Juvenile delinquency and justice in contemporary China: a critical review of the literature over 15 years. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 50*, 149-160.

Zhang, X.D. (1993). Coping with delinquency in a cultural context: The perceptions and coping behaviors of Black and Asian parents of juvenile delinquents. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1993). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 55*(12), 4001.

TEAM MEMBERS

- Siu Ming Kwok, Professor & Associate Dean (Southern Alberta Region), Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary (Principal Investigator)
- Dora Tam, Associate Professor, University of Calgary (Co-investigator)
- Anna Wong, Executive Director, Chinese Family Services of Ontario (Research Community Partner)
- Patrick Au, Former Executive Director, Chinese Family Services of Ontario (Research Community Partner)
- Nicole Wong, Executive Director, Across U-Hub (Research Community Partner)
- Carolyn Chau, Associate Professor, King's University College at Western University (Research Associate)
- Frank Chu, Divisional Program Development Manager, Salvation Army (Research Associate)
- Barbara Lee, Assistant Professor, University of British Columbia (Research Associate)
- Christine Streeter, PhD student, Carleton University (Research Associate)
- Teresa Woo (Program Co-ordinator of this study)
- Shing-fu Lee, Clinical & Forensic Psychologist (Research Advisory Committee Member)
- Carolyn Mak, School Social Worker, Branksome Hall (Research Advisory Committee Member)
- Jenny Quin, Manager, Community Engagement, United Way of Peel Region (Research Advisory member)
- Abraham Tsang, Former Resources and development director of Across U-hub (Research Advisory Member)
- Miranda Cheung (community member)
- Chinese Family Services of Ontario
- Across U-hub
- Maureen McMulkin (Research assistant)
- Shirley Wong (Research assistant)
- Rosettia Ho (Research assistant)
- Eudora Lee (Research assistant)

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information of this report please contact:

Siu Ming Kwok, Ph.D.
Professor & Associate Dean (Southern Alberta Region)
Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary.
E-mail: siuming.kwok@ucalgary.ca