Representation of Parenting in Occupational Science and Therapy Literature:
A Critical Interpretive Synthesis

by

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Dedication Page

This thesis is dedicated to my wife.
Though she said she didn't care if I ever finished it, she sure helped.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

Parenting was little reflected in the occupational science and occupational therapy literature up to the turn of the 21st century. The late 1990's and early 2000's saw a growth in the literature with publishing by a number of influential researchers, along with direction for practice and future research. This critical interpretive synthesis examined the appearance of parenting in occupational science and occupational therapy literature for the period 2008-2018, discussing how mothering, fathering, and parenting occupations have come to be understood and represented. These occupations are seen to be both biology- and culture-bound, and influenced by social determinants as well as child and parent factors, and research and practice in parenting can be susceptible to assumptions and biases based on dominant discourses. Children and parents benefit from individualized family-centered approaches which recognize ecocultural pathways and lifespan development.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

PEOP – Person Environment Occupation P

COPM – Canadian Occupational Process Model

AJOT – The American Journal of Occupational Therapy

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CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION

> *Ellen was diagnosed with bipolar disorder in early adulthood. She had a brief relationship with the father of her son, who is now 11 years old, which ended when he assaulted her when the child was a preschooler. Ellen has had continuing problems with employment and finances owing to her mental health challenges, which led her and her son to have poor and vicarious housing. A complaint to child protective services led to the removal of her son from her care and a court order for a parental capacity assessment.*

> *Tom had a workplace incident which resulted in acquired brain injury. One occupational role in which he felt that he wasn't performing well was being a parent to his two teen-aged children. He felt that his inability to do prior activities with them and to be a support and an adult role model was adding to their mother's workload and stress and creating a gap in his relationship with his children.*

> *Lucy and Mary have a teenaged daughter with an autism spectrum disorder, which has led to social isolation and behavioural difficulties at home, school, and in the community. They have struggled to parent their daughter in the same way they parented her older brother, with conflicting advice from and feelings of being judged by family, clinicians, and teachers.*

I have been a practicing occupational therapist since 2001. The first ten years of my career saw me as the occupational therapist on a multidisciplinary team working with preschool-aged children with autism spectrum disorder and their parents. The service was programmatic and constrained in scope to a large extent. My focus was mainly on the child client's development, with admittedly little professional consideration of family structure and dynamics, parent relationship, siblings, and extended family. Yet, I began to see differences in parenting abilities and approaches and how they influenced children's development.

I went into private practice in 2011. The dynamics of my relationship with parents changed to a certain extent, without the public-service policies and structure which focused my involvement on the child. I developed different relationships with parents, working with them to better understand the parents, family structure and life, and their goals for their children beyond the immediate developmental concerns. I have had extensive involvement with Mi'kmaw families, communities and their schools. I began to work much more with parents at risk of having their children removed from their care, with children and youth at risk, with children in foster care and adoption, with foster and adoptive parents, and with parents who were in court proceedings to be assessed for fitness to have their children returned to their care following removal by child protective services. I began to work with a psychologist who does parental capacity assessments for the family court system, who involved me when there was learning, developmental, or physical disability on the part of the parents. Some of the types of family situations I routinely work with are depicted above.

From time to time over the years, I turned to the occupational therapy research to determine how to enact this role as an occupational therapist, finding little guidance. I looked especially for assessments, finding no occupational therapy assessment of parenting available and few tools that could be used for the purpose. I looked for position papers from occupational therapy associations, finding none. What literature I could find struck me as quite biased toward culturally normative, higher-income, urban-suburban parents. Evaluations of what is appropriate or good parenting are culture-bound and class -based; reflexive understanding of preconceptions is necessary. Assumptions about what

parents, children, and families want to do or should do, or how they can and should do those things, are grounded in implicit cultural norms. Child protection and parental capacity assessment processes are frequently biased toward middle-class Euro-Canadian values and expectations of parental behaviour and engagement. Yet family rituals and routines differ widely. I wanted and needed to better understand how occupational therapy – and its cognate discipline occupational science – understand parenting through an occupational lens, and how practice in the area of parenting has been conceptualized.

That is precisely what I explore in this thesis. Using the format of a critical interpretive synthesis of the literature, I examine occupational therapy and occupational science literature concerning parenting. I explore understandings of parenting as occupation, theoretical approaches to parenting, research on parenting when parents of children face challenges such as disability, gaps and absence sin the literature, as well as present and prospective roles of occupational therapists in assessing and supporting parenting occupations to the benefit of parent, child, and family. But first, some key definitions.

1.1 Parenting and Occupation

Parenting has been variously defined as "a different state of mind, a culturally-elaborated stage in life, a personal choice, a physical and biological transition, and a highly-evolved necessity in the species" as well as "central to the human condition" (Swain, 2011, p. 192). Parenting as biological function of offspring-rearing has been studied across disciplines, yielding insights into physiologic, behavioural, and epigenetic changes that shape the parent as well as the child. Parent-infant attachment is a

bidirectional positive-feedback loop which is self-strengthening through shared physical and social interaction (Whitcomb, 2012). Parent-child bonding increases the presence of some neurotransmitters such as oxytocin (the "social molecule"), and alters brain function in areas responsible for emotion, drive, and self-regulation (Swain, 2011).

Parenting is also a social role, and one of many social roles that people may take on concurrently or at differing times in their lives. Parenting's competing roles, the organizational complexity of families, and the demands of life can be cognitively taxing on parents at the best of times. MacMillan and Copher (2005) describe parenting among multiple possible roles, pathways and schema over a life-course. They define a role as "social expectations persons in given social situations have regarding their own behaviour and the behaviour of others" and define schema as the "cultural templates or blueprints that provide images, rules and models" for social roles (p. 859). Parenting as a social role, in this view, is constructed through the social environment (broadly as well as locally), but also through individual constructions of identity. Parenting is also pragmatically understood as the act of custodial caring for children, planning and carrying out their housing, feeding, physical, social and emotional development. Parental work and responsibility "results from the universal demands imposed on those responsible for children. These demands are insuring the preservation, growth, and social acceptability of the child" (Llewellyn and McConnell, 2004, p. 181).

Parenting may also be viewed as an occupational practice, shaped and maintained through shared activity (Bonsall, 2014). Ann Wilcock (2006) put forward a theory of occupation based on the meaning of occupations to individuals, and of the emergent

properties of human occupation beyond the physical acts of doing. We do, we reflect on ourselves as being, we feel a sense of belonging in our immediate and larger environments, and we understand that we are in the process of becoming our future selves. While theories of occupation have tended to frame it in individualist terms, increasingly scholars have pushed toward understanding occupation as also shared or even co-created by individuals, collectives and/or societies (Dickie, Cutchin, & Humphry 2006; Hammell, 2014; Pierce 2009). Doing, being, belonging and becoming then have aspects of shared experience that are distinct from yet become embedded in individual occupation. Parenting, necessarily involving adult(s) and child(ren), is inherently a shared occupation.

Parenting is arguably one of the most important human occupations. Yet, Gwynneth Llewellyn wrote in the *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal* in 1994 that "parenting is not mentioned in the occupational therapy literature" (p. 173). Ten years later, Susan Esdaile and Judith Olson (2004) stated in the preface to their text, *Mothering Occupations: Challenge, Agency and Participation,* that "Mothering is one of the most important occupations of women, and yet helping professions, such as occupational therapy, had all but neglected it as a topic for research and scholarship until recently" (p. ix). Since that time, a modest body of literature has arisen in occupational therapy and occupational science around parenting children with disabilities (e.g., Evans & Rodger, 2008; Koome, Hocking, & Sutton 2012; Boyd, Harkins, McCarty & Sethi, 2014), and parenting with mental illness (e.g., Hackett & Cook, 2016) or intellectual disability (e.g., McConnell, Feldman, Aunos & Prasad, 2011). Yet parenting as occupation remains remarkably understudied. Elizabeth Yerxa has noted, "As is typical of other occupations,

mothering [and parenting] is often viewed as commonplace, self-evident, and therefore unworthy of serious study since everyone already knows all about it" (Yerxa, 2004, p. vii). This thesis examines what has been written about parenting as occupation, focusing on the most recent literature.

1.2 Reflexivity

In the spirit of reflexivity required for this type of inquiry, examining my life and situation, and my own perspective of what and how I have learned about parenting and how it influences my thinking, I am compelled to situate myself in relation to the research. I have a perspective of parenting which began with the example of my parents, blue- and pink-collar workers who raised five children in rural Nova Scotia, who now regularly care for their grandchildren and great-grandchild, and who often try to parent their adult children. I grew up rurally, and am from a large family of Catholic traditional nuclear families. I had very involved parents, developing a predisposition to see this as a natural order of being. I have had a lot of connection with my aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents. I grew up in a highly communal and cooperative family and community, where individualism was not always seen to be a virtue. My parents worked to direct my behaviour and enrich my development as a child, instilling the stories of who my ancestors were and who our family are. I identified with either or both of my parents at different times. My parents managed and directed the occupations of our family, through chores, hobbies, and traditional activities, which instilled their working-class ethics of family and self-sufficiency.

I have a neurological condition, Tourette Syndrome, and chronic asthma, which has shaped my participation in occupations throughout my life. I am now 44 years old, a heterosexual white male married to a white woman since 2004. I have lived in cities (Halifax and Vancouver), and another country (Mexico, for 7 months), but my life experience is overwhelmingly rural and coastal Canadian. I am an anglophone, but come from a French Acadian background and can speak rudimentary French and Spanish. Though I was the first of my immediate family to go to university, as a health professional I am now middle-class, understanding the relative contributions of family and societal factors to my success at university education and obtaining work. I am not and have not been a parent, but am part of a quite large extended family with long-term exposure to a variety of children and parenting styles.

I have had a liberal as well as scientific education, completing my first degree at the University of King's College where I started with the Foundation Year program. My first undergraduate degree was in psychology and neuroscience, and I had an especial interest in child development. I worked through university in a number of positions in early childhood development and special education. As an occupational therapist, I worked for ten years with the Cape Breton early autism team, working with and through parents to support their child's occupations. I began to see differences in parenting ability and style and how parents influenced children's development. I have worked for the past seven years privately, with extensive involvement in Mi'kmaw communities and schools, as well as working with the child protection and foster care systems across Cape Breton Island. All of these experiences have contributed to my understanding of ways in which

parents and parenting can positively and negatively affect child development and outcomes, and piqued my interest in how to think about and assess parenting occupations. They have also shaped my biases in perspective and perception.

1.3 Summary

Occupational therapy has a role to play in shaping the understanding of parenting as an occupation, with effects for children as well as parents. Occupational therapy has a potential role in assessing and supporting parents in their occupations to the benefit of all. Yet the literature on parenting occupations is scant and incoherent. The operating question for this interpretive review of the literature is: "How is the occupation of parenting conceptualized in occupational therapy and occupational science literature?" My focus is on literature published since 2008. I will review how parenting is considered in theory, what parenting activities are, and what guidance is available to occupational therapists in understanding, assessing, and enabling parenting as occupation.

In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I will briefly introduce the literature that sets the stage for my own research. I will examine the state of literature in the field into the early 2000's, which set the tone for subsequent investigations - exploring how parenting was understood as occupation, what aspects of parenting took centre stage, and where there were remaining gaps. In Chapter 3 I will discuss the methodology of critical interpretive synthesis, and detail my own methods used for this study. Chapter 4 lays out the results of my analysis, explicating the directions evident in the occupational therapy and occupational science literature on parenting. Chapter 5 provides a discussion and

conclusion, with implications for practice, and for future research.

CHAPTER 2   LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY

In this chapter I introduce theory and knowledge in occupational therapy and occupational science which lay the ground for our understanding of parenting prior to the sampling period. These set the stage for the research that was undertaken analyzing literature published from 2008-2018. Individualist views of occupation are inherent in most of the literature in occupational science, which we see to be inherent in Western philosophical thought and inherited from the practice of occupational therapy in medical and educational contexts, tending to be quite individualistic in focus. Two major ideas in occupational science are examined which have an important bearing on the understanding of parenting as a relational rather than individual occupation: co-occupation and transactional perspectives on occupation. I then lay out some bodies of knowledge which have informed occupational science and occupational therapy views on parenting from outside of the field as well as two landmark collections on mothering in occupational therapy which shaped thinking about parenting for two decades.

2.1   THEORETICAL MODELS OF OCCUPATION AND THEIR RELATION TO PARENTING

The dominant models of occupation taught in occupational therapy programs in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, as indicated by Ashby and Chandler (2010) are the Canadian Model of Occupational Performance and Engagement (CMOP-E) (Townsend and Polatajko, 2007), the Model of Human Occupation (MOHO) (Kielhofner, 2008), and the Person-Environment-Occupational Performance Model (PEOP) (Christiansen, Baum and Bass, 2011). These models situate occupation as universally human, though distinctly personal, dynamic interactions between personal and environmental factors. Occupation consists of the daily and lifelong activities related to social roles through which people survive, strive, find meaning, participate, and actualize. These definitions subscribe to and reinforce the dominant conception of occupation and human experience from an individualistic philosophical base.

This individualisation of human experience is troublesome to the understanding and defining of occupations like parenting that are inherently about human relationship and interaction. Townsend and Polatajko do not mention parenting at all in their "Enabling Occupations II" text, and use a Wikipedia definition of "family" as consisting of "a domestic group of people (or a number of domestic groups), typically affiliated by birth or marriage, or by analogous or comparable relationships – including domestic partnership,

cohabitation, adoption, surname, among others" (Townsend &
Polatajko, 2007, p. 97). Their CMOP-E posits the person at the center
of the model, engaging in occupation while embedded in the social
environment (p. 23). MOHO discusses parents as a force or vehicle for
child occupational development but does not make clear the
interactive nature of this phenomenon (Kielhofner, 2008). The PEOP
discusses parental and home occupations as an example of the
changing nature of occupation over one's lifespan, though in
reference to the child's environment and not parenting as interactive
occupation with a child or a co-parent (Christiansen, Baum, & Bass,
2011).

In occupational science, too, occupation has tended to be
understood through an individualist lens. Yerxa (1998) presented
occupations as "units of organized activity within the ongoing stream
of human behavior that are named and classified by a society
according to the purposes they serve... These everyday pursuits are
self-initiated, goal-directed (purposeful), and socially recognized" (p.
366). This frames occupation as something physically *done* by a person
in a social milieu. Wilcock, in her seminal text on occupation and
health, framed occupation around doing, being and becoming.
Humans do to meet their own needs and connect with others, and that
doing helps forge a self, with priorities, roles and an identity.

Becoming is future-oriented, with changing competences and self-actualization, developing as a social being. Wilcock mentions parenting as one of the major "culturally accepted divisions" of occupation, along with "education, work, leisure… and rest" (Wilcock, 2006, ch. 3 e-book no page #), but does not otherwise discuss nor elaborate on parenting in any meaningful way. These theoretical positions incongruously frame and bound our understanding of parenting as *something that an individual does* and impact our conceptualizations in research and practice.

In 2000, Hocking reviewed the occupational science literature and noted that the "central focus was on humans as occupational beings" (p. 58). She noted that in the *Journal of Occupational Science* and other occupational therapy sources, the "view of occupation is characterized as being quite individualistic and largely health focused" (p. 58). Common occupational models have been criticized as focusing solely on individuals, with other people comprising part of the "social-cultural environment", a dualism which precludes ideas of joint practice or experience of an occupation by two or more people together. Hocking (2000) notes that, in definitions of occupation, "These variously focus on the types of occupations in which people engage (productivity, leisure, self-care); the temporal nature of occupation - evident in defining occupation as "chunks" of activity; the

purpose or function of occupation, including adaptation to the environment, flourishing, and ritual and celebration; or the form of occupation" (p. 58). She further summarized the essential elements of occupation commonly identified within occupational science: "it is culturally, temporally and ecologically contextualised, and that it has a purpose or goal which may differ from received cultural ideas of its purpose. It is understood to be subjectively experienced and the product of human capabilities" (p. 61). Her overview of the state of occupational science at the time mentions two instances of occupational science research on parenting as examples of diversity in research, not as a core focus of theory nor research, as parenting should be given its human universality and criticality.

Dickie et al. (2006) examined two problems in most delineations of occupation. Definitions of occupation tend to "locate occupation within the individual and give primary value to the individual's experience as independent from a larger experiential whole" (p. 84). As well, conceptual models depict humans as placed separately within contexts, with occupation being the intermediary between person and environment. This conceptualization is prevalent in Western societies, permeating thought, culture, politics, and academics, and inherent in the person-focused mechanics of the healthcare and educational settings in which we have traditionally practiced. Dickie and

colleagues (2006) see an individualistic approach to understanding occupation as problematic in that occupational therapists' professional experience and the study of occupation have frequently not corresponded with this view; it unnecessarily limits consideration of occupation in science as well as in therapeutic contexts. As will be elaborated on in another section, Dickie and colleagues view occupation as "a process located not at the level of the individual but rather at the level of the whole situation of which the individual is an integral part" (p. 91).

Hammell (2009) also notes a tendency toward the individual in the study of occupation, saying our understanding of occupation "reflects a specific, minority-world doctrine of individualism that specifically excludes those activities motivated by love and concern for the well-being of others" (p. 10). Hammell and Iwama (2012) argue that occupations that promote interdependence and which contribute to the well-being of others also further our own well-being; they suggest preoccupation with individuals' inabilities limits examination of and support for people's opportunity for participation and success in occupation. Humans do not just live in and engage with our environment (in all that this word entails) but we are inseparable from what surrounds us. Hammell and Iwama call for "innovative practice that acts on the knowledge that human well-being cannot be

achieved solely by enhancing individuals' abilities" (2012, p. 392), practice that addresses inequity. Going further, in 2014 Hammell posited *belonging* as an elaboration of Ann Wilcock's (1998) depiction of occupation as human *doing*, the physical performance of occupation, of sentient *being* and transformative *becoming*. For Hammell (2014) occupations that foster belonging are also a vital part of the human experience which make us indivisible from our ancestors, connected to other humans (past, present, and future) as well as the wider world. Doing, being, becoming, and belonging encompass the whole of human experience of occupation, and "occupational therapy requires theoretical models that are able to capture the essence of socially occupied beings who value doing things with others and for others" (p. 46).

Engagement in collective occupations may reinforce social connections and cultural identities. Interestingly, though she is not writing about parenting specifically, Hammell (2014) provides fathering as an example of collective occupation, of belonging, becoming, being, and doing with and for others. She cited research which suggested that engaging in collective occupations may engender feeling whole and as one with other beings. That these collective occupations are recognized by many cultures around the world but not always considered by occupational science leaves a gap in our consideration. She further points to the very idea of "independence" as an overarching moral value and goal of occupational therapy as reinforcing ableist and

masculine ideologies that devalue doing with, caring for, and connection to others.

Two theoretical approaches within occupational science have posed direct challenges to the individualism often built into conceptualizing occupation: co-occupation and transactionalism. These approaches may be particularly useful in thinking about parenting occupations.

2.1.1 Co-occupation

Doris Pierce introduced the concept of co-occupation to the occupational therapy literature in her 2000 paper, "Maternal management of the home as a developmental play space for children and toddlers," stating "The mother's occupations of managing the home play objects and spaces for the infants are not solitary, or even parallel or shared, but a dyadic interplay between the occupations of the mother and those of the infant and toddler. Thus, the mother's occupations require and affect the child's occupations" (p. 297). She indicated that co-occupations can be face-to-face, or otherwise linked in time or space to each participant's actions. She articulated for occupational therapists the importance of understanding the relationships between linked occupations for our clients and those important to their lives, especially mothers and young children.

Pierce further articulated this concept in a later chapter (Pierce, 2004), describing the idea coming to her during her work on her Master's thesis as a portmanteau of "co-operation" and "occupation", reflecting on the amount of effort she needed to expend to support her young daughter's play. She explained it as "the way in which two individuals' occupational patterns can require and be shaped by each other" (p. 75). This chapter on maternal management of home space and time for children's growth illustrates the interplay between the actions and occupations of mothers and their children through developmental stages and other parental responsibilities, and promotes the necessity of understanding the whole occupational and co-occupational milieu of a home and family in order to best support the occupations of parent and child.

Co-occupation is an important theoretical construct in occupational science, moving beyond individualistic examinations of occupation with one's immediate social environment (peers, neighbours, family, workmates) subsumed into "environment," broadly, and toward an understanding of shared human experience in being and doing together. Certainly, the rise of virtual communities on the internet may indicate that shared emotionality and meaning may supersede shared physicality as criteria for understanding occupation. Parenting may be seen as doing, being, belonging and becoming

through co-occupation, which may not be easily separated into individual experiences. The concept of co-occupation has continued to be developed by Pierce and others over time, as will be seen in Chapter 4.

2.1.2 Transactionalism

A more expansive non-individualistic view of occupation was proposed by Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry (2006). They stated that, "An understanding of individual experience is a necessary but *insufficient* condition for understanding occupation that occurs through complex contexts" (emphasis theirs) (p. 83). They argue that there is a false dualism in separately considering individual characteristics of a person and seeing the environment or context as a "container" (p. 84). Their transactional view of occupation they proposed is based on a Deweyist philosophical position that "we are *of* as well as *in* nature" (p. 88). That is, we do not simply act *in* or *on* our environment (including other people) as separate entities, but we are an integral part of our "situation" (p. 90), being inseparably "co-constituted" (p. 88) and jointly changed through the actions of occupations. This conceptualization of active, transactional relation reflects that we are constantly transforming our situations as well as ourselves. The transaction – occupation – integrates us with our context rather than

being an action of one separate from or upon the other.

These ideas have been developed by these and other authors over time. Aldrich (2008) compared transactionalism to competing complexity theory views of occupation, finding that the former hewed closer to the holism of human experience than the latter. She examined the core concepts of the transactional view of occupation: functional coordination, habit, context, and ends-in-view. "Functional coordination" is understood as the constant active processes in the continuous mutual relationship between the individual and the situation, in order to attain balance. "Habit' is the subconscious interaction with which we engage the situation, predisposed to particular kinds of responses to similar conditions. "Context" or situation or environment, refers mainly to social elements of the situation, though increasingly attends to the natural environment too. "Ends-in-view" refers to the intention of transaction as regards the functional coordination, analogous to but different from a goal. Aldrich reflected on these concepts and this view as being significant in positioning occupation as inherently relational as a whole, not simply definable and bounded in terms of a person, time, or environment. This broad transactional view of occupation can be invaluable in superseding individualistic views of occupation and lending itself to a more encompassing, albeit highly complex,

examination of occupation.

Bunting (2016) engaged in critical reflection on the application of a transactional view of occupation to theory development. She found that this view was a significant and important shift in the development of occupational science. The approach is seen to have the complexity to lend itself to "capture the messiness of human life" (p. 332), but to pose challenges in research methods and theoretical and practice models owing to its "fluid, holistic, and relational qualities" (p. 332). She offers that a transactional view may overcome many critiques of occupational science in being rooted in a Western worldview – that it is individualistic, positivistic, bound by moral tradition of what constitutes 'well-being', and prioritizes the self over the environment.

Parenting (as interaction between parent and child) may be seen as transactional occupation in that the individuals involved are bi-directionally changed by their interactions with one another (Dickie et al., 2006). Both parent and child are transformed through their interactions, each affecting the other in myriad ways through being and acting together. Parents and children respond to one another, challenging or supporting each other's activities and changing each other's activities, thought patterns, emotions, and behaviour. Parent and child roles and the activities of all participants are continuously

shaping and being shaped by shared occupation with each other over time. They alter each other's environment, self-view, worldview, and more. Together they co-produce variations of doing, being, becoming and belonging. These shared, transactional co-occupations emerge in ongoing family life in the context of immediate and larger family structures and within communities and cultures (Price & Stephenson, 2009). Parenting, child development, and family can be seen as multifaceted examples of the transactional perspective, wherein the parent, the child, and the family variously compromise the partners in co-occupation and environmental participants of the occupations of family life.

2.2 PARENTING AND THE ORCHESTRATION OF OCCUPATION

Biological models of parenthood show physiological changes in brain function related to childbearing, birth, and early parenthood which engender ongoing neuropsychological effects of dyadic attachment between mother and child (Swain, 2011; Whitcomb, 2012). Attachment is often discussed in terms of child attachment style and parent-child relationships, but more recent work indicates that attachment during childhood is important in the formation of adult partnerships including intimate relationships, marriage, and family (Crespo, Davide, Costa, and Fletcher, 2008). Attachment relationships are those that provide a sense of personal security for

those involved and support the formation of cognitive skills for personal and social well-being for children and adults (Crespo, 2012). These relationships are pivotal to our development of our sense of self, of others, and our understanding of the social world in which we live. We instinctively seek them out from infancy, playing an active role in enjoining and responding to others in order to connect.

Parenting and family-related occupations forge intergenerational connections between adults and children, changing the life course of all (MacMillan & Copher, 2005). In discussing child development, psychologist Jerome Kagan (1999) suggests that co-engagement of parents and children provide repeated opportunities, through activity and context, for direct interaction, identification of children with parents, and for the transmission of family stories. Direct interaction appears to have the most influence early in life, through attachment, developmental enrichment, and enforcing social behavioural norms. Children later identify with either or both their parents, including parents' personality, talents, and character, as well as the family's social, ethnic, and religious group. Family stories can reify this identification through shared and repeated family mythology.

Family life is structured in part through family routines and rituals. Routines are the daily doings of family – sleeping and waking, meals, self- or other- care, work, leisure and play – which frame everyday living. Routines are activities that typically involve instrumental utility and instrumental communication around mundane but predictable tasks. These routines may have meaning to family members but generally serve more quotidian purposes (Fiese, 2007). Bedtime for children, for example, may be

a regular daily time not just to get them to bed so that they can function well the next day, but also potentially for connection through bedtime stories, tucking children in, and other closeness.

Rituals are those activities which may or may not be tied to daily life or other regular life occurrences but are imbued by those involved with more meaning. Rituals may have a larger continuity across time or culture, such as family 'rites of passage', passing on of mementos or heirlooms, and religious or secular celebrations. They may contain more emotional and affective communication as well as unspoken subtext (Fiese, 2007). Rituals can be singular, important events in one's life or in a family, like marriage, or can be regularly occurring meaningful events, like Sunday dinner.

Activities and occupations of families only become family routines or rituals when done together and with predictability and regularity, or with meaning imbued by shared purpose. These shared activities provide opportunities for family members to engage in shared physicality, shared emotionality, and shared meaning inherent in co-occupation (Pierce, 2006). These repeated connections are the opportunities to learn, rehearse, and develop shared family life.

Rituals and routines have been shown to correlate with positive child development in several areas and have been reported as having protective properties promoting family resilience. Psychologists Spagnola and Fiese (2007) provide an overview of benefits to child language development, academic skills, and social skills for samples of typically-developing children. Additionally, they review positive

effects of routines and rituals for relationship satisfaction, emotional investment, and family stability. Ritual events, being imbued with higher levels of meaning, investment, and organization on more than instrumental levels, are seen as important contexts for familial transmission of ideas and values, supporting development of multiple attachment relationships within the family, and positive social-emotional regulation (Crespo, 2012). Routines and rituals are inherently occupational.

2.2.1 Parents as Organizers of Occupation and Co-Occupation

A review of literature around parenting and child development casts parents as the main organizers of children's daily activities, especially early in the child's life. Mothers are presented by Larson (2000, p. 269) as "orchestrators" who arrange their family lives with and for their children to "maximize harmonious occupational engagement". Pierce (1999, p. 290) similarly employed the metaphor of "stage managers", employing "judgement, decision-making and ongoing manipulation of the physical environment" for infant and toddler play and safety within the home. Parents are often the architects of the activities, rituals and routines which form the physical doing and emotional fabric of daily life for families. They

must balance competing demands from multiple life roles (Llewellyn, 1994).

Generally speaking, parents assume the lion's share of organizing, planning, and executing family activities, requiring the exercise of a class of cognitive skills known as executive functions. Executive functions are those higher-order cognitive skills in the brain which enable us to attend appropriately to stimuli, and plan, organize, remember and execute complex plans flexibly over time (Azar, Reitz & Goslin, 2008; Kienhhuis, Rogers, Giallo, Matthews & Trayvaud, 2009). Executive functions are important to the development and maintenance of family routines and rituals, as systematic routines and meaningful rituals require forethought and planning, arrangement of resources, negotiation of roles and compromises, and adaptability in the face of life's challenges. Parents engendering secure attachment with their children have been demonstrated to enhance positive emotional regulation in children through childhood and adolescence through interactive strategies and modeling in joint activity. Conversely, parents who engage in parenting styles emphasizing psychological control, permissiveness, criticism, and anger may generate more difficulties in emotional regulation among their children (Morris, Criss, Silk & Houltberg, 2017).

2.2.2 Parenting Challenges and Disruptions

As established above, forming and maintaining family routines and rituals on a consistent basis requires motivation, commitment and the cognitive resources to prioritize and carry out these activities. At the individual level, parents who experience life stressors on a momentary or ongoing basis and who have diminished motivations or resources to effectively marshal their abilities may not be able to organize effective familial routines (Azar et al. 2008). Parents experiencing a range of difficulties, including mental health issues, alcohol abuse, and attention deficit disorder, experience stressors and reduced resources in familial routines. Parents may experience diminished executive function performance for an array of reasons, temporary or lasting.

For example, Haugland (2005) found that paternal alcoholism had disruptive effects on family routines and rituals, taxed maternal coping strategies in maintaining routines, and that children experienced the family environment as unpredictable and or uncontrollable. Fathers in this study were found to be physically absent from routines or rituals, play an altered or diminished parental and adult role in the family, to alter the emotional climate of routines, and to diminish or fail to participate in the affective quality of rituals. These fathers were not routinely effective orchestrators of the co-

occupations of family nor the affective rituals.

Depression is a disorder characterized by demotivation and dysphoria. Azak and Raeder (2013) note that mothers who were depressed showed low joint engagement and reciprocity with their infant, while Letourneau et al (2010) found that mothers who were depressed both during their child's infancy and toddlerhood were less likely to play, talk, read, or engage in nurturing behaviors with their children as toddlers and were more likely to engage in harsh or corporal punishment. Clearly this can affect attachment. Similarly, Middleton et al. (2009) found that parental behaviours of depressed mothers and fathers included disengagement, unavailability and reduced positive interaction, negatively impacting children who were having behavioural difficulties. These parents, again, were ineffective in constructing and maintaining routine and ritual co-occupation in order to develop and maintain attachment between parent and child.

Attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) is a disorder related to deficits in working memory, planning, and inhibitory control. Parental ADHD can be disruptive to the construction and maintenance of family routines and rituals. Johnston, Mash, Miller, and Ninowski (2012) review adult ADHD, the characteristics defined as "good" parenting in middle class Western cultures – effective behavioural control and emotional responsiveness to the child – and

trace the implications of ADHD for parents and families in a comprehensive synthesis. Parents' executive function deficits can lead to difficulties in daily adaptive functioning, as these abilities are necessary for time management, self-organization and problem-solving, and self-restraint. These difficulties can impact children of these parents through lack of planned or organized household routines, poor parental feelings of efficacy, and poor behavioural control.

2.2.3 Parenting as Simultaneously Individual and Social

Parenting is simultaneously personal and individual, as well as highly, inherently social and cultural. It is structured by and structuring of contemporary social relations of gender and social class. "Parenting" in occupational literature has been mostly "mothering" – "fathering" and collective parenting have been little-explored. One reason for a focus on mothers is Western culture's perceived gender differentiation in familial and parenting responsibilities (Collett, Vercel, & Boykin, 2015; Walzer, 1996). The reduction of parenting to mothering is perpetuated by "parenting books" and resources which are really "mothering books", which mothers tend to read and which reinforce the primary, or even exclusive, role of mothers in caring for children. Collett et al. (2015) examined standards for being a "good father", finding that as the role of men as primary breadwinner falls by the wayside, there is a lack of widely shared, specific cultural criteria for fathers to construct themselves as 'good fathers'; some then identify "being

there" as "good enough" fathering. The absence of clearly understood, widespread meanings of "good fathering" indicates that parenting is highly gendered as an occupation of women.

Walzer's (1996) analysis of gendering in infant care can be viewed through the context of "doing, being, becoming, and belonging", where fathering is seen by fathers as something they "do", acts of parenting such as earning money or "helping" the mother in infant care. Mothering, in contrast, becomes a matter of being. Mothers, ", are expected to think about their babies. They perform a disproportionate amount of mental baby care not because they are good mothers, but *in order to be*" (Walzer, 1996, p.231). Mother-parents worry, process information, and manage the division of labour involved in parenting because it is seen in Western societies as "women's work" – she is "in charge" of the baby – and even men who are participating parents often do not share equally in the mental work, the planning, organizing and prioritizing. Instead, they do the tasks that are delegated to them.

While the relationship between parenting and gender may be more obvious, the link to social class is less conscious for many. Yet parenting is highly implicated in social class reproduction. Middle-class parents have been seen to actively engage their children in consumption and activities which reinforce class values through "enrichment" and transmission of cultural capital (Vincent & Ball, 2007). These parents exert effort and resources to promote and shape the kinds of play and other activities that are seen to "enrich" and support social-cultural and physical development appropriate to the upper classes. They engage in "concerted cultivation" of habits, values, bodies, preferences, interests, skills and social networks that will solidify their children's position in upper

class strata. Parents who experienced intergenerational poverty, however, have been seen to be more "hands-off" in child play and development, partly as a product of lack of resources but also due to a cultural view that parenting as well as child development are natural processes that just happen and do not require outside intervention or deliberate intention (Smith, Stagnitti, Lewis, & Pepin, 2015).

2.2.4 The Effect of Poverty on Parenting

Poverty is one social factor that consistently and pervasively disrupts parenting and the establishment of functional family routines, often putting impoverished families at risk for dissolution. Belsky's (2014) summary of nuclear-family parenting research indicates that parenting ability and family-child outcomes are determined by an accumulation and interaction of stresses and supports. He posits the primary social-contextual determinants of parenting include behavioural attributes of children; the developmental history and the psychological characteristics of the parents themselves; and the broader sociocultural context of the parents, child, and family. Positive parenting, and positive child outcomes over developmental stages, are multiply-determined by an interaction of these determinants, and are seen as heritable and transmissible across generations through the *habitus* or embodiment of parents and practice of parenting (Belsky, 2014; Smith, Stagnitti, Lewis &Pepin, 2015). Contextually-good parenting is seen to support positive child development, setting the likelihood of good personal outcomes and positive parenting in the offspring's future.

Poverty has negative effects on all three of Belsky's social-contextual determinants of parenting. Children who are raised in stressful poverty situations have

been shown to have early and pervasive differences in brain development, increasing the likelihood of challenging behaviours (Blair & Raver, 2016). Parents who have experienced transgenerational poverty and trauma will have likely been subject to similar developmental pressures, leading them to be less resilient in the face of stressors and less able to support and direct their child's development in ways considered social advantageous, and they may meet negative behaviour with practices considered less supportive or problematic. Parenting styles are heritable through intergenerational transmission and a parents' psychological attributes affect their emotional responses to and attributions about child behaviour (Smith et al., 2015). This includes the effects of parent-relationship stability and conflict on parenting.

At the broader contextual level, socioeconomically-disadvantaged households are more likely to experience chaos, including uncertainty, noise, crowding, and lack of routine and order (Martin, Razza & Brooks-Gunn, 2012). These conditions increase parent and child stress, and decrease opportunities and efficacy of play, socialization, attachment, learning, and all forms of occupation. This uncertainty can be in the form of intermittent instability – job changes, residence changes, and interruptions to routine. Chaos can be experienced in the form of "daily hassles", frequent exposure to stressful instances of varying intensities, including worries and anxieties, hunger, interpersonal disagreements of all kinds, inconveniences related to poverty, child behaviour, and so on. These ongoing stress situations have insidious and multiplicative negative effects on parents, children and families. Parents and other adults in families living in poverty are less likely to be able to provide effective modeling, support and routines for children's engagement, development of self-regulation, and occupational engagement on their own

and with adults (Evans, Gonnella, Marcynyszyn, Gentile & Salpekar, 2005).

Poverty in modern society can have the effect of occupational marginalisation, occupational deprivation, and occupational coercion through limiting of time, money, or environmental supports to occupation (Martin et al., 2012). Poverty has been shown to have heritable effects, in the transmission of parents' habitus and occupations, including discourses and practices around familial roles, rules, rituals and routines (Martin et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2015). This extends to parenting practices, engagement in occupations as a model and conscious teaching of occupations, and the ability to engage meaningfully with one's children in occupations, including play. Parents who experience intergenerational poverty may value their children's play but see it as a thing that a child simply does, not something that needs to be encouraged, supported, and engaged in with their child. This echoes the suggestion of Vincent and Ball (2007) that "working-class parents are much less likely to see their children as a project for development. Instead, the children just *are* with characteristics, skills, and talent being understood as more fixed and static" (p. 1068). This is amplified by further findings that parents who experience intergenerational poverty stresses are less likely to be responsive to child attachment and self-regulation needs and to provide them with enrichment activities in the form of interpersonal attention (Smith, Stagnitti, Lewis, & Pépin, 2015).

Beyond familial considerations, poverty is also seen to deprive children of this growth through reduced access to play in their schools and in their community. Poverty at a community level can limit supports such as access to recreational equipment, time, and environments, as well as introducing barriers related to safety in terms of poor

infrastructure and crime (Milteer and Ginsburg, 2012). This broadly-based lack of play

opportunities has individual, family, and community implications which ripple through

all aspects of life and would undoubtedly directly affect the occupations of parenting.

Parenting can be seen as a complex example of co-occupation, of transactional,

shared occupation. The act of parenting, expressed through the routine daily doings of

parents and children, contributes to the sense of being of parent and child, of belonging to

and being a family, and a sense of personal and collective becoming into the future.

Parents of younger children organize and orchestrate routines and rituals as part of their

own occupation as parent, with children engaging in these routines with an increasing

personal agency as they develop, embedded in a larger sociocultural environment. That

social environment is not separate from, but rather embedded and through parenting

occupations.

2.3 OCCUPATIONAL SCIENCE APPROACHES TO PARENTING

As noted in the previous chapter, Gwynneth Llewellyn wrote in 1994 that, "The

experience of being a parent – the meaning, values, and intentionality of parenting – is

not mentioned in the occupational therapy literature" (p. 173). The literature of the time

focused largely on parents as partners in therapy for their child with special needs. She

noted a "marked neglect of the roles and everyday activities of parenting" (p. 173).

Llewellyn stated plainly at that time that occupational therapists "need to question that we

know what is adequate or inadequate parenting." pointing out that, "our views on

parenting reflect *our* values, not necessarily what children need now or in the future"

(emphasis mine) (p. 175). This state of knowledge began to change in the 2000's with the work of occasional individual researchers and the publication of two important collections of work looking into the lived experience and occupations of parenting.

Of note here is the work of Loree Primeau who, as early as 1998 began examining parenting, play and the gendered division of household work. Interestingly, she published in both occupational therapy and occupational science venues. One of her earliest studies was a participation observation of how parents and children navigated work and play within households. Including both mothers and father, Primeau (1998) found orchestrated work and play through either interspersing the two, or embedding play within household work. (Thus her analysis is an early contribution to the critiques of the separation of productivity/leisure/self-care.) Full engagement in children's play carried widely, but most parents displayed "occupational scaffolding", building competence through gradually more complex play with the tools of adult occupations.

In her later work, Primeau demonstrated a typology of gendered divisions of household labour (Primeau, 2000a), showing that employed heterosexual parents engaged in several patterns of childcare and household work: shared routines with linked patterns of engagement in child care; synchronized child care in a simultaneous or reciprocal manner; or separate routines. In the latter pattern, separate routines, mothers and fathers each did particular child care occupations, but did them differently and often took responsibility for very different tasks. A fourth pattern Primeau noted characterized by "maternal responsibility and paternal assistance" (p. 25), which places the highest proportion and burden of responsibility of parenting on mothers. This dynamic relegates

fathers in the eyes of society to "helping out" their wives, well as absolving them from concern. Primeau saw this as characterized by an "abdication of responsibility for the children when the mother is present" (p. 26).

In a separate paper Primeau (2000b) explored the gender ideologies and sociocultural factors which contribute to gender divisions in household and childcare work, finding that parents' beliefs, values and rationales – particularly regarding traditional or egalitarian gender ideologies – shaped their parenting practices but also the specific struggles that characterized their parenting and their relationships. This shows the broader social context in relation to the transactional occupations of parenting, wherein the co-orchestration is not just between parents, or even between parents and children, but also with wider social beliefs and ideologies absorbed through numerous other small and large everyday transactions. This window into the juncture between culture, ideology, and lived experience is foundational in understanding mothering and fathering in the 21st century. As an early intervention into the occupational science and occupational therapy literature, Primeau's work was part of an important turn to addressing Llewellyn's (1994) critique that parenting had not been taken up in the occupational literature.

2.3.1 The American Journal of Occupational Therapy's 'Mothering' Issue

A highly significant addition to the literature regarding occupation and parenting came with the May/June 2000 issue of the *American Journal of Occupational Therapy* focused on "Mothering", with eight articles written by leading occupational therapists in

the field. These articles examined many themes that would dominate the field in

occupational therapy for the next 20 years including family routines (Kellegrew, 2000),

parenting with disabilities (Farber, 2000) and of children with disabilities (Segal, 2000;

Olson & Esdaile, 2000), parents as physical and organizational enablers of occupation

with and for children (Larson, 2000; Pierce, 2000), and a life-stage view of mothering

and family (Francis-Connolly, 2000).

Elizabeth Larson introduced the selection of articles with "Mothering: Letting go

of the past ideal and valuing the real" (Larson, 2000a), discussing the common modern

Western understanding of the archetypal mother and its roots in the industrial era. She

posited that "Maternal work is essential to creating and re-creating our society. Those

who do maternal work are charged with sustaining the child's health, fostering

development, and socializing the child to become a contributing member of society" (p.

249) She noted that mothering is not solely the realm of women, it is a set of

responsibilities regardless of who does them: "Mothering, whether done by biological

mothers, adoptive mothers, single mothers, grandmothers, house husbands, or single

fathers, has a certain character and set of responsibilities" (p. 249). Larson challenged the

idea that people too often consider mothering skills to be natural and innate, and tasked

occupational therapists with examining each family history, context and pattern of

occupations rather than assuming an understanding of mothering.

The articles that followed set the example for researchers in taking up this

challenge. Kellegrew (2000) brought an ecocultural lens (see also Weisner, 2002) to the

"orchestration" of daily self-care routines between parents and children, highlighting the

tension between accommodation and development inherent in childrearing, therapy, and fulfilling other demands for parents. Farber (2000) examined the "relative newness of persons with disabilities being recognized as parents" (p.267) and the phenomenology of mothers with disabilities, calling for occupational therapists to be partners with and advocates for these parents with their families and in larger society. Larson (2000b) expanded on the metaphor of orchestration, outlining the processes of "planning, organizing, balancing, anticipating, interpreting, forecasting, perspective shifting, and meaning making" (p. 274) inherent in parenting occupations which, in turn, support the occupations of their children. Francis-Connolly (2000) elaborated on a life course understanding of mothering, "a phenomenon taken for granted because of its commonness" (p. 281), emphasizing the nurturing, teaching, and mothering aspects of the role as children grow into adults, beyond the basic self-care aspects of caring for children when they are young. Pierce (2000) introduced the concept of co-occupation to the literature in this volume, comparing mothers to "stage managers" who coordinate the environment and materials of the child's environs in order to scaffold occupational development for and with the child. Segal (2000) established time-use tracking as an ecocultural tool for understanding parental and family occupations, and the impact of child disability on the temporal aspects them. She elaborated on the concept of enfolded occupations, wherein parents may perform more than one occupation at the same time, or unfold parts of the occupations by decoupling them in time. Lastly, Olson and Esdaile (2000) examined the role of socioeconomic status and social determinants of health in parenting. They introduced there the term "co-created occupations" to denote occupations which are created with another person. These articles are individually enumerated as they

were foundational writings which set the stage in terms of their language, content, and themes for writing on parenting in our literature that followed.

This special issue functions as a demarcation between Llewellyn's description of parenting as a "neglected occupation" and the research published from 2000 forward. Mothering, fathering, and parenting became examined and better understood in their own right, with parenting as occupation rising from the "folk understanding" of most of society to an examination of the complex sociocultural and pragmatic factors shaping parenting roles and work, and family lives. Many of these authors went on to contribute to the seminal edited volume *Mothering Occupations: Challenge, Agency, and Participation* (2004). In these chapters, the authors added to and expanded upon the conceptualization and body of research on mothering occupations.

2.3.2 Mothering Occupations: Challenge, Agency, and Participation

Mothering Occupations: Challenge, Agency, and Participation is one of the few OT/OS texts to focus specifically on occupations of parenting. It was published in 2004 and has not had a second edition. Its authors include the main researchers of the time who were exploring parenting, mothering, and fathering, a selection of the leading writing of its time in North America around what it means, historically, theoretically, and phenomenologically, to be a mother. Its chapters are frequently cited in papers selected through the literature on parenting occupations, its authors all familiar names in this field. The preface of the book introduces the editors' intent in viewing "motherhood

occupations from a feminist, phenomenological perspective" (Esdaile and Olson, 2004, p. ix).

Each author put forward aspects of mothering occupations over a life course, through a child's development, and the development of family. They put the mothers' experiences of mothering at the forefront, starting with a chapter on "Anticipating Occupations of Motherhood and Developing Agency" (Esdaile, Farrell, & Olson 2004), considering motherhood to begin before pregnancy or adoption and calling for scholarship considering and understanding the primacy of occupation, the doing, being, belonging, and becoming of parenting (Wilcock, 1999). The sociocultural history and assumptions around what mothering *is* and *should be* are critically examined through the lens of what mothers feel, think, and do. The book is also a call to action "on behalf of individuals who are mothering" (p. 393) in supporting services for, collaborative research and practice with, and demarginalizing individuals who are mothering in difficult circumstances. The major sections of *Mothering Occupations* – "The Everyday Challenge of Mothering Occupations"; "Mothering Occupations in the Context of Special Challenges: Mothers"; and "Mothering Occupations in the Context of Special Challenges: Children with Special Needs", each comprised of several chapters, reflect a breadth of mothering experiences which occupational therapists who work with parents and children will encounter. Each chapter is a meditation on what it is to be a mother and to engage in mothering occupations, many using first-person voices to explore the experience and occupations of mothering. Taken as a whole, the book calls for

considering and understanding the primacy of occupation, the doing, being, belonging, and becoming of mothering. It is also a call to action "on behalf of individuals who are mothering" (p. 393) in supporting services for, collaborative research and practice with, and demarginalizing individuals who are mothering in difficult circumstances.

Mothering Occupations, though seminal, is reflective of its time in that it perpetuates an ableist view, the dominant belief about disability that equates it with helplessness, dependency, incompetence, and inadequacy (Phelan, 2011). It also perpetuates nomothetic thought about mothering which proposes that there is a universal experience of mothering, a "right" way to mother. Mothers who have intellectual, mental, or physical disability; chronic illness; poverty; or children who experience any of these, are positioned as *special cases* rather than reflective of the variety within the human experience. The mothers presented in their research, vignettes, and interviews are overwhelmingly Caucasian, English-speaking, urban, and middle-class. They have professions such as lawyer, doctor, veterinarian, occupational therapist, psychologist, aerospace engineer, accountant, and graduate school student. Mothers of colour or of lower socioeconomic status were over-reflected in chapters on teenage mothers, mothering capacity, mothering from prison, and parenting in poverty. No mention is made about immigrant mothers, and the role of culture in mothering is little examined outside the dominant experience.

The editors of this text specifically frame "mothering", "fathering" and "parenting" as separate concepts in their introduction, with "mothering" upheld as "an individual commitment to meet three universal demands of children for preservation,

nurturance, and training to take their place in society, irrespective of gender, biology, or social role" (Esdaile and Olson, 2004a, p. x). They position 'fathering' as "more a role determined by cultural demands than a kind of work determined by children's needs", often "to procreate, provide, and protect" (p. x). They reject the term 'parenting' as an overgeneralized collective term which sufficiently captures neither 'mothering' nor 'fathering' for the people engaged in either, and which they feel obscures the history and reality of mothering as done mainly by women. One of the authors included in the text, Primeau (2004) challenges this explicitly, saying, "When I was invited to contribute to a chapter to a book on 'mothering', I asked myself this question: Don't fathers mother too?" (p. 115). She continues, saying, "mothering is defined in this chapter as the physical and psychological nourishment of children in which both mothers and fathers engage on a daily basis in the context of unpaid work and play in families" (p. 116). Llewellyn and McConnell (2004) observe that, across the world, children are 'mothered' at times by people other than their biological mothers – fathers, other kin, other community members – and that focusing on mothering in our context continues to place the onus of childcare and home work on women. Esdaile and Olson did accept that mothering is done by women and men who are not mothers, though this is not a convention which has been upheld in the literature. I have elected to use the term "parenting" as an umbrella term which encompasses mothering and fathering in the tradition described above, specified by the gendered terms where needed.

The literature published in the years following this release of this landmark book saw researchers begin to expand on these ideas. Many of the authors noted continued to expand and collaborate on their work. Fiese (2007) and others began to publish on the topic of family rules, rituals, and routines, a concept originating in psychology, but which gained easy traction in occupational science and therapy (e.g., Segal, 2004). Olson (2006a, 2006b) explored the topic of co-occupation among mothers with depression and their children, examining the bidirectional effects of successful and unsuccessful engagement. Literature tended to explore the parenting of adults with disabilities, or the occupations of parenting children with disabilities. For example, Olson (2006) outlined an informative case study of a mother with depression and its effects on her attachment to and occupations with her son. Her struggles with parenting, including not only actual occupational performance but also feelings of poor parental efficacy, affected not only the mother, but also the child, in ongoing daily iterations with cumulative effects for both in their attachment, emotional health, and development. These struggles are in turn reified and amplified by societal injustices in obtaining work, appropriate housing, and more. Olson argued that the parent and child might benefit from enabling of their occupations by an occupational therapist to support them both in well-being of all kinds. This parent could also come to the attention of child protective services, who then may wish to determine the capacity of the person to parent. Parenting challenges may arise through any member of the family, their occupations and interactions, affecting the doing, being, belonging and becoming of any of its members.

2.4 DIVERSITY IN PARENTING AND OCCUPATIONAL JUSTICE

Alongside the growing interest in occupations of parenting after the 2000 AJOT special issue and the 2004 edited collection (Esdaile & Olson), another change was happening in occupational therapy and occupational science literature: the entrenchment of theoretical concepts surrounding occupational justice. Beginning in 1998, Ann Wilcock defined the concept as "the promotion of social and economic change to increase individual, community, and political awareness, resources, and equitable opportunities for diverse occupational opportunities which enable people to meet their potential and experience well-being" (1998, p. 257). The term has not been marked by conceptual clarity (Durocher, Gibson & Rappolt, 2014), but centres on ideas that people should have equitable access to occupational opportunities and resources regardless of sociopolitical context. Occupational injustice, in turn, centres on social inequities that result in exclusion from or restriction of meaningful occupational participation (Durocher, Gibson, & Rappolt, 2014). Occupational alienation, deprivation, marginalization, or imbalance are defined as overlapping forms of individual and community occupational injustice which are the result of structural and contextual societal factors (Hammell & Beagan, 2017).

In occupational therapy in Canada, 2007 saw the publication of *Enabling Occupation II* (Townsend & Polatajko, 2007), which put the concepts of occupational justice and injustice firmly on the radar of occupational therapists. At the same time, the authors asserted that, "Occupation is a very personal thing; all occupations are idiosyncratic" (p. 22). As shown above, this framing of occupation can be problematic

when applied to the assessment of parenting, where "good enough" parenting is not easily definable, and when it is often defined through dominant discourses grounded in individualism, socioeconomic status, and Eurocentric culture.

As noted earlier, the landmark collections of scholarship on parenting occupations in 2000 and 2004 were limited by dominant group perceptions. Though they raised parenting onto the agenda for occupational therapists and occupational scientists, they did not reflect the multitude of ways parenting engagement can be experienced. There was little to nothing on parenting from differing cultural lenses, or different social locations. Further, cis-gender, heterosexual, two-parent biological families were assumed as the standard from which all other families differ, with same-gender parents, transgender parents, single parents of either gender, blended families, polyamorous parenting, and grandparents or other kin raising children largely ignored. Nor did those texts incorporate perspectives on parenting informed by notions of occupational justice and injustice.

The establishment of parenting as a legitimate focus for occupational therapy and occupational sciences happened to coincide with the establishment of a justice framework that insists on examining occupations beyond the mainstream. This is extremely important for therapists engaged in the assessment of parenting as occupation, and the evaluation of adult capacity to perform parenting occupations. Giving the field time to respond to these two novel directions in publishing – parenting as occupation and occupational diversity, equity and justice – an examination of literature published form 2008 onward should indicate the extent to which scholars have taken up Yerxa's (2004, p. vii) challenge of explicating the "commonplace, self-evident" occupations, as well as the degree to which these two strands have intertwined. In other words, the current

critical interpretive synthesis of the literature examines the literature on parenting occupations, published since 2008, with an eye to how diverse ways of parenting have begun to inform that discourse.

The early 2000's saw understandings of mothering occupations explored in the occupational science literature in terms of physical care of infants (Griffin, 2004) and young children (Olson, 2004); management of the home space for young children and their development (Pierce, 2000, 2004), orchestration of child and family routines (Primeau, 1998; Larson, 2000a, 2000b), co-occupations of mothers and children (Esdaile 2004; Pierce 2004); the unpaid household work of mothers (Primeau, 2000a, 2000b, 2004); and mothering over the life course and the life course of children (Francis-Connolly, 2004). Some of these authors make clear that these occupations can be done by someone who is other than the biological mother of the child, including adoptive and foster parents, fathers, older siblings, other relatives, and community members. Nonetheless, women are historically and at present the persons in Western societies who do a vast majority of mothering occupations. These writings established the everyday acts of mothering children as well as mothering children with occupational dysfunction.

2.5 SUMMARY

Hammell (2004, p. 303) argues that, "Engagement in personally meaningful occupations contributes, not solely to perceptions of competence, capability and value, but to the quality of life itself". Belonging in a family (or families) in a multitude of roles

over the lifespan, and engagement in the occupations of and around parenting and family, is one of our possible expressions of human being and doing wherein we construct and define ourselves and others through these relationships, our belonging, and envision our becoming as an individual and family into the future. Parenting and family membership are not necessarily personally meaningful to all, all of the time, but can be intensely meaningful and joyful at times and intensely stressful at others. Family membership is a lifelong role, the occupations of which shape humans in complex ways through the lifespan, with shared histories and future (DeGrace, 2003). Families are as families do, as they view themselves as a family being and doing, as they establish meaning and belonging through doing, as they evaluate their past and look to their individual and collective future.

From 1994 when parenting was virtually untouched in the occupational therapy literature, to 2004 when an entire edited collection examined the occupations of mothering, important strides were made. At the same time theory developed to challenge the individualist emphasis in occupational therapy and occupational science, particularly with the concepts of co-occupation and transactional occupations. Simultaneously, theory regarding occupational justice pushed for stronger attention to how occupation is studied and understood in all its diversity and multiplicity, with an eye to equity and power relations. It is high time for an analysis of another decade of literature on parenting occupations, to see if recent literature has advanced on earlier ideas, and corrected course to address the gaps in earlier scholarship. The next chapter lays out the methods for my critical interpretive synthesis of this literature, followed by Chapter 4 which presents the results and analysis.

CHAPTER 3   METHODS

The aim of this study was to do a critical interpretive synthesis of how parenting has been represented in occupational science and occupational therapy literature, including identification of aspects of parenting that are absent in this literature. The specific research question was, "How is the occupation of parenting conceptualized in occupational therapy and occupational science literature?" The focus is on literature published between 2008-2018, the decade prior to conducting the literature search.

3.1 CRITICAL INTERPRETIVE SYNTHESIS

Critical interpretive synthesis (CIS) is one form of interpretive review of the literature which uses induction and interpretation to synthesize broad areas of research, theory, and disparate forms of evidence to help develop new insights and understandings (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006). Greenhalgh and colleagues (2018) suggest that with the rise of evidence-based practice in health care, the formalized systematic review has been elevated to a kind of gold standard, seen as superior to other forms of literature review. Systematic reviews tend to use a highly technical approach to identification, appraisal and synthesis of evidence focused on questions framed around a population, intervention, comparison, outcome (PICO) format. This enables clear statements of the strength of the available evidence for or against interventions.

Yet the emphasis on systematic reviews has relegated more narrative-style literature reviews to a lesser status in health care (Greenhalgh et al., 2018). Reviews that

employ a more interpretive process may be unfairly dismissed, privileging "the mechanistic processes of exhaustive search, wide exclusion and mathematical averaging over the thoughtful, in-depth, critically reflective processes of engagement with ideas" (p. 3). Yet some important types of questions demand exactly that interpretation, clarification, and insight. While systematic reviews use a highly circumscribed and pre-determined focus, with tightly enforced criteria for evidence selection and quality appraisal, narrative reviews are often much broader in scope with considerably more flexibility in both selection and assessment. Rather than appraising the procedural rigour of included studies, the sources selected for a narrative review are appraised for their use of theory, their critical analysis, their assumptions, and their interpretations and conclusions. While systematic reviews seek objectivity, narrative reviews seek to make an argument as effectively as possible, seek illumination more than direct application. The goal is to enhance understanding of the topic as well as the current state of the literature in that area, the available knowledge base and interpretations.

Within the realm of narrative literature reviews are many different types, with degrees of overlap (Greenhalgh et al., 2018; Schick-Makaroff, Macdonald, Plummer, Burgess & Neander, 2016). While integrative reviews seek to produce a narrative amalgamation or summary of evidence, interpretive reviews tend toward conceptual and theoretical development, embracing a perspectival analysis. Scoping reviews attempt to describe the state of the art in a body of literature, pointing out gaps, while meta-narrative reviews track the diverse strands of research in an area over time, characterizing scholarship in a field. One form of interpretive review is the critical interpretive synthesis (CIS).

Critical interpretive synthesis, as a process, is not stage-oriented and does not proceed through predetermined steps. It is iterative and interactive through the processes from question formulation through synthesis, being flexible in searching for emerging ideas as well as critiquing bodies of knowledge. The method includes processes of problem identification, literature search, data evaluation, and data analysis (Dixon-Woods et. al, 2006), though these processes may be done and redone as themes arise, strengthen, weaken, or point in new directions, in the presence of constant reflexivity on the part of the reviewer. Question and construct definition formulated and presented at the outset of the inquiry may be refined over the course of the review. The research question at the outset may be "tentative, fuzzy and contested" (Dixon-Woods et. al, 2006, p. 3). Influenced by grounded theory and meta-ethnography, CIS understands reality as socially constructed, the product of alternative interpretations. While analysis remains grounded in the analysis of particular materials, it employs critical thinking to construct a novel interpretation, "that clearly highlights the state of knowledge, ignorance, and uncertainty (explaining how we know what we know, and where the intriguing unanswered questions lie)" (Greenhalgh, Thorne & Malterud, 2018, p. 4 of 6).

Dixon-Woods and colleagues (2006) are clear that processes are not linear, rather literature searching, sampling, assessment and analysis are iterative. Literature searching starts broad and often stops when theoretical saturation has been reached. Papers are included from a wide range of empirical research methodologies, as well as non-empirical sources such as theory, expert opinion, and such. Methodological flaws are rarely cause to exclude literature, though they may cast doubt on the credibility of

sources, and thus the degree of contribution made to the analysis. A systematic approach to data extraction may or may not be used; analysis is reflexive, iterative, and informed by critical thinking with its sustained attention to centering and marginalizing of specific ways of thinking within a field. The aim is a synthesis that provides useful new ways of thinking about the body of literature.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

In order to understand how parenting has been conceptualized by and for occupational scientists and therapists a review of the literature related to parenting as occupation was conducted in occupational therapy and occupational science journals. The search was conducted in 2018 and included any literature published in the previous ten years, 2008-2018, to obtain current literature.

Virtually all occupational science and occupational therapy peer reviewed publications are indexed in the Cumulative Index of Nursing and Allied Health Literature (CINAHL), which was searched using keywords. Articles generated from this search were retrieved via Dalhousie University's electronic library. Several strings were used for preliminary searches; ultimately the following was used: *Parent* or mother or father or guardian or child-rearing and "occupational therap*" or "occupational science"*. Inclusion criteria included: (a) articles that pertained materially to the occupation(s) of parenting; (b) in peer-reviewed journals; (c) in the English language; (d) published 2008-2018. A total of 706 articles were retrieved using these criteria; the last search was run on January 6, 2019.

A skim of the titles was undertaken, excluding duplicates and applying inclusion criteria. Articles were retained if they appeared to report on theory, models, phenomena, experiences, or practices related to the occupation(s) of parenting, mothering, or fathering. Articles were excluded if they were focused on children and did not focus on parenting or if they were primarily concerned with statistical validity and reliability of tools. This reduced the number of articles to 165. Abstract review applying the criteria reduced the candidate articles to 102. Articles were further culled following full-text reading if they met exclusion criteria not obvious in skimming the title and abstract. They were also excluded if they detailed use of parents as observers, consumers, or deliverers of therapies or therapists' services without their role as parents being considered or discussed materially in the paper. 19 articles not identified from the original search were added to consideration from the references of other articles. 48 articles were ultimately read in full (over and over and over again) for this review. See Figure 1 below for a flow chart of the search process.

Limiting the scope of articles included in a CIS is necessary, in that this is not a review of all current knowledge on parenting (such as a scoping review) but a critical interpretation of how parenting is conceptualized as an occupation in occupational therapy and occupational science literature. When selecting papers for review, the priority was relevance to understanding the occupation of parenting. This approach enables the inclusion of literature that conceptually contributes to understandings and/or critique of the occupation of parenting. Going beyond empirical research evidence. The challenge inherent in CIS is to review an appropriately-sized amount of material, with a

wide enough range to comprehensively answer the question, while still being manageable
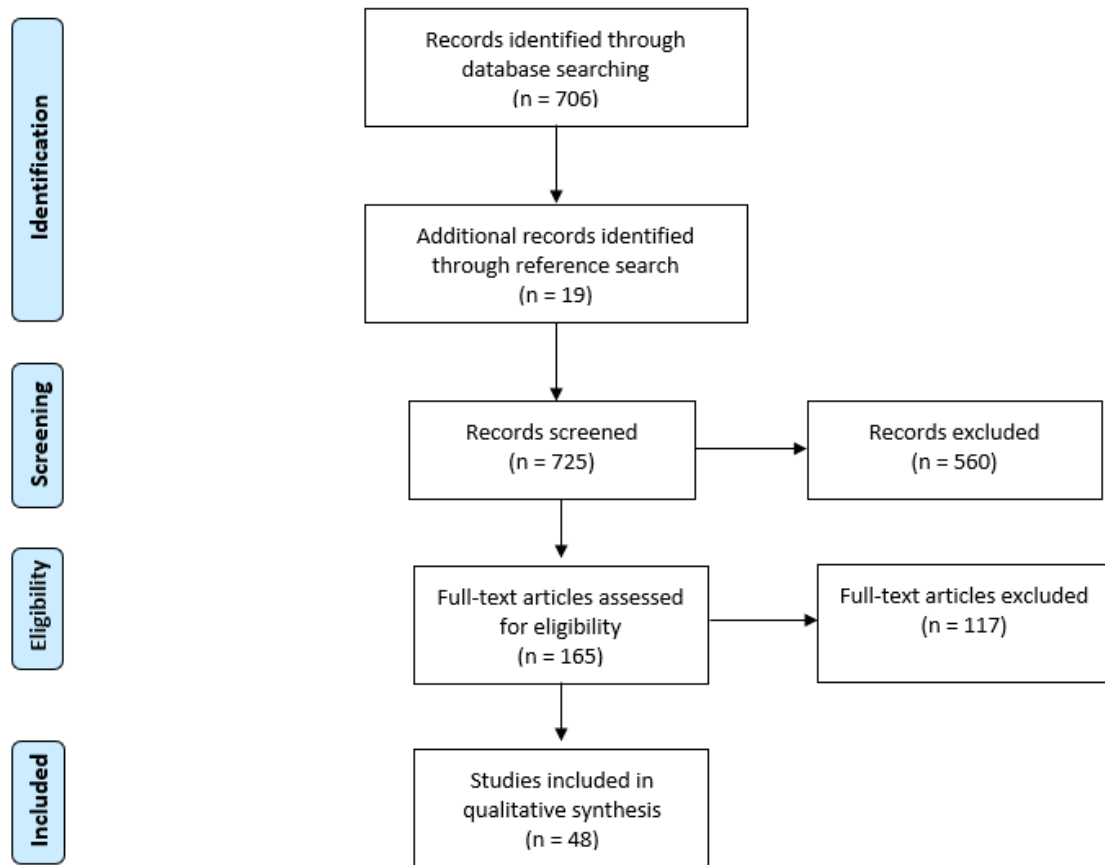
in time, resources, and complexity.

Figure 1: PRISMA 2009 Flow Diagram

A risk of this type of review is that the complexity can result in biases and inaccuracies that flaw the synthesis (Greenhalgh et al., 2018). But countering this, the interpreter, the analyst, is selecting information-rich sources, judiciously choosing those that can contribute valuably to understanding. Diverse sources and types of data can be difficult to aggregate, analyze, and compare. The data extraction process of systematic reviews, focused on methods and findings, is not appropriate. Instead data extraction focused on relevant terms, concepts, connections across papers, organizing emerging ideas into themes around occupation and parenting, finding linkages (or omissions) between the understanding of occupation reflected in theoretical models, aspects of parenting which were being researched or ignored, and how parenting was reflected and conceptualized in terms of the literature. A table was populated for each source noting study or article details, how parenting was understood and defined, implications for parenting as occupation (including enabling occupation), and themes emergent in the original analysis. Short direct quotes from articles were extracted and retained in the data analysis table. Analytic memos tracked gaps and omissions in the overall body of literature.

Review of these 48 articles was conducted through an iterative thematic analysis, identifying key language, concepts, and theoretical constructs regarding parenting in order to understand the author's conceptualization and presentation of parenting as occupation. As Dixon-Woods et al. (2006) note, the process of analysis is comparable to a primary qualitative data analysis. Yet, a critical interpretive synthesis has the "aim of being critical: its questioning of the ways in which the literature had constructed the

problematics…, the nature of the assumptions on which it drew, and what has influenced its choice of proposed solutions" (p. 6). The authors of the method go on to argue that typically narrative approaches to reviewing literature fail to offer critique:

> [G]enerally, many current approaches fail to be sufficiently critical, in the sense of offering a critique. There is rarely an attempt to reconceptualise the phenomenon of interest, to provide a more sweeping critique of the ways in which the literature in the area have chosen to represent it, or to question the epistemological and normative assumptions of the literature. (Dixon-Woods et al., 2006, p. 9)

Interpretive approaches to review are inherently of a perspective, necessitating that they make space for emphasis on critique, on interrogation of assumptions, on attention to gaps and omissions. As stated by Dixon-Woods et al. (2006), "…it is important to note that, as with any qualitative analysis, full transparency is not possible because of the creative, interpretive processes involved" (p. 5). As such, the "authorial voice" (p. 10) is present in this process and may neither be strictly reproducible nor auditable. The analysis in this thesis was guided by critical questions to ensure a systematic approach to each article: How is parenting defined and understood? Who is considered a parent? Who is not? How is theory employed? How is occupation understood? How is parenting understood in terms of occupation? What guidance is offered for assessing and enabling parenting as occupation? What assumptions are evident? What absences? Theme identification was iteratively guided by the literature's responses to these questions, as well as the absence of mention or consideration of

themes mentioned in other publications.

3.3 LIMITATIONS

This study was limited in several ways, possibly limiting its thoroughness and applicability. Though some articles were from non-Anglo researchers and populations, and a rare few covered an international perspective, most articles were from researchers in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. Databases are also biased toward peer-reviewed literature from the global West and North, in the English language, and articles which were not specifically excluded may not have shown up in searches (see Maher, Sherrington, Elkins, Herbert & Moseley, 2004). Articles in other languages were excluded as I am not proficient in any other than English. I am a part-time-Master's student with a full-time private practice, endeavouring in this synthesis on my own (with my committee's support) and it was prudent to limit the workload that I could reasonably complete within expected timeframes while still providing an informed critical analysis. This is contrary to the team approach recommended by Dixon-Woods et. al. (2006), which aims to limit reflexive biases and encourage 'parallel processing' of information and themes so as to preserve richness. Owing to physical access issues as a remote student, as well as time limitations, only peer -reviewed articles were included, with the exception of the 2004 *Mothering Occupations* text and select theory texts, and gray literature was not procured.

Dixon-Woods et. al. (2006) emphasized "a need for constant reflexivity to inform the emerging theoretical notions" (p. 9). Esdaile and Olson (2004a) stated in the Preface

to *Mothering Occupations* that "Mothering is embedded in a particular historical time and is shaped by culture, ethnicity, class, and gender, as well as economic, geographical, and political factors. The cultural perspective of this text is essentially that from western industrialized countries. Although we have not included mothers from developing countries, many chapters speak for women who are living in poverty or who are incarcerated, disadvantaged, or subject to discrimination" (p. xi). If I were of a different age cohort, gender, heritage, sexuality, and had or was raising children – to name but a few factors – I may regard many facets of the literature from a different vantage. Maintaining a critical voice through the analysis was challenging, as I have been immersed in dominant discourses in life as well as in education. I have tried to maintain an openness to dissenting and expanding voices through this process as much as I have been able, with the support of my committee.

3.4 SUMMARY

This critical interpretive synthesis was undertaken in order to examine the literature on parenting over a representative period following the publication of two major collections of research and thought on mothering occupations, and their related commentary (and lack thereof) on fathering. As noted, parenting is used as the collective noun for these occupations and is not interchangeable with either. Critical interpretive synthesis was selected as a method in which to understand these bodies of research to present and their separate strands, what they tell us of our understanding of parenting occupations, and what they do not. In the next chapter, I survey the literature from 2008-

2018, extract the themes inherent and expressed, and then discuss the findings and their

implications for theory, research, and practice.

CHAPTER 4   RESULTS

In this chapter I build a picture, a synthesis, of what is and is not addressed in the literature regarding parenting occupations, critically examining assumptions and omissions with a particular focus on how occupational therapy and occupational science understand, assess, and enable parenting as occupation. I examine trends in publication, examining topics and themes around parenting in order to aggregate, synthesize, and deconstruct our theoretical and practical consideration of parenting and available guidance to researchers, theoreticians, and practitioners.

Themes which became evident through this process were: mothering, fathering, and parenting (with subthemes of gender roles in parenting and parenting outside of a nuclear family); parents as the orchestrators of child occupations (with subthemes of co-occupation and co-created occupation, routines and rituals, and creation of family); parenting of a child with occupational dysfunction (with subthemes of parental stress and self-efficacy); parenting in the context of parent occupational challenges, including disability and social factors which pose barriers to parenting; and assessment of and support for parenting in occupational therapy.

4.1 MOTHERING, FATHERING, AND PARENTING

In the literature 2008-2018, the distinctions among mothering, fathering, 'parenting' are not used consistently nor explained reflexively. Mothering, fathering, and parenting are complex and dynamic collections of occupations which are influenced by

many factors including social and cultural contexts, age and needs of the child(ren),

parent values, and parents' previous experiences (Dunbar & Roberts, 2006). As such it is

difficult to put forth a singular, cogent definition of these occupations. An oft-cited

definition of parenting occupations is the activities that parents engage in resulting from

the "demands imposed on those responsible for children. These demands are ensuring the

preservation, growth, and social acceptability of the child" (Llewellyn & McConnell,

2004, p. 181), where growth includes emotional and intellectual growth as well as

physical.

In the occupational science and therapy literature examined for this critical

interpretive synthesis (CIS), parenting is reflected as biologically-mediated, through

neurological mechanisms of parent-infant attachment (Price and Miner, 2009; Whitcomb

2012). Whitcomb (2012) notes that for infants, attachment meets biological and

psychological needs for security and safety, and those are usually – though not

necessarily – met by the mother: "Of course, the father or another caregiver may serve as

the object of attachment" (p. 272). Parenting, as in mothering or fathering, is also a

culturally-mediated social relationship between parents and children (Kyler, 2008;

Gerlach, 2008) and enactment of socially-mandated parental duties in caring for children.

Broadening the scope evident in earlier OT and OS literature, parenting is reflected in the

literature reviewed here as undertaken by, among others, single parents (Rybski & Israel,

2017), foster parents (Precin, Timque, and Walsh, 2010), custodial grandparents (Marken

& Howard, 2014), and same-sex couples (Bonsall 2014a; Arnold, MacKenzie, James &

Millington, 2018).

4.1.1 Mothering Occupations

In the literature reviewed for this CIS, the care of infants and young children is reflected as being chiefly the domain of mothers. Mother-child attachment is presented as a biopsychological relationship that starts in meeting the need for infant safety and security (Precin, et al., 2010; Whitcomb, 2012). Mother and infant interact, responding to each other's behavioural cues, which forms a bond between them. This attachment can take place between other caregivers and infants, irrespective of gender, but the discussion in this literature was almost entirely centered on mothers (Price & Miner 2009; Price & Stephenson, 2009; Whitcomb, 2012). Attachment *is* biologically driven, hormonally reinforced in biological mothers through (among other factors) prenatal development, nursing, postnatal touch, and face-to-face bonding (Whitcomb, 2012). The latter two factors also support attachment between infants and persons other than biological mothers. Attachment can be disrupted through features inherent in the infant, parent, or environment, with effects on both parent and child; aspects of positive or disordered attachment are considered by occupational therapists in occupational assessment and enablement (Precin, et al., 2010; Whitcomb, 2012).

Young children require adult supervision, direction, and physical care in order to develop occupational mastery and to accomplish activities of daily living (Evans & Rodger, 2008; Price & Miner, 2009). This has direct implications for parents' occupations. A time-use study of new teenage mothers indicated that whereas adult

mothers of children younger than five years of age spend an average of 10.5% of their time specifically on childcare activities, new teenage mothers spent as much as 30% of their awake home time in child-specific activities (DeLany & Jones, 2009). These years as a first-time mother can be accompanied by marked occupational change (DeLany & Jones, 2009), including adoption of a 'mother' self-identity, changes in routine self-care schedule and activities, and loss of occupations previously engaged in. Education and employment were also significant occupational commitments, but leisure and social occupations almost vanished. The writers indicate that, "opportunities for teen mothers to rejuvenate, explore their world, and develop their social competencies and personal identities, all outcomes of engagement in leisure and social occupations, are constrained" (DeLany & Jones, 2009, p. 181).

For children of all ages, mothers largely take responsibility for creating and enacting daily family routines such as meals, bedtimes, and daily family movement to school, work, etc. (Downs, 2008; Evans & Rodger, 2008; Rodger & Umaibalan, 2011; Marquenie, Rodger, Mangohig, & Cronin, 2011; Koome, Hocking & Sutton, 2012; Boyd, Harkins, McCarty, & Sethi, 2014). Mothers work to predict, organize, implement, and troubleshoot these routines to meet the needs of all members of the family, and were seen in these articles to be the chief orchestrators of family occupational flow. In some studies, 'flow' proved fleeting or impossible for those parenting children with disabilities; chaos was more common (Marquenie et al., 2011). The importance of co-occupation between parents and children, family routines and rituals, and the development of family identity will be examined in more detail below.

In terms of the gendered division of labour in relation to parenting occupations, as noted earlier, Primeau (2000a, 2000b, 2004) established that even when employed outside the home, mothers have traditionally completed 70% of household work, including childcare. She suggested that gendered divisions of such occupations within households were tied to gender ideologies, but also noted that women's perceived primary responsibility is linked to biological procreation and mothering, appearing naturally ordained (Primeau, 2000a). Fully 18 years later, in their international scoping review of housework Arnold, MacKenzie, James and Millington (2018) found that having children under 15 years of age, and particularly under 5, notably impacted the amount of housework undertaken by both parents, with women "universally identified as most likely to perform housework" (p. 693). Fathers were seen to have increased their involvement in childcare over the last 40 years, and their involvement in housework increased when there were children in the home. Nonetheless, in the studies reviewed, women spent two to four times as many hours on domestic occupations as did men. The gendered division of occupations was generally seen to be fair by participants if it was similar to the balance struck in peer households. An interesting finding was that women tended to combine childcare occupations with housework, while men were most likely to combine childcare with leisure occupations. This gendered division of household labour and childcare does not look all that different from Primeau's work in 2000 – though there are trends toward change in some aspects, the majority of child care occupations is done by mothers. When household occupations are 'outsourced', this tends to be through paid childcare (Arnold et al., 2018, p. 694).

4.1.2 Fathering occupations

Recognizing that the lion's share of child-rearing and household occupations are done by women worldwide (Orban, Ellergard, Thorngren-Jerneck, & Erlandsson, 2012; Arnold et al., 2018), fathering occupations remain nonetheless underrepresented in the parenting literature. Fathers are reported in the articles included in this CIS to be doing more housework and child-rearing than previous generations over the last 40 years, despite childcare being seen as "discretionary" for fathers (Hamilton & DeJonge, 2010, p. 40). However, fathers are often only passingly referred to in articles on parenting, with their voices not represented in the data nor its analysis (as seen in, for example Blanche, Diaz, Barretto, & Cermak, 2015). Many articles purported to report on 'parents', 'parenting', or 'families' but did not present fathers' voices. This ranged from collapsing mothers' and fathers' responses together without differentiation (Downs, 2008), not acknowledging fathers at all (Evans & Rodger, 2008; Price & Miner, 2009a and 2009b; Koome et al., 2012; VanderKaay, 2016; Wint, Smith, & Iezzoni, 2016), or conflating 'parenting' with 'mothering', with no reference to fathers, as previously discussed (Blanche et al., 2015). In some cases, authors did establish that fathers were invited to participate but did not join or did not complete the entire study protocol (Honaker, Rosello, & Candler, 2012).

Price and Miner (2009) and Price and Stephenson (2009) discuss occupational therapists' support for mothers (exclusively) of children in a neonatal intensive care unit,

examining the development and support of attachment as well as good care practices for medically-fragile-infants. Though they use the word 'parenting' frequently, they feature only a mother in each article, with fathers little-mentioned. Wint, Smith and Iezzoni (2016) looked solely at mothers with physical disability and their need for physical adaptation to equipment and occupations around infant care. In all, only five papers in my sample meaningfully addressed fathering as occupation and, of these, three were written by one male author.

Fathering roles are viewed as more culturally-mediated than mothering roles in some research, from a macro-cultural viewpoint down to peer-group perceptions and individual views of fathers themselves (Hamilton & de Jonge, 2010; Bonsall 2014a, 2014b, 2015; Pizur-Barnekow, Patel, Lazar, Paul, Pritchard, & Morris, 2017). Larger societal shifts in gender roles and parenting expectations can leave fathers without role models. This is supported by the other papers cited above, suggesting that fathers perceive a lack of support from society in terms of social policy as well as cultural norms, in terms of establishing fathering occupations in contemporary times. For example, Hamilton and de Jonge (2010) explored the changes in fathers' occupations after having children, finding that modern fathers need to "invent their own parenting style" (p. 41), looking to peers rather than their own fathers or others of previous generations who faced different fathering expectations. Fathers previously were "given the role of breadwinner, disciplinarian, and moral educator, while the mother took the primary care and nurturer role" (p. 40). This paper found that, while fathers did not reduce the time spent in their 'worker' role, they did alter the time spent in domestic, leisure, and partner life roles in order to take on fathering responsibilities. They described the process of becoming a

father as constrained by lack of role models, unclear expectations, low social and extended family support, and uncertainty in their knowledge and skills. Factors reported to facilitate a development of the father role included established "partnership" with the mother and time spent doing actual care and interaction with the child.

Mason and Conneeley (2012) state that "by examining fatherhood in the context of activities associated with mothering, research has failed to capture fathers' experiences or the complexities of their roles" (p. 230) and, further, that "there is little research on how men experience occupations" (p. 234). Their examination of fathers' involvement in a gardening project was seen as an example of "generative fathering" (p. 235), a strengths -based approach which responds to a child's developmental needs. Bonsall's (2014a, 2014b, 2015) articles contribute substantially to our understanding of fathering of children with disabilities, and by extension all fathering occupations. He rightly stated that "occupational science literature has focused on the experience of mothers of children with special needs while paying scant attention to the experience of fatherhood" (2014b, p. 504). His research presents fathers' voices through ethnographic study (2014a), narrative review (2014b), and narrative interpretation of observation and interview (2015) which allowed fathers to speak for themselves in terms of their roles and actions. His work, summed, found that fathers wanted to create and participate in occupations with their children and families; that fathers were open to differentiation as well as cooperation when it came to the kinds of fathering occupations they engaged in; and that fathers, not unlike mothers, enfolded co-occupations with children into other occupations and environments with which they were familiar or which were previously in their 'sphere' in order to connect with their child. Mason and Conneeley (2012) and Bonsall

(2015) do reify gender roles in examining fathers' participation with their children in occupations and environments which are seen as more traditionally in the male domain, including the Mason and Conneely's "masculine, practical" (p. 234) occupation of gardening and Bonsall's environment of the automobile as a place for father-child occupation, respectively.

Introducing an intersectional analysis, Pizur-Barnekow, Patel, Lazar, Paul, Pritchard and Morris (2017) provide a view into the fathering experiences of some urban Black fathers in the US. Social deprivation in terms of poor infrastructure, access to affordable housing and work, and racism were described as among challenges to these fathers and their families. These fathers were seen by the authors to be "*motivated* to be good fathers, and to support the mother and family" (p. 240, emphasis theirs) and a finding was that occupational therapists have a role in supporting African American fathers' occupational role in their family through both individual supports to fathers and families and through advocacy for societal supports. In contrast to this recognized motivation, these fathers reported being unacknowledged by healthcare providers in prenatal and well-baby visits, contributing to their feeling less involved from the very beginning of fatherhood. This lack of involvement is problematic, given the evidence cited by Pizur-Barnekow et al. (2017) that the engagement of fathers in the lives of children is "associated with a variety of positive health and social outcomes" (p. 237).

Finally, Kramer-Roy (2012) explored the intersectionality of being ethnic minority (in this case, a Pakistani family in the UK) as well as a parent of a child with a disability while exploring the differing experiences of fathers and mothers. Like Pizur-

Barnekow et al. (2017) she found that fathers were often left out of treatment decisions around their child despite their presence at appointments. Fathers in the study wanted to be involved – to know about their child's disability, to work to do better for their child and family, and to have better communication with the mother about the child's development and needs. Interestingly, like the findings of the last two studies which suggest health care providers intentionally or unintentionally exclude fathers from some parenting occupations, Arnold et al.'s (2018) international review of gender and domestic occupations suggested there is some evidence that women may resist giving up control over household tasks, perceiving that women are socially judged on the performance of those occupations in ways that men are not. These are concrete demonstrations of the ways parenting occupations are socially constructed.

4.1.3 Parenting occupations and family

The work of parenting includes not only direct childcare but the enactment of family occupations and roles in terms of care of the household and creation of family (Dunbar & Roberts, 2006). Gender roles need not determine the roles of mothers and fathers with their children and in their families. The 'division of labour' in parenting and family is seen to be mediated by macrocultural and well as microcultural (peer and family) factors and personal relationships between parents (Dunbar & Roberts, 2006; Arnold et al., 2018). As we saw in Arnold et al. (2018), Pizur-Barnekow et al. (2017), and others, fathers and mothers can be open to non-gendered, individual division of labour in the home and family that strengthens family relationships and function. These

divisions are changing slowly over time, but, but as Primeau (2000b) showed two decades ago, ideologies and practices do not progress always progress in tandem with each other but can be supported by communication and strategy.

A fascinating approach from a group of studies in Sweden aiming to impact child obesity rates is the notion of family function, rather than participant structure, as marking whether families were "traditional" or not (Orban, Edberg, & Erlandsson, 2012; Orban, et al., 2012; Orban et al., 2014). Their definition of traditional was based on a definition from Primeau (2000a) in which parents followed largely separate routines and shared little of the home- and child-care work of the family; the mothers took care of these tasks. Nontraditional families were seen as those in which mothers and fathers shared or even synchronized these tasks among other occupational roles and tasks. The time-use methodology used by the Swedish researchers identified four different types of family by occupational engagement: togetherness focused; child focused; individual focused; and parent-child focused.

In the togetherness focused family, parents spend time with children as well as time together; in the individual focused family, parents have minimal time for children and togetherness; in the child focused family, parents spend time with children and few minutes together; and in the parent-child focused family, one parent spends time with children and moderate time together. In their research, the togetherness focused family type was considered as non-traditional since the parents shared childcare and household work, and fathers had responsibility for occupations typically carried out by mothers.

Child occupations were not a focus of this review, but parenting as occupation needs to be understood in terms of its own activities and occupations as well as the co-occupations, co-created occupations, and enabling of occupations with and for children. Some parents have reported that assigning children specific participation in household chores is an important part of their development of a sense of family as well as individual growth (Dunn, Malgalhaes, & Mancini, 2014). Participation in family chores was seen to vary in extent and complexity depending on undefined "cultural values", with the extent of this influence "remain(ing) to be investigated". A key finding of Bonsall's (2014a), necessary to our understanding of all parents and families, is a focus on "the importance of doing together as families… family occupations stand out as being co-constructed by the preferences, histories, and abilities of various family members" (Bonsall, 2014a, p. 306). Being a family, from attachment, through co-occupation, to family routines and rituals, is a set of processes. We build our families through doing and belonging. Parenting, then, may be seen not as the collective term for 'mothering' and 'fathering', rejected by Esdaile and Olson (2004a), but each of them as their own set of occupations, with gendered histories but their own possible and distinct futures.

4.1.4 Parenting in 'post-modern' families

Traditionally in Western cultures "family" has been understood as a nuclear family consisting of a pair of heterosexual, cisgendered, opposite gender adults (mother and father) along with their biological children. In the 2008-2018 literature reviewed

here, this has begun to shift, broadening notions of parenting beyond what was evident in early OS/OT literature. Interestingly, in 2012, Koome, Hocking, and Sutton summarized the state of understanding of family in occupational science research, then immediately re -narrowed it to approximate the nuclear family definition:

> The concept of family is more difficult to define in the post-modern era
> when family structures include two-parent, single-parent, blended
> families, and families with same-sex parents. However, the interpretation
> of family utilized in this study is that family comprises one or two adults
> and dependent children living in one dwelling where each family member
> feels a sense of belonging and wholeness, and feels supported to develop
> and grow regardless of the configuration of the family grouping. (p. 313)

This statement reifies a Western understanding of family which may not be the lived experience of many, and excludes multigenerational families, communal cultures, families with shared custody arrangements, and more. Nonetheless, making this explicit rather than implicit in the writing frames the use of the term for the reader and invites the possibility of a more expansive view.

Llewellyn and MacConnell (2004) indicated that non-nuclear-family child-rearing is common in a multitude of cultures and time periods across the world, "yet surprisingly neglected in Western notions of mothering" (p. 177). This continues to be the case in more recent literature, with few articles exploring kinship parenting, shared parenting, parenting by older children, or "non-traditional families" except in very narrowly focused

71

research. It initially appeared that Bonsall (2014a) might contribute to knowledge around this, in a paper subtitled, "Constructing postmodern families through occupations", but in that paper he interviewed only three cisgender fathers in heterosexual marriages. Farias and Asaba (2013), in examining identities and values of a Chilean immigrant family in Sweden, discuss the "increasing importance of moving beyond definitions of 'nuclear' and 'extended' family, in order to see the family as a complex unit consisting of rich multigenerational bonds" (p36-37). Their window into the lives of three generations of this family shows the effort of all of them to engage in meaningful occupations between ages and stages of life, cultural values and tradition, and the construction of their lives together.

No research was found in this search focusing on nor substantially examining same-gender family compositions, with the exception of a finding by Arnold, Mackenzie, James, and Millington (2018) regarding housework and childrearing duties in same-sex couples, and Bonsall (2014a), who mentions same-sex parents as among the possible "postmodern" family compositions, but in fact interviewed only fathers in heterosexual marriages. Arnold et al.'s scoping review cited research indicating that the same-sex parents who stayed at home more with the children performed more housework and took on a stronger emotional role with the child(ren), relative to their employed-outside-the-home partners.

Few single-parent families were the focus of any research, and in many cases it was not clear or made salient what the importance nor impact of that familial structure

was. Rybski and Israel (2017) studied 91 women and their children who were homeless or poorly-housed, and Martin, Smith, Rogers, Wallen, and Boisvert (2011) studied 10 women in a residential addictions treatment program in Florida. In these cases, being a single parent was not front and center in the analysis, the housing situation in the former and addictions treatment in the latter were. In fact, having the voice of only mothers presented in the reviewed articles was so common, single-mother status did not stand out in these articles until the methods sections were parsed for participant composition and demographics. Evans and Rodger (2008) included one single-mother family in their study with ten families, but did not disaggregate the data in analyses. Orban, Edberg, Thorngren-Jerneck, Önnerfält and Erlandsson (2014) included single parent families but did not distinguish family structure in their analyses. In their study with teen mothers, DeLany and Jones (2009) did not distinguish single mothers from partnered mothers in their analyses, but did note that finding help – from social services and from extended family – was a major occupational pursuit of all mothers.

The occupations of grandparents were little explored in the research. Only one paper addressed the topic of grandparents as custodial parents, finding that childcare altered occupational variety and engagement for both grandparents but resulted in reduced social occupations for grandmothers more than grandfathers (Marken & Howard, 2014). Grandfathers were especially more likely to remain engaged in social occupations. Another study (Pepin & Deutscher, 2011) examined the role of grandparents as separate from parenting, exploring the occupations of retirees involved with but not raising their grandchildren. They call grandparenting a "pleasurable experience associated with freedom from the responsibilities parents have towards their children… fewer explicit

73

norms, obligations or expectations, and no prescribed functions" (p.424). Both of these papers discussed the importance of the grandparent self-identity to both custodial and non-custodial grandparents.

A small number of articles addressed non-Caucasian families, most of which were portrayals of families "dealing with" disabled children as discussed below (Kramer-Roy, 2012; Farias & Asaba, 2013); Santoso, Ito, Ohshima, Hidaka, and Bontje, 2015; Blanche, et al., 2015; Pizur-Barnekow et al., 2017). Though focused on disability, and sometime son health care encounters, these accounts offer occupational scientists viewpoints from outside the dominant white, middle-class discourses present in much of the research prior to 2008, and offer occupational therapists some insight into issues and considerations when assessing and enabling occupations with such families. These considerations of intersectionality are important, as has been pointed out in each of these papers, as persons from visible and/or cultural minorities can face additional barriers to occupation.

Kramer-Roy (2012) provided a view into families of Pakistani origin in the United Kingdom who have disabled children. Their participatory action research indicated that families described their dealings with professionals around their child to be "superficial, rushed, and too narrowly focused on the task at hand" (p. 445). They felt that a family-centered approach that understood the family's individual functioning, strengths, and challenges would be of benefit. They put forward that truly occupation-based methods of assessing and enabling occupation would better meet the child and family's needs.

Farias and Asaba (2013) examined the experiences and development of a multigenerational family of Chilean origin in Sweden. They discussed the state of the literature around immigrant families, rejecting the "fixed categories and linear processes of integration or marginalization" (p. 45) previously presented. Instead, they put forward a more nuanced, dynamic look at the occupations of individual family members and the extended family over time. They found that personal and cultural identity are expressed and remade through individual and shared occupations in dynamic personal and interpersonal processes over time. This speaks again to the need for examining and understanding family occupations in addition to those of individuals.

Blanche et al. (2015) provided a view of Latinx families with children with ASD. They point out that "there is a risk in stereotyping culture… (but) there is also risk in ignoring traditions and values within and across cultures" (p. 2). They concluded that service providers need to understand how families from different cultural groups may access or face barriers to service, how extended families are structured and function in some cultural groups, their common childcare practices and beliefs, and health literacy and how that may be used to support the best outcomes for families. Again, thorough family assessment and relationship-building are put forward as key. Their findings concur with those of Pizur-Barnekow et al. (2017).

Santoso et al. (2015) provided an interesting view of Indonesian mothers of children with ASD. Maternal orchestration of home occupations and routines for the child and family were seen as a key role of mothers in their child's well-being, with fathers being portrayed as unaccepting of the diagnosis and its implications or at times

unsupportive of the mothers' work to enact everyday occupations with the child's needs in mind. Involving other family members in understanding the child with ASD's diagnosis and needs, cooperating with family routines in acceptance and support of the need for "accepting" occupational forms and processes was seen to be key in supporting the mothers' "resilience" and child outcomes.

Gerlach (2008, 2018) and Gerlach, Browne and Suto (2014) examine parenting and child-rearing in the context of Indigenous peoples in Canada. They emphasize that in the context of Canadian colonialism, Indigenous adults have often been forcibly stripped of their parenting occupations, initially through removal of children to residential schools, then through the 'Sixties Scoop' apprehending children to (White) foster care, and currently through disproportionately high involvement of Indigenous children in state care, after assessment of parenting inadequacies. Indigenous women are frequently viewed as "'unfit' mothers and their children as 'at risk'" (Gerlach, 2018, p.12). Gerlach et al. (2014) note that developmental ages and stages presumed to be universal are in fact highly culture-bound. They call for a "critical reframing of play [which] contests the dominant discourse about Indigenous motherhood in which mother-child, play based interactions and play opportunities within a home are understood to be a mother's choice and judged against normative standards" (p. 249). They note that both parenting and play in Indigenous contexts must be understood as structured in part by current colonial contexts, and the legacy of colonial intergenerational trauma.

Parent-child relations are less individualistic in most Indigenous cultures than in Western cultures: "Children are traditionally cared for as part of an interdependent

extended family structure; a circle of caring" (Gerlach, 2008, p. 19). Family is an

extensive support system with intergenerational occupations of doing and learning. Play

may also be understood very differently: "Culturally meaningful occupations, that is

occupations that connect Indigenous children with their history, land, language and

ancestral knowledge, represent occupations that are highly valued and essential for

Indigenous children's long term health and well-being" (Gerlach et al, 2014, p. 252).

Parenting occupations, then, must be understood in cultural context, but also in the

context of sociopolitical and economic realities such as colonialism. While still nascent,

this move away from an ahistorical and ostensibly-universal construction of parenting

occupations is a welcome direction in the 2008-2018 literature.

4.2 CO-OCCUPATION AND FAMILY ROUTINES

As noted in Chapter 2, some of the most important conceptual or theoretical

moves that were happening in the early- and mid-2000s involved challenges to the notion

of occupation as individual. Transactional approaches (Dickie, Cutchin, & Humphry,

2006) and notions of co-occupation (Pierce, 2006) were key. They arose from and/or

were highly influential in understanding parenting occupations. This theoretical direction

has continued in ensuing years, with most studies that name a theoretical stance

identifying one or both of these, often wedding them together. For example Price and

Stephenson wrote:

Co-occupations between mother and child emerge from a transaction with

the broader situation of family, community, and culture, all of which shape

and influence co-occupation. Therefore, infants and young children

require co-occupation in order to develop a repertoire of occupations

necessary for their occupational development. (2009, p. 180)

The term co-occupation (Pierce, 2006) arose from parenting and parent-child

interactions, and has been the clearest focus in the occupational literature. Parents, the

child, and the family variously compromise the partners in co-occupation and

environmental participants of the occupations of family life (Dickie, Cutchin, &

Humphry, 2006). Parenting as interaction between parent and child may be seen as

transactional in that individuals are changed by their interactions with one another.

Parents and children respond to one another, and the activities of all participants are

continuously shaping and being shaped by shared occupations. These shared,

transactional co-occupations emerge in ongoing family life in the context of immediate

and larger family structures and within cultures (Price & Stephenson, 2009).

Co-occupation is explained by the originator of the term as "the degree to which

the occupations of two or more individuals are shaping each other" (Pierce, 2009). Co-

occupation may have aspects of shared physicality, shared emotionality, and shared

meaning among those who do together, though there is debate as to their interrelationship

and the criteria of sufficiency of any one of these attributes in order to view an instance

or pattern of occupation as co-occupation (Pickens & Pizur-Barnekow, 2009; Pierce,

2009). In the recent literature, co-occupation has been taken up as a key way to examine

child development occupationally, but also to examine parenting.

Even some of the most micro-level parenting occupations have been examined as instances of co-occupation. Whitcomb (2012) uses attachment theory to situate parenting as dyadic co-occupation, with parents and children acting, responding, and co-acting as a complex dynamic system over time. In order to facilitate attachment, parents must be responsive and attentive to infants and children. Parental or child responsivity can be maladaptive for a broad variety of reasons, when actions do not result in a response from the other (DeLany and Jones, 2009; Hackett and Cook, 2016). This can be repaired, or reinforced, resulting in disordered attachment. Price and Miner (2009) provide an account of how one occupational therapist facilitated the development of family for a mother and her premature infant in the neonatal intensive care unit through providing opportunities for parenting co-occupations. The therapist helped them negotiate the meaning of parenting through co-occupation, learning to understand the infant's 'signs' during feeding to make it safe and enjoyable for both parties. The therapist portrayed this as something the mother and medically-fragile infant actively navigated together.

Parenting co-occupations are considered in some literature as happening between two parents (Bonsall, 2014b; Arnold et al., 2018) but most often as between parents and children (Pizur-Barnekow, et al., 2017). Parents are seen to at first do for the child (Price & Miner, 2009), moving to arranging and orchestrating in order to scaffold child development through appropriate challenge (Evans and Rodger, 2008), to doing activities with their children as co-creators and co-participants (Downs, 2008; Bonsall 2014a).

Price and Stephenson (2009) note there is little research exploring how mothers develop "the capacity for co-occupation with a child" (p. 180), particularly when the child has a disability. Mothers often feel that they will naturally be able to meet their child's needs, though each child's needs – and how a mother attempts to meet them – are individual. Having a child with a disability can upset this anticipated aptitude, and parents often benefit from coaching and assistance to best develop co-occupations and routines with the child. They recommended longitudinal research on the "development of co-occupation between parents and children with special needs" (Price & Stephenson, 2009, p. 185).

Bonsall (2014&b) contributes to our understanding of the contribution of occupations done jointly between parents and children to the formation and growth of family. He uses the idea in one paper of "co-construction" of occupations by members of families according to their histories, interests, abilities, and the opportunities afforded to them, the time and activity creating shared meaning and memories which strengthen personal and familial identity. He considers in a second paper the term "co-created" occupations, in which the engagement in occupations is contributed to jointly and individually by parents and children. He does not differentiate between the terms nor is it effectively explained as separate from the idea of co-occupation.

The 2008-2018 literature emphasizes that family co-occupations are shared activities, those of enjoyment or of need, that occur through interaction between parent and child. Repeated co-occupations in parent-child routines and rituals are the daily building blocks which form the core of family activity and meaning, and of individual

and relationship development. Parenting as occupation includes family-building activities which may not be central to parenting as child-rearing, but which contribute to attachment and child and/or parent well-being.

4.2.1 Family Routines and Rituals

Occupations become routines or rituals when done regularly with shared purpose, providing opportunities to learn and rehearse shared family life. Family routines have become a key area of occupational science and occupational therapy study in recent literature, primarily in the context of children with disabilities (e.g., Boyd et al., 2014). Rituals have been defined "by meaning, symbolic communication, emotional connection and family identity" (Boyd et al., 2014, p. 325). The meaning is foregrounded, compared to family routines. Family routines are defined as "occupations that occur in the home on a daily basis and assist in organizing time, that is, they provide structure to family life" (Evans & Rodger, 2008, p. 95). Larson's (2000b) metaphor of parents' orchestrating family co-occupations, activities and routines is frequently cited in the literature, exploring routines as the daily doings of family everyday living, typically surrounding mundane but predictable tasks, yet building meaning and connection.

In their survey of 132 families about children's participation in household chores, Dunn, et al. (2014) found parents thought this was an important occupational domain for children. They argue, "Household task participation warrants attention from occupational therapy practitioners because parents perceive that it contributes to their family routines, is a way to help their children develop responsibility, and prepares their children for the

future" (p. 294). Most parents assigned some chores to children as part of family routines, but the extent varied widely.

Evans and Rodger (2008) clarified their conception of routines as instrumental, daily, home occupations. They occur in the home on a daily basis, assist in organizing time, and provide structure to family life. Mealtimes and bedtimes were seen as near-universal areas requiring occupational routines in their sample, though dependent on children's age and family interactions. For example, reading to and tucking in younger children at bedtime gave way to independent bedtime routines for older children. They note that "positive family rituals are linked with mothers' perceptions of their parenting competence and sense of satisfaction" (p. 103). They examined competing themes of quiet family times vs. competing demands at mealtimes, depending on individual styles and needs. They suggest the role of routines in attachment, connectedness, and a sense of family identity cannot be overstated.

Routines and rituals are necessary to understand in order to provide support for family and child benefit. Research into family lives of children with developmental disabilities, mental health or physical health difficulties and the effects on family routines has shown that families of children with a variety of special needs differ and struggle in comparison to families of typically-developing children in their development of and participation in family routines and rituals (Evans and Rodger, 2008). In families of children with Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), the linked studies of Rodger and Umaibalan (2011) Marquenie at al. (2011) found that families were pushed to enact structured routines to meet, for example, a need for sameness. These routines can more

easily (but not always) accomplish instrumental tasks, but do not consistently rise to the level of 'meaning-making' that supports the togetherness of family. The possibility for upset or difficulty in these routines as well as the need for predictability to ensure success at times made them over-structured in order to meet the needs of the child with ASD, or chaotic with unexpected challenges, making them difficult and negative for all members of the family. Routines were seen to be "centered on ASD" in that the way they were performed, and "gave the impression that the child with ASD directed" them (Marquenie et al., 2011, p. 150). Bagatell, et. al (2014) looked at family routines with adolescents with ASD, finding that the simple presence and maintenance of routines is not in itself an indicator of family health, but that "affective components, level of difficulty enacting routines, and the purpose of the routines must be considered" (p.65) in supporting families. ASD was also said to alter meanings of routine occupations in that these routines could be inordinately stressful or unexpectedly pleasant in their performance.

Boyd and colleagues (2014) offer a comprehensive review of the literature around families of children with Autism Spectrum Disorders, highlighting the tension between the need for routines for family and child functioning and the difficulty of enacting and maintaining some routines. They assert that, "by engaging in family routines, families enact cultural values and ideals, meet instrumental and symbolic goals, structure their daily lives, and share time and occupation together" (p. 325). They refer to family routines literature from within and outside of occupational science to establish that routines, rituals, and occupations in family context are interrelated but separate concepts that have elements of being and doing together as families. This idea of family routines intersects with co-occupation in that routines are occupations that family members do

together. They illustrate the complexity and tensions of orchestrating daily routines with children with ASD, as an example, where shared activities and family routines and rituals may not be able to be engaged in as desired.

When children have ASD, families may experience challenges with the need for patterning of routines around the child with autism, specific difficulties in routines such as mealtimes, and the adapting of routines necessary for the child and family's functioning. Boyd et al. (2014) suggest that families of children with ASD often need to focus on the instrumental 'doing' of daily routines in order to fulfill nutrition, hygiene, and sleep needs for children, whereas other families develop the 'being' and becoming' aspects of family togetherness, identity, and growth. They identified sensory and emotional regulation demands at mealtimes as being challenging to navigate for families of children with ASD, and that routines that take place outside the home (such as eating in a restaurant) offered less predictability and control than those in the family home. Families are seen to need to constantly adapt the routine's form and practice for children with ASD, balancing the needs of others in the family. Less-common rituals such as community events, vacations, and birthdays were more demanding and unpredictable.

Bagatell, Cram, Alvarez, and Loehle (2014), in a comparative study of families of adolescents with and without ASD, found that there was no significant difference in the types and frequency of participation in routines by families. The *way* they participated in them, however, differed. Adolescents with ASD were seen to be more dependent than other teens in their performance of self-care, and their families less likely to eat meals all together at the same time. They suggested that the routines of these adolescents and their

families were little-studied, and that therapists should consider paying close attention to the family context of routines.

Inclusive and supportive family routines and rituals have been shown to increase resilience against onset of and decompensation from adolescent mental illness, suicidal ideation in adolescents, and eating disorders (Koome et al., 2012). They found that routines were a tangible measure of adolescent well-being and functioning, that they were protective of wellness and coping, and that they reinforced individual and family identity. More than a medium for practical functioning, family routines reinforced individual and family identity, supported coping and recovery, and created meaning. They helped individuals to remain bonded into family and were "a vehicle for the meaningful sharing of space and time, of 'being together', in order to maintain relationships in times of stress" (p. 320).

Downs (2008) emphasized the importance specifically of leisure routines in families with children experiencing disability. They enumerated three themes: these routines create opportunities for experiencing happiness, establish 'normalcy', and increase control in one's life. Parents were seen to make active choices to include their child in leisure routines rather than to exclude them or have them as passive observers. This specific focus on routine doing together was unexpected by the researchers given past research focus on parental stress and barriers to participation, and reinforces that stable family routine and ritual is correlated with positivity, resilience, well-being (Evans and Rodger, 2008; Koome, Hocking, & Sutton, 2012).

Self-identity is created in part by occupational roles and routines (Horne, Carr, and Earle, 2005; Farias & Asaba, 2013; VanderKaay 2016), including parenting identities. Parenting children of differing ages, stages, and needs can engender different roles – caretaker of an infant, play manager and play partner to a preschooler, co-creator of occupations in middle childhood, mentor of a youth and so on. Construction and co-construction of parental occupational identity is a recurring theme in the research. VanderKaay (2016) used discourse analysis to examine the development and self-representation of mothers of children with food allergy. Her study, grounded in the belief that "identities are socially constructed through language use in everyday talk/text" (p. 221), found that self-named "allergy moms" created their own occupational identities in the course of describing them to others. Occupational engagement is part of constructing occupational identity as a parent – we are what we say we do, as well as what we do. Bonsall (2014) found that parents and families co-create family identity through occupation. These occupations needn't be done in parallel nor equally shared, but it is the doing and the talking about occupations as central to family that imbues identity: "What stands out most in this paper is the importance of doing together as families… family occupations stand out as being co-constructed by the preferences, histories, and abilities of various family members" (p. 306). Farias and Asaba (2013) also pointed out that cultural identity primarily emerges through "talk and action" (p. 37), in an active process of person, environment, and occupation. Parents work to create family and to instill cultural values and practices in family through doing. Definition and discourse around occupation is individual as well as social – we find or make meaning individually or

severally from the doing of occupation, as well as reflecting on it ourselves and discussing it with others. Occupation may be universally human, but occupations are both societal and individual.

4.3 ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES

Though most of the literature in occupational science and occupational therapy between 2008-2018 employed variations of co-occupation, with related themes of family routines, and how those contribute to parent identities, one study (Graham, Rodger, & Ziviani, 2009) employed a potentially valuable theoretical framework that is fairly novel in OT/OS: the ecocultural approach. Weisner (2002) defined the ecocultural approach as examining the cultural pathways that make up everyday routines of life. These routines are made up of cultural activities in which children engage. These activities are useful units for cultural analysis because they are observable and meaningful units for parents, children, and families. Activities crystallize culture directly in everyday experience, because they include values and goals, resources needed to make the activity happen, people in relationships, the tasks the activity is there to accomplish, emotions and motives of those engaged in the activity, and a script defining the appropriate, normative way to engage in that activity. Segal (2000) states that, "The assumptions of ecocultural theory are as follows: (a) Families actively mediate the effects of their environment; (b) the setting for this mediation activity is in the construction of activity settings and daily routine; and (c) the mediation activity consists of using perceived resources to offset the effects of perceived constraints" (p. 305). Graham et al. (2009) found that using

87

ecocultural approaches in family- and occupation-centered therapy practice is pivotal to enabling occupation, in that clearly understanding child, parent, and shared family occupations allows for assessment, goal-setting, and practice that is consistent with the family's values, practices, and identity. Therapists using an ecocultural approach work alongside parents to understand the context of occupations and place the "authority for change" (p. 18) in the hands of the parent.

Related to the ecocultural approach is the consideration of families through the life course of the individuals involved (Francis-Connolly, 2000; MacMillan & Copher, 2005). Francis-Connolly's 2000 paper established in the occupational science literature that "the work of mothering changes as children develop" (p. 288):

> Mothers of young adults no longer need to do daily self-care activities for their children but they continue to nurture and teach their children. The needs of children at these two stages are different but mothers also are different at these two stages. Motherhood does not end but continues through the mother's life. (Francis-Connolly, 2000, p. 288).

Thus, as the life course proceeds for child, parent and family, parenting occupations too necessarily change. Some papers over the 2008-2018 sampling period addressed this conceptual approach, though secondarily in some cases. DeLany and Jones (2009) addressed life stage when they described time use patterns in the occupations of teenaged mothers, finding them different from both non-mothering teens and mothers in their 30's in the proportion of time spent in education, work, leisure, and child-focused tasks. Koome et al. (2012) and Bagatell et al. (2014) found in their studies of the routines of

families of adolescents with mental illness and autism, respectively, that parents needed to gauge and balance the needs of their adolescent children differently than research with younger children had established, with a continued need for parent-organized family routines which contribute to adolescent and family health. Marken and Howard (2014) looked at the impact of child-rearing later in life on the occupational patterns of grandparents, finding that the grandparents' patterns of occupational engagement were altered by the demands of childcare, with grandmothers retaining fewer of their prior occupations relative to grandfathers. Pitonyak et al. (2015) engaged in an examination of client-centered thinking which moves beyond "local or immediate contexts of individuals" (p. 277) to consider how social determinants over a person's life course influence occupation. These papers contribute to the understanding that for individuals and families, the constellation of occupations and routines engaged in can change based on developmental, systemic, culturally-based changes experienced over the life course, meaning life course needs to be taken into account in understanding parenting. However, they also serve to indicate that this is an aspect of our conceptualization of parenting that requires more consideration.

4.4 PARENTING A CHILD WITH OCCUPATIONAL DYSFUNCTION

Occupational therapy has seen an increase in research on parenting a child with occupational challenges. Parenting a child with a severe disability is seen to be an increasing phenomenon owing to increased survival rates of children with congenital conditions (Downs 2008). Rates of diagnosis of developmental disorders including

autism has also increased in recent years as well (Boyd, Harkins, McCarthy, & Sethi 2014). These changes are reflected in the literature not just as an increase in the number of articles around parenting children with disability, and impacts on families, but also a change in the kind of issues examined and a view into parenting and family life for these families. More than half of the articles reviewed here focused on parenting children with disability.

Parenting a child with a special need, be it medical, developmental, etc., is often seen in the literature of this period to be a "special case" of parenting, and is not always viewed through the lens of parenting as a common human occupation. Lawlor (2004) warned against this tendency to see parenting of children with disability or health issues are distinct from the universality of the parenting occupations, yet this is prevalent in the recent literature. Kramer-Roy (2012) and Bonsall (2014b) are examples of papers wherein almost all statements about living with or parenting "a child with a disability", could more simply have been stated as living with or parenting "a child". The disability narrative in each of these emphasizes the differences when parenting a child with a disability rather than the human universality of parenting occupations when child-rearing with its myriad factors. As a counterpoint, however, VanderKaay (2016) found through discourse analysis of interviews with mothers of children with food allergies that mothers felt parenting changed significantly before and after their child's diagnosis: "Ongoing management of food allergy did differentiate their mothering occupations both from their own mothering occupations for the same child prior to diagnosis of food allergy and well beyond the period of occupational disruption" (p. 229). Both mothers and children experienced occupational disruption and deprivation.

Eight studies focused on children with Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), two on children with mental health issues, three on other health conditions, and twelve on unspecified disability. The recent literature appears to have addressed the parenting and family lives of children with ASD more than any other diagnostic group. In their review of one branch of this literature, Boyd et al. (2014) illustrated that families of children with ASD work to create shared experience and meaning within their families through routine, which is seen to be both the key to child participation and family functioning, but face difficulties in inflexibility and reactivity that make family routines challenging and disheartening. Bagatell et al. (2014) pointed out that parents selected and altered routines for success, such as limiting social circles to more immediate family. Rodger and Umaibalan (2011) found as well that families of children with ASD were less likely to take family vacations, possibly as they were more difficult to plan and control. Kuhanek et al. (2015) found that parents required understanding of and support in planning, adapting, and balancing the needs of all family members in routines.

Several papers in this sample addressed specific experiences and needs of parents of children with non-specified disability and other health conditions. (Downs, 2008; Kramer-Roy, 2012; Bonsall 2014a, 2014b). Koome, et al. (2012) examined the context of parenting and family occupations when adolescents are living with mental illness. In common among all of these studies was the active role that parents take in creating opportunities for co-occupation, family routines, and the creation of family identity through doing. Parents worked to involve and be involved with their children in leisure occupations, activities of daily living, and culturally-important practices. Parents altered

occupations, made allowances and alterations, and created novel occupations and routines in order to promote and maintain their child's well-being and development. A major focus in this literature was parental stress.

4.4.1 Parental stress, sense of competence, and sense of coherence

Parenting of children with disability is presumed to be inherently stressful. Indeed, there are findings from numerous studies that indicate that this may be true, at least in part and at times. Citing earlier research, Kramer-Roy (2012) suggests that for disabled children, "their care required significantly more effort and time than caring for a non-disabled child, that their mothers were much less likely to be working and, consequently, that the majority of families depended on benefits for their income. Families were also likely to live in unsuitable housing, to experience low levels of support from their extended families, and to feel poorly supported by professionals." (p. 443). Bonsall (2014a) found in his review of parenting literature that the main considerations of family life with children with disabilities were writings around the stress of coping with the child's disability and changes in family life over the course of the child's development. A systematic review of outcomes of interventions for children with ASD and their parents by Kuhaneck, Madonna, Novak and Pearson (2015) cited higher incidence of stress as compared to parents of typically developing children as well as children with other diagnoses. Kramer-Roy (2012) cites economic research from the UK that indicates that care of children with disability "required significantly more effort and time" (p. 443), that "mothers were much less likely to be working" (p. 443), and that

the additional expenses associated with some disabilities contributed to poverty. Families were also likely to have unstable or unsuitable housing, lower extended family support, and feel poorly-supported by professionals. Stokes and Holsti (2010) examined sources of parental stress in families of children who have disabilities, finding that difficulty finding and accessing information and support, grief and distress around diagnosis and prognosis, strain on family resources, and psychological factors around ability to parent and confidence in that ability were major categories of stress parents face.

There are, however, items of research and even findings in the parental stress research that indicates that parents of children with disabilities can avoid or overcome this stress and that they find positivity and happiness in their occupations and roles as parent of a child with a disability (Downs 2008; Bonsall 2014a, 2014b, 2015). Downs (2008) found that for parents engaging in and sharing leisure routines with their child with a disability created "moments of happiness, moments of normalcy and moments of control of one's life and the environment" (p.107). These parents articulated that they wanted to "get on with life and to continue to enjoy the routines of being a couple established prior to the birth of the child" (p.109). As Bonsall (2014a) observed, "Conceptualizations that focus primarily on stress create a negative framing of disabilities" (p. 297).

Connected to parental stress across the spectrum of parenting research are the concepts of self-efficacy, sense of coherence, and sense of competence in parents. Self-efficacy is a construct put forward by psychologist Albert Bandura in the 1970's, defined as "one's belief about one's capability to perform or ability to succeed" (Kuhaneck et al.,

2015, p. 3). Self-efficacy is said to be directly correlated with parental stress among parents of children with disabilities, though Kuhaneck et al. state that improving self-efficacy in order to reduce parental stress has not been directly studied. Sense of coherence is a related concept that refers to one's sense of one's own resilience and personal strength, enabling one to select appropriate coping behaviours in the face of stress (Stokes & Holsti, 2010). Their paper introducing sense of coherence to the occupational therapy literature indicates that sense of coherence may be a useful construct that therapists can measure to assess and support parents of children with disabilities. They refer to a small number of articles using successful strategies to increase parental sense of coherence, implying that this increased sense of coherence will benefit both parents and children. Parent sense of competence appears to be a construct intended to take into account both Bandura's sense of self-efficacy and the sense of a parent's satisfaction with their ability to parent (Rybski & Israel, 2017).

Parental stress, sense of competence, and sense of coherence all appear to center the success or failure of parents to meet the needs of their children through parenting occupations, sometimes without ample consideration of the sociocultural factors which are barriers to or supports for occupational engagement. Gerlach, Teachman, Laliberte-Rudman, Aldrich and Huot (2018) provide a critical perspective on this individualism which reinforces the need to contextualize occupational engagement within structurally rooted social determinants. The belief that, "The level of success in adequately planning, adapting, and balancing the needs of all family members is likely related to parents' belief in their own self-efficacy" (Kuhaneck et al, 2015, p.3) is, according to Gerlach et al. (2018) a flawed assumption, grounded in Western individualism and worldviews..

4.5 WHEN PARENTS FACE OCCUPATIONAL CHALLENGES

Few studies (n=9) in this review examined the impact of parent challenges on the occupations of parenting. DeLany and Jones (2009) looked at the time use of teen mothers, Hackett and Cook (2016) examined the impact of parent mental illness on their parenting occupations. Wint et al. (2016) looked at infant physical care among mothers with physical disability. Martin, Smith, Rogers, Wallen and Boisvert (2011) and Suarez, Horton-Bierema and Bodine (2018) looked at mothers engaged in opiate recovery. Rybski and Israel (2017), Kramer-Roy (2012), Pizur-Barnekow et al. (2017), Mason and Conneely (2012), and Pitonyak, Mroz and Fogelberg (2015) considered social determinants of occupation related to parenting.

Hackett and Cook (2016) note that their paper is "the first study to explore the perspectives of OTs in supporting mental health service users as parents" (p. 43). They pointedly illustrated the lack of awareness, training, models, and tools for occupational therapists who work with parents with occupational dysfunction, concluding that, "there is little guidance for OTs working in the field" (p. 43). They point out that, "Providing cohesive services supporting the whole family requires health professionals who work in adult services to go beyond seeing their clients as individuals with a set of symptoms to be treated, to supporting them in their parenting role" (p. 33). This echoes the sentiment of those advocating for family-centered practice such as Bonsall (2015), Kuhanek et al. (2015), and Suarez et al. (2018), among others, in understanding the occupations of the

entire family in order to enable those of the nominal client.

The effects of physical disability on one's ability to parent was surprisingly little-explored in this literature. Wint et al. (2016) considered the impacts of significant physical disability on women's ability to enact some parenting activities. They reflected on previous research findings that OT's "often approached the intervention with preconceived ideas," and that they were "influenced by how much experience they had working with and observing parents with physical disability" (p. 7006220060p2). Their analysis indicated that mothers didn't always feel well-understood nor well-served by occupational therapists when it came to their mothering role. They conclude with an exhortation about the need for more research, but little guidance for therapists other than to "collaborate" more with mothers experiencing disability in order to better understand and meet their and their child's needs.

Two articles discussed the impact of parental substance use directly. Martin et al. (2011) engaged in narrative inquiry with women in opiate recovery. They found that these women experienced altered occupational identity (characterizing themselves primarily as an addict and not in terms of other occupational roles such as parent or mother), disrupted performance patterns (with substance use becoming the primary pattern), and reduced performance capacity related to substance use, all of which impacted care for their children. These mothers emphasized the value of structure in their recovery and need for learning to impose and maintain structure in their life and in their child's as key. They also indicated that engaging in rewarding, substance-free occupations was an important strategy to maintain recovery and to create new

occupational identity. Suarez et al. (2018) interviewed mothers in opiate recovery as well, finding that mothers benefited from therapy that focused not only on addiction but in re-engaging in occupations and becoming effective mothers.

Rybski and Israel (2017) examined the mothering occupations of women who were homeless or poorly housed. They supplied the surprising statistic that, "Family homelessness comprises 34% of the homeless population" (p. 343). They discuss the impacts of homelessness, tenuous housing, and inadequate housing on parenting, focusing on disruption to co-occupation and the enactment of routines and rituals. Routines are challenging when housing is precarious. The instability and adversity experienced by these parents and children impact parent satisfaction in their parenting role as well as their sense of self-efficacy. As discussed earlier, teen mothers also struggled with accessing the supports and resources needed to master parenting occupations, particularly in combination with education, paid work, leisure and social occupations (DeLaney & Jones, 2009).

Collectively the 2008-2018 literature shows am important move toward more fully considering the impact of social determinants on parenting occupations. In addition to the studies just mentioned, examining the impacts of housing, age, substances use, mental health and disability, Kramer-Roy (2012), Pizur-Barnekow et al. (2017), and Mason and Conneely (2012) addressed social determinants of occupation in their research, illustrating that race and culture, language, employment, and government policies directly impact parenting occupations. Pitonyak et al. (2015) explicitly highlighted the importance of social determinants on parenting, using a scenario around

breastfeeding. They argue that in therapy, "client-centred reasoning that fails to encompass social determinants of occupation may perpetuate disparities in health and occupational injustices" (p. 277). They emphasized that, despite the occupational therapist's best intention in using "client-centered practice" for a mother and infant with feeding issues, failure to adequately consider social determinants – lack of systemic and personal social supports, and tenuous and underpaid employment, among others – may lead the mother to abandon her therapeutic goal of breastfeeding.

4.6 ASSESSING AND ENABLING PARENTING OCCUPATIONS

Assessment of parenting and interventions to support parenting are not well-addressed in the 2009-2018 literature. Hackett and Cook (2016) correctly state that there is little guidance for occupational therapists in our own literature on the assessment and enabling of parenting occupations. Orban et al. (2014) caution against the simple measurement of interactions, time-use, and co-occupations as "not equivalent to measuring the quality of parenting within a family" (p.58). As an occupational therapist, I have struggled to find assessments and structured interventions that are pertinent and effective in understanding and supporting parenting. Here the 2008-2018 literature does not go a lot further than earlier contributions.

Several papers offered evidence of the inadequacies of healthcare and OT practices-as-usual. Kramer-Roy's (2012) finding that Pakistani mothers often felt "alienated" and fathers "left out" (p. 445) by healthcare providers is a discovery that should give us pause. This reflection of the families' feelings of exclusion and alienation

in their new country have no place in ostensibly-supportive services. Kramer-Roy's (2012) participatory action study stated that, "Children's occupational therapists need to consider who their client is; although the referral would normally be for the child, the successful outcome of therapy relies heavily on the family's ability to implement any advice or programmes" (p. 445). Note that a similar experience of exclusion was described by African American fathers (Pizur-Barnekow et al., 2017). Understanding each family's particular roles for each member is pertinent to understanding how the family functions, who does what, and how to best support that family in supporting their child.

A major conclusion by Boyd et al. (2014) was that occupational science needs to move beyond simply enumerating the barriers and difficulties to participating in family routines for families of children with disabilities, and indeed in considering the child as a barrier to family participation, and move toward an examination of what can help children and families to successfully participate. This resonates with many of the findings in articles that suggest family- and occupation-focused research and practice can be a way forward in better appreciating individual families' occupational forms and functions across family members.

In their systematic review of occupational therapy interventions for families of children with ASD, Kuhanek et al., (2015) concluded that, while this was a "body of literature in its infancy" (p. 7), there was "a lack of evidence that occupational therapy can improve family function, participation in family routines, and family engagement" (p. 8). They pointed to the focus on "reducing stress" (p. 8) and overuse of the Parenting

Stress Index rather than occupation-based measures as particularly unhelpful. They, too, stressed the need for family- and occupation-focused research and practice.

Assessment of parenting occupations is challenging, given their simultaneously individual, social and cultural nature. As Arnold et al. (2018) point out, observation is key, but may still be influenced by societal expectations:

> The key for occupational therapists is observation of the person's capacity
> to perform tasks rather than sole reliance on the statements of the person
> regarding their performance… The challenge to occupational therapists is
> to document their clinical reasoning, which includes understanding the
> attitude of society towards housework performance (Arnold et al, 2018, p.
> 696).

Gerlach (2008) offers some guidance for occupational therapists working with Indigenous families: adopting a "posture of reciprocity" (p. 20) in explicitly understanding cultural values and practices; "identify child-rearing roles and responsibilities within a family system and to understand a family's pattern of care" (p. 23); and "identify activities that are highly valued by a family or community" (p. 23). Of note as well is that "intervention that focuses on independence as a core concept may be questionable" in a collectivist society (p. 23). In addition to creating respectful, ethical and trusting healthcare relationships that include understanding the effects of colonization on health and access to health care, Gerlach (2018) stresses taking time to build relationships outside of therapeutic contexts. She suggests spending time in a community beyond the professional role, learning, listening, building long-term, mutually respectful,

non-judgmental relationships. In particular she emphasizes using a strengths-based approach, focusing on collective and community well-being, rather than individual 'deficits.' Building on the strengths and gifts of a child and their parents may be more helpful than determining limitations. Most importantly, given the impact of official surveillance on perceptions of parenting fitness (and potential loss of children) assessment may need to be rethought. She suggests the taken-for-granted use of normative assessments is inadvertently complicit in perpetuating colonial discourses that pathologized Indigenous parenting. Testing and ranking a child's development or a parent's occupational performance may be culturally inappropriate, doing more harm than good. Gerlach raises the possibility of omitting formal assessments altogether.

Short of eliminating assessment, some of the recent literature suggests a more open-ended approach may be beneficial. Evans and Rodger (2008) provided a simple, open-ended set of interview questions. Among the questions are: "Can you describe a typical weekday?", "…a typical weekend day?", "What routines does your family have?", and "What is important for you to do together as a family?". These questions get to the center of everyday occupational routines for family, open conversations around challenges and supports, and allow for a greater understanding of family structure and practices. They come from an ecocultural perspective, one which seeks to understand family processes, values, and identity through occupation.

In terms of intervention, parent coaching is an approach which has been put forward as a therapeutic approach to develop sense of coherence and competence for parents (Graham, Rodger, & Ziviani, 2013). It has been reported to have demonstrable

effects in improving parent ratings of child and parent performance in daily tasks for

which goals are set and parent and child actions are supported by the therapist. Coaching

is a skillset and approach used by some occupational therapists which has been seen to be

family-centered (Price & Miner 2009; Price & Stephenson, 2009). Its use with parents of

children with autism suggests that it respects parents' autonomy and supports overall

family function by supporting parent development of skills, improving self-efficacy and

reducing stress (Kuhaneck et al., 2015). Occupational performance coaching is a specific

application of coaching processes which aims to improve family occupations via parent

coaching (Graham at al., 2013):

> Suggestions proposed by the therapist are discussed and related to the
>
> unique ecocultural niche of the family. In doing so, the application of
>
> suggestions within the family context is clarified, and authority for the
>
> change to family routines is placed with the parent, thereby involving
>
> parents in decision-making and supporting their role as family leaders.
>
> (p18).

These processes may be of use to occupational therapists in working to move beyond

applying narrow therapeutic services to children or parents as individuals.

4.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter I related the themes emerging from articles published in

occupational science and occupational therapy literature focused on parenting, mothering,

and fathering, 2008-2018. This is not an exhaustive summary of all literature, nor did I appraise each article in terms of its rigour and findings. This literature revealed themes around: mothering, fathering, and parenting as separable, gendered, though not mutually exclusive occupational roles; parents as orchestrators of occupation with children, via co-occupation and family routines, and the role of parents in creating family identity; ways in which disability, illness, and social marginalization can impact parenting and family; and guidance brought forward around assessment of and enabling parenting occupations. In this literature family was increasingly defined not just as two opposite-gender parents and their children, but different constellations of adults raising children by choice, necessity, or culture. The emphasis on disability remains consistent with earlier literature, as does the pre-eminence of research focused on mothers, and middle-class heterosexual, white families. The latter is shifting, but slowly.

In the next chapter, I will discuss these themes in relation to occupational science theory and the practice of occupational therapy. I will suggest the limitations of this literature, and suggest future research directions to address them. Lastly, I will review what guidance occupational therapists and occupational therapy educators might consider in practice with parents and families.

CHAPTER 5   DISCUSSION

As is typical of other occupations, mothering is often viewed as

commonplace, self-evident, and therefore unworthy of serious study since

everyone already knows all about it. (Yerxa, 2004, p. vii)

Elizabeth Yerxa's quote in the preface to *Mothering Occupations: Challenge,*

Agency, and Participation encapsulated the state of formal consideration of mothering,

fathering, and parenting in occupational therapy and occupational science literature up to

the 2000's. The early years of this century saw an examination of parenting occupations

that brought them into consideration in the literature in their own right, making great

leaps with the publication of the *American Journal of Occupational Therapy's*

'Mothering' focus issue in 2000, and the 2004 publication of the *Mothering Occupations*

edited collection. The following years saw expansion of this consideration.

My main questions in undertaking this review were to understand how parenting

occupations were theorized and understood in occupational science and occupational

therapy literature, and what guidance is available to occupational therapists in

understanding, assessing, and enabling parenting as occupation. In reviewing articles on

parenting in occupational science and occupational therapy literature 2008-2018, the

main themes that emerged were: detailing mothering, fathering, and parenting

occupations; parental orchestration of child and family co-occupation, routines, and

rituals; parenting children with disabilities; parenting with disabilities or social barriers to

parenting occupations; and assessment and support for parenting in occupational therapy.

5.1 THEORIZING PARENTING: CO-OCCUPATION AND TRANSACTIONALISM

Common occupational models have been criticized as focusing solely on individuals – if not explicitly, then implicitly – with other people comprising part of the 'social-cultural environment', a dualism which precludes ideas of joint practice or experience of an occupation by two or more people together, as well as the infusion of the social into individual occupation (Hammell & Iwama, 2012; Hammell, 2014). Doris Pierce, the originator of the term "co-occupation" stated that occupation must be understood on a continuum of human phenomenology from occupations experienced as absolutely individual, to those done alongside or with another person, to those which are inherently and inextricably part of a larger social sphere (Pierce, 2006). Transactional models of occupation (Dickie et al., 2006), with their conceptualization of active, bidirectional relation, reflect that we are constantly transforming our situations as well as ourselves. This transactional lens and the idea of co-occupation have been taken up in much of the recent literature on parenting. As seen in Chapter 4, most resent research views parent and child as transformed through their interactions, each affecting the other in myriad ways through being and acting together.

In "extending the dialogue" on co-occupation, Pickens and Pizur-Barnekow (2009) clarify its definition: "Co-occupation occurs when two or more individuals engage in an occupation which becomes transformed by aspects of shared physicality, shared

emotionality, and shared intentionality. Co-occupations produce and are embedded in shared meaning" (p. 155). These perspectives were certainly taken up in the parenting literature during 2008-2018, and this insight is important to the study of occupation more broadly, challenging an over-emphasis on individualism. Co-occupation between parents and children is seen to strengthen attachment (Price & Miner 2009a; Whitcomb, 2012); to enable child occupations in their development (Price & Miner, 2009b; Price & Stephenson, 2009); and to be core to establishing family routines which contribute to wellness and family identity (Downs, 2008; Evans & Rodger, 2008; Rodger & Umaibalan, 2011; Koome et al., 2012; Bagatell et al., 2014; Boyd et al., 2014; Bonsall et al. 2014a&b). Clearly co-occupation is a key concept in understanding parenting and possibly the majority of occupation.

Transactional ideas of occupation are also clearly evident in recent examinations of parenting as co-occupation (Price & Miner, 2009; Mason & Conneely, 2012; Hackett & Cook, 2016), or as co-created and co-constructed occupation (Bonsall 2014a, 2014b). These ideas also transcend individualistic conceptions of occupation and place occupation squarely in the sphere of human interrelation with the world, including other beings. Thus, the study of parenting emphasizes that occupation should be understood not at the level of individual practice, "but rather at the level of the situation in which the individual is an integral part" (Dickie et. al, 2006, p. 91). A transactional view of occupation, more broadly, allows us to view occupations as inherently relational. Doing is inherently part of being, belonging and becoming, and all four of those aspects of occupation are simultaneously individual and social.

There are, however, important unexamined aspects of co-occupation. In particular, the matter of parental stress emerged strongly in the literature examined here (Bonsall, 2014a; Kramer-Roy, 2012; Kuhaneck et al., 2015). It seems clear that occupations may be important, valued, and highly meaningful, yet also frustrating, exhausting and stressful. Theorizing regarding co-occupation has not yet sufficiently addressed the issue of conflict. Any parent knows that co-occupations with children are not always domains of "shared intentionality" and "shared meaning", and the shared emotions often surround and magnify conflict between parents and children. While preparing a meal or cleaning the house together may be co-occupation for parent and child, these are often sites of tension and resistance. Mealtimes and bedtimes – oft-studied in the parenting literature (e.g., Evans & Rodger, 2008; Marquenie et al., 2011) – are frequently rife with conflict, often quite overt conflict. Studying occupations, including parenting, through the lens of co-occupation without incorporating a way of understanding conflict produces a very partial perspective. These conflicts aside, the very requirements of being a parent may not be positive for some, not being willing or able to meet the "demands (of) insuring the preservation, growth, and social acceptability of the child" (Llewellyn and McConnell, 2004, p. 181). As discussed below, parenting as occupation is subject to "figured world" (Kiepek, Phelan & Magalhaẽs, 2014) perceptions which hold it to be universally positive as a choice, life goal, and experience. The literature on parental stress, parenting children with disabilities, and parenting with disability or social marginalization reveal that this is not always all or any of the above.

Most research reviewed here was conducted with White mothers of middle-class socioeconomic status. Few papers went beyond these prevailing views. In the time period covered, research on fathering has begun to emerge, which begins to show how parenting is gendered in expectations and expression. Fathers in the research were seen to be present in the lives of their children, appearing to want to play active roles but not always feeling supported in doing so. The experiences of these fathers reveal the operation of social gender roles for fathers as workers, bread-winners, cultural expectations based on gender roles from previous generations. Research not specifically focused on fathers showed father-participants being marginalized in the research process as well – not invited to participate, not given voice in analyses. Mothers seem to be understood as the default 'parent', the example for studying attachment, play, feeding, and routines, where fathers take their children for rides in cars (Pizur-Barnekow et al., 2017) or work with them in gardens (Mason & Conneeley, 2012). The calls by some authors in *Mothering Occupations* (2004) to recognize some fathers and others as engaged in 'mothering', to be clear and specific in the use of language, and to critically examine the extent to which 'mothering' and 'fathering' are gender-bound, went unanswered in the ensuing years.

The persistent gendering of parenting occupations provides important evidence of transactionalism in occupation. Transactionalism refutes the possibility of separating person, environment and occupation; they are inextricable (Bunting, 2016). Thus, the social – in this instance gender roles and expectations – is always already infused within the person and the occupation. Doing is not solely an individual matter, it is always also shaped by (and shaping) social constructs of mother, father, parent, and subject to internal

and external evaluation. Moreover, transactionalism insists that the observer and the observed, the knower and what they can know, are also inseparable. The parenting literature illustrates how researchers, too, employ social gender constructs as they examine what parents do and how they construct meaning of their doing. Again, this is an important direction within occupational theorizing, pushing beyond a simplistic person-occupation-environment paradigm.

Similarly, the emergence of recent literature on parenting in families of other than White, European heritage poses not only a corrective to the empirical evidence base on parenting occupations, but also moves theorizing toward greater incorporation of social, cultural and economic factors (e.g., Blanche et al., 2015; Farias & Asaba, 2013; Kramer-Roy, 2012; Pizur-Barnekow et al., 2017). Again, this aligns well with transactional perspectives. Just as sociocultural gender constructs are embedded in parenting occupations, so too are cultural norms, values and expectations. Gerlach's (2008; 2014; 2018) work goes even further, showing how history and the political and economic structures of Indigenous-settler relations, of racism, of institutionalized poverty are also infused throughout concepts of parenting and how they are studied. This understanding is beginning to be taken up through a social determinants lens by some occupational scholars (Pitonyak et al., 2015).

If, as noted by Gerlach (2008) and Gerlach, Browne and Suto (2014), family is understood in some Indigenous cultures as an extended "circle of caring" rather than a nuclear parents-children structure; if play may be understood to look very different than it does in Western contexts; if parenting, too, looks very different; and if both play and

parenting are understood to have been disrupted by intergenerational trauma and resultant poverty and relational disruption – what does this suggest about how dominant-culture understandings are imposed as if universal? The literature that moves beyond White, European-origin contexts shows the discursive power of imposing culture-specific concepts on parents and families from other cultures. When 'good parenting' is defined through Western values, forming the basis for judging parenting occupations, many parents and families are left at risk through state surveillance systems. The literature reviewed for this CIS demonstrates an important move to unearth the cultural biases in how occupational therapy and occupational science conceptualize parenting occupations. In terms of transactionalism, this again shows the inseparability of individual and social, for both observer and observed. Additionally, as more collectivist cultures conceptualize parenting, family, child-rearing in far less individualistic terms than do Western cultures, this broadened attention may enhance conceptualizations of occupation more broadly. Bunting (2016) suggests that a transactional view of occupation can accommodate non-Western ways of knowing and be used as a foundation for understanding, assessing and enabling occupation and better capturing the complexities of interrelated human occupations. Yet, keep in mind the critiques raised earlier that parenting is culture-bound, and what may be understood as universal norms, may simply be an imposition of dominant groups. Assessing children, parents, and families based on culture and class-bound assumptions and practices is unethical and possibly dangerous to their wellbeing, as it can result in child protection and other legal ramifications.

5.2 DISABILITY AND ABLEISM IN PARENTING LITERATURE

Just as particular gender forms and cultural biases may be built into perceptions of and research on parenting, so too understandings of parenting may be infused with particular ideas about disability. Phelan (2011) provides insight from a disability studies perspective in her critique of client-centered occupational therapy. Rather than view disability solely as individual impairment, through a deficit lens, this perspective asks us to locate the perceived disability of a child or parent as lying within societal structures and norms which provide barriers and supports to occupational engagement, rather than within the child, parent, or family themselves. The family as a social structure and as socially-constructed as well as biologically-mediated must be understood as susceptible to the social structures, traditions, and conceptualizations around it. This view mirrors the one proposed by Gerlach regarding Indigenous families and parents. The vast majority of the research reviewed here looks at disability (implicitly or explicitly) as negative and disruptive to family and familial occupations; children with disabilities are seen as sources of stress for families (Boyd et al., 2014; Kahunek et al., 2015). Conceptualizing the 'problem' of parenting disabled children perpetuates an ableism that is prevalent societally, but also entrenched within the profession of occupational therapy.

Horne, Corr, and Earle (2005) provided an early position that parenting (specifically motherhood), despite being intensely personally meaningful, can sometimes lead to the loss or diminishment of other valued occupations and roles. They found that having a child led to major changes in mothers' occupations, including self-care, work, and leisure. For some, certain occupations or roles were seen to be temporarily disrupted

or altered, but ultimately maintained. Other occupations were able to be preserved, and some were discarded following the onset of motherhood. The authors characterized their participants' occupational lives post-childbirth as "obligatory dominant" (p. 182), in that they perform occupations that they need to do for the health and well-being of the child, at times at the expense of their own choice or preference. The changes to occupation experienced by parents of children with disabilities should be examined through this lens as they may not be unique to them.

Parenting research, like much occupational science and occupational therapy research, is susceptible to disability narratives (Phelan, 2011). A good example is Bonsall (2014b), an analysis of fatherhood and disability which need not have been framed from a disability perspective but simply from the perspective of fatherhood, producing no less pertinent results. It did, however, portray the occupation of fathering with children with a disability as having positive qualities, a departure from much of the literature which portrays raising children with disabilities as a risk factor for reduced well-being. A few other papers also offered examples of happiness instead of stress in parenting a child with a disability. Downs (2008) and Bonsall (2014a, 2015) provide illustrations (albeit all from the middle class) of parents choosing to create and engage in occupations with their children that bring happiness to both.

Recognizing the ways dominant social perspectives shape perceptions of parenting, as well as research on parenting, helps illuminate the ways occupation itself tends to be framed. Gerlach et al., (2018) have examined the economic neoliberalism reflected in many social institutions which engenders and reinforces individualistic views

in health, education and other social spheres. This individualism prioritizes self-interest and self-reliance, broadly increasing structural conditions of inequity and blaming individuals for their ills without recognizing the determinants of health that shape their lives. They called for a critical reframing of occupation away from reductionist individualism and toward a recognition of social forces, structures, and inequities that shape our "occupational consciousness or occupational possibilities" (p. 40). A transactional view of parenting situates occupations in a dynamic framework that includes not only the parent and their capabilities and behaviour, but also other family members as well as societal factors that shape and are shaped by the occupations of the family. Parenting occupations – the care of a child, co-occupation, routine – are impacted by social determinants that, as Pitonyak et al. (2015) and others demonstrated, are potential barriers or supports to occupational performance.

5.3 PARENTING IN A 'FIGURED WORLD'

Assessing parenting in occupational therapy and occupational science when inadvertently informed by Western neoliberalism and ableism means being is susceptible to "individualizing the social" (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). We are all subject to social and structural forces which support, limit, direct, constrain, and shape our occupations and the discourses around them. For occupational therapists is incumbent on us to recognize and determine their potential impacts on clients so as not to blame or stigmatize individuals for what is externally determined. Such harm can be inflicted even in ostensibly-supportive assessments performed by a therapist wanting to understand the occupational lives of parents or their children (e.g., Gerlach, 2018). Of more concern is the forensic

113

assessment of parenting capacity, which can result in the removal of children from the family home and parental care, temporarily or permanently.

Parenting is subject to "figured world" understanding in occupational literature, in that it is frequently held to be universally understood, valued as positive, and prescribed in form (Kiepek et al., 2014). Figured worlds are realms of interpretation in which particular characters, acts, and outcomes are recognized and already assigned significance and value. Parenting is constructed as desirable, positive, expected, or inevitable. Yet becoming a parent can be unanticipated, unwanted, untimely, unsupported, or a source of stress for a number of reasons. Interestingly, discourses around parenting have alternately viewed it as entirely natural, not in need of instruction or support or very much in need of "expert" help to do it "right". As noted early in the occupational therapy literature, "Women's power struggle against the tyranny of experts is historically long and well recorded. These experts appear in every generation, telling mothers how to behave during their pregnancy and how to bring up their children" (Esdaile, Farrell, & Olson, 2004, p. 18). The preconceived knowledge of experts is especially problematic when child safety or removal is at stake.

Occupational science knowledge of parenting and family has emerged in the past two decades, which is of benefit to occupational therapists involved with parenting assessments. The OT philosophy of client- and family-centered practice cautions against preconceived 'folk' notions of parenting occupations. The literature reviewed here suggests the need to continue to research parenting from an ecocultural perspective that

takes into consideration parenting knowledge, values, and practices from outside the dominant individualistic, gendered, middle-class representations of parenting in the literature of the early 2000's, incorporating views that are transactional, family-centered, rooted in multiple cultural and socioeconomic realities. Occupational therapists must approach families with humility and attempt to understand the context of child, parent, and family occupations and the factors that shape them (Gerlach, 2018).

Understanding the family, its members, their roles and occupations, and the family's relation to the sociocultural environment has the potential to provide deeper understanding of the family and more valuable approaches to their occupational challenges. Human development occurs along pathways that are jointly influenced by our innate qualities as humans as well as the occupations in which we engage in cultural and community contexts (Weisner, 2005). Assessment and support of parenting as occupation needs to be reflexive in order to enable parents', children's, and family occupations. Occupational therapists must be aware of their own culturally- and professionally-acquired understandings, experiences, models, and biases, approaching families from a perspective of cultural humility and critical reflexivity (Beagan, 2015; Phelan, 2011). It is key that therapists understand the unique makeup of families and their interrelated occupations as well as the ways patterned social relations shape parenting and family life (Gerlach, 2008). Grasping that notions of 'good parenting' are always already infused with sociocultural perceptions and values is an important step.

At the same time, it is evident from the literature reviewed here that in the 'figured world' of parenting, 'parent' is understood to (almost always) mean 'mother'.

115

Not only does this entrench restrictive gender roles, and fail to support fathers (Bonsall 2014a; Hamilton & de Jonge, 2010; Kramer-Roy, 2012), but it also fails to take the unique family context into account. Family-centered occupational therapy is one such approach to this practice, looking beyond the individual to understand other family members, the family unit, and their function.

Family-centered practice is an extension of client-centered practice which came into view in the early 2000's in pediatric occupational therapy. Family-centered practice recognized that the child's occupational development cannot be viewed in isolation and that parents and siblings are key to enabling child occupation. The whole family is regarded as the 'client' along with the child. Kyler (2008) elaborated on the evolution of family-centered occupational therapy from client-centered therapy: "Client-centered approaches emphasize professionals as agents of the person who intervene in ways to help him/her act as autonomously as possible, protect that person's integrity, and strengthen family functioning" (p. 102). In contrast, family-centered care is a partnership: "Understanding and respecting what the client and family brings to making treatment decisions is critical and helps in the development of a dynamic occupational therapy treatment plan that will work for all involved" (p. 118). Family-centered approaches expand the focus to include the family context (Dunbar & Roberts, 2006). In some contexts this would include looking beyond the immediate nuclear family to a more extended network (Gerlach, 2008).

The 2008-2018 parenting literature reviewed here introduces the notion of ecocultural and lifespan approaches, taking the roles and occupations of all members of

116

the family into consideration when working to assess, plan, and work to enable

occupation for any or all members of a family to the benefit of parents and children alike

(Graham et al., 2009). Understanding the 'situation' of the family – to use a transactional

term – allows a perspective of the individual and social simultaneously. Such an approach

might better enable the occupations of mothers, fathers, and children: "Children's

occupational therapists need to consider who their client is; although the referral would

normally be for the child, the successful outcome of therapy relies heavily on the family's

ability to implement any advice or programmes" (Kramer-Roy, 2012, p. 445). Family-

centered practice, using an ecocultural understanding of each family along with the

principles of trust, respect, and communication (Kyler, 2008) may help occupational

therapists to form a more accurate and complete conceptualisation of the family and their

possibilities. Concretely, therapists using an ecocultural approach endorse coaching as a

modality, wherein parents are guided in solving problems related to achieving self-

identified goals which may relate to their children's or their own occupational

performance in relation to parenting. This relationship moves therapists from the expert

role to that of team-member with the parent in enabling occupation (Graham, Rodger &

Ziviani, 2009).

Life course understanding of human development, occupation, social

expectations, and health is also important in understanding the intertwined occupations of

children, parents, and families. Most studies during this review period (and prior) have

looked at families of young children, and we must use care in relying on these examples

and analyses in understanding parenting as occupation, as they rarely consider how

parenting changes over the development and life changes of both children and parents. This caveat extends to child occupations as well, and care must be taken to understand children, adolescents, and young adults in terms of development and life stage. Pitonyak et al. (2015) made reference to the use of the Life Course Health Development Framework as a structure for occupational scientists and therapists to understand one's occupations in context of their paths in life, using it to critique and flesh out a 'client-centered' treatment plan for the mother of an infant experiencing feeding difficulties. The use of this framework expanded on the factors under consideration by the therapist to the potential benefit of both mother and child.

The Life Course Health Development Framework (Pitonyak, Pergolotti, & Gupta, 2020) posits that, "Health development results from the balanced interactions of molecular, physiological, behavioral, cultural, and evolutionary processes" (p. 3) and requires consideration of the unfolding of a life over time, its complexity, the timing and structure of environmental factors, and how health and development enable us to thrive. Understanding of life course development, including ecocultural factors, is integral for our understanding of each family member in enacting individual and family occupations and how to best enable those occupations for the best health and development outcomes over time. This framework, though based in an epidemiological health model, may be helpful for researchers, therapists, and educators to understand and address the broader social determinants and policies that impact occupational development alongside individual and local factors commonly considered.

Missing in this body of literature is writing on parent intellectual disability and parenting occupations. This does not mean that no occupational therapists or scientists are publishing in this field. David McConnell is a Canadian occupational therapist and researcher who has published a number of works in this area over the last 20 years, including a chapter in *Mothering Occupations* (Llewellyn & McConnell, 2004). His writing does not appear in the literature retrieved using the current search criteria, despite being an important body of work in understanding parents with occupational dysfunction stemming from living with intellectual disability or mental health issues as well as the social determinants of health and structural inequities in their lives. Searching for works authored by him specifically brings up other journals such as *Child Maltreatment* (Mcconnell, Feldman, Aunos, & Prasad, 2011) or *Community Mental Health Journal* (Westad and McConnell, 2012). Unfortunately, many occupational therapists who are not specialists in these areas of practice may not be aware of these sources, or may not have access. Cognate literature in psychology, social work, and psychiatry has much to say in this area but may be likewise inaccessible to occupational therapists and scientists for a variety of reasons.

5.4 LIMITATIONS

This synthesis was limited by a number of factors. I conducted a database search in CINAHL which included peer reviewed articles but not government documents, dissertations, conference proceedings, book chapters, etc. CINAHL does not index every

known occupational science or therapy publication, and searching in English leads to disproportionate weight on articles from English-speaking countries and publications, with less representation from the global South and non-English-speaking countries. Articles which were not available online from Dalhousie University were not included, which heightens publication bias. The search was limited in part to make the project feasible in the scope of a Masters project, yet it undoubtedly left things out that might have been of value. The manual review of titles and abstracts for inclusion may have omitted important research if it was not immediately clear how a source would bear on the topic of parenting. Some articles reviewed had unexpected content arising from literature reviews and analysis of parenting occupations. It is quite possible that other, excluded, papers might also have contained relevant surprises.

The review was also constrained by what is available in the published literature. Gender is poorly analyzed and fathering occupations remain under-examined. While some literature is emerging that attends to cultural diversity, it remains scant. There is virtually nothing that approaches intersectionality, integrating multiple aspects of social identity as they coalesce in the occupations of parenting. Disability is still presented primarily through an ableist lens, as discussed previously. Yet there is almost nothing on parenting with intellectual disability. Child point of view is essential in ecocultural understanding of child development and the occupations of children and family, but was beyond the scope of this synthesis. Finally, the most pressing gap, from my vantage as an occupational therapist practicing with families, is the lack of literature on how best to understand, assess, and enable parenting occupations, particularly when there are existing challenges.

5.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have provided a critical interpretation of the literature in occupational science literature on parenting 2008-2018. Transactionalism and co-occupation are seen to be foundational concepts for understanding occupation in general and parenting specifically. Social determinants are being increasingly recognized as powerful influences in the exercise of occupation, and the burdens of all kinds of social marginalization can be barriers on their own or in intersection with difficulties experienced by children and parents. Taken together, these support the need for family-centered practice of occupational therapy, based on ecocultural and life course understandings of family members. These approaches rise above the individualistic practices of considering only the "client" and their abilities and place a responsibility on occupational scientists and therapists to consider larger sociocultural factors, their implications in occupation, and means of enablement.

CHAPTER 6   CONCLUSIONS

This thesis was conceived out of my frustration as a practicing occupational therapist since 2001, feeling that I did not have access to a body of knowledge from my own profession with which to conceptualize, assess, and enable parenting occupations beyond the surface level. I came to understand that the folk conceptions of mothering,

fathering, and parenting called out by Yerxa (2004) did not best meet the needs of my clients, that there were no substantial models or tools grounded in occupational therapy that could directly be brought to bear, and that other professions had been considering and theorizing parenting for a generation before occupational therapy did.

My first job as an occupational therapist was in a public, multidisciplinary, early autism program where parents would receive their child's diagnosis, sometimes when the child was just a toddler, and I was expected to provide home- and community-based services to best help those parents meet their child's needs. In this narrow model, the needs of the mothers, fathers, other children, and any other members, plus any understanding of the family context were disregarded, minimized, or misunderstood. I came to understand the limitations of this approach for families and worked to have a better understanding of parents and families over time through clinical practice experience, work with other professions, and research into literature outside of occupational therapy.

Joining a private psychology practice in 2011 changed my clientele. I work frequently with parents and children involved in the child protection sector, where either or both may experience occupational dysfunction for a broad variety of reasons, often intersecting with physical and mental health, poverty, racism, trauma, and substance use. Assessment and enabling of occupation for these parents, children and families is difficult, and the responsibility for outcomes is often placed on the parent's individual shoulders with little regard for social factors that contributed to or even determined adverse outcomes.

This review has been challenging for me, in part because while occupational science has expanded considerably on conceptualizing parenting occupations, neither occupational science nor occupational therapy provide clear models for understanding parenting. The 2004 occupational therapy text *Mothering Occupations: Challenge, Agency, and Participation* (Esdaile & Olson) has been the most robust attempt to date in terms of collecting a body of research on parenting (focusing on mothers), and has not been revised nor supplanted. It has been valuable to critically analyze the literature that emerged after that text, and after the emergence of the important concepts of co-occupation (Pierce, 2000, 2004) and transactionalism (Dickie, Cutchin & Humphry, 2006), yet I am left disappointed that empirical research and theorizing have not gotten further in the ensuing years. I am particularly disappointed that deeper understandings of parenting have not translated to advances regarding assessment or enabling practices.

6.1 KEY THEMES OF THIS SYNTHESIS

The main themes of this critical interpretive synthesis have been that transactionalism and co-occupation are important for theorizing parenting occupations, that parenting occupations are inextricably linked with gender roles, and other sociocultural discourses; that disability comprises a disproportionate focus in this body of literature, despite the lack of guidance on assessing or enabling parenting occupations in the context of disability; that other social determinants of health are increasingly acknowledged as important factors in parenting, but still seldom taken up in empirical research.

Transactionalism is an important concept in theoretical and practical understandings of occupation, addressing the critique of individualistic depictions of occupation via a more holistic view, as well as addressing cultural bias as being amenable to non-Western worldviews and ways of knowing. A transactional perspective of parenting, co-occupation of adults with children, and the development of family are useful approaches to capture the dynamic and interrelated nature of these occupations over time. Parent-child co-occupation and family occupational routines emerge as powerful factors in attachment, acculturation, child development and family.

Fathering and mothering are distinct occupations, jointly biologically- and culturally-determined. These gendered roles are often encompassed by the collective term "parenting", but they are not always interchangeable with that term. The set of occupations related to mothering and fathering may overlap in an area called "parenting" but mothering and fathering occupations each have their own distinct spaces as well. Those gender-laden occupational spaces are changing over time, but surprisingly slowly.

Child, parent, and family occupations change over time as the developmental, relationship, and life-course factors change for each member of the family. Empirical evidence in this field would benefit from the adoption of a life-course approach that is too rare in occupational therapy and occupational science.

Occupational scientists and therapists are susceptible to dominant cultural discourses around gender roles in family, mothering, fathering, and what constitutes 'good parenting'. Researchers and practitioners are affected by culture-bound notions of appropriate parent and child occupations, reflected in research questions and results,

educational curricula, and everyday practice. This tendency has ramifications for parents, children and families in enabling their occupations in a variety of practice settings, but can be especially salient in family involvement with legal systems including child protection.

Occupational science and occupational therapy offer little firm guidance to therapists practicing with parents and children from nondominant social and cultural groups; families facing social marginalization; families with adolescents and young adults with disabilities; and parents with disabilities.

Parenting a child with a disability may have more in common with parenting a typically-developing child than it is different. That being said, occupational science and therapy have framed parenting of a child with a disability as a special case, a 'problem' that is in the domain of occupational therapy. This ableist view draws from but also reinforces dominant discourses of disability as deficit.

Parents with disability are poorly represented in the literature, being seen at times as intrinsically unable to parent. Occupations of productivity, self-care and leisure may be considered a higher priority, or more suitable goals for adults with disability. The absence of literature on parents with disability speaks volumes about the 'expectedness' of these adults in the category of parent. Occupational therapists who work in specialized adult physical or mental health positions may lack training and experience in enabling parenting occupations and co-occupation with children. Further, this general absence in the literature leaves occupational therapists to rely on their own culture-bound 'folk' understandings of child development and parenting best practices, reproducing dominant discourses of class, gender, culture and disability.

Social determinants of health and their intersections are emerging as playing a large part in the occupational performance of parents, children, and families. Yet existing research – and, I would argue, occupational therapy's individualistic conceptualizations of occupation and of parenting – routinely fail to address the ways in which social, cultural, political and economic factors shape parenting occupations. Social marginalization of all kinds leads to occupational deprivation and these factors must be taken into account when understanding, assessing and enabling parenting occupations.

6.2 PRACTICE RECOMMENDATIONS

Occupational therapists in child-oriented practice would benefit from continuing education on topics including co-occupation, family routines, mothering and fathering, and ecocultural and lifespan factors in child development, parenting, and family in order to best enable parent and family occupations. Likewise, therapists in adult practice would benefit from education on these same topics and in enabling parenting occupations in order to meet the needs of caring for children and, in turn, enabling their occupations. These may be supported by a transactional view of occupation, especially parent-child transaction in the development of their occupational roles.

Occupational scientists and therapists need to consistently take into account the social factors supporting or impeding child, parent, and family occupations, moving away from an inadequate individualist approach informed by neoliberalism and toward a reframing of occupation informed by critical scholars of occupation that better fits with a transactional understanding of the inseparability of individual and social. Both

occupational scientists and therapists have a role in documenting the contributions and impediments of social determinants on parenting and family occupations. How this can effectively inform assessment remains to be seen.

Ecocultural and life-span models and methods to understanding parent and family occupations may be helpful in developing occupational research, practice, and theory. Coaching informed by an ecocultural understanding of family is a promising area of practice, consistent with enablement models, which can enable parent and child occupations jointly and severally. Coaching as an approach for occupational therapists is being increasingly recognized in a number of practice areas and should be included as a basic practice skillset in education.

Cultural humility is a recommended stance when practicing with families, reflexively navigating the assumptions and values of culture, gender, and social status to understand families more fully.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There exists a wide body of up-to-date cognate literature on parenting and family in other professions which can be brought into occupational science and occupational therapy. This may help to more explicitly and more consistently link social determinants to parenting and family occupations, in order to move beyond individualistic and local assessment and understanding of parenting and to recognize the impacts of social marginalization and supports (or lack of supports) on children and families. Research in attachment (for example, Crespo, 2012) child development and child welfare (for

example Azar et al., 2008; McConnell et al. 2011a&b) , ecocultural pathways of child development and parents' influence on same, (Wiesner, 2005), and more can provide models of parent-child transactionalism that inform our knowledge, assessment, and enabling of parent-child attachment, co-occupation, and routines. Though this synthesis discussed co-occupation between parents and children, transactional analyses of parenting occupations, and ecocultural and lifespan approaches to child development and family, child voices and the occupations of children were not contemplated in this analysis. The consideration of ecocultural pathways in child development and occupation and the lived experience of children as developing humans is crucial in understanding parenting and family.

As a field of inquiry, occupational science and occupational therapy need more research on parenting occupations in non-dominant social and cultural groups; in 'post-modern families' headed by same-gender or transgender parents, blended and non-nuclear families, and extended families; in families that involves multiple homes and spaces. More research is needed that attends to social and ecocultural factors and the ways they affect parenting. There is still far too little research exploring parenting and family occupations of non-dominant groups such as people of colour and Indigenous communities. The attention to parenting occupations of men is still far too thin in existing research. In fact, considerably more critical research is needed that attends to the roles of gender in parenting for all genders. Even when women and mothering are the focus, the influence of gender is often taken for granted.

Finally, we need research into best practices for assessment and enabling when there are challenges to parenting. Without that, we are leaving therapists practicing with

little guidance.

6.4 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

I undertook this thesis project in order to understand how parenting is understood and represented in the occupational science and therapy literature. There was a definitive body of work published by leading authors in the early 2000's which began to show the importance and nuances of mothering, fathering, and parenting occupations, and established their importance in the constellation of human occupation. This critical interpretive synthesis of literature published 2008-2018 indicates that, while research has expanded steadily over time, nondominant and marginalized groups have not been well-researched and views of parenting occupations are overinformed by the study of white, educated, able-bodied, middle-income mothers, often mothers of children with disabilities. Fathers, Indigenous parents, parents of non-European origin, and sexual or gender minority parents are underrepresented. This presents a lack of guidance to occupational therapists practicing with families in a post-modern world of complex intersecting identities.

Transactional approaches to occupation, including ecocultural and life course approaches, have the potential to widen our consideration of parenting occupations in research and in practice. Working with families to understand them, the individuals' places in their family, and the family's place in the world is an ethical necessity to best enable occupation for all.

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Appendix 1   Thematic Analysis

Reference	Sample/Methods	Themes
Downs, M. (2008) Leisure routines: Parents and children with disability sharing occupation, *Journal of Occupational Science*, 15:2, 105-110, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2008.9686616 Phenomenological study Shared occupations/ co-creating experiences/co-occupation	N=9 "participants were the birth parent of a child with severe disabilities between the ages of 5 to 16 years who was receiving special education services through the local public school program." (p106) Interview with "descriptive dialogue and an interpretive dialogue" (p107)	Parents Routines Leisure Co-occupation Child disability-(various) 5-16 yo Parent stress Parents as change agents SES undetermined
Evans, J., & Rodger, S. (2008). Mealtimes and bedtimes: Windows to family routines and rituals. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 15, 98-104. DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2008.9686615 Qualitative semi-structured interview	Interviewed only mothers, no fathers or children Used the word "families" when reporting only the observations of mothers? N=10 mothers, 9 nuclear families, 1 single parent living with her parents, higher education and SES, "Caucasian, middle class"	Routines Rituals Mothers Typically-developing children Preschool children Higher SES Parent collaboration
Gerlach, A. (2008). "Circle of caring": A First Nations worldview of child rearing. The *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 75(1), 18-25.	n=5, 3 mothers, 1 father, 1 grandmother from Lil'wat First Nation	Eco-cultural Early childhood Mother Father

Ethnography; Individualism vs collectivism		Grandparent Theory Indigenous/Minority Lower SES?
DeLany, J. & Jones, M. (2009). Time Use of Teen Mothers. *OTJR: Occupation, Participation, Health*. 29. 175-182. 10.3928/15394492-20090914-05. Mixed methods – interview + experiential time use samples	n=9, "The teens, whose ages ranged between 15 and 20 years, were the primary caregivers for their children and came from white, African American, and Latina backgrounds." No SES specified, but were involved in a "non-profit teen parenting program" (p.176)	Time use Mothers Life course Non-nuclear First-time parent Typically-developing child Lower SES?
Price, P., & Miner, S. (2009). Extraordinarily Ordinary Moments of Co-Occupation in a Neonatal Intensive Care Unit. *OTJR: Occupation, Participation and Health*, 29(2), 72-78. Narrative	Single narrative, no demographic info on mother, no mention of father "This article will illustrate how one occupational therapist facilitated extraordinarily ordinary moments of becoming a family for a mother and premature infant through negotiating the meaning of parenting and parenting co-occupations and providing opportunities for parenting co-occupations, which	Co-occupation NICU/Infant Attachment Family-centered Coaching Mother Child disability/illness-NICU First-time parent SES Undetermined

	are both important aspects of occupation-based practice implemented in the neonatal intensive care unit." (p72)	
Price, P., & Stephenson, S. (2009) Learning to promote occupational development through co-occupation. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 16, 180-186, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2009.9686660 Single-case narrative *focuses on "mothering" analysis of parent-child occupation between a mother and a child with a disability	"Narrative analysis of empirical data of how co-occupation was facilitated between a young child, Andrew, and his mother, Roxanna, illustrates how co-occupations strengthened the parent-child relationship and led to structured opportunities for occupational, social, and emotional development in both" Single-case narrative analysis of a first-time mother of a child with a disability. No demographic info	Co-occupation Mothering Preschool Child disability – various SES undetermined
Price, M., & Miner, S. (2009). Mother becoming: Learning to read Mikala's signs. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 16(2), 68-77. "This article describes the therapy process between Erin, a NICU therapist, and Carmen and her infant, Mikala."	Single narrative, no demographic info on mother, no mention of father	Coaching Co-occupation Attachment NICU/Infant Mothering Child disability/illness First-time parent Parent competence

		SES undetermined
Graham, F., Rodger, S., & Ziviani, J. (2009). Coaching parents to enable children's participation: An approach for working with parents and their children. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, 56(1), 16-23.		Coaching Ecocultural Parent as change agent Ableist Family-centered Theory routines
Pierce, D. (2009). Co-occupation: The challenges of defining concepts original to occupational science. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 16, 203-207. DOI:10.1080/14427591.2009.9686663	Theory development	Co-occupation Theory/critique
Hamilton, A., & de Jonge, D., (2010) The impact of becoming a father on other roles: An ethnographic study, *Journal of Occupational Science*, 17:1, 40-46, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2010.9686671 Focused ethnography of first-time fathers.	Convenience sample of 4 Anglo-European Australian, cisgender, heterosexual, 30's, fully-employed men. No longitudinal data. All children were female`	Fathering Gender roles First-time parent Typically-developing children Higher SES ADLs
Precin, P., Timque, J., & Walsh, A. (2010) A Role for Occupational Therapy in Foster Care, *Occupational Therapy in Mental Health*, 26:2, 151-175, DOI: 10.1080/01642121003736085	narrative overview paper of effects of maltreatment, neglect, and disordered attachment on children who end up in foster care and the role of OT in supporting these children in their foster families	Foster parenting Child disability-attachment/trauma Attachment Parent disability -mental health; substance use
Stokes, R. H., & Holsti, L. (2010). Paediatric occupational therapy: Addressing parental stress with the sense of coherence. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 77, 30-37.	Review	Parental stress Child disability Theory

| Pepin G, Deutscher B (2011) The lived experience of Australian retirees: 'I'm retired, what do I do now?' *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 74(9), 419 - 426. | 4 men and 1 woman, aged between 61 and 68. The participants were classified as a managers, professional and labourer, according to the Australian and NZ Classification of Occupations). All were married with children and grandchildren, and lived in South West Victoria, Australia. Although approximately 16.2% of the population living in the area of the study was born overseas and 0.7% is of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, all participants were born in Australia and none were Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders. | Grandparenting

Not grandparent as parent

Higher SES |
| Martin, L., Smith, M., Rogers, J., Wallen, T., & Boisvert, R. (2011). Mothers in Recovery: An Occupational Perspective. *Occupational Therapy International*, 18(3), 152-161.

Narrative inquiry/ interview | "The women ranged in age from 18 to 47 years old. Nine were white, and one was African American. Eight women had children under the age of 7 years, whereas two had only children aged 14 years or older. Seven of the participants had been homeless prior to admission to the treatment facility, two had lived with | Mother

Parent disability-substance use

Parental stress

Variety of child ages and development

Lower SES |

	their husbands and one had been in jail. "(p153)	
Rodger , S., & Umaibalan, V. (2011) The routines and rituals of families of typically developing children compared with families of children with autism spectrum disorder: an exploratory study. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 74(1), 20-26. DOI: 10.4276/030802211X12947686093567 Poorly done study, small n, questionnaire, no individual crosschecking	The mothers of children aged 2-6 years completed the Family Routines Inventory (FRI) and the Family Ritual Questionnaire (FRQ) to compare the role of routines and rituals in families with TD children (n = 10) and families of children with ASD (n = 12). Mostly nuclear families, mostly middle to high SES and postsecondary education Small convenience sample, little demographic info, not matched for possible confounding variables	Routines and Rituals Mothers Young children Parental stress Child disability- ASD Higher SES
Marquenie, K.,Rodger,S., Mangohig, K., and Cronin, A. (2011). Dinnertime and bedtime routines and rituals in families with a young child with an autism spectrum disorder. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, 58, 145–154 . Descriptive qualitative interviews	"fourteen Australian mothers with a young child with ASD" 2/14 "low" family income bracket. Strategies used to establish rigour	Routine Ritual Mother Child disability- ASD Preschool children Parental stress Higher SES (mostly) Parent collaboration

	interviews only being conducted with mothers and not fathers or siblings	
Koome, F., Hocking, C., & Sutton, D. (2012) Why routines matter: The nature and meaning of family routines in the context of adolescent mental illness. Journal of Occupational Science, 19, 312-325, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2012.718245

Qualitative descriptive study; Wilcock 'Doing-being-belonging-becoming'; Authors disclosed "Personal and professional bias to interpret data from occupational and recovery perspectives is acknowledged" (p.321) n=7 | Interviewed mothers and teens, no fathers

Mother/son NZE, mother/son Maori, mothe/daughter NZE, mother NZE son ineligible

"Inclusion criteria were that participants were either adolescents aged between 13 and 18 years old receiving treatment or the parent/caregiver of an adolescent receiving treatment, had an adequate command of conversational English, were living in the context of a family environment, and that the adolescent participants were at a stage in their recovery where they would be able to cope with discussing aspects of their previous functioning." | Routine

Child disability - Mental illness

Teen

Parental stress

SES undetermined

ADLs |
| Honaker, D., Rosello, S.S., & Candler, C. (2012). Test-retest reliability of family LIFE | 15 families "of any structure, race, or | Child Disability -ASD |

(Looking Into Family Experiences): An occupation-based assessment. *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 66, 617-620. Correlational study of an instrument to capture family occupations	culture with English as the primary language and with a child between ages 3 yr and 12 yr who had a diagnosis on the autism spectrum." "Although families of all races were invited to participate in this study, all respondents were White, and all were nuclear families" "although all caregivers were invited, 15 mothers were the respondents" (p. 618)	Mothers 3-12yo Family-centered "Family occupations" ADLs SES undetermined
Kramer-Roy, D. (2012). Supporting ethnic minority families with disabled children: learning from Pakistani families. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 75(10), 442-448. Participatory action research		Ethnic minority families Child disability - various Family-centered practice Gendered roles Mothering Fathering Minority/Immigrant SES undetermined SES Lower? Parent collaboration Environment

Whitcomb, DA. (2012). Attachment, occupation, and identity: Considerations in infancy. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 19, 271-282, DOI:10.1080/14427591.2011.634762 Draws links between infant-mother attachment and the development of co-occupation	*Though this paper was written in 2012, it refers to and quotes mainly papers on attachment written in the 1950's, 60's, and 70's, with few modern references .	Attachment Co-occupation Theory
Mason J, Conneeley L (2012) The meaning of participation in an allotment project for fathers of preschool children. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 75(5), 230-236. Therapeutic horticulture, focus groups, interpretive phenomenological analysis	These fathers are typically unemployed, casually employed or working in manual occupations, and their children have been identified as requiring additional support due to developmental, environmental or family factors. 6 fathers of preschool children	Fathering Lower SES Parental stress Typically-developing children Environment Co-occupation
Orban, K., Edberg, A-K., & Erlandsson, L-K. (2012) Using a time-geographical diary method in order to facilitate reflections on changes in patterns of daily occupations, *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 19:3, 249-259, DOI: 10.3109/11038128.2011.620981	Proof-of-concept for time-geographical diary method used in following study. "inclusion criteria for participants in the study were women aged 30−50, living in two-parent families, working more than half time and having at least one child aged 2−6 years. A convenience sampling method was used	Time use Gender roles Co-occupation Enfolding occupations Life-span orientation Higher SES Typical child development routine

	(29). Through colleagues and friends, women who matched the criteria and who had no relation to any of the authors were asked to participate in the study. The first two women who agreed to participate were chosen." (p250)	
Orban, K. , Ellegård, K. , Thorngren-Jerneck, K & Erlandsson, L. (2012) Shared Patterns of Daily Occupations among Parents of Children Aged 4−6 Years Old with Obesity, *Journal of Occupational Science*, 19:3, 241-257, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2012.687685 Mixed methods, time -geographical diaries with quantitative and qualitative analysis Part of a larger RCT on child obesity intervention not published in OT lit		Time Use Child disability- obesity Co-occupation Enfolding occupations Life Course Gender roles Nuclear family Higher SES Parent collaboration ADLs routine
Fingerhut, P. E. (2013). Life Participation for Parents: A tool for family-centered occupational therapy. American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 67, 37−44. http://dx.doi.org/10.5014/ajot.2013.005082 Instrument reliability and validity	Parents of child with a disability receiving OT services; 92% of respondents mothers; 57.4% "white", 42.6% "other or combination of ethnicity" Private OT clinics = higher SES subjects?	Child disability- various Family-centered Ableist Higher SES
Farias, L., and Asaba, E. (2013) "The Family Knot": Negotiating Identities and Cultural Values through the Everyday Occupations of		Immigrant experience Routine

151

an Immigrant Family in Sweden, Journal of Occupational Science, 20:1, 36-47, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2013.764580 Ethnographic narrative analysis of a multigenerational Chilean-Swedish family		Family processes SES indeterminate Parent collaboration Environment
Graham, F., Rodger, S., & Ziviani, J. (2013). Effectiveness of occupational performance coaching in improving children's and mothers' performance and mothers' self-competence. American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 67, 10–18. http://dx.doi.org/10.5014/ajot.2013.004648 one-group time-series design was used to evaluate changes in children's (n 5 29) and mothers' (n 5 8) occupational performance no control group, no blinding	"All mothers (n 5 29) were aged 31–45 yr and had between one and five (Mdn 5 2) children at home. Most families (approximately 80%) were dual-parent families. Family income spanned low -, middle-, and high-income brackets for Queensland, Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Mothers' education level was generally high, with 52% (n 5 15) having completed postgraduate study." (p14)	Coaching ADLs Child Disability -various SES varied Mothers
Bonsall, A. (2014a) This is what we do": Constructing postmodern families through occupations. Journal of Occupational Science, 21:3, 296-308, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2014.914459 "ethnographic study of fathers of children with disabilities and their families"	Data from 3 married heterosexual fathers with children with disabilities 7-12yo the child's disability status was defined by the fathers as limiting social participation Interview and observational data *No SES data, but as "Tee-ball" and "watching the Tour de France" were*	Fathering Family processes Child Disability -various Positivity Co-constructed occupations Higher SES

	listed as co-constructed occupations, I'm guessing higher	
Bonsall, A. (2014b) Fathering Occupations: An Analysis of Narrative Accounts of Fathering Children with Special Needs, Journal of Occupational Science, 21:4, 504-518, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2012.760423 "Narrative analysis" of published accounts	19 books 2002-2011 first-person accounts written or cowritten by fathers "Authors' previous writing experience was a varied mix of scholarly articles, blogging, and published books." Indicating higher SES "Collection of data lasted over a year and included monthly interviews as well as observations of the families. Data analysis was based on narrative phenomenology, combining literary theory and hermeneutics"	Fathering Child disability-various Positivity Co-constructed occupations Higher SES
Boyd, BA., Harkins, C., McCarty, CH., & Sethi, C. (2014). Families of children with autism: A synthesis of family routines literature. Journal of Occupational Science, 21, 322-333. DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2014.908816 Literature synthesis – important review- straddles the earlier part of my sampling frame	Synthesis of OS literature 2002-2012 Nuclear families, no gender differentiation Limitations: Little observational data, mostly mother interview/survey, mostly w/children 2-6yo, focus on disability rather than success	Child disability- ASD Routines Rituals Family occupations Parent collaboration

Gerlach, A., Browne, A., & Suto, M., (2014). A Critical Reframing of Play in Relation to Indigenous Children in Canada, Journal of Occupational Science, 21:3, 243-258. DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2014.908818	Critical analysis of Western child development discourses, and effects of colonization on indigenous children, families, and institutions	Minority/Indigenous Critique Theory
Bagatell, N., Cram, M., Alvarez, C., and Loehle, L. (2014). Routines of families with adolescents with autistic disorders: A comparison study. Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy, 81(1) 62-67 DOI: 10.1177/0008417414520691 Family Routines Inventory cross-sectional survey of families with adolescents with ASD or Typically Developing	35/40 families "higher education", 5 "high school", mostly suburban "Only one parent [per family] completed the survey, most often the mother ; therefore, family perspectives on routines were limited. Information about the functioning/severity level of the adolescent with ASD was not obtained." (p65)	Mothers Routines Child disability- ASD Life course Parental stress Higher SES
Marken, D.M., & Howard, J.B. (2014) Grandparents Raising Grandchildren: The Influence of a Late-Life Transition on Occupational Engagement, Physical & Occupational Therapy in Geriatrics, 32:4, 381-396, DOI: 10.3109/02703181.2014.965376	"A convergent, mixed methods design guided the collection, analysis, and integration of quantitative and qualitative data" White, middle-class, SE US, custodial, n=10, 5 grandmothers and 5 grandfathers,	Grandmothers/grandfathers Grandparents as parents Life course Co-occupation ADLs Higher SES

	balanced rural, suburban	
Dunn, L., Magalhaes, L. C., & Mancini, M. C. (2014). Internal structure of the Children Helping Out: Responsibilities, Expectations, and Supports (CHORES) measure. American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 68, 286−295. http://dx. doi.org/10.5014/ajot.2014.010454 Questionnaire analysis	N=132 94% white respondents, 92% with at least "some college", "parent-reported child intellect : 'above average' = 50%"	ADLs Child disability- various Typically-developing children Higher SES
Orban, K., Edberg, A.-K., Thorngren-Jerneck, K., Önnerfält, J., & Erlandsson, L-K. (2014) Changes in Parents' Time Use and Its Relationship to Child Obesity, *Physical & Occupational Therapy In Pediatrics*, 34:1, 44 -61, DOI: 10.3109/01942638.2013.792311	N=30 parents/15m/15f Higher ses Swedish	Child disability- obesity Time use Ecocultural Preschool Higher SES
Kuhaneck, H. M., Madonna, S., Novak, A., & Pearson, E. (2015). Effectiveness of interventions for children with autism spectrum disorder and their parents: A systematic review of family outcomes. American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 69, 6905180040. http://dx.doi.org/10.5014/ajot.2015.017855 Systematic review of family outcomes	Systematic review January 2006−April 2013. The focused question that framed this review was "What is the evidence for the effectiveness of interventions within the scope of occupational therapy practice for people with ASD that improve parent self-efficacy, family coping and resiliency (including spouse and children), and family participation in daily life and routines?"	Family-centered Child disability- ASD Parental stress Parent efficacy Individualizing the social
Santoso, T. B., Ito, Y., Ohshima, N., Hidaka, M., & Bontje, P. (2015). Resilience in daily occupations of Indonesian mothers of	Fourteen mothers of children with ASD; aged 33-45; all	International Child disability - ASD

children with autism spectrum disorder. American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 69, 6905185020 Qualitative focus group research, constant comparative method	married; all had at least "some college" (9 bachelor degrees, 2 masters); 5 were professionals, 9 "homemakers". Households often included nannies	ADLs High SES Parental stress mothers
Blanche, E. I., Diaz, J., Barretto, T., & Cermak, S. A. (2015). Caregiving experiences of Latino families with children with autism spectrum disorder. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 69, 6905185010. Interview - Ethnography	15 Latino parents of children with ASD; only 3 were fathers despite referring to "families"; no male voices were featured in the article, only reports by mothers of what the father did or said; no reference whatsoever to SES	Minority/Latino Child Disability-ASD Mothers Lower SES implied, not stated Environment
Bonsall, A. (2015) Scenes of fathering: The automobile as a place of occupation, *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 22:6, 462-469, DOI: 10.3109/11038128.2015.1057223 Narrative analysis of interview and observation of 4 fathers	"This study focuses on four fathers in order to allow for sufficient analysis of data. The data in this article were collected as part of an ethnographic study on fathering occupations that included five fathers who participated for over a year. However, the story of one father who did not have access to an automobile is not included in this paper because it does not relate to the research question. Fathers were recruited through personal and professional connections. The	Enfolding occupation Fathering Higher SES? (car owners) Child disability-various Environment

	inclusion criteria for men were self-defining as fathers of a child with a disability between the ages of seven and 12 years." (p463)	
Pitonyak, J., Mroz, T., & Fogelberg, D. (2015). Expanding client-centred thinking to include social determinants: a practical scenario based on the occupation of breastfeeding, *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 22:4, 277-282, DOI: 10.3109/11038128.2015.1020865	Case study from a breastfeeding study on individualizing the social and how to move toward understanding and mitigating social determinants of health using client-centered reasoning Proposes a "Life Course Health Development" framework – very important for "way forward" discussion	Social determinants Client-centredness Lower SES Individualizing the social Life course
Wint, A. J., Smith, D. L., & Iezzoni, L. I. (2016). Mothers with physical disability: Child care adaptations at home. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 70, 7006220060. http://dx.doi.org/10.5014/ajot.2016.021477 Mothers (only) with significant physical impairment.	N=22. "Part of a larger exploratory mixed-methods investigation of pregnancy among women with chronic physical disability" (p. 77006220060p1) White 20/24. 15/22 College-educated. Few mentions of fathers, no interviews with fathers w/ or w/o disability	Mother Parent disability- physical Higher SES Environment Parent assessment
VanderKaay, S. (2016) Mothers of children with food allergy: A discourse analysis of		Mothering

occupational identities, *Journal of Occupational Science*, 23:2, 217-233, DOI: 10.1080/14427591.2015.1119713 Discourse analysis of 3 "allergy mom" blogs		Child disability – food allergy Gender Construction of occupational identity Higher SES
Hackett, E. & Cook, S. (2016) Occupational Therapists' Perceptions of How They Support the Parenting Role of Mental Health Service Users Who Have Children, *Occupational Therapy in Mental Health*, 32:1, 32-49, DOI: 10.1080/0164212X.2015.1091280	"This may be the first study to explore the perspectives of OTs in supporting mental health service users as parents." (p43)	Parent disability- mental health Co-occupation Parent assessment
Pizur-Barnekow, K., Pate1, D., Lazar, K., Paul, N, Pritchard, K., & Morris, G. (2017). African American Fathers' Occupational Participation: "Keeping the Mothers in a Positive Vibe". *OTJR: Occupation, Participation and Health*, Vol. 37(4) 237–244	"A purposive sample of African American fathers from four fatherhood programs located in an urban area of a city in the Midwest was recruited to participate in a focus group inter- view. Four focus groups (of 8-12 men per group) were held at the community organizations that supported African American fathers. The programs provide a range of services for fathers of lower socioeconomic status to enhance responsible father participation." (p238)	Social determinants of health Life course Ecocultural Fathering Infant Environment
Rybski, D., & Israel, H. (2017) Impact of Social Determinants on Parent Sense of Competence in Mothers Who are Homeless or Poor Housed, *Occupational Therapy in Mental Health*, 33:4, 342-359, DOI:	"Participants were 91 mothers, 18 years of age or older, with a child between the ages of	Parent sense of competence Social determinants Individualize the social

10.1080/0164212X.2017.1344901 Social determinant prespective. Discusses mothering, not fathering. Very poorly edited article. Compared homeless and poorly-housed, no "well-housed" comparison group	36 and 71 months. During the recruitment phase of the study, mothers with children who had a physical, cognitive, or behavioral diagnosis reported by their mother were excluded from the study. The sample included 45 mothers who were currently homeless and 46 mothers who were currently poor housed from a Midwest city." Recruited only mothers, excluded "mothers with children who had a physical, cognitive, or behavioural diagnosis", limiting the analysis.	Enfolding occupations Mothers Low SES *Parent disability – poverty?*
Arnold, S., Mackenzie, L., James, C., & Millington, M. (2018). International perspective on factors influencing the performance of housework: a scoping review. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, Vol. 81(12) 687−699	International scoping review of data from 34 countries in N and S America, Europe, Asia, Australia, NZ, and the Middle East. No African countries	Gender ADLs Routines International Same-sex
Gerlach, A. (2018). Exploring socially-responsive approaches to children's rehabilitation with Indigenous communities, families, and children. Prince George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health.	"This publication is written for Indigenous communities and organizations, and children's rehabilitation stakeholders,	Minority/ Indigenous Parents as change agents Social Determinants

	including government funding agencies, who are questioning how to support the health and well-being of Indigenous children who have developmental challenges, disabilities,4 and complex health conditions through the provision of community-based children's rehabilitation services and programs." (p6)	
Suarez, M., Horton-Bierema, W., & Bodine, C.. (2018) "Challenges and Resources Available for Mothers in Opiate Recovery: A Qualitative Study," *The Open Journal of Occupational Therapy*: 6(4), Article 2. DOI https://doi.org/10.15453/2168-6408.1483 Interviews	4 mothers in opiate recovery	Mothers Parent disability- drug use Child disability – prenatal drug exposure Attachment Low SES Social determinants
Román-Oyola, R. , Figueroa-Feliciano, V., Torres-Martínez, Y., Torres-Vélez, J., Encarnación-Pizarro, K., Fragoso-Pagán, S., & Torres-Colón, L. (2018). Play, Playfulness, and Self-Efficacy: Parental Experiences with Children on the Autism Spectrum. *Occupational Therapy International* Volume 2018, Article ID 4636780, 10 pages https://doi.org/10.1155/2018/4636780		Child disability – ASD International