Exploring the Experiences of Asian youth in the Criminal Justice System in Canada

by

Siu-ming Kwok, Ph.D.

Abstract
This article presents the findings of a qualitative study that was conducted to investigate the experiences of 15 Asian youth in the criminal justice system in Calgary, Canada. The findings show that (1) their visible minority status; (2) their Asian values; (3) their degree of involvement with criminal activities; and (4) their relationship with the support system are all structural contexts which impacted on their experiences within the criminal justice system. These findings have implications for social work research and practice to this population.

Introduction
Law enforcement personnel have long concerns over the rise of Asian youth gangs in Australia (Perrone & White, 2000), United States (McCurrie, 1999), and Canada (Moyer, 2005). Since late 1980s, policymakers of the United States has depicted Asian gang members as being violent rebels who were embedded in a larger international criminal enterprise that sought to control the U.S. heroin industry (U.S. Department of Justice, 1985, 1988). In Australia, there has been much public consternation regarding the perceived proliferation of Asian gangs and their affiliation with random violence, drug distribution, and a range of illegal and predatory criminal activities (Healey, 1996). In recent times, concern about the connection between Asian youth gangs and organized crime has also surfaced across Canada. The Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (2002) reported that Asian-based organized crime groups (AOC) were very active in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec, and described Asian gangs as the major controller of illegal drug supplies, and stated that Asian young gangs were
among the fastest-growing gangs in Canada. Despite these concerns since late 1980s from law enforcement and the volume of research into the Asian gangs phenomenon undertaken in North America over the past decade, we are still far from comprehensive understanding of this population (Kwok & Tam, 2004; Pih & Mao, 2005; Tsunokai & Kposowa, 2002; Tsunoka, 2005). In view of the dearth of studies about the Asian youth population and crime, limited information is available to enhance our understanding and ability to address the needs of that population. Henceforth, an exploratory qualitative research study was conducted on Asian youth in the criminal justice in Canada.

The goal of this paper is twofold: (1) to present findings of a quality study on experiences of Asian youth in the criminal justice system in Calgary, Canada, and (2) to discuss the implications of these finding to social work research and practice with this population.

**Literature Review**

Although Asian gangs have existed in North America, Britain, and Australia for decades, the history of Asian gang research is rather brief; it is less than thirty years and the majority of research studies (25 books and articles) were conducted over the past decade in the United States (Tsunokai & Kposowa, 2002). Amongst these research studies, findings regarding the nature, prevalence, and theories explaining the causes of this phenomena are inconclusive, and even conflicting (Kwok & Tam, 2004).

In late 1970s, scholarly works on Asian youth gangs focused on theory verification, which attempted to determine if longstanding criminological or sociological theories could explain gang behaviour within Asian communities (Tsunokai & Kposowa, 2002). The findings to support the applicability of these theories were mixed. For instances, Rice (1977) found that social disorganization theory have only limited explanatory to the Asian gang phenomena. Contemporary researchers, therefore, began a theory integration phase by investigating whether distinctive Asian qualities or values together with other social factors (e.g., structural racial discrimination) could better explain gang involvement of Asian youth. Sheu (1986) found that the best approach for understanding gang participation was to integrate social control theory with a cultural disorganization perspective. Further, Sheu suggested that Asian values that underscore obedience, respect for elders, and filial piety, are often eroded as Asian youth adjust to a new culture that emphasizes individuality and independence. Other researchers have sought to explain gang behaviour by combining social disorganization with differential opportunity theory (Chin, 1996), social process theories with social learning theory (Wang, 1996), or subcultural theory and social disorganization (Song et al., 1992; Toy, 1992). Despite these efforts, there is still no consensus on a dominant theory to understand and explain the Asian gang phenomena in western countries, and even less on a descriptive or explanatory model with the respect to the perception of Asian youth in the criminal justice system (Kwok & Tam, 2004).
Methods

Grounded theory research approach is used in this study in order to develop a theoretical scheme to explain the experiences of Asian youth in the criminal justice system by means of systematically collected and analysed data in the field. Data analysis of this approach focuses on the evolution of changes of the phenomenon under inquiry (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

Sampling

Theoretical sampling is used in this study. It is a data gathering process driven by concepts comparison with the purpose of maximizing opportunities to discover variations among concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Generally, researchers develop theoretical categories only through the analytic process; they do not know in advance what they will be sampling, and stop sampling until saturate and exhaust the category (Charmaz, 1990). In the initial stage of this study, the theme of Asian values emerged frequently in the interview process. Participants in the later stage were then asked to focus on the connection between Asian values and their experiences with the criminal justice system. Thus, theoretical sampling shaped further data collection as the researcher pursued developing conceptual ideas (Charmaz, 2000). In this study, fifteen research participants were recruited that is based on theoretical saturation of categories (Strauss, 1987).

Recruitment of Participants

Research participants were recruited from two ethnic community service organizations in Calgary. These two ethnic community service organizations were well-established and have good connections with the Asian communities in Calgary, and provide programs for Asian youth in conflict with the law. Potential participants were given an invitation letter by the author (research) of this article, and they called the author directly if they are interested to participate in this study. All participants should meet the requirements that (1) they should identify themselves as sian as the term was defined in this research, and (2) they used to or currently involved with the criminal justice system in Canada. In this study, sian refers to those who come from East Asia (i.e., People Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea) and Southeast Asia (i.e., Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). Participation in this study was entirely voluntary. Written consents were requested from the participants and prior to the interviews. Fifteen research participants were recruited and interviewed in this research, and their profiles are provided in Table 1. Each interview lasted approximately sixty minutes and was conducted by the author of this article. All interviews were transcribed into typescripts for data analysis.

Procedure and Data Analysis

Semi-structured individual interviews were used to collect data. Probe questions were used to investigate the phenomena under study: (1) How would you describe your experiences in the criminal justice system? (2) How do you cope with the experiences? (3) What have been the
consequences of your using these coping strategies? Aside from these main questions, participants were also asked other environment or social factors (i.e., their ethnic backgrounds) which might influence their experiences in the criminal justice system.

The data were coded using the methods of open, axial, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Analysis begins with open coding. Open coding is concerned with identifying, naming, and describing phenomena found in typescripts. In this study, it was discovered that research participants commonly raised the importance of connections to family regardless of their degree of involvement in criminal activities. This pattern was then further being looked into and data was collected for further elaboration of this category. Axial coding is the act of relating categories to subcategories and further development of categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For example, three subcategories (being stereotyped at school, harassment by police, and discrimination at the detention centre) were subsumed under the category of visible minorities status. Last, selective coding involves the researcher’s selecting core category/categories, systematically relating it to other categories, and verifying those relationships while further refining and developing other categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this study, visible minority status, Asian values, criminal values, and support systems are the core categories that represent the structural contexts of the experiences of Asian youth in the criminal justice system (see Table 2). Along with the three levels of coding, the method of constant comparison was used. This analytic tool is used to sort, compare, and contrast codes and categories until saturation is reached – that is, until analysis produces no new codes or categories and all data are accounted for in the core categories of the grounded theory model (Kivel & Kleiber, 2000).
Results

In this study, the data suggested that there were four structural conditions (visible minority status, Asian values, criminal involvement, and support system), which shaped the experiences of Asian youth in the criminal justice system. Structural conditions refer to the overall structural factors which shaped the experiences of Asian youth in the criminal justice system, and there are two types of condition: macro and micro (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). All participants are affected structurally by the macro conditions (visible minority status and Asian values) of the larger society, whereas micro conditions (criminal involvement and support system) have specific bearing on individual participants responding to such phenomena.

Visible minority status.

All respondents of this study were people of colour and were well aware of their visible minority status in Canada. They uniformly felt that they were being discriminated against at school, by the police, and in the youth detention centre because of their ethnic backgrounds.

Tina, one of the research participants, maintained that some teachers at school stereotyped her as a gang member as her Asian friends waited for her outside the school, and she insisted her friends had no connections to Asian gangs at all:

*If you have Asian friends drive in a nice car, dress in black, and wait for you outside the school. She (the teacher) thought you were with Asian gang. She (a teacher) stereotyped people.* [Tina]

Further, these youth perceived that harsher punishments were meted out to them because of their racial backgrounds, and school administration would ask the parents of Asian problem students to sign forms consenting to the withdrawal of their children from school.

*He (the white student) started the fight. I just defended myself and fought back. He got suspended (from class) only a week, and I got (suspended) about a month. I got in an alternative class and he (the white student) got back to regular class....Hello, I was the victim here, but they (the school teachers) took his side. They did not listen to me: I am a Chinese; (I am) an Asian gangster.* [Charles]

*They (the school) just asked my parents to sign the letter (voluntarily withdraw from school). They (school) knew that my parents didn’t speak much English. My parents just nodded and said yes to whatever asked by the school.... I am sure the school would not dare to do that to white (students’) parents.* [Frank]

Harassment by police

The respondents claimed that Asian youth were more likely to attract attention from the police when appearing in a group in public places. They further complained that the police often treated Asian youth with disrespect and stereotyping. The respondents felt that the police stopped and searched them in public places with the intent to humiliate them.
We got pull over (by the police)... He choked my neck, and told me to go back to my country. I had no country to go back. I was born in Canada... My brother talked back. They (choked) my brother’s neck too. The police asked my brother “which country are you from? You have no legal rights here.” [Charles]

**Discrimination at the detention centre.**
While being held in the detention centre, they felt that they were being singled out by the staff members and inmates because of their skin colour.

*We (Asian) were called yellow dogs (by white inmates). They (staff members in the detention centre) pretended did not hear anything. They did nothing about it (the name-calling)... They (the staff in detention centre) warned us (Asian) didn’t make any troubles ... There were many other gangs in the youth detention centre. They (the staff) only gave us warning.* [Victor]

Discrimination from schools, the police, and the detention centres harboured distrust among research participants against the school and law enforcement agencies. On the other hand, these youth also felt helpless. They maintained that they were not in a position to request any changes in the behaviour displayed against them because they were visible minorities and because they had violated the law in the first place.

*We are second class (citizens) in this country. No one listens to you unless you are White. The White does not like us (Asians) even before all these (incidents of being arrested by the police). They now got more reason to hate us.* [Doug]

**Asian Values.**

*Importance of family relationship.*
Regardless of their degree of criminal involvement, all participants in this study agreed that maintaining a good relationship and connections with family were very important in their lives.

*When I was arrested by the cops, my mind was suddenly blacked out. It seemed that the whole world collapsed. The first thing came to mind was what would be the reaction of my family. Were they going to kick me out of the family? Family is number one priority of us (Asians)....without family, we (Asians) are only isolated islands.* [Alan]

*There is nothing more importance than family. You can choose your friends. You cannot choose your parents.....* [Victor]
Avoiding losing face.

Being afraid of losing face, Asian families attempted to keep any trouble within the immediate family. Research participants indicated that their parents tried hard to keep relatives from knowing about their children’s brush with the law. If resources allowed, they sent their children to other cities or back to their home country.

*You never bring disgrace to your family’s doorstep. My parents were very upset. I got them lost face. My parents did not know how to tell the relatives. I was in jail (youth detention centre), and missed my cousin’s wedding. My mother lied to the relatives that I was in Toronto with my sister...After the wedding, she did not see the relatives anymore. She did not want them to ask about me.* [Brian]

Further, most parents were hesitant about approaching organizations in ethnic communities for help, particularly those ethnic organizations located in ethnic communities.

*They (parents) did not go there (ethnic social service organizations) for help. It was a matter of ‘face’..... my mother works in Chinatown, people know each other...If you go there (ethnic social service organizations), everyone (in the ethnic community) knows (about her son being involved in illegal activities).* [Victor]

Nonetheless, the families did seek outside help when their children were involved in more serious criminal activities or when they had exhausted all other available resources. For example, the data revealed that the parents would seek help from mainstream society and seeing counsellors with ethnic backgrounds different from their own when they thought it would be helpful to their children.

*My mother asked everyone: the school, legal aid, probation, and community centre. Every one as long as she thought could help me.* [Alan]

*My parents didn’t speak much English, but they went to the school and asked the principal for help. They (parents) asked the school principal to help me get back to a normal life. They (parents) wanted me to stay in school.* [Kevin]

Respecting authority.

Asian parents have high respect for authority, especially school officials. The parents attributed the wrongdoing of their children to their own inadequate parenting rather than to misjudgements by the authorities or institutional discrimination. Such attitudes made some of the research participants feel that their families were not supportive.
It seemed that the school’s judgment was always right. They have their reason to do that. My father said the school punished you because you did something wrong. He hoped me to ‘learn a lesson’. What lesson? He punched me first; I just defended myself. My mother asked me to put up with them (the name-calling and bullying), and didn’t create any troubles at school. [Frank]

They (my parents) just didn’t see this was discrimination. They always thought the school got reasons to punish me. It was because I got rotten first, and then looked down on me. I asked for it. [Victor]

Criminal Involvement.

The degree of criminal involvement on the part of research participants specifically shaped their individual experiences in the criminal justice system. Criminal involvement included (1) the nature and seriousness of the crime, (2) group loyalty, and (3) participants’ affiliation to gangs.

Nature of crime. The responses of their families to research participants’ infractions of the law depended on the nature and seriousness of the crimes committed. The data revealed that families of respondents who committed crimes against the person (e.g., assault) were more willing to help than were the families of respondents who committed crimes against property (e.g., theft).

After I was arrested for theft, my father said, “I really don’t know what I should do about you. What I have done wrong in my life? I can explain away your mistake (the offence of assault) last time, but what about this time (theft)... You now steal; It’s out of greed.” [Kevin]

Group loyalty. The data revealed that most research participants committed their first offence in a group context. One respondent reported that he committed his first offence because of group loyalty. He fought against another Asian gang for his friends:

We always fought against other gangs....We ran into XXX (an Asian gang) in downtown. We just beat them up. You must fight with your friends. It was a loyalty thing. [Alan]

Some research participants turned to the gang for emotional support when the family did not know how to deal with the situation when their children became involved with the criminal justice system, and participants felt that the family did not care about them. The emotional support gained from the gang further increased the group loyalty on the part of the participants.

She (mother) was just nagging me all days. “You never do this again. You never do that again” My elder brother called me stupid. They were scared too. They did not know how to do with me. I got more advice from my friends. They had been there before. They went with
me to the court and met the probation officer. [Edwin]

I enjoy the time with my friends. We are brothers. I talked to them everything. They understood me. We talked about how we got away from the cops. How stupid they (the police) were? ... My friends are my family. My parents do not know what happen to me outside the house. They do not want to know at all. [Eugene]

Gang affiliation. The degree of research participants’ affiliation with the gang also significantly impacted on their experiences within the criminal justice system. The data revealed that the concept of gang was loosely defined by the research participants. It ranged from the notion of several friends sticking together for an illicit purpose to the idea of a large organized criminal business organization. These youth agreed that the more one was actively involved with gang activities; the more likely one was to be engaged in criminal activities. Even though one might be a fringe member initially, the individual was expected to be more actively associated with the gang in order to make the necessary connections (i.e., to obtain drug supplies or make connections for selling stolen goods) upon progressing into a more advanced level of his criminal career.

You needed to know someone and (have) some connections (in selling stolen cars). No gang; no connections! That’s very simple. You got no good price if you were not a gang member. [Brian]

This (selling illicit drugs) was their (gang) business. No one gave you stuff (illegal drugs). I never know someone was not with a gang could sell stuff. No one! You got the stuff from them (gangs). You were told where to sell the stuff. You were not selling ice-cream on the streets. You could got killed if you sell the stuff in other gang’s territory. [Doug]

Moreover, respondents commented that they did not believe in the anti-gang propaganda of the school and the police. They felt that the school and police did not understand the lives of Asian gang members at all:

They (school) invited some guests like police to the school and talked about gang problem on the street. The police tried to scare us. They didn’t scare me at all. I had some friends who are XXX (Asian gang). They did not ask me to join. I didn’t think this white guy (police officer) knew anything about Asian gang. [Alan]

Contrary to popular belief, there were no initiation ceremonies for joining the gangs. The data revealed that the participants who had previously been or still were gang members stated that they had ‘drifted into a gang.’ They joined gangs because their friends were gang members already, or because the gang could offer them protection. The following words from two
participants reveal the way they naturally drifted into the gangs:

I was pushed and given a punch by a white guy at school, XX came and beaten him up. XX told me that we (Vietnamese) should look out for each other. I knew that he was a gang member, but I thought it was fine to be friend with him. I did not want to act like a jerk when someone helping you. I went out with him and he introduced his friends to me. Things just happened, and you were joining them without even you knew it. [Frank]

I went out with the kids living in neighbourhood. I knew they were gang members. They did not ask me to join them, but I hang out with them. They were my friends. (On one occasion) we went out to downtown and were beaten by S.D. Boys (Asian gang). We fought back. I fought side by side with my friends. From then on, I thought I became a member of the gang. [Alan]

Support Systems

An informal support system consists of the support resources provided by family, friends, or relatives. A formal support system consists of the resources offered outside of family and friends. The formal support system includes the resources mainly devised for youth in conflict with the law (e.g., probation officers), or other services for youth (e.g., school counsellors, youth workers). All respondents found that the formal support systems were not as helpful as the informal ones.

Informal support systems.

Most respondents found that family support and encouragement from friends were imperative in helping them deal with their experiences in the criminal justice system. However, support from families was highly dependent upon the relationships between the respondents and their families as well as the resources (e.g., monies or help from other relatives) possessed by the families.

They (the family) were upset (about the offence of assault)...later they tried to come up with something to help. (During my suspension from school), my elder brother drove me to the uncle’s garage every day. My uncle is a car mechanic. He promised to keep me around his garage until I returned to school. [Alan]

Formal support system.

Most respondents displayed problems while they were around twelve to thirteen years of age; nevertheless, they perceived the school as not providing enough support for them. One research participant was involved in a fight with his classmate in at the age of fourteen and was referred to an anger management class for therapy. However, he did not think that the anger management class could help him as long as the school did not deal with the discrimination against visible minorities:
I need no anger management. I was being picked on by the white (students). I fought back. I fought back and I fought for respect. [Frank]

These youth’s experiences with probation officers were positive, but not useful. They commented that the probation officers did not understand Asian gang culture and what they experienced because of their ethnic backgrounds. The following remarks capture this sentiment:

My probation officer was good. She was a nice lady. She was caring but not understanding. She did not understand my situation; she knew nothing about gangs; She sat in a nice office and asks me to do well. [Eugene]

She (probation officer) did not have a clue of what I have gone through. She did not know about the life in gang, life in jail, she had never heard of the (Asian) gang movies I saw, and she even asked me to see her in probation office on the (Chinese) New Year day. [Jeff]

Discussion

The findings have implications for social work research and practices in the following:
1. It supports some classic sociological theories such as social control theory and differential opportunity theory;
2. Service delivery to this population should take into consideration the important connections of family to these youth and their mistrust towards law enforcement personnel; and
3. Social work practitioners should be culturally sensitive and knowledgeable of the gang culture.

First, findings of this study have supported the social bond theory and differential association theory in terms of the reasons these youth joining the Asian gangs or involving in criminal activities. The social bond theory of Travis Hirschi studies the connection between the individual and the society through examining the social institutions and these institutional relationships in constraining deviant behaviours (Hirschi, 1969). These constraining institutions usually revolve around family relationship and school bonds. As for differential association theory, Edwin Sutherland defines that peer negative influence was another strong predictor of delinquent behaviour apart from weak attachment to family and school (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978). In this study, these youth have a strong feeling that they were being discriminated against by school and police and which were not understood by the family. Instead, they could find emotional support from peers who were involved in criminal activities. They described that it was a natural process of “drifting” into gangs and involved in illegal behaviours since their close friends were gang members. This finding corroborates the result of other
research studies on Asian gang involvement (Chin, 1996; Sheu, 1986; Pih & Mao, 2005; Wong, 1998).

Second, in terms of service delivery, families should be included when social workers design prevention and intervention programs. Consistent with a number of other research findings (Pih & Mao, 2005; Tsunoka, 2005; Wang, 1995, 1996; Wong, 1997; Zhang, 1993), the findings of this study also suggest that connections to family are very important to these youth disrespect of their degree of criminal involvement. Social work should take this into consideration in their practice. In particular, in contrary to general belief, the families are willing to access services for help. In addition, the goals of early intervention for these youth should be focused on helping them resist peer pressure and demystify the gang culture. A finding of this study, supported by other studies (Pih & Mao, 2005; Wong, 1997, 1999; Zhang, 2002), was that most Asian youth involved in youth gangs begin by gradually drifting into a gang with their intimate friends and committing crime in a group context. Prevention work should therefore be undertaken to help these youth learn how to handle peer pressure and understand the possible negative impact on their lives of joining an Asian gang. Moreover, since there is a deep distrust of Asian youth in the law enforcement authorities and school personnel, prevention or intervention programs offered by social workers would seem to be more approachable to these youth.

Last, the findings of this study suggest that qualities of caring, cultural sensitivity, and knowledge of gang culture are more important than the ethnicity of a social worker in helping Asian youth in the criminal justice system. This finding is consistent with the finding from another study about the Chinese young drug abusers in Vancouver (Kwok, 2000). As suggested in the findings, the parents are willing to access help from mainstream agencies despite it would make them lose ‘face’. The feeling of being cared about was more important to Asian youth and their families than the cultural background social workers.

Further, social workers should be educated about the knowledge of Asian gang culture. Such knowledge would include an understanding of the dynamics of different Asian youth gangs in urban areas, any rules of Asian youth gangs for punishing someone who attempts to leave the gang, and some jargon commonly used by Asian gang members. The acquisition of this knowledge would not only help social workers to build trust with Asian youth and understand what they have gone through, but also would equip them to work on concrete plans to help these youth.

**Conclusion and Future Research**

There are two methodological limitations to this study: sampling bias and generalizability. Despite the author’s best effort, only one female respondent was recruited and interviewed. The experiences of female youth within the criminal justice system might be different from those of their male counterparts, as some studies have suggested (Archer & Grascia, 2006; Molidor, 1996; Wang, 2000). Also, the context of Asian ethnic communities in Calgary is different from the contexts of larger and more ethnically diverse
cities such as Vancouver and Toronto, so the findings of this study might not be generalizable across Canada.

Future research is recommended in the areas of female Asian youth in conflict with the law, and Asian youth in conflict with the law in other Canadian cities with a larger Asian population.

In concluded, the history of Asian gang research is rather brief and the findings is inconclusive even though the study of delinquency has long been an interest among social workers, criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, and others in social science discipline. Given that the concerns over Asian gangs and their connections with organized crimes are on the rise, more research should be conducted in studying Asian gangs phenomenon that helps us in a position understand and provide services to this designated population.

References


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About the Author

Siu-ming Kwok is Assistant Professor of Social Work at King’s University College at the University of Western Ontario. His research interests include ethnic minority youth and crime, child welfare, drug abuse, and violence against intimate partner. His works has appeared in International Social Work, Social Policy Journal, Asian Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development, and British Journal of Social Work.
Table 1
Profiles of the Research Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Previous Offences</th>
<th>Previous Sentence*</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Assault with weapons 1 &amp; 2</td>
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<td>Canada</td>
<td>Theft over $5,000</td>
<td>Possession of firearms 1, 2, &amp; 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Assault with weapons 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Breach of PO</td>
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<td>Assault</td>
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* Key: 1 = Community Service; 2 = Probation; 3 = Imprisonment
Table 2

Summary of Core Categories and Sub-categories

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<th>Structural contexts</th>
<th>Macro conditions</th>
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<td>Visible minority status</td>
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<td>Asian values</td>
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<td>Importance of family relationship</td>
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<td>Avoidance of losing face</td>
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<td>High expectations on academic</td>
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<td>Respecting authority</td>
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<td>Criminal involvement</td>
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<td>Group loyalty</td>
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<td>Gang affiliation</td>
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<td>Support systems</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal: family, friends</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal: school, probation, professionals from social service</td>
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</tbody>
</table>