

THE EXPERIENCES OF CHINESE PARENTS AND THE TRIPLE-P POSITIVE PARENTING
PROGRAM

by

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ABSTRACT

Experiences of Chinese Parents and the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program

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This qualitative research study explores the experiences of two Chinese mothers who have taken one or more sessions of the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program. Utilizing a narrative methodology to inquiry, semi-structured interviews were conducted to answer the central research question: What are the experiences of Chinese parents who have taken one or more Triple-P sessions, in relation to the socio-political, historical and cultural factors that influence their lives? Data analysis draws from Anti-Oppression and Critical Race Feminism theoretical frameworks. The findings in this study provides insight to the successes, and challenges/needs/concerns of parenting interventions and its practices for the Chinese community.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to all those who identify as parents. You are enough.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This study utilizes a narrative approach to explore the experiences of Chinese parents who have taken one or more sessions of the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program (Triple-P). The purpose of this research is to hear Chinese parents' stories of the successes and challenges/needs/concerns of the Triple-P program, while taking into consideration the external factors outside of Triple-P that shape their lives. Thereby, answering the central research question: What are the experiences of Chinese parents who have taken one or more Triple-P sessions, in relation to the socio-political, historical and cultural factors that influence their lives?

Triple-P is “number one on the united nations’ ranking of parenting programs,” based on its extensive evidence base (Coyne, 2015, n.p.). Triple-P is an evidence-based (Grietens, 2013) universal parenting program (Sawrikar & Katz, 2014) developed by Matthew Sanders, a clinical psychologist from Australia (Sanders, 1999). It is a multi-level program that services parents with children from birth to the age of 12 (Leung, Sanders, Leung, Mak, & Lau, 2003a). According to Leung et al. (2003a), this multi-level program can range from “useful parenting information through a coordinated media campaign” to eight-to-ten sessions “for children with more serious behaviour problems” (p. 532). This professional-led program aims to increase parental strategies and knowledge, so parents “are empowered to be agents for child socialisation” (Chan, Leung, & Sanders, 2016, p. 39). In emphasizing the important role of parents in their children’s lives, Wade notes that, “Effective parenting promotes the socialisation of children who are more likely to be well adapted and less likely to experience school failure, anti-social behaviours, psychopathology and delinquency” (as cited in Chan et al., 2016, p. 38). Thus, in Triple-P, the emphasis is placed on altering “unrealistic or dysfunctional parental cognitions” (Leung et al., 2003a, p. 532), with the expectation that parents obtain “skills of self-monitoring, self-determination of goals, self-evaluation of performance and self-selections of change strategies in the Triple P programmes” (Chung, Leung, & Sanders, 2015, p. 340).

This professional-led program used to educate Chinese parents has made parenting an object of professional intervention and surveillance (Lam & Kwong, 2012). Proper parenting has been constructed in accordance to scientific ideologies and paradigms, which are typically products of Western and European masculine knowledge that dictate how parents should be parenting; rendering what is best for their children (Ambert, 1994). Professionals disseminate this positivist knowledge while working to educate parents on “proper” parenting skills through evidence-based programs, thereby this action legitimizes these professionals “to popularize the ideology that childrearing is not a self-sufficient and self-sustaining act but requires parents to act in ways that promote children’s well-being and functional behavioural development” (Lam & Kwong, 2012, p. 65). Regulating parenting individualizes and pathologizes parents by placing them outside of what is considered the norm; hence, this viewpoint implies that parents need to conform by attending groups run by professionals. As a result, evidence-based programs, such as Triple-P, privileges the expert’s knowledge and silences the parent’s lived experiences.

In contradistinction to hegemonic Western notions of “proper” parenting, this study presents a different perspective on the lives and experiences of Chinese parents, and queries how the dominant discourse of parenting may be imposed on parents and service providers. Challenging discourses surrounding a universal approach to parenting will allow practitioners to work with parents in a less oppressive way. In turn, practitioners are less likely to adopt a lens whereby they inadvertently blame, individualize, pathologizes or impose social norms onto a parent. Instead, practitioners can recognize the context of a parent’s life and externalize their stories, which separates the parent from the problem.

This study makes visible to social workers and professionals the multiple, fluid and complex nature of a Chinese parent’s lived experiences, and how parenting has been widely produced as a legitimate form of knowledge. As professionals, our status allows us to determine what parents need, what interventions look like, and how such interventions should be provided. Therefore, how we frame what “good” parenting means, can lead us to particular interventions or solutions, which ignores the

complexity of a parent's life, and the structural and systemic oppression they face. We further harm, silence, and oppress parents if we chose to ignore these larger complex forces that shape their lives.

There is a lack of research on the Chinese population and Triple-P. Empirical studies through quantitative and mixed-methods approaches dominate the extant literature on Chinese parents and Triple-P. Hence, this study aims to challenge essentialized notions of parenting perpetuated through Western-Eurocentric patriarchal parenting programs by utilizing a narrative approach to qualitative inquiry with Chinese parents, whose voices are underrepresented in the Triple-P literature. This study conducted two one-on-one qualitative semi-structured interviews with Chinese parents living in the Greater Toronto Area.

To respond to the gaps and limitations of the extant literature on Chinese parents and Triple-P, this study adopts a critical epistemological paradigm utilizing Anti-Oppression and Critical Race Feminism theoretical frameworks to inform it. A thematic analysis is used as the analytic strategy for the narratives collected. The key themes that emerged in the study are the following: "better" parent/"good" mother; successes and challenges of Triple-P; the "right way"; the Triple-P program and cultural appropriateness; gender roles and patriarchy; resources; and resistance, strengths, and action. Implications of this study for social work and professional practice are discussed in the conclusion.

Reflection and Motivation of This Study

This study is influenced by my personal experiences of taking Triple-P and from the insights that I have gained from my social work education.

When I first started my Bachelor in Social Work (BSW) degree, I believed that social issues were individual issues. Different dimensions to this belief were instilled in me throughout my life, such as through media, parenting educators and society. However, during my BSW, I learned about the complexity of a parent's life, the multiple identities and life circumstances we experience.

As I have reflected over the years, I realized taking Triple-P indirectly suggested my parents did not demonstrate "proper" parenting. For example, my parents were more authoritative, and did not

physically show me love by hugging and kissing me. In fact, Triple-P explains the importance of such acts. However, in the Chinese culture, especially for first generation immigrants to Canada, hugging and kissing is not how parents show affection to their children. I was not aware of this Chinese cultural context of affection at the time, hence indirectly, seeing what “proper” parenting looked like in Triple-P made me believe that my parents did not love me. Also, I remember feeling resentment towards my parents, that because they did not show me “proper” parenting, I felt like I had to work much harder than other parents to learn the “right way” to parent my child. I internalized that I was a “bad” parent because I did not know this “proper” way. This caused me pain.

I carried this self-blame and policed other parents who improperly parented their children, and unknowingly perpetuated the discourse of a “good” parent, until I started my social work studies. I was shocked to learn and understand how social issues are placed on the individual, and how society (myself included) perpetuate these issues that further marginalize and pathologize people. I was shocked that even though I had lived-experiences of the impacts of being labelled as a “bad” parent, I still shamefully perpetuated what being a “good” parent meant, and further harmed individuals.

Fortunately, I was privileged to be able to shift my perspective to one that comes from a critical stance. Hence, having lived the experience as a Chinese parent and what it meant for me to take a Western parenting program, has driven me to this study. I want to bring forth the subjugated knowledge and voices of other Chinese parents who have been through similar situations; this way, others can know about the impacts that Western knowledge of parenting imposes on my community, and uncover what Western knowledge silences. I trouble the status quo and the dominant discourses that impact my community, which have profound effects on how we define ourselves and how others (e.g., service providers) define us. Thus, I hope that this study can increase the awareness that my social work education taught me about the impacts of Western parenting programs, so that other Chinese parents can understand these impacts and externalize their experiences, so they do not continue to place blame on themselves for failing to assimilate to the dominant Western-Eurocentric patriarchal norms of parenting.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

My review of the extant literature on Triple-P showed that researchers were aware that Triple-P may not be culturally appropriate for Chinese parents. Given this perspective, researchers began to conduct studies to demonstrate that Triple-P is effective for the Chinese population. In this literature review, eight studies are included, which all indicate that Triple-P is effective in the Chinese context. The only two studies that have a qualitative approach to inquiry were also purposefully included in this literature review. Both these studies took the form of a mixed-methods approach to inquiry. Additionally, with the limited research available on the Chinese population and Triple-P, two studies from Japan are also included, which cross-reference the research conducted on the Chinese population.

Empirical studies demonstrate that Triple-P is effective with Chinese parents in Australia (Crisante & Ng, 2003), Mainland China (Guo, Morawska, & Sanders, 2016), and Hong Kong Chinese parents of children with early onset conduct-related problems (Leung, Sanders, Leung, Mak, & Lau, 2003a; Leung, Leung, Sanders, Mak, & Lau, 2003b) and children with attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) (Au et al., 2014). In Hong Kong, the effectiveness of Triple-P was demonstrated in centre-based programs (Leung, Sanders, Ip, & Lau, 2006) and in the school context (Chung, Leung, & Sanders, 2015). Triple-P was also found to be effective with Japanese parents in Australia (Matsumoto, Sofronoff, & Sanders, 2007) and Japan (Matsumoto, Sofronoff, & Sanders, 2010).

Acknowledging the critiques that a professional-led universal parenting program laid down “universal standards for parenting and these programmes carried an implicit indication that parents were inadequate” (Gerris et al., 1998, as cited in Chan, Leung, & Sanders, 2016, p. 39), Chan et al. addressed these limitations by creating a non-directive parenting program in the form of a mutual-aid support group. In the non-directive Triple-P approach, “facilitators did not provide any professional advice to the participants in the group” (Chan et al., 2016, p. 42). The results of this study demonstrate that the directive approach is more effective than a non-directive approach to Triple-P, which indirectly states that

parents are inadequate and need Triple-P to properly parent. From the extant Triple-P literature on the Chinese population, it was concluded that Triple-P is effective amongst Chinese parents.

It is important to note that while reviewing the literature, the majority of the research conducted on the effectiveness of Triple-P was done by the developer of the program, Matthew Sanders. This has also been noted in an unfunded systematic review and meta-analysis of Triple-P by Wilson et al. (2012), who mention how independent evaluations of Triple-P have failed to replicate the positive results that the developer-led studies produced. In their review of Triple-P, Wilson et al. conclude that there was “no convincing evidence that Triple P interventions work across the whole population” (p. 1). In the context of the effectiveness of Triple-P with Chinese parents, Sanders again populated the research in East-Asia (Hong Kong, China, and Japan), alongside Cynthia Leung, another contributor found in all the studies conducted in Hong Kong. There was only one study that was not associated with either contributors, conducted by Crisante and Ng (2003), who published one of the first studies on Triple-P with Chinese parents.

Positivism, Social Learning Theory and the Discipline of Psychology

The theoretical framework underpinning of Triple-P and overarching all the research studies on Chinese parents and Triple-P, is social learning theory. Sanders, Cann, and Markie-Dadds (2003) explain that social learning theory, “assumes that dysfunctional child and parent behaviours inadvertently reinforce one another and maintain coercive patterns of family interaction” (p. 156). In adopting this theoretical framework, researchers argue that Triple-P can intervene and teach parents an array of positive parenting techniques to, “promote family harmony while simultaneously reducing maladaptive familial interactional patterns” (Sanders et al., 2003, p. 156). Ultimately, social learning theory, which is encompassed in psychological sciences, aims to regulate parents by manipulating “their qualities and attributes” through “scientific knowledge and professional interventions” (Healy, 2014, p. 64), and fails to acknowledge and address the structural challenges that individuals face (Healy, 2014). Thus, through social learning theory, it was not surprising that all the studies were grounded in a positivist

epistemological paradigm to which knowledge is constructed and generalized about the effectiveness of Triple-P on the Chinese population.

The entire knowledge production of Triple-P and Chinese parents has been gathered through positivist approaches of inquiry, utilizing quantitative and mixed-methods methodologies. The quantitative methodologies included quasi-experimental designs (Crisante & Ng, 2003; Leung et al., 2006), experimental designs with randomized control trials (Chan et al., 2016; Chung et al., 2015; Guo et al., 2016; Leung et al., 2003a; Matsumoto et al., 2007; Matsumoto et al., 2010), and the mixed-methods methodologies took a pragmatic stance to evaluate the effectiveness of Triple-P (Au et al., 2014; Leung et al., 2003b). The method of data collection for the eight quantitative studies were questionnaires translated into Chinese or Japanese, and the two studies with mixed-methods approaches also quantitatively collected data through questionnaires. One of the mixed-methods study qualitatively utilized focus groups to ask Chinese parents and Triple-P facilitators to evaluate the usefulness and cultural appropriateness of Triple-P materials and contents (Leung et al., 2003b). The other mixed-methods study utilized a focus group with Chinese parents in a semi-structured interview, with the research agenda of determining what worked well in the program for Chinese parents with children diagnosed with ADHD (Au et al., 2014).

Limitations of Positivist Research Methodologies and Methods of Data Collection

As mentioned above, the quantitative components in the studies all utilized questionnaires as a tool of data collection. Although the questionnaires were translated into Chinese or Japanese, they are still based upon Western norms of assessing child behaviours (using the Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory), a parent's competence (using the Parenting Sense of Competence Scale), a parent's dysfunctional discipline styles (using the Parenting Scale), marital or relationship quality and satisfaction (using the Relationship Quality Index), and so forth. In the study conducted by Crisante and Ng (2003), they recognized that "most of the instruments designed to assess parental attitudes toward and quantitative ratings of child behaviour were developed, standardised and used almost exclusively with middle to upper class European American families" (p. 8), and that to research culturally diverse communities, qualitative approaches to

inquiry are needed to recognize the complexity of people's lives. The questionnaires used in all ten studies themselves serve "the dominant statistical language and is conceived within the positivist paradigm with its claim of rationality, objectivity, and knowledge as absolute truth" (Chilisa, 2012, p.76); thus, reality is assumed to be experienced the same way by everyone and does not take into consideration a person's social, political, historical and cultural context. The self is fragmentary and varies according to social circumstances and social positions (Layder, 2006). It is important to recognize that there are always contexts to which a person's stories and experiences are formed. That is, "the context of gender, class, race, culture and sexual preference are powerful contributors to the plot of the stories in which clients live by" (Morgan, 2000, p. 7). Overall, these standardized questionnaires as a method of inquiry silences the lived experiences and realities of Chinese parents.

In terms of the qualitative components of the mixed-methods study by Au et al. (2014), it was in the form of a program evaluation, with the research agenda to prove that Triple-P works well for Chinese parents with children diagnosed with ADHD. For example, the study asks, "What changes do you observe in yourself, your child, and family after learning the strategies in the programme?" (p. 155). The questions continued with the positivist agenda that reality exists out there and is not influenced by any social, political, historical and cultural factors.

The other mixed-methods study by Leung et al. (2003b) conducted focus groups with parents and facilitators of Triple-P in Hong Kong. The research concludes that Triple-P is effective amongst the Chinese population, while also determining how the program materials and contents can be improved. Both the parents and facilitators note that "there were cultural issues that had to be addressed" (p. 26) with the program. The following results from the qualitative component of the study demonstrates the problems with bringing in Western-Eurocentric patriarchal parenting styles and materials: Both parents and facilitators found it difficult to relate to video demonstrations on how to use specific parenting skills with their children; they found the workbook examples were inappropriate in the Chinese context; they expressed the need for more coverage on the father's role and responsibility in parenting; and facilitators

did not feel confident in answering questions raised by parents, perhaps because Triple-P is based on Western-Eurocentric patriarchal norms to parenting. The researchers dismissed the parents and facilitators' voices with the rebuttal that "most difficulties identified were not programme content issues. Instead, the difficulties identified were practical issues in relation to – the facilitators and participants, such as time, support of family members, and personal background issues" (p. 38). The researchers' conclusions for the qualitative component of their study silences, blames and dismisses the voices of the Chinese parents and facilitators.

Conflict of Interest, Biases, and Silencing Voices

As noted earlier, both Sanders and Leung have been contributors of nine out of ten of the studies in this literature review. The quantitative study published in the journal titled *Family Process* by Leung et al. (2003a) is a shortened version of the mixed-methods study by Leung et al. (2003b), which is a government report. One begs to question why this relevant literature that includes the perspectives of Chinese parents and facilitators was excluded in the final publication of the *Family Process* journal. Also, why are some of the quantitative results from the government report excluded in Leung et al.'s (2003a) report? For example, in the Leung et al. (2003a) publication, they exclude the following finding which was reported in their other study: "there was only one father participant and he reported higher satisfaction scores than the mother participants" (Leung et al., 2003b, p. 19). Also excluded was the "significant difference in satisfaction scores by family income. The two lower income groups (n = 3) reported lower satisfaction scores than the higher income groups (n = 30)" (Leung et al., 2003b, p. 19). In their study in 2006 (Leung et al., 2006), they conclude that Triple-P benefits socio-economically disadvantaged families and cite how their findings contradict other studies that mentions that socio-economically disadvantaged families have poorer programme engagement and clinical outcomes than socio-economically advantaged families, while not citing or addressing their work from 2003, that states otherwise.

Additionally, all the information in these studies were mainly gathered from mothers. Parenting programs and interventions typically focus on mothers because of the dominant ideology of the mother's role and responsibilities in caring for their child (Clarke, 2006). As stated, there was an expressed need for the inclusion of the father's role and responsibility in parenting (Leung et al., 2003b). However, the researchers continue to exclude the father's voice by cutting it out of the data (as discussed in Leung et al., 2003a), or gathering data only from the primary caregiver (the mother) if two parents contributed to the study (Guo et al., 2016). Hence, these studies have perpetuated patriarchy, and the patriarchal notion that it is the mother's role and responsibility to parent their child to become productive members of society.

Furthermore, several studies that measure parental stress, again involving Sanders and Leung, show that Triple-P failed to demonstrate a decrease in parental stress (Au et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2016; Chung et al., 2015; Matsumoto et al., 2007). Correspondingly, in Matsumoto et al. (2007), they note that, "the average program satisfaction rate in this study with Japanese parents was higher than that of Chinese parents" (p. 215). Yet, there are no answers in the Chinese parent's voice as to why this may be the case. Why is it that results demonstrate the effectiveness of Triple-P with Chinese parents, yet the program has not been found to decrease parental stress, and the scores on the Client Satisfaction Scale fail to show their satisfaction of the program? Instead of valuing the Chinese parents' voices, the researchers cited other studies which proved otherwise. For example, in Chan et al. (2016), their hypothesis that, "parents participating in the Triple P group will report significantly greater decrease in parental stress than participants in the non-directive group" (p. 41), was not supported by their findings. Instead of citing their past work that Triple-P has failed to demonstrate a decrease in parental stress in many of their other studies with Chinese parent (e.g., Au et al., 2014 and Chung et al., 2015), they argue that "the present results were not consistent with the literature on the effectiveness of parenting programmes in reducing parental stress" (p. 48) and cited four studies (Hintermair, 2000; Kerr & McIntosh, 2000; Leung et al., 2015; Tsang & Leung, 2007) that demonstrated the reduction in parental stress. Furthermore, these four

studies cited in Chan et al. were not about the Chinese population and the Triple-P program. Again, this act silences the voices of Chinese parents and obscures why parental stress has not decreased after attending Triple-P. Nevertheless, the researchers maintain the generalization that Triple-P is effective amongst Chinese parents.

It has also been documented that the drop out rate is high in Triple-P for Chinese parents. For example, in Leung et al. (2006), they started with 480 participants and at the end, only 102 participants attended three or more Triple-P sessions. To address the drop out rates, Chung et al. (2015) created a brief parent discussion group (BPD), which is a shorter version of Triple-P, with the goal to make Triple-P more accessible to families. The BPD is a two-hour seminar session consisting of Triple-P principles and two 15-30 minutes telephone consultations, as opposed to the eight sessions of Triple-P. Although the BPD was aimed at addressing the drop out rate of Chinese parents from the program, Chung et al. fail to analyze why a similar percentage of participants from the full Triple-P program and BPD dropped out of the program. Originally there were 30 Triple-P participants in the study, and at the end there were 24 participants. For the brief parent discussion group there were initially 30 participants and in the end, there were 27 participants. No participants from the waitlist group dropped out. Instead of questioning why individuals are dropping out of the program and hearing the voices of these parents, they ignored it and concluded that the BPD is as effective as the full Triple-P program, and is “shorter and more cost-effective” (p. 347).

The effectiveness of Triple-P through studies conducted by these two constant contributors (Sanders and Leung), have generalized Triple-P as culturally appropriate for Chinese parents. For example, the most recent study reported by Chan, Leung and Sanders (2016), state in their literature review that Triple-P “have been found to be effective among Chinese parents” (p. 39). In this study, the two constant Triple-P research contributors, Sanders and Leung, cross-referenced their own past studies as this quote in Chan et al. referenced “Leung et al., 2003a, b, 2013” (p. 39). They have done this in several of their other studies. Moreover, these studies have placed exclusion criterion. For example, these

studies exclude parents if they had been deemed illiterate, had major psychiatric disorders, had a history of domestic violence in the family, or had a child with a significant developmental delay or other disabilities. Even though they excluded these parents in the research, they still concluded that Triple-P is effective for the Chinese population. Furthermore, several questionnaires, such as the Parenting and Family Adjustment Scale and the Child Adjustment and Parent Efficacy Scale, were developed by Sanders (Guo et al., 2016), which could lead to biased results of the positive effects of Triple-P as a universal parenting program.

The manner in which Sanders and Leung hide negative results from their previous studies, and use their own research to confirm the generalizability of the effectiveness of a program, when their studies are the only ones available on Triple-P with Chinese parents, provides a narrow and biased perspective on the impact of this program across diverse populations. Chilisa (2012) mentions that “it is unethical to provide partial information, present facts out of context, or provide misleading information” (p. 82), especially where other countries like China and Japan, “has to pay as knowledge becomes more and more an important profit-making mechanism in the global capitalist economy” (p. 86). In this case, Chinese parents are paying as their parenting is being regulated, and their knowledge and voices are being excluded in research. To add, out of all the studies I have read on Triple-P, and on Triple-P and Chinese parents, only one study, Guo et al., (2016), declared a conflict of interest. This is why parenting educators, practitioners and social workers need to take a critical stance when looking at evidence-based programs because a parenting educator, practitioner or “social worker who is not skilled in critiquing research may be swayed by reported research findings without appraising these critically” (Gray, Plath, & Webb, 2009, p. 63); this dynamic is particularly relevant to this case of the Triple-P program, “when authors may gain financially from the intervention under study” (Wilson et al., 2012, p. 13).

The universal evidence-based program, Triple-P, regulates parents to socialize their children to be productive members of society through Western-Eurocentric patriarchal ideologies of normative standards to parenting. As demonstrated, “through rigorous and systematic application of the scientific

method” (Silver, 2017, p. 117) by researchers who ‘appear’ to be unbiased, Triple-P has ostensibly been found effective amongst Chinese parents. Western researchers like Sanders, are seen as the experts who come into Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Japan to disseminate Western knowledge of parenting, and use Western research methodologies to uphold “the ideological interests...of the dominant group” (Hunter, 2002, p. 129). As shown above, the legitimized knowledge from the studies on Triple-P and Chinese parents has been biased towards the interests of the privileged and dominant groups, while silencing Chinese parents, and failing to take into consideration other factors that these parents may be experiencing.

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study adopts a critical epistemological paradigm utilizing Anti-Oppression (AO) and Critical Race Feminism (CRF) theoretical frameworks to inform this research.

A critical epistemological paradigm is “embedded in a transformative paradigm that seeks to expose, oppose, and redress forms of oppression, inequality, and injustice” (Charmaz, 2017, p. 35) that has been created through positivist epistemological research on Triple-P and the Chinese population. A critical approach interrogates the discourses, social structures, epistemologies, and ideologies that support the status quo and various forms of privilege (Pease, 2010). Hence, this study utilizes a critical approach to interrogate the dominant essentialized Western-Eurocentric patriarchal notions of parenting perpetuated through parenting programs; enabling readers to understand how such notions impacts the lived experiences of marginalized groups, and thus, reproduces power differential that sustains their oppression (Pease, 2010).

Anti-Oppression

Anti-oppression (AO) emerged in Canada in the 1990s (Gosine & Pon, 2011). It is an overarching umbrella term that encompasses several social justice-oriented theories and critical approaches, such as feminism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, and Marxism (Baines, 2011; Gosine & Pon, 2011; Pon, Giwa, & Razack, 2016). These various theories and approaches seek social justice and social transformation with a “commitment to working alongside oppressed populations to challenge the processes and structures that perpetuate oppression” (Pease, 2010, p. 98).

Anti-oppression recognizes and addresses the multiple interlocking forms of oppression in relation to an individual’s social location, such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and dis/ability (George & Rashidi, 2014; Gosine & Pon, 2011; McLaughlin, 2012; Mulé, 2016). This concept of intersectionality, coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, is a framework that exposes the complex, fluid intersecting identities, and unpacks the various forms of oppression that can interlock, overlap and intensify a person’s experiences of oppression (Baines, 2011; Crenshaw, 2018; Healy 2014).

For example, a Chinese mother that experiences two forms of oppression, specifically race and gender, may experience intensified discrimination due to interlocking oppressions when compared to an individual subject to one of these forms of oppression (Mullaly, 2002). An AO perspective recognizes that these multiple interlocking forms of oppression arises from “unequal power across social divisions” (Healy, 2014, p. 192), and “recognizes the complex structural arrangements that maintain differentials between social groups” (Pon et al., 2016, p. 46). AO is pro-active in challenging these power imbalances between dominant and non-dominant individuals and groups (McLaughlin, 2012).

Anti-oppression exposes, interrogates and seeks to transform ways in which social structures that are linked to patriarchy, imperialism and capitalism, contributes and interacts with cultural and personal levels of oppression (Healy, 2014; McLaughlin, 2012). Hence, AO does not individualize or pathologize an individual for difficulties experienced in their lives, but rather, it acknowledges “the personal, cultural and structural dimensions” of oppression experienced by individuals (Healy, 2014, p. 201). Thus, AO externalizes how these injustices shape an individual’s experiences of oppression and seeks to re-politicize social issues by linking the interplay of socio-political, economic, and cultural factors to which individuals are commonly unaware of or have little control over (Baines, 2011).

Pon et al. (2016) assert that the introduction of AO offered social work practitioners, educators, and managers a way to glaze over the issues of race and racism. Denying the concept of race and racism is denying “the lived historical realities of many people” (Castagna & Dei, 2000, p. 19). Using just an anti-oppression lens assumes all “incidences of oppression are experienced in the same way and can be addressed in similar fashion” (Pon et al., 2016, p. 50). Since the issue of race and gender are at the forefront of this research with Chinese parents and their experiences of a Western-Eurocentric patriarchal parenting program, Triple-P, the second theoretical framework guiding this research is critical race feminism.

Critical Race Feminism

Critical race theory (CRT) first emerged in the United States, in 1989, by racialized legal scholars, such as Derrick Bell and Richard Delgado (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015; Few, 2007; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Pon et al., 2016). CRT as a theoretical framework is used as a tool for deconstructing oppressive discourses and structures, reconstructing human agency, and constructing equitable and socially just power relations (Ladson-Billings, 1998). CRT influenced critical race feminism (CRF), which adds a gendered perspective to CRT, and disrupts the ideology of an essence of female experiences that is namely white and middle-class (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015). CRF is informed by multicultural and Black feminists (Few, 2007). In Canada, influential critical race feminists include: Agnes Calliste, Aruna Srivastava, Barbara Binns, Enakshi Dua, Malinda Smith, Nogha Gayle, Patricia Monture, Sedef Arat-Koç, Sherene Razack, Sunera Thobani, Yasmin Jiwani, among others (Razack, Smith, & Thobani, 2010)

Critical race feminism explores how race, gender and class interact within a dominant “system of white male patriarchy and racist oppression” (Wing, 1996, p. 948). Childers-McKee and Hytten (2015) describes how CRF share many aspects of CRT, such as the belief in:

The permanence of racism in our society; the importance of narratives, storytelling, and counternarratives to disrupt taken-for-granted and normative views about the world; the social constructedness of race; the need to critique liberalism for its individualistic and context-independent perspective of the world; the reality of interest convergence, meaning that marginalized cultures have gotten ahead only when those from the dominant cultural also benefit; and the importance of critical race praxis, or action to challenge the status quo. (p. 395)

Childers-McKee and Hytten (2015) elaborate that CRF derives from CRT and draws on feminism, centering the narratives, perspectives and experiences of individuals doubly marginalized by both race and gender (women of color) in analyzing structures, institutions and systems. The social constructedness of race signifies that race is not real, instead it is a social construct used to classify individuals by discriminating between individuals and exercising control over individuals based on their skin color (McLaughlin, 2012). The social construction of race is a means of constructing a social hierarchy where whites are seen as superior and non-whites are seen as inferior (McLaughlin, 2012), and

where whiteness is seen as the standard to which other cultures are compared to (Pon et al., 2016). Although race is a social construct, “differential outcomes that result from the processes of racialization can and do have a material and bodily effect for people of color” (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012, as cited in Pon et al., 2016, p. 42).

Moreover, critical race feminism brings to light the complexities of Indigenous peoples, and racialized immigrants (Pon, Gosine, & Phillips, 2011), and the implications of settler colonialism on Indigenous and racialized women (Razack et al., 2010). In fact, Indigenous women were the first to “critique Canada as a white settler society and to analyze its ongoing colonial practices” (Razack et al., 2010, p. 1). Using a CRF framework also alludes to how we, as racialized immigrants, are implicated in perpetuating colonialism against Indigenous peoples, who continue to experience “ongoing violence of dispossession on their bodies” (Razack et al. 2010, p. 2).

Critical race feminism unpacks the myth that Canada is a multi-cultural society, a tolerant country, and “one that has apologized for and moved beyond its racialized origins in the dispossession of its Indigenous peoples – First Nations, Inuit, Métis – and the exclusion and subjugation” of other racialized people (Razack et al., 2010, p. ix). Using CRF as a framework in this study, allows for us (particularly those who are non-Indigenous and in the “helping” field) to recognize how we benefit as settlers, and how we internalize the dominant Western discourses that continue to harm individuals.

Furthermore, according to Razack et al. (2010), “Indigenous women and women of colour have historically been different, and unequally, located within the Canadian state” (p. 4). For example, critical race feminist, Enakshi Dua (2007), highlights the history of racism directed towards Chinese women, and I argue that this history contributes to the ongoing racism and sexism they continue to experience today. Dua explains that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Canada debated on whether Chinese women should be excluded from immigrating to Canada. Chinese men came to Canada due to the demands of labour in railway and logging companies, and former Prime Minister of Canada, John A. MacDonald’s proclamation in 1867, that Canada was ‘a white man’s country,’ lead to exclusionary

practices as legal and social practices began to emerge, thus marginalizing those who were ‘not white’ (Dua, 2007). One strategy to prevent Chinese men from becoming permanent residents in Canada was to exclude Chinese women from immigrating (Dua, 2007). Thus, during the early period of Chinese immigration, Canada focused on the problem of Chinese prostitution (Dua, 2007). The *Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration* gendered and racialized Chinese women as immoral, thus a threat to white ‘purity,’ leading to an exclusion of Chinese women (Dua, 2007). Other forms of racism directed at Chinese women by Canada were passed in anti-Chinese laws, such as the anti-Asian legislation in 1870, Chinese Tax Act in 1878, and Act to Restrict Chinese Immigrations in 1887 (Dua, 2007). These series of anti-Chinese laws demonstrate how Canada’s inclusionary practices were gendered (Dua, 2007).

Combining Anti-Oppression and Critical Race Feminism

Anti-oppression and critical race feminism as theoretical frameworks both support political counter-narratives to disrupt taken-for-granted and socially constructed norms (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015; McKenzie-Mohr & LaFrance, 2017) of parenting that upholds the status quo. Counter-narratives used in this study are through a narrative approach to qualitative inquiry, which centers and legitimizes the voices and ideas of women of color in speaking about social injustices and social oppression (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015; De Reus, Few, & Blume, 2005; Verjee, 2012). Counter-narratives or counter-stories is a method to bring forth the stories and experiences of people on the margins of society (i.e., those not white, male, or considered experts), whose stories are often untold (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015). It is a powerful method in exposing, challenging and analyzing dominant stories and discourses of patriarchal Western-Eurocentric parenting. Hence, counter-narratives provide a way that the Chinese community can speak back to the dominant stories and discourses in society that either pathologizes, individualizes or gloss over differences (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015).

Both these theoretical frameworks put at its forefront the lived experience of Chinese parents, and centres the voices of racialized women resisting the dominant Western-Eurocentric patriarchal discourse of parenting perpetuated through universal evidence-based parenting programs. Few (2007) explains how this Eurocentric type of worldview and ideology, in this case, pertaining to Western parenting programs, privilege “Western historical and cultural experiences, values, and concerns of people of European descent at the expense of others” (p. 460). It does not take into consideration the historical and cultural experiences, and values of other populations, like Chinese parents.

This study draws on both AO and CRF with a focus on the intersection of race, gender and other forms of interlocking oppressions, and how it interacts with Chinese parents in a parenting education context. AO and CRF values the experiences of Chinese parents that are “multiple, contingent, partial, and situated” (Few, 2007, p. 459). Hence, AO and CRF are a powerful theoretical lens to challenge the one-size-fits all universal Western parenting program, which ignores the local contexts, cultural norms and community knowledges and resources (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015) of Chinese parents. AO and CRF provide frameworks for viewing parenting education differently, and help to facilitate actionable changes in professional practice that are critical, transformative and inclusive of Chinese parents.

In summary, AO recognizes and addresses the multiple interlocking and intersecting forms of oppression that are experienced by individuals and communities (George & Rashidi, 2014), and CRF places at the forefront the narratives and experiences of women of color in analyzing structures, institutions and systems (Childers-McKee & Hytten, 2015). Hence, using critical AO and CRF frameworks to inform this study, it interrogates positivism by exposing and challenging the dominant knowledge of Western-Eurocentric patriarchal notions of parenting that is constructed and perpetuated in society and in professional practices. AO and CRF are used to bring forth subjugated knowledge, as well as the socio-political, cultural, and historical factors in a Chinese parent’s life, that are ignored in positivist approaches to inquiry.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a narrative approach to qualitative research design to bring forth the voices, stories and experiences of Chinese parents in terms of their successes and challenges/needs/concerns with Triple-P, while taking into consideration other factors outside of Triple-P (e.g. socio-political, historical, and cultural) that shape these parents' lives. Utilizing a narrative approach creates space for a "new dimension to positivist perspectives" (Razack & Jeffery, 2002, p. 262) that has dominated the extant literature on Chinese parents and Triple-P. Including subjugated knowledges "can disrupt the monopoly that dominant imperial powers hold over knowledge production" (Shahjahn, 2005, as cited in Khan, 2016, p. 134). Bringing forth subjugated knowledges in this study challenges "the dominant understanding of social problems" (Pease, 2010, p. 100), and recognizes the context of a parent's life and externalizes their stories, which separates the parent from the problem.

To best capture the experiences of Chinese parents and the Triple-P program, a narrative approach was used because "narrative is the best way of representing and understanding experience" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000, p. 18). Broadly defined, narrative inquiry is a method that "begins with the experiences as expressed in lived and told stories of individuals" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 67). It explores the social, cultural, and institutional narratives in which individuals experiences are shaped (Clandinin, 2013). Hence, through narrative inquiry, stories told by individuals may elucidate how they identify and see themselves in a larger societal context (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Narrative inquiry does not seek to generalize research results through a positivist quantitative approach (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012), but rather, it offers an opportunity for participants to provide rich and insightful data of their lived experiences (Marlow, 2005). Thus, this study utilized narratives stories gathered through semi-structured interviews as its primary source of data collection; answering the following central research question: What are the experiences of Chinese parents who have taken one or more Triple-P sessions, in relation to the socio-political, historical and cultural factors that influence their lives?

With this study's narrative approach to inquiry, it can serve to mobilize "marginalized groups and initiate political action" (Riessman, 2008, as cited in Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 69). Therefore, utilizing a narrative approach, the aim of this study is to increase awareness of the successes and challenges/needs/concerns of parenting interventions and its practices for the Chinese community, whose voices are underrepresented in the Triple-P literature. The ultimate goal of this study is to inform the development of improved parenting services and supports for Chinese families, and add to the broader conversation of how marginalization, oppression and assistance are constructed for individuals seeking social work and social service supports.

Participants

Participants were purposively selected for inclusion in this study based on the following eligibility criteria: a) they must self-identify as a Chinese parent; b) they live in York Region or the Greater Toronto Area; c) due to the nature of this unfunded study, participants were selected on the basis that they were able to speak and understand English (either English is their first or additional language); and d) they must have taken one or more Triple-P sessions. As mentioned in the literature review, there is a high drop out rate in Triple-P with Chinese parents but no answers as to why this may be the case. Hence, the rationale for this last criterion is that Chinese parents who have taken at least one Triple-P session will have a sense of what the Triple-P program was about. If these parents chose not to continue with the program, then this was discussed during the one-on-one interview.

Procedure and Data Collection

Once this study received ethics approval, recruitment was conducted through posting recruitment flyers (See Appendix A) on Facebook groups, such as parenting groups and York Region groups. Recruitment flyers were also posted in the community, such as in coffee shops and the public library. Further, a recruitment email script (See Appendix B) was sent to my contacts.

Participants who contacted me and met the eligibility criteria were selected to participate in this study. A consent form (See Appendix C) was emailed out to the participants. This consent form outlined

the purpose of this study, including discussion about potential risk and benefits, and confidentiality. The consent form formally requested for the participant's participation in this study.

Data collection took place in a secure room with aural and visual privacy at an agreed upon location. During the one-on-one meeting with the participants, the consent form was reviewed, discussing the purpose of the study, the duty to report child abuse and/or neglect, confidentiality, the right to not answer interview questions that they do not want to, and the participant's right to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants were also given the option to omit and/or change information they provided at any time during the research period up until July 2, 2019, because the data was integrated into the overall analysis by that time.

To maintain confidentiality, participants were given the option of using pseudonyms or their real names. Both participants chose to use pseudonyms names, and all identifying information was removed from the data.

In-depth, one-on-one, semi-structured interviews were conducted as the methodology for data collection. An interview guide (See Appendix D) was used to ensure that "similar types of data" was collected from all participants (Chilisa, 2012, p. 205). Participants were asked open-ended questions in no particular sequence, as the sequence depended on the conversation between me and the participants of the study (Bouma, Ling, & Wilkinson, 2016; Chilisa, 2012). The interviews lasted between 60 – 90 minutes in duration.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim after obtaining consent from the research participants. Audio recordings were kept in a password-protected device, and once transcription materials were completed, the audio recordings were destroyed. Transcriptions were kept on a password-protected computer. Participants were given the option to review and/or edit their transcription and the draft copy of this study; to ensure that they were comfortable that the information does not identify them to potential readers, and that their transcription and the research findings accurately captured their stories

and experiences. Both participants reviewed and approved of their transcription and the draft copy to this research. Wei made edits to her quoted narratives.

Data Analysis

A thematic analysis was the narrative analytic strategy used for this study. Thematic analysis calls attention to what is spoken by the participants during data collection (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Riessman, 2008), and “the researcher identifies themes that are “told” by a participant” (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 70). A thematic analysis was used in this study to draw upon common themes, as well as commonalities and differences amongst the participants’ experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000) of the Triple-P program. The results of this narrative approach to inquiry “tells the story of individuals unfolding in a chronology of their experiences, set with their personal, social, and historical context, and including the important themes in those lived experiences” (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 73).

Insider-Outsider

I am a Chinese parent who has taken Triple-P, and this “sharing of common experiences” may open up a “shared sense of safety” (Maiter & Joseph, 2016, p. 13) and “a level of trust and openness in participants” (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 58) during the research process. However, although I could be labelled as an insider, I have been living in Canada for over 30 years. I have conformed to Western norms. My education, fluency in English and knowledge of social norms allows me to enjoy my privilege, and can make me an outsider to the community I am doing research with.

The Shifting of Power

I acknowledge that everything in this study, from the research topic, research questions, transcription, data analysis, and conclusions are not neutral. I exercise power in deciding what part of a participant’s stories are told and what is left out. Hence, in order to mitigate what I have overlooked when interpreting the data, it was important for me to check in with the research participants to ensure what I write is “respectful to my community” (Absolon, 2011, p. 65). Therefore, it was important to hear back

from my community to see whether the knowledge I was constructing reflects on their realities and experiences. I did this by fully informing participants about this research (Holder, 2015).

I take the consent form as a contract of my obligation to the research participants (Potts & Brown, 2015). In the consent form I state that participants hold ownership to their data and can withdraw at any time without consequence; where their data will be destroyed and not included in the study. However, I noted that after July 2, 2019, participants would not be able to withdraw their data because it would have already been integrated into the overall analyses. Participants were given their transcription material to review and edit. They also received a copy of the research findings to review, edit and provide feedback. These member checking acts were conducted in order to consult with my community and be transparent about what I understood, what I heard, and to see if it accurately represented what they were telling me. Thus, this created a space for the participants and I to construct meaning together. When this study was completed, participants received the final copy of this research paper. I believe this described research process can “shift power and ownership” to the participants (Potts & Brown, 2015, p. 27) to some degree, and I strived to include participants in this research process as much as I could.

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS

This chapter brings forth the narratives of Wei and Han. To protect the participants' identities, participants chose their own pseudonyms, and identifying details of their narratives have been excluded.

These conversations were not easy for the participants. I want to thank Wei and Han for sharing their experiences, time and energy with me, and contributing to an important understudied area of research.

Wei and Han

Wei is a 35 year old Chinese mother, who immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong in 1997. Wei is married and has two children, an eight month old daughter and a two year old son. Wei is a pharmacist who is currently on maternity leave. Wei attended the full sessions of a Chinese Triple-P program.

Han is almost in her mid-30s this year. She is a Chinese mother who immigrated to Canada from Beijing, China, in 2010. Han is married and has two children, a five year old daughter and a seven year old son. Han is currently a part-time Master of Social Work student. Han attended three to four Triple-P online webinars.

Themes

The following narratives discuss the similarities and differences of Wei and Han's experiences of the Triple-P program. Themes that emerge are: "better" parent/"good" mother; successes and challenges of Triple-P; the "right way"; the Triple-P program and cultural appropriateness; gender roles and patriarchy; resources; and resistance, strengths, and action.

"Better" Parent/"Good" Mother

Both Wei and Han did not feel that their parents parented the "right way" and thus, took Triple-P as a means to become better parents to their children. Wei states:

I saw this workshop on Triple-P program, it's interesting, I want to learn something, want to be a better parent, so I signed up and did all the sessions in the series...It was interesting because it is very different from the way I was brought up, and I feel like the Triple-P was a better solution to a lot of the parenting problems opposed to the way my parents resolved it...I pretty much disagreed with my parents' parenting, even though I turned out alright. Um, but I knew that

wasn't the right way, there had to be a better way, and Triple-P confirmed that there is a better way.

Han took three to four sessions of Triple-P sessions online. In China, prior to the birth of her children, Han read books on positive parenting principles. These books were written by American authors and translated to Chinese. When Han moved to Canada and gave birth to her children, she re-read those books, and attended Triple-P online webinars. Han explains:

I forgot the details how I began to watch that webinar but I have this kind of concept long before I watched that webinar but when the kids turned to one, turned to two, and turned to three, at different stages, they have different behavioural patterns, there's sometimes I feel struggles, so I would keep learning.

Han continues to explain why she took Triple-P, "Because myself want to have more better parenting style...yah I want myself to be comfortable and to be recognized as a good mother."

Successes and Challenges of Triple-P

Wei describes her parents' parenting style:

I think our parents used a lot of lecturing and a lot of scare tactics...for example, 'if you don't finish your homework, you're going to not be able to finish school, and then you are going to end up on the street.' That wasn't very encouraging.

Wei preferred Triple-P's approach to parenting which encompasses, "Be positive, more reinforcing, acknowledge that they [the children] have put in the effort, and work from there. Instead of scaring them and saying that, 'Okay, you're not going to end up being anything.'"

Triple-P also supported Wei in developing a closer bond with her children. Wei elaborates:

I think the bonding is something that I really want with my children. It is something that we didn't have between my parents and me because there was always that fear of doing something wrong; maybe I shouldn't tell them but when it comes to me and my children, I would want them to be able to tell me, 'Mom, I did something wrong, I want to talk to you about it', like that's the kind of relationship that I want. And I think Triple-P really encourage that, so that is very different from how I grew up.

Wei mentions that Triple-P also helped her develop more empathy and patience. She states, "I have more patience...*much* more patient. Patience and empathy." This was something that Wei felt her parents lacked because of the difference in culture in Hong Kong as opposed to the West. She explains:

Um, I feel that with positive parenting, there's more empathy, I felt that was what was lacking when my parents were bringing me up. It may also be the difference in culture, they had to work and the time that we spent together was a lot less than what we have now with our children. We have the 12 month, 18 month mat leave now, right? So we spend a lot of time with them [the children]...in Hong Kong there's no mat leave. Maybe 6 weeks? They were busy trying to make a living; parenting style becomes less of a priority because they were trying to 'feed us'.

Han's experience of Triple-P was that, "They do offer some good techniques, but they also let me feel guilty or more struggles if I can't meet the expectation." Through having the principles to positive parenting as a resource, Han recalls:

I imagined, wow now before the kids were born, I imagined wow now I have the resources so I can be more, how to say, prepared for the situations, but after the kids were born [laughs]...totally different. Although I have these books, I do not have time because feeding them, and lack of sleeping...it was just like, it sounds, they do it so smoothly here, but you just, can't [sighs].

Unlike Wei, Han found Triple-P unrealistic. Han states:

I struggle with stress and multitask within very limited time. So, I feel like I don't have the energy or emotional capacity, mentality, to implement the techniques. It assumes that you have plenty, of patience and energy and the time...You learn and you know what is right, but you feel like you don't have time to do it right, and you don't have the emotion.

Things did not go smoothly for Han due to many external factors that Triple-P does not take into consideration. Han explains:

I don't feel like I'm being supported enough to do all the mothering stuff...Like [sigh] lack of support, lack of emotional support, and because after my first son was born, we have financial crisis, so my husband went back one week after my son was born. And he came back to Canada when [older child] was six months old.

When Han moved to Canada with her husband Peng, Peng could not find a job, so he works in China between three to seven months a year. Han shares:

Because my husband can't find a suitable job here, so our family can't stay together... You won't be surprised about how many PhDs that you can find in T&T supermarket... I'm kind of supportive, to his decision to go back to China to develop his career but which means I'm single parenting here.

Additionally, Han mentions that she moved to Canada because she believed that her children would have a better future. However, the reality of her life in Canada belied her initial beliefs of Canada.

Han states, “My husband go back to China to work. You have more, better work opportunities, and more dignity, compared as racialized minorities in Canada.”

With Peng in China, it is stressful for Han not only because of her role of single parenting in Canada, but also acculturating and assimilating to the Western norms. She mentions, “You need to learn the Western education system and deal with daily routines and yah. And including various details like hosting a birthday party.”

For Han, Triple-P ignores the external context of her experiences, assumes there are two parents in the household, that parents have resources and supports, and so forth. Han brings forth the conditions of Triple-P:

I think positive parenting, they have a condition that only for the mothers who is well taken care of, or being taken care of or have the emotional capacity, and *have* the time. Normally, it's the middle class women who can take, how do you say, maternity leave? Or they can afford to stay home with confidence and for me, I did stay home to take care of my kids for several years, but I stayed home, not being at peace, not being confident with my marriage stability, career development, financial independence and parenting skills. And the anxiety, the worry, the anxiety of uncertainty in the future.

Han adds:

It [Triple-P] didn't even emphasize that white supremacy..., and ignored the middle-class privilege...it assumed that all mothers have enough time and enough emotional energy... They assume mothers don't struggle with anxiety and racial discrimination and the uncertainty of future. They assume the mother is mature, not- I shouldn't use mature, but mother is, is very, how to say, very comfortable with everything that they can offer to their children. So, they are more, it's like tokenist...

The “Right Way”

As mentioned, Wei states that she knew her parent's parenting style was not the “right way.” Han echoes this as she comments several times throughout the interview about knowing the “right way,” the Western way to parenting. Han expresses:

I know the principle, I know I need to say that, but...how can I just do it? And it feel like it makes torture me because I know I'm supposed to do that but I still choose to follow my instincts, response.”

Han is talking about how she knows the Triple-P principles and scripts she can say to her children while parenting, however, due to the many circumstances occurring in her life, and systemic and structural barriers, she finds it difficult to implement Triple-P.

Han acknowledges:

Like in the Western culture, this is like the norm, positive parenting, right? And as immigrants, we want to integrate it or be assimilated to the Western culture, right?...Mothers are supposed to be caring and gentle, that's the norm here [in Canada].

When speaking about how Triple-P delivered the course in relation to Han's experiences, she states, "Maybe I was just frustrated with my situation at the time, or frustrated with myself as not being as good as I expected." When I asked Han where that idea of not being as "good" as she expected came from, she replied:

Ah everywhere. From traditional [Chinese] culture, like, mom needs to sacrifice everything. From Western culture like, mom you should be warm and offer the emotional nutrition stuff, support their children. Sometimes I feel like [sigh] I'm empty, to support someone else because I have the lack of support. But at that time I was blaming myself, I wasn't aware that—I didn't put myself into the structural issues, so I blamed myself a lot.

Chinese parents in China/Immigrant Chinese Parents: Acculturation/Assimilation

Interestingly, when speaking about Chinese parents, many times during the interview, Han asked for clarification if I meant Chinese parents from China or immigrant Chinese parents. Han mentions that their experiences are different. She explains:

The new generation in China, I think, or immigrants, they are already aware of the negative outcomes about their parenting style, so they are more leaned to Westernize. But it's happening in China, but it's a little different for immigrants because immigrants have more complicated situations.

Han continues to explain that people living in China:

They have the choice to, they learn the principle, but they have the choice how to implement it. And they don't feel, be pushed by the environment... The parents, like middle upper class parents who use that, they have freedom to do that or do not...without judgement, but as immigrants here you can consistently feel that, the judgement. Just, I will give you an example. If in the public area, if in China, in the city, if a parent yell at the kids, they don't think it's an issue. It's tolerated, or we just think they are disciplining their kids. But if, as a racialized minority in a public area yelling at my kids, the librarian, the front desk will watch and they would politely approach you to ask if there is anything happening. Or, 'How can I help you?' Or yah. And they will think, Chinese...negative, people will think Chinese parents are not patient, not loving, lack

of manners. Yah. That's what I mean, that the upper class or middle class parents in China, they have the choice to do it or not, without being judged. And they feel good if they have the opportunity to implement the principle of positive parenting. But [sighs] for immigrants, like myself, I can't talk about the other parents but I feel the pressure that I need to... To be like, more like a Westernized mother.

Han points out the nuances:

So the parents from the middle and upper class in China, and they live in China, they would just consider this [Triple-P] as a tool kit that they have, but if it's a newly immigrant Chinese parent who is struggling with employment, with housing, with daycare, and if it [Triple-P] was delivered by like CAS (Children's Aid Society) resources department, it feels totally different. Like this is the norm, and you need to meet our expectation, Canadian expectation, otherwise, you are not Canadian enough. Otherwise, you are not good enough, so you have to. And for the parents who are in China, 'I can choose to', there's huge power differentials.

Han is explaining how parents in China can chose to implement Triple-P, where as in Canada, it is an expectation to meet the Western parenting norms, regardless of your life circumstances. Han feels the pressure to conform to the norms of a Western mother, which she mentions was a reason she took Triple-P.

White Privilege

Both Wei and Han mention how their mothers emphasized the importance of academics. Wei states, "The one thing that she really focused on was academics, she would say things like, 'if you don't get into university, your life is over.'" Although Han is aware of the focus on academics that she experienced with her mother and resists perpetuating onto her children, she also became aware of the white privilege her family does not have. Han comments:

Canadian parents don't push their children too much, and at first I was really appreciative of this approach, but after being an immigrant for 10 years, I realized, because they have the privilege to do so...But as a racialized parent, now I realized, if I don't push my kids hard, because at first I really resist to push my kids hard, I want, them to have a happy, well childhood. But now I realized [heavy sigh] if you don't push them, they will just—they don't have the white privilege to...And immigrants, especially Chinese parents was criticized by, uh...emphasizing on academics but as parents, I understand now because when you try to find a job in the job market, you would be discriminated because you are a racial minority. Because your resume is not Canadian enough.

Han struggles with the nuances between utilizing Western or Chinese parenting styles with her awareness of the realities of her racialized experiences. She mentions:

I know the Triple-P, I know- I began to be aware of the realities. So, sometimes if I have the- so I'm not sure about today, which side I am today, so I'm always struggling...Yah you can't say that my parenting style is guided by this or by that, by reality or by the Triple-P.

The Triple-P Program and Cultural Appropriateness

Wei attended a Cantonese Triple-P program and states, "We all had similar backgrounds in our childhood...The one thing that I really liked was the group setting, so it's more interactive and we were able to talk about our own experiences with our children." On the other hand, Han's Triple-P webinar took place in a Western setting, facilitated by a Western-European woman. Han expresses:

Oh, I can recall that one of the things that I don't like about the webinar is that the facilitator seems like, very confident and *very* positive and it feels like ah, she's 'Miss know all'...I understand that they are experts but sometimes I just feel frustrated because life is not like what they are presenting.

For Wei, although the program was in Cantonese, the materials were in English. Wei mentions, "I think everyone there understood English? It's just that the program was done in Cantonese, so there was no subtitles. For newcomers, if they didn't understand English, that video wouldn't help." Wei found the group discussions made the program culturally appropriate. She elaborates:

I think it would be even more difficult to bring that [parenting experiences] up because if it is in a diverse group, each culture have their own background in terms of their own parenting. Um, yah it only came up during the discussion...

For both Wei and Han, having a group with those who can relate or understand the Chinese context and experiences is important. Wei reflected that she may not have had the same positive experience if she was in a group not dedicated to her cultural identity. Wei states:

It would be different because the background would be very different ...it can't be a cookie cutter program, Triple-P for all ethnic groups, I think the cultural context was very important for the Chinese parents...They're more likely to relate if they are in the same cultural background... I think that people who have similar backgrounds can relate and they're more likely to seek the support...Without the cultural context in the group, in the program that I went to, I don't know if I would have the same outcome.

Han states:

From my personal experience, I feel like the person, that's why I want to go for family and marriage counselling, who has experienced it, who has experienced struggles and have the knowledge to overcome the struggles, and understand, not cultural competency but at least at some level has the compassion or understanding, because it's really hard if you, how to say, not

in the cultural, if you didn't grow up in this cultural environment, you can't have the same amount of understanding as the people who immerse in this culture right?

Han also mentions how it is more than just having the cultural context in a program. She adds, "It also depends on how the instructor delivers the course. Yah, and so, it also depends on how the learners, like parents, their situations, scenarios."

Gender Roles and Patriarchy

In Canada, mothers receive 12-18 months maternity leave, which can be shared with their partner (Government of Canada, 2019). However, you must have accumulated 600 insured work hours in 52 weeks to be eligible (Government of Canada, 2019). In China and Hong Kong, parental leave is a lot less. For example, currently in Hong Kong paternity leave is five days, and maternity leave is around ten weeks (Laboris, 2019).

When Han moved to Canada, she did not qualify for maternity leave. On the other hand, Wei had maternity leave which gave her to the opportunity to attend Triple-P with her child, which was only available during the day. Wei noticed how everyone in the Triple-P program were moms, including the facilitator. Wei mentions that she challenged the concept of "moms and babies" groups. Wei states: "It's always moms and babies, so I suggested to the coordinators and said, 'Hey, how about dads and babies?' And they are like, 'Yah, well it's all parents and babies but we don't see dads coming.'"

Similarly, Han explains her experience of the Triple-P online webinar:

The instructor was female, and mainly it's focused on mothers. They used several examples with fathers involved but mainly, I think—they will generalized parent *parents* parents. For example, the details of parenting like after you cook your meal. For example, the scenario of after you are cooking, how they [the children] refuse—or toilet training. So how many fathers are involved in cooking and toilet training? And struggling, I think one of the webinar mentioned that mothers struggling with house chores and parenting. So, it's very clear that mothers struggle.

The Taken-for-Granted Role of a Mother

As previously mentioned, due to external circumstances happening in Han's life, she acquired the role of a single parent in Canada. When Han moved to Canada, she experienced many losses. Han mentions:

I use to be a journalist, I served the national press, so I was proud of that, that I can, I was financially independent and after I immigrated to Canada, I was living in this kind of uncertainty of my marriage, of my future. So, anxiety comes.

After immigrating to Canada and giving birth to her children, Han inherited the role and responsibility of a mother, while Peng worked in China. Han states, “I lost the financial independence because my husband became the breadwinner and I became the housewife.” Han continues to express, “I was more like, giving things up more. Because my husband didn’t give up all his identity or career or his privilege in China, so I feel like I lost more.”

Resources

As demonstrated, there are many barriers which can determine whether an individual’s experiences of Triple-P are one of success or one they may find challenging. Wei mentions that she does not experience difficulties accessing resources, she was also able to go on maternity leave, connect to a Chinese Triple-P program, and have the support of her husband. Wei states:

I remember they [Triple-P] gave us some handouts as well. I brought it home, made my husband read it, because he wasn’t there when I did the program. So, I think that also helped both of us, to be on the same page for parenting. I think that’s very crucial if two people are parenting the same children, they are on the same page with their parenting style.

Han was not aware of the free Chinese Triple-P program. Han explains why she did not take the full Triple-P program, “They want you to subscribe or pay. So, they would say positive parenting is very useful, for example blah blah blah, if you want to know more, you can subscribe or you know, book the course.” Han also mentions:

I feel like webinars and books are not very effective if Chinese immigrants...parents, if they have the resource through a real person or a parenting group, where they can have feedback, that would be wonderful...So once you know that it happens to other families, it’s easier not to feel guilty.

Han expresses how Chinese immigrant parents knowing that parenting difficulties are not only confined to them, but happens to other families, would ease the guilt associated with “proper” parenting. What Han hoped for was experienced by Wei. When I mentioned some of the resources available, Han added, “Yah, but also, there’s another, how to say, disadvantage? You need to be timely, available. Yah time privilege.” Timing was not the only barrier for Han accessing services, she adds:

Yah, I saw the flyer [for free parenting courses], yes, I thought I really wanted to go but it's at [different part of multiplicity] location... I don't have the time and the distance. They don't offer it at [Han's location-city] and also the time is awkward. So, I chose online webinar...

Han also speaks about barriers to accessing resources, such as subsidy child care, in order to support her while she attends school, she states:

I was appreciative that I got the subsidy, otherwise I can't go for my BSW (Bachelor of Social Work), but the reason that now I don't get the subsidy is because we find it is very difficult to manage my husband's self-employment status because he needs to apply a title for his company but there is- because you need to submit paperwork and tax, all this stuff to the [multiplicity] subsidy child services. And it's very troublesome and it's a stress.

She continues to explain:

If you want to maintain subsidy, you need to, every three months or four months, you need to submit paperwork. Myself is very easy because I'm just a student. But for my husband, as an immigrant, we are not very familiar about how to manage tax or all the tax forms. So, it's just very stressful.

Resistance, Strengths, and Action

While situating the larger socio-political, historical and cultural context that shape these Chinese mother's experiences, I believe it is also important to emphasize their resistance, strengths, and action.

Wei describes the impact of her parents' parenting style. She states:

I felt that their parenting style really did a lot of damage. It really damaged my self-esteem... So I had no confidence, I was always unsure about my choice. Until I was older, and then I thought, 'You know what my choices aren't so bad,' I only realized that many many years later, when I started working and became more mature. It was very damaging.

Despite these experiences, when Wei went to Vancouver for university, she found her own identity. Wei mentions, "So I went away for four years, and being on my own, not under their [Wei's parents] influence, I think that really helped shape my personality, and I was able to guide myself."

As demonstrated previously, Triple-P provided the resources and guidance to parenting skills Wei wished her parents had encompassed. Wei was able to utilize the skills Triple-P suggested in order to build a different relationship and bond with her children, different than how she grew up. Triple-P, for Wei, was a gateway that helped her not to perpetuate similar situations onto her children. Wei continues

to mention, “I don’t want my kids to go through that, so if I were to do the same parenting as they [Wei’s parents] did, my children could potentially become me.”

Both Wei and Han do not blame their parents. Wei states:

I’m thankful to have my parents, it’s just that I wish that there was more guidance back in their time when they knew there was something, they could do better. They weren’t trying to hurt me. They wanted me to have what they think is best.

Han mentions:

I don’t want to judge my parents’ parenting style, by Westernized or developed parenting style because as we mentioned, it’s understandable in that environment, in that culture because what my mom did to me was identified as child abuse in Western.

In addition, despite the many structural and systemic barriers that Han describes, she found that her social work studies helped her understand these barriers. Han states:

I want to say that it is a privilege that I don’t blame myself that much, as much as how to say, a parent without social work skills, knowledge. Otherwise I still, I will still blame myself, not being a good mother...and won’t put this into structure issues.

Han explains that her education in social work helped her understand the structural issues embedded in her life, and why she does not feel like she fits or meets the expectations of the Western-Eurocentric patriarchal label of a “good” mother. Also, because of her understanding of these barriers in society, she states:

At first, I blamed him [Peng] but after you know, social work study and also all the things, I want to support his career. I understood our issue from personal to political. Structure issues such as the dominant group purposely ranks immigrants down to lower wages, de-professionalizing jobs to meet labor market needs.

Furthermore, when Han first read about positive parenting, she was not aware of white privilege and other structural barriers that she learned through her studies in social work. Her studies helped her also become aware of her experiences of racism and sexism, which she challenges and resists.

Throughout the interview Han mentions many scenarios where she had to navigate through a racist and sexist Canadian environment. Han states:

Before I learned social work program, I even can’t name the discrimination or the unfairness as sexism but actually, why mothers are supposed to do all the child caring stuff and yah, but I should say that sexism is, how do I formulate this sentence? If we were still living in China, my

husband will probably involve less than after we immigrate here...He began to involve more in parenting. But if I didn't go into social work, I don't have the privilege or the knowledge or the power, power? to challenge.

Han explains how she experiences racism and sexism everywhere:

Just one example that I can recall, but I think sometimes it's like everywhere, and just, a white man knock on your door from Rogers or from somewhere, and they said they have a promotion and because that day I was having- I just woke up or something, so maybe he thought I can't speak English, or very fluently, and he told me, 'Talk to your husband okay?'

Han describes her experiences of covert racism. She states:

Sometimes you can't- because Canadians are so polite and they are proud of their politeness and you can't figure out if it's racial discrimination or not, but um, but sometimes it's just here and there, it feels like you were discriminated because you can't speak fluent English, you can't, how to say, you are not white Canadian.

Han gives an example of how she has to navigate through a racist society. She illustrates that in her children's swimming class, they changed the policy without informing the parents. Parents will now have to accompany their children with a swimsuit on, if their children wanted to play in the splash pad.

Han describes:

So the next time, the second time I wear that one, wear the swim suit. And [younger child] was playing and the supervisor came and told [younger child], [older child] [younger child], they can't continue to play, but I said, 'Why'. They said that they need to be accompanied by an adult, and I said 'I'm here.' But they said, 'You need to wear swimsuit,' and I showed, 'It's here,' and they said you just can't play, and I said that I need to talk to the direct supervisor. So after negotiation and clarified with the policy and they let me to stay and to continue to play...There was a Chinese parent with a developmental delayed child, was playing, but he was pulling off his swimwear a lot, so the supervisor talked to them, and they never showed up again. But the other time if I didn't have full English, and if I didn't just google the policy, or challenge them, I would be the same.

Han acknowledge the privilege to be able to speak English and know to find and read the policy online, hence approaching the direct supervisor to clarify why they could not play in the splash pad; unlike the other Chinese parent and their child, who never came back to the splash pad. Han adds:

And have the courage to argue with them. Because my son was watching me and he was playing ...so I also taught my son a lesson, you need to stand up for yourself. So if they know it's a white lady playing with white kids there and they know that, they can challenge the policy, so they won't bother to ask. If it's a racialized woman, who seems like they can't speak English well, so it's very easy for them to ask them to leave. But can't say it's discrimination, they are using the policy.

Han demonstrated the many injustices that Chinese mothers may face, such as racism and discrimination based on gender. She advocated for herself and her children to fight for their rights to be able to utilize a public space. Through her social work education, Han was made aware of the structural issues embedded in her daily experiences, and thus, challenges racism and sexism that she experiences everywhere, including sexism in her own home.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

“Better” Parent/“Good” Mother

Both participants attended the Triple-P program to become a “better” parent/“good” mother. What it means to be a “better” parent/“good” mother, is historically, politically and socially constructed, which pathologizes and individualizes the experiences of a mother, perpetuates patriarchy, and ignores the intersectionality of their identities and the external circumstances embedded in their lives.

A “good” mother is often viewed “as being predominantly white, heterosexual, married and middle or upper class” (Rock, 2007, p. 22). If mothers do not fit into the unrealistic, Eurocentric, middle-upper class norms of a mother, they become the Other mother (Ajandi, 2011). Triple-P informs mothers of what is needed to be a “good” parent/mother, thus Triple-P reinforces the Western culture, maintains gender roles, racial distinctions, and class relations (Rock, 2007).

In order not to be Othered, or labelled as a “bad” mother, Han clearly demonstrates how the dominant discourse of “good” mother/ a “Westernized” mother, led her to educate herself to embody this discourse. New mothers, like Wei and Han, refer to expert knowledge written in books and delivered through parenting courses to “reinforce their own ideas of what the “Good Mother” looks like, how she behaves, and how her children behave” (Rock, 2007, p.23). However, Triple-P’s accounts for the proper “positive” way to parenting and its claims of being a universal evidence-based program, ignores the circumstances and complexity of a parent’s life. It assumes that “everyone experiences life the same way” (Webb, 2001, p. 72). Hence, a mother’s experiences of oppression through their intersectional identity becomes addressed by their own motivation to attend parenting courses, and read books written by experts. Therefore, the failure to uphold the prescribed norm of a “good” mother, becomes individualized, and if their children fail to behave normally or become productive members of society, it can be explained by the mother’s failure to properly parent her children.

The high standards to being a “good” mother and parenting the “right way,” sets mothers up for failure when they cannot meet these expectations (Rock, 2007). Han expresses how she felt like she could

not meet these expectations, which led her to feel “tortured.” Furthermore, learning what the “right way” to parenting looks like through Triple-P, mothers who attend the program may blame their own parents for failing to perform the “right” Western way to parenting, while not being aware of their own parents’ external circumstances that impact their lives. Like Wei and Han, before my social work studies, I individualized problems, and blamed myself and my parents for not parenting the “right way.” I also wished my parents did what Triple-P suggested. With my social work education, like Wei and Han, I do not blame myself or my parents but understood the external context that impacted their lives.

Perpetuating Gender Roles and Patriarchy

The prevalence of evidence-based parenting programs, like Triple-P, founded by a white male psychologist, Matthew Sanders, legitimizes such “experts” to instruct mothers on “proper” parenting. Reflecting on Eurocentric, middle-class, patriarchal views of a mother’s responsibly and role in parenting, Triple-P perpetuates the dominant ideology of a “good” mother.

Both Wei and Han sensed that Triple-P was geared towards mothers. Thus, it was not surprising to me while I was recruiting participants that only Chinese mothers came forth; although I hoped for the fathers’ voice and experiences as well.

Despite Triple-P’s use of the word “parents”, as a gender-neutral reference, the focus was predominantly on the mothers’ behaviour. Parenting programs that use this language (“parents”), fail to “differentiate parents and issues associated with parenting into those affecting mothers and those affecting fathers” (Clarke, 2006, p. 716). For example, Han’s external circumstances lead her to give up her identity, career and privilege in China, while upholding the hegemonic taken-for-granted role of a mother; something Peng did not have to experience. Also, as mentioned, in Leung et al. (2003b), the only father participant in their study experienced higher satisfaction with Triple-P, as opposed to the mothers who participated in the program. Unfortunately, the researchers did not go further to explore why this may have been the case.

Furthermore, La Placa and Corlyon (2014) mention that there has been extensive evidence that demonstrate the failure of mainstream services in engaging fathers. This is something that Wei acknowledged when she challenged the concept of “moms and babies” groups. La Placa and Corlyon state that “the social and institutional construction of gender which allocates parenting and childcare to women often makes parenting services seem irrelevant or suspicious to men” (p. 223), as well as the hegemonic ideology of masculinity which makes seeking help and services speak against the norms of being a man. Moreover, although Triple-P may want to engage with fathers, systemic factors such as the deeply embedded notion of patriarchy, time allocated for maternity leave, and the delivery of Triple-P during the day, makes the program primarily targeted toward mothers, who are seen in society as the primary caregiver responsible for the well-being of their children.

The “Right Way”

History of Parenting

Like the concept of “good” mother, parenting is socially constructed, which differ by culture, race, class, and historical period (Ambert, 1994). For example, Lee (2014) traces the history of parenting, and explains how messages of parenting reflected the wider cultural and social context of the time. Lee mentions that at the end of the nineteenth century, middle-class parenting ideology took a turn, where a mother’s natural instinct became insufficient to properly raise a child. During this period, there was an increase of expert intervention to educate mothers, and the needs of a child were interpreted by experts and used to educate parents on “proper” parenting modalities (Lee, 2014). A mother “now had to be ‘scientifically’ trained” (Lee, 2014, p. 54), and no longer enjoyed their self-autonomy in raising their children; rather, it became “an anxiety produced in large part by the systematic demoralization of mothers concerning the quality, or even the existence, of their maternal instinct in the face of the united front presented by the state, by doctors and by manual writers, on their inadequacies” (Lee, 2014, p. 55).

Experts and Scientific Knowledge

Knowledge is constructed by experts and professionals, rather than from parents themselves (Clarke, 2006). The majority of knowledge in behavioural sciences are produced by European and American men? (Ambert, 1994), where English is the “international language of scientific exchange” (Ambert, 1994, p. 530). This is seen in Wei’s experiences of a Chinese Triple-P program, with materials all portrayed in English. Here, we can see how her program makes a superficial attempt to represent and to be inclusive of other cultures. While modifying the program to become more culturally appropriate, Triple-P still left the dominant cultural values intact and embedded in the curriculum, in the video and materials, which may omit and invalidate the experiences of these cultural groups (Barrera Jr., Castro, Steiker, 2011). As mentioned in the study conducted by Leung et al. (2003b), parents and facilitators expressed the need for cultural issues to be addressed in the Triple-P material. Triple-P has not yet taken that recommendation, as it continues to portray its materials and video in English, with the dominant Western cultural values embedded in their curriculum.

Under the Western influence, knowledge has been monopolized and homogenized, carrying the discourse of “proper” parenting (Ambert, 1994). Experts construct knowledge with their specialized opinions, which are considered “the most up-to-date insights from science about what a child needs in specific areas” (Lee, 2014, p. 64). They frame the problems in parenting and address them through their own views on how these problems should be resolved (Greenhalgh & Russell, 2009), rather than addressing the larger socio-political forces of oppression shaping marginalized parents’ lives (Gosine & Pon, 2011). Thus, “good” parenting has become an area that can be taught and solve social problems (Macvarish, 2014). Moreover, the body of evidence-based knowledge constructed by experts “are framed as being generally relevant for *all* parents” (Lee, 2014, p. 66). However, parenting is not a fixed notion, but rather non-linear and fluid (Lam & Kwong, 2012).

Parenting knowledge perpetuated through books, and parenting programs, supports that “good” parenting can be universally applied and is a culture-neutral issue, where science can ignore the dynamics

of race, culture and ethnicity (Sawrikar & Katz, 2014). Thus, scientific racism, embedded in white supremacy, that begun in the nineteenth century, allows for dominant groups to marginalize minority groups by constructing the ways in which their cultural differences keep them secondary to European and whites (Razack et al., 2010). This settler colonial society, Canada, mandates the Other (minority groups) to perform or become “white,” consequently, Han and Wan gave up their cultural roots in certain ways (Gahman & Hjalmarson, 2019). Thus, when Chinese parents seek out experts to receive help, “they give up cultural learning to accept culturally different ideas of parenting and surrender their sense of agency to expert authority” (Lam & Kwong, 2012, p. 67).

These universal standards to parenting reflect the norms of the dominant culture, and serves “as the standard against which all other parenting practices have been compared” (Hulei, Zevenbergen, & Jacobs, 2006, p. 459). As a result, other cultural family values are seen as deviant if they shift from or do not assimilate to the dominant Western family values (Hulei et al., 2006; Sawrikar & Katz, 2014). When minority groups are compared and evaluated by experts from the majority group, “using their behaviors and attitudes as standards”, minority groups are thereby “judged as inferior” (Hulei et al., 2006, p. 460). Hence, Chinese cultural parenting values become deviant, inferior, and pathologized.

Culture

Western and East-Asian parenting are culturally different, however, Western parenting theories are used to explain East-Asian parenting, as Western theories dominate the existing research on parenting (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Park, 2013). Western parenting theories label Asian American parenting “as more controlling than the idealized authoritative parenting” (Choi et al., 2013, p. 20). However, Chinese parenting, values, beliefs and practices are embedded in socio-cultural context dependent on each individual’s upbringing (Fung, Li, & Lam, 2017). Sawrikar and Katz (2014) mention, “Culture is difficult to define because it is a dynamic and fluid process of interpretative construction and reconstruction across people, groups and generations” (p. 396). As such, I do not list Chinese cultural values on this paper to compare and contrast to Western values, because Chinese cultural values cannot be essentialized to any

prescriptive form. However, I want to tune in on the experiences of Han, linking it to the ongoing legacy of settler colonialism, and how Han felt like she had to acculturate to Western norms, in order to survive in Canada.

Settler colonialism began with the colonization of Indigenous territories through violent methods (Wolfe, 2006), and is an ongoing structure that continues to shape race, class, and gender formations (Glenn, 2015). Hence, what transcended from this “settler colonial project was a racialized and gendered national identity that normalized male whiteness” (Glenn, 2015, p. 60). Currently, settler colonialism can be seen as the assimilation of Indigenous peoples and racialized minorities (the colonized minorities) who are subjected to various forms of colonizer policy which “constraints, transforms, or destroys original values, orientations, and ways of life” of these populations (Glenn, 2015, p. 55).

Canada is a white settler society rooted in white supremacy, and its racist political ideology is maintained in its socio-political, historical and institutional domination by whites (Wildman, 1996). Thus, racism and discrimination, as the result of whiteness, sustains white supremacy through dominant norms, practices and policies in Canada - a settler society where white people are seen as superior, thus creating Indigenous and racialized individuals as Others (Thobani, 2007).

For racialized individuals who are oppressed and subordinated by dominant white settler colonial societies, knowledge of the “white world” has been a matter of survival” (Bush, 2004, p. 6).

Acculturation is when immigrants alter their culture, parenting values and behaviours to assimilate towards the dominant mainstream culture (Choi et al., 2013), thus leading to a sense of belonging to their host country (Hulei et al, 2006). As we have seen in Han’s experiences, immigrant families face additional stressors to parenting, such as having to cope with discrimination, racism, navigating through a new environment, learning a new language, (Miao, Costigan, & MacDonald, 2018), experiencing barriers to access and the lack of awareness of available resources, and the “displaced sense of belonging and cultural identity” (Sawrikar & Katz, 2014, p. 402).

Han states how she wanted to be “more like a Westernized mother,” and “Canadian enough.” What it means to be successful, a “good” mother, or hold high status for racialized individuals in Canada, means shifting your identity towards the category of “white” (Glenn, 2015). In white supremacist settler societies such as Canada, one’s proximity to whiteness becomes a privilege in certain spaces. For example, both Wei and Han can speak and understand English, which allows them to attend post-secondary studies. However, Peng could not fluently speak or understand English, which is a reason he had to go back to China for work. Also, as previously mentioned, Wei and Han attended Triple-P, which gave them an idea of how Western hegemonic notions of parenting should look like, hence they know the “right way.” Knowing this “right way” gives them privilege in public spaces to perform what “proper” parenting should look like, without judgement from others. On the other hand, if a parent does not embody the Western notions of “proper” parenting, they are seen as the Other mother.

Han however, found herself struggling with the dominant Western norms and values when she moved to Canada, as well as her experiences of racism, sexism, and discrimination. Han also became aware of the white privilege her family did not have. In the context of academics and white privilege, Coll and Pachter (2002) assert that “On one hand, minority parents need to impart to their children the philosophy that hard work and living a “good” life will result in rewards; on the other hand, they need to prepare their children for the facts that discrimination and prejudice may likely influence outcomes as well” (p. 10).

Racism and Discrimination

Triple-P was successful in supporting Wei with her parenting. However, Han’s experiences were different. Han brings forth an array of structural and systemic issues, such as racism, sexism, and labour market disadvantage that shaped her experience as an immigrant to Canada. Although, racism occurs everyday for minorities, where their “experiences of racial discrimination serve to maintain the interest of the status quo” (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012, p. 518), it is often hidden, subtle and covert. Wei did not feel she experiences racism or sexism, something I also believed growing up in a Canadian society that prides

themselves on diversity and multiculturalism. Like Han, it was not until I studied social work, was I able to see the covert racism and sexism that surrounded my life. Also, I wanted to point out that although Wei stated that she does not experience sexism, she did notice parenting groups were always “moms and babies,” and challenged that concept.

Han contends how racism and discrimination can be hidden in policy, or through the polite gestures of Canadians. Currently, racism has appeared to have lost legitimacy as Canadian multiculturalism portrays itself as a society of freedom and of opportunity (Arat-Koç, 2010). However, exclusion, inequality, injustice, and stigmatization in social, cultural, economic, and political domains continues to persist (Arat-Koç, 2010). Even though the Canadian government promotes multiculturalism, “systemic practices of discrimination manifest in such areas as law, education, employment, health care, housing, and politics,” which “limits the life chances and opportunities of racial minorities” (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012, p. 515). Although race is a social construct, there is “a material reality and a structural system that sorts resources unequally according to race” (Hunter, 2002, p. 120). This can be seen in Han’s experiences with her experiences in accessing resources.

Additionally, as previously mentioned, racism lead to the historical justifications of white supremacist policies and practices that excluded Chinese people in Canada and exploited their labour. Bush (2004) brings forth Du Bois’ contextualization of race in the following: “Race [is] a social relationship, integral to capitalism, and the ultimate paradox of democracy constructed to reinforce and reproduce patterns of systemic inequality” (p.12). This material effect can be seen in Han’s experiences of her husband having to go back to China to work.

Chinese professionals that immigrate to Canada face barriers to employment. As Han had pointed out, Canadian employers demand employees to possess ‘Canadian experience,’ which constricts immigrants in obtaining higher-level jobs (Salaff, Greve, & Ping, 2002). In this colonial-capitalist state, immigrants are seen as not possessing the skills required for a decent paid job because Canadian employers seek those who can speak English, and hold a Canadian educational

certificate/accreditation/qualification (Salaff et al., 2002). Organizational standards for what a suitable employee should look like is institutionalized and deeply embedded in Canada (Salaff et al., 2002). Hence, institutional forces exclude immigrants from the labour market. Consequently, these various technologies of management and control serves the interest of capitalism by allowing employers to exploit racialized individuals (Glenn, 2015) by placing them in low-wage jobs.

Individualization

Despite the larger socio-political, historical and cultural factors that influences a Chinese mother's life, the one-size-fits all, universal evidence-based parenting programs, such as Triple-P, marginalizes populations by blaming mothers for their circumstances if they cannot perform "proper" Western parenting. Blaming mothers becomes a political strategy that covers up "the inequitable distribution of resources and power" (Ajandi, 2011, p. 411). It depoliticizes and fails to address structural and systemic oppression embedded in the lives of Chinese mothers by focusing on helping mothers become "better" parents to socialize their children to become productive members of society. It preoccupies issues within the individual, rather than social circumstances and social structures, such as unemployment, poverty, racism, discrimination, and sexism, as the primary issues that need to be addressed (Clarke, 2006; Teghtsoonian, 2009).

By placing emphasis of socialization and child development at the forefront of its goals to parenting, Triple-P not only pathologizes parents by pointing out their inadequacies, such as poor bonding, lack of empathy, compassion and patience, but it allows them to ignore other aspects that impact a parent's life. Factors that Han mentions, such as inadequate income, racial discrimination, sexism, white privilege, white supremacy, and single parenting "becomes part of the context to which parents must adapt" (Clarke, 2006, p. 713), rather than issues that need to be addressed (Clarke, 2006). By manipulating the mother's behaviour, and ignoring the external context that influences an individual's life, Triple-P becomes a mechanism of assimilation to the dominant norm of parenting, "which is implicitly white and middle class" (Clarke, 2006, p. 716).

Triple-P does not consider the uniqueness of families, their individual needs, their strengths, their values as minority families, or parenting styles, thus it may be damaging to mothers when they find the techniques and strategies offered through Triple-P, “difficult to tailor to their unique situations” (Smith, Perou, & Lesesne, 2002, p. 392). This was demonstrated in Han’s narratives, where she felt guilty, “more struggles”, “tortured,” and blamed herself, when she could not meet Triple-P’s expectations on “proper” parenting.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the limitations to this study, future areas of study, and implications for social work and professional practice.

Living in Canada, a white colonial settlement country, where Indigenous peoples are continually “denied rights to their ancestral homeland” (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012, p. 152), means I am implicated in the issues I seek to address in this research. Social workers and professionals must implicate themselves and be critically reflexive to ensure that they “maximize their contributions to decolonization and minimize their implications in reproducing colonialism through their practices” (Pon et al., 2011, p. 401). Hence, I use the term “we” to implicate myself in these practices.

Limitations and Future Areas of Study

While this study provides us with rich narratives of how Chinese mothers experience Triple-P in relation to the socio-political, historical and cultural influences that shape their lives, caution needs to be exercised as to not overgeneralize their experiences to the larger Chinese population. Furthermore, this research was based solely on my interest of the topic. I recommend that future areas of study include participants in all aspects of research, from the research topic, research questions, findings, data analysis, and conclusions. Additionally, I had a difficult time with what data to include and exclude, as we are given page limits. Concurrently, due to my own research agenda and interpretations, there is bias to what I represent in this study. To mitigate this situation, member checking was conducted throughout this research to ensure that the themes and analysis accurately represented the participants’ narratives, however, this study is still not neutral.

Moreover, this study was aimed to recruit at least three participants, hence another limitation was my difficulties in accessing Chinese parents; both mothers and fathers. Finally, this study was conducted in English, which leaves out a vast population of immigrant Chinese parents’ voices. This was also seen many times throughout the interview with Han. Han found it difficult to articulate what she wanted to say because I did not understand Mandarin. Future areas of study must provide research in the participants’

mother tongue language, in order to understand the deeper meanings to their complex and multiple realities and experiences.

Implications for Social Work and Professional Practice

Research participants provide numerous recommendations for the Triple-P program. Both Wei and Han contend that a Triple-P group of individuals with shared identities, who they can relate to or understand the Chinese cultural context and experiences is important. Han adds that the success of Triple-P also depends on the delivery of the course by the facilitator, and the parents' situations. Drawing from Han's point, we have seen that Wei and Han experienced Triple-P very differently and have very different life circumstances, thus we cannot over-generalize or essentialize the experiences of the Chinese population. As mentioned, universal evidence-based parenting programs assumes that everyone experiences life the same way, and as Wei and Han mention, Triple-P cannot be a cookie-cutter/one-size-fits all program. We have seen that there are many factors that determines how Chinese parents will experience Triple-P.

A Chinese mother's "experiences are seen to be multiple, complex and changing, socially constructed, interpretive, contestable, and political" (Brown, 2011, p. 114). From an anti-oppression and critical race feminist perspective, Wei and Han's narratives emphasize the complexity of a Chinese parent's life, and how their values, norms, behaviours and stories are shaped by social forces (Brown, 2011), including the "larger systems of power, dominance, and inequity" (Bates, 2011, p. 160). This aligns with Han's recommendation that Triple-P "bring the bigger picture into the webinar or the teachings. The structural issue." In other words, to bring in the realities of systemic barriers to a Chinese parent's life, which identifies inequality and oppression within the larger societal structure (Fay, 2011). With respect to these barriers, Han also suggests that there be an awareness of "Chinese immigrants who struggle with jobs, employment, housing."

In order to address the challenges of universal evidence-based parenting programs and practices of social workers and parenting educators, we need to take an anti-oppression and critical race feminist

approach to address our practice at a structural level. Engaging in anti-oppressive and critical race feminist practice means to be aware of “ways in which particular forms of intersectionality inform everyday realities” (Brotman & Lee, 2011, p. 154), and the ways in which it impacts the lived realities of Chinese mothers. We also need to take action to address structural barriers, racism, sexism and patriarchy experienced by Chinese mothers. We need to include the Chinese mothers in exploring the ways in which the Chinese community experiences multiple oppressions, and how to resist and bring forth action to address these oppressions. To further this discussion, I start with the need for collaboration in our practice.

Wei expresses how she wanted to be encouraged to make more decisions for herself. She states:

I felt that if I was able to make more decisions on my own as a child, I would have developed more confidence, and that would help me reach a lot further than having them [parents] make the decision for me.

I want to draw on Wei’s point on decision making to social work and professional practice. I believe we need to work in collaboration to support parents in determining what works best for them, encouraging self-autonomy in Chinese parents making their own decisions on parenting.

Additionally, social workers and professionals need to actively engage in collaborative inquiry of a Chinese parent’s experiences, and critically examine how the concepts of parenting govern their lives and constructs their realities of parenthood (Lam & Kwong, 2012). Furthermore, program and service designers need to collaborate with the Chinese community on the impacts of larger structural/systemic inequalities that are experienced and reproduced in these parents’ lives (La Placa & Corlyon, 2014). They need to acknowledge the reality of parenting, how it is historically situated, and “conditioned by dominant discourses” (Lam & Kwong, 2012, p. 72). Through a feminist lens, we link the personal/individualized issues to the larger political systems (Barnoff, 2011). Hence, this means that challenges and issues Chinese mothers bring up to you are “rooted in systems of social oppression” (Barnoff, 2011, p. 190). From this lens, interventions need to focus on a larger social level, not just on the individual (Barnoff,

2011). If the realities of Chinese mothers are not present in our work with families, we further silence subjugated knowledge and sustain power differentials (Razack, 2002).

Professional Power

Han suggests the following with respect to Triple-P:

They can offer the principles and the motivation of the principles but they can- yah it's not like, yah offer support rather than oppressive opinion...I just feel it can become oppressive when people ask every mother to do it, and blaming the mothers who fail...Just recognize that the white privilege and ease the guilty that if the Chinese parents struggles and they can't meet, they can't meet the expectations, or the scenarios is not, or how to say, keep a fluidity?

Han continues to suggest:

Offer more emotional support to mothers who struggles, or the parents who struggles. Recognize their, how to say, their incapability to meet [Triple-P's] expectations. Yah, so for example, in the scenario, you better say that [sentences]. But if, but the instructor should include the reality, yah. But some books include the reality, but yah, but if we could share the information.

As “professionals,” we exercise power through our “advanced” education, and membership in a professional association, that give us institutional power to regulate parenting (Fay, 2011; Lam & Kwong, 2012). Through our professional power, we often exercise power over clients when our values, understanding, and truths are used to interpret an individual's life (Razack, 2002). Thus, it is important that we are aware of our own beliefs and values in parenting, inclusive of gender, race, class and culture (Coll & Pachter, 2002). We must be reflexive and recognize our own power, privilege and whiteness, and the ways to which we can challenge the many faces of oppression (Fay, 2011; Razack, 2002) within our practice, organization, and day-to-day life. We need to learn and understand how the dominant Western culture reproduces marginalization and oppression, and “how we benefit from it” (Fay, 2011, p. 71), as well as the systemic and structural inequalities that permeate through the lives of Chinese mothers. We must identify the mechanisms through which interventions imposed upon parents are framed in ostensive efforts to support parents; to identify these mechanisms we must pay attention to the socio-political, historical and cultural context. We also must be aware of how our involvement in the “helping” profession obscures our participation in power imbalances. At the same time, we must be aware of how using the goodness of our hearts to “help” others allows us to perceive ourselves as innocent, while we

colonize the Other by imposing dominant Western-Eurocentric patriarchal norms of parenting. From an anti-oppressive perspective, we not only recognize but also unlearn the “everyday practices, assumptions, approaches, and methods that help maintain the status quo” (Fay, 2011, p. 71).

We need to question our practices and step out of our comfort zone and challenge oppressive structures in our organization and in society, acknowledging the legacy of colonization, racism, oppression and socio-political forces that surround our everyday lives. We need to question the social construction of parenting/ “good” mother, which is framed within a Eurocentric, middle-upper class, patriarchal lens. What this may look like is naming and challenging “white supremacy and settler colonialism within the programming, services, and education initiatives” (Greensmith, 2018, p. 33) offered in your organization. Also, within our organizations, I agree with Gosine and Pon (2011), who recommend that anti-oppression and anti-racism training should be mandatory. We need to ensure that the organizations we work for are engaged in social action in order to bring forth “transformative change in the oppressive systems that create the issues” that racialized women bring to us (Barnoff, 2011, p. 192). Transformative action means “to resist, in multiple ways, standard practices and the social normativity that support inequities and oppressions” (Benjamin, 2011, p. 289). We need to act together to resist, challenge, and change the systems that further marginalize and oppress individuals. It means that we need to be “active participants in the struggle for social justice” (Fay, 2011, p. 77) around the clock.

In conclusion, this paper explores the narratives of two Chinese mothers’ experiences of Triple-P, which “do not exist outside of culture or power” (Brown, 2011, p. 96), but within the larger socio-political, historical and cultural context, which reveal the complexity of Chinese mothers’ everyday realities.

This paper adopts a critical epistemological paradigm utilizing anti-oppression and critical race feminism as theoretical frameworks to bring forth the subjugated knowledge of Chinese mothers. AO and CRF were used to critique dangerously reductive universal evidence-based parenting programs, like Triple-P, by exposing the way white supremacy, colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy permeate into

identities and cultures (Jones, Jr., 2014), and operates to maintain the oppression and marginalization of racialized minorities (Giwa & Greensmith, 2012; Jones Jr., 2014). Additionally, this study also highlights the need to not “essentialize the complexity of multiple identities” (Jones Jr., 2014, p. 47); the study also expresses that if we choose not to acknowledge these complexities embedded in a Chinese mothers’ life, then we maintain cultural privilege and power, as whiteness goes unchallenged, uncritiqued, and unquestioned (Jones Jr., 2014).

Moreover, this paper demonstrates how Wei and Han’s experiences are “inseparable from structural societal inequalities such as poverty, sexism, racism, and colonialism” (Gosine & Pon, 2011, p. 137). Their narratives provide us with insight into understanding the intersectionality that mediate their experiences of “proper” parenting. As social workers and professionals, we are implicated in these practices and contribute to the oppression and marginalization that Chinese parents experience, and thus, we need to recognize the socio-political, historical, and cultural forces, and barriers due to the issues of racism, classism, colonialism, discrimination, and sexism. These factors cannot be ignored and we cannot sit in our own comfort while perpetuating harm and violence against Chinese communities. We must work to change these damaging practices, develop resistance strategies (Brotman & Lee, 2011), and advocate for social justice, so as to not further harm racialized populations.

Experiences of Chinese Parents and the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program

Research Conducted by Monica Lam, MSW Candidate, Ryerson University

Looking for Participants!

Are you a Chinese parent who has taken one or more sessions of the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program, and would like to share your experience?

You will be asked to meet for an interview at an agreed location, providing the most convenience to you as possible. Here, you can share your personal experiences of taking the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program as a Chinese parent. Your participation will involve a 1-1.5 hour interview. You will also receive a copy of the research when it is completed to see if it accurately represents your experiences.

Purpose: To hear how Chinese parents experience the Triple-P program, and increase awareness of the successes and challenges of parenting interventions and its practices for the Chinese community.

Participants:

- Chinese parents currently living in York Region or the Greater Toronto Area (GTA)
- Have taken one or more sessions of the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program
- Please note that this study will be in English. Participants must be able to speak and understand English (either English is their first or additional language)

Compensation: Each participant will receive a \$15 Walmart gift card

For more information please contact:

Monica Lam, MSW Candidate
School of School Work, Ryerson University, Toronto monica.lam@ryerson.ca
OR Call 416-979-5000 ext. 2960

(Please leave a message and I will contact you as soon as possible)

This study has been approved by the Ryerson Research Ethics Board (REB protocol number: 2018-431) and is being conducted by a graduate student as a requirement for program completion.

Research supervisor can be reached at g2pon@ryerson.ca or by telephone at 416-979-5000 ext. 4786.

APPENDIX B: EMAIL RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

RE: Recruitment of potential participants for a qualitative research

Experiences of Chinese Parents and the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program

My name is Monica Lam and I am currently completing a Master of Social Work degree at Ryerson University. I am in the process of recruiting participants for a small study on the experience of Chinese parents currently living in York Region or the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), who have taken one or more sessions of the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program.

This research is to fulfill my Master of Social Work degree and is being supervised by Gordon Pon, Associate Professor, School of Social Work at Ryerson University, Toronto, g2pon@ryerson.ca, 416-979-5000 ext. 4786.

There has been very little research on the experiences of Chinese parents who have taken the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program (Triple-P). This study will give participants an opportunity to share their stories and experiences of the Triple-P program that has the potential to make contributions and enhancements to the current research that is available on the Triple-P program; and contribute to increase awareness of the successes and challenges/needs/concerns of parenting interventions and its practices for the Chinese community.

All participants who choose to take part in this study will be asked to share their personal experiences through a 1-1.5 hour interview. The interview will be conducted by the researcher, Monica Lam, and will be audio-recorded. Participants may decline to answer questions they do not want to answer. The interview will be at the location most convenient to the participant, such as a booked room at the public library or community centre, or a setting of their choice. Please note that this study will be in English. Participants must be able to speak and understand English (either English is their first or additional language)

Confidentiality of all participants is of utmost importance and no names or identifying information will be published or shared in any way. Instead, the researcher will be assigning pseudonyms (fake names) to conceal the participant's identity unless the participant prefers their name on the research paper. Participation is entirely voluntary and participants can choose to end their involvement with the study at any time, without consequence.

In appreciation for the participant's time, they will receive a reimbursement of a \$15 Walmart gift card.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Ryerson University Research Ethics Board (REB protocol number: 2018-431).

If you are interested in more information about the study or would like to volunteer, please reply to this email (monica.lam@ryerson.ca) or call **416-979-5000 ext. 2960** (Please leave a message and I will contact you as soon as possible)

Sincerely,
Monica Lam
Master of Social Work Candidate, Ryerson University

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM



SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
FACULTY OF COMMUNITY SERVICES
Accredited by The Canadian Association for Social Work Education

Consent Form

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read this consent form so that you understand what your participation will involve. Before you consent to participate, please ask any questions to be sure you understand what your participation will involve.

Experiences of Chinese Parents and the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program

INVESTIGATORS:

This research study is being conducted by Monica Lam, a graduate student in the Master of Social Work Program at Ryerson University under the direct supervision of Gordon Pon, Associate Professor, School of Social Work at Ryerson University, Toronto.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Monica Lam by email at monica.lam@ryerson.ca or by telephone at 647-295-7170.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:

The purpose of this study is to hear the experiences of Chinese parents who have taken one or more sessions of the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program (Triple-P). There is a lack of information about Chinese parents' experiences of the Triple-P program, and I hope that this study will give you the opportunity to share your stories. This study will interview three Chinese parents living in York Region or the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Please note that this study will be in English. You must be able to speak and understand English (either English is your first or additional language).

The goal of this study is to increase awareness of the successes and challenges/needs/concerns of parenting interventions (the Triple-P program) and its applications to the Chinese community. The ultimate goal is for improved parenting services and supports for Chinese families. The information gathered and shared by you and other participants during the interview will be used

for two purposes. The first purpose is that the results of this research will contribute to a major research paper as a requirement to complete my degree at Ryerson University, School of Social Work. The second is that the data might also be used for publication in a peer-reviewed journal.

WHAT YOU WILL BE ASKED TO DO:

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to do the following things:

- Read through this consent form.
- If you choose to participate at this time, we will set up a meeting date, at a location that will be agreed upon (possible meeting locations: a booked room at the public library or community centre, or a setting of your choice that ensures privacy).
- Following this, you will be asked to participate in an audio-recorded, one-on-one interview that takes about 1-1.5 hours, in which I will be asking you questions about your experiences as a Chinese parent who has taken one or more sessions of the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program.
- After the interview is finished, the audio-recordings will be transcribed by me, the investigator (Monica Lam).
- Once the audio-recordings have been transcribed, I will provide you with a copy of your transcript for you to review and edit if you choose. I will give you 3 days to edit your transcriptions.
- Once the research is completed, I will provide you a copy of the research findings to review and provide feedback if you choose. I will give you 3 days to edit your portion of the research paper.
- When I am completely finished this research, I will send you the final copy of the research paper.

Some of the interview questions that you will be asked are:

- What made you decide to take the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program?
- What was your experience of the Triple-P program?
- Looking back, what were things like in your life before you attended the Triple-P program?
- Did you feel that the Triple-P program was suitable/appropriate for Chinese parents?
- Do you face any challenges such as poverty, racial discrimination, sexism, difficulty finding employment or accessing services in your role as a parent?

You may choose to decline answering any question you do not want to answer.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

You may benefit from the opportunity to share your story as a Chinese parent taking the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program. Also, your participation in this study brings out your voice that has the potential to make contributions to and enhance the current research that is available on Triple-P parenting; specifically, contributing to increased awareness of the needs, successes,

challenges, and concerns of parenting interventions and its practices for the Chinese community. I cannot guarantee, however, that you will receive any benefits from participating in this study.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL RISKS TO YOU AS A PARTICIPANT:

Possible risks related to participation in this study are minimal. You may experience discomfort during the interview due to the topic of discussion and the length of the interview. You will be encouraged to share only information that is comfortable for you. Please note that you can stop the interview, withdraw or take a break at any point during the interview process or after it has taken place. If you decide to withdraw, all data collected from you will be destroyed and will not be included in the study. You also have the right to ask me to omit and/or change information that you provide at any time during the research period. However, after July 2, 2019, you will not be able to have your data removed from the study because it will have been integrated into the overall analysis. I will also provide you with a list of community resources during the interview.

There are limitations to confidentiality. As a social worker, I have an ethical responsibility of duty to report child abuse and/or neglect and risk of harm. I have attached a pamphlet about the “duty to report,” I will also explain the “duty to report” and go through examples of child abuse and neglect prior to the interview, and during the interview with you. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

Your name and identity will remain confidential unless you want your real name on the research paper. If you prefer your real name to be used in the published material, please provide a signature under “CONFIRMATION OF AGREEMENT” section on the last page of this consent form to indicate your preference.

Any information provided by you will only be viewed by me, the investigator (Monica Lam), and if required, my supervisor (Gordon Pon); however, no identifying information will be shared. The data collected from the interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. Audio-recordings will be deleted once transcribed. All identifying information will be removed from transcripts and pseudonyms (fake names) will be used in the place of your name to ensure confidentiality, unless you request for your real name to be used in the study. Transcripts and audio-recordings will be password protected. I will store the data until the research is completed and I have handed in the final research paper to Ryerson University, no later than September 1st, 2019. I will ensure full and secure deletion of data once the study is completed. You will have the opportunity to review and edit the transcript and draft copy of the research paper. You will be provided with a copy of the final paper delivered by the method of your preference (e.g. in person, by mail or email).

Identifying information will not be accessible by any other parties except when required by law, such as when there are reasonable suspicions of child abuse and/or neglect or risk of harm.

INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION:

You will receive a \$15 Walmart gift card for your time. If you choose to stop participation, you will still receive this gift card.

COSTS TO PARTICIPATION:

I cannot provide reimbursement for any costs.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL:

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If any question makes you uncomfortable, you can skip that question. You may stop participating at any time and you will still be given the incentive described above. If you choose to stop participating, you may also choose to not have your data included in the study. Your choice of whether or not to participate will not influence your future relations with Ryerson University or the investigator (Monica Lam) involved in the research. However, after July 2, 2019, you will not be able to have your data removed from the study because it will have been integrated into the overall analysis.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY:

If you have any questions about the research now, please ask. If you have questions later about the research, you may contact:

Principal Investigator:

Monica Lam – monica.lam@ryerson.ca or 647-295-7170

Study Supervisor:

Gordon Pon – g2pon@ryerson.ca or 416-979-5000 ext. 4786

This study has been reviewed by the Ryerson University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, please contact:

Research Ethics Board
c/o Office of the Vice President, Research and Innovation
Ryerson University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, ON M5B 2K3
416-979-5042
rebchair@ryerson.ca

THE EXPERIENCES OF CHINESE PARENTS AND THE TRIPLE-P POSITIVE PARENTING PROGRAM

CONFIRMATION OF AGREEMENT:

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information in this agreement and have had a chance to ask any questions you have about the study. Your signature also indicates that you agree to participate in the study and have been told that you can change your mind and withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You have been given a copy of this agreement. You have been told that by signing this consent form you are not giving up any of your legal rights.

Name of Participant (please print)

Signature of Participant

Date

I agree to have this interview audio-recorded and later transcribed for the purposes of this study. I understand how these recordings and transcribed materials will be stored and destroyed.

Signature of Participant

Date

I would like to have my real name used in the published materials of this study.

Signature of Participant

Date

Please indicate with your signature below if you give your consent to be contacted regarding the study results:

- I would like to review my transcript (you will have 3 days to review and edit your transcript)
- I would like a copy of this research to review before the final submission (you will have 3 days to review, edit and provide feedback)
- I would like a copy of this research, when it is completed

I would like this done: (Please Circle)

In person By mail Via email

Signature of Participant

Date

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Experiences of Chinese Parents and the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program

Introduction:

Thank you for agreeing to be part of this study. Before we begin, do you have any questions about the consent form?

I would like you to know that this interview will take approximately 1 to 1.5 hours. I also want to assure you that everything you say here is confidential, and all identifying information will be removed from your transcript and a pseudonym (unless you have chosen to use your real name for the study) will be used if you are quoted. However, the condition to which I will have to breach confidentiality, by law, is under the circumstance where there is reasonable suspicion of child abuse and/or neglect or risk of harm. Let me provide you with an example to increase clarity around my duty to report. For example, if you tell me that you physically hit your child, then I may have to report this to CAS. Here is a copy of the Duty to Report pamphlet that I emailed to you earlier. Did you have any questions?

At any point during the interview, you may ask to stop the recording or take a break. You can also terminate the interview at any point if you feel any discomfort or you decide to change your mind about being part of this research study. Do you have any questions before we begin? Do you understand my duty to report concerns around child abuse or neglect?

Central Research Question:

What are the experiences of Chinese parents who have taken one or more Triple-P sessions, in relation to the socio-political, historical and cultural factors that influence their lives?

Opening Questions:

1. Can you tell me a little about yourself? Were you born in Canada/When did you come to Canada? What languages do you speak? How many children do you have? What is your marital status?
2. What made you decide to take the Triple-P Positive Parenting Program?

Experiences of Triple-P:

1. What was your experience of the Triple-P program?

Potential Probing Questions:

- Did you take the full program?
 - What was happening in your life that made you decide not to take the full program?
 - What made you want to take the full program?
- What did you like about the Triple-P program?
- What did you not like/found challenging about the Triple-P program?
- What do you think made the program work for you/ What do you think made the program not work for you?
- What was the facilitator of the Triple-P program like?
- How did you feel about the material of the Triple-P program?

2. Looking back, what were things like in your life before you attended the Triple-P program?

Potential Follow-up Questions:

- Is there anything in your life that has changed after you took the Triple-P program?
- What are some of your day-to-day needs that Triple-P could not provide you with or solve problems/provide solutions to?

Context Question:

1. Did you feel that the Triple-P program was suitable/appropriate for Chinese parents like you? Can tell me more about that?

Potential Probing Question:

- Do you feel that Triple-P is culturally appropriate for Chinese parents/you? How so? or Why not?
- How could the Triple-P program work better for Chinese parents?
- If you were to make one change to the program to make it better for other Chinese parents, what would you change? Why?

General Questions (Probing for External Context –Socio-political, Historical and Cultural Context):

Before we move on, I want to discuss with you again the limits of confidentiality and my duty to report any concerns I have about child abuse and neglect. For example, if you tell me that you physically hit your child, then I may have to report this to Children’s Aid Society (CAS). Do you understand this? Do you have any questions? Also, I want to remind you that you may skip any question because you do not have to answer every question. If you do not wish to answer the question, you may just say “pass” and I will totally respect your wishes. May I proceed to ask the next question?

1. Do you face any challenges such as poverty, racial discrimination, sexism, difficulty finding employment or accessing services in your role as a parent?

Potential Probing Question:

- How do you manage these difficulties?

2. Who do you think is the best person to help Chinese parents if they are having difficulties parenting? Why?

Questions about Participant’s Parents:

1. How do you feel about your parent’s parenting style? What was it like?

2. Can you tell me how your parents parented you that was different from what Triple-P was teaching you?

Potential Follow-up Questions:

- How did Triple-P approach that parenting situation?
- Do you feel what Triple-P taught you is the ‘proper’ way to parent, as opposed to how your parents did it? Can you tell me more about that?

Concluding Remarks

Thank you for sharing your time and experiences with me. Is there anything else you would like share with me? Do you have any questions?

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