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Campbell River Indigenous Parenting Report

Pierce, N., Muir, K., & Sparkes, H.

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Abstract

Initially, the research project, 'Indigenous Caregiving Models and Parallels with Attachment Base/Trauma Informed Parenting' was intended to focus on the use of the Integrative Practice Program (IPP) with Indigenous children in care, within Campbell River, BC who have experienced trauma. Upon completion of the literature review, it became evident that each Indigenous community is different and as such, IPP could not be assessed to be culturally congruent if the local Indigenous culture was not known in earnest. This meant the research team had to alter the focus of the research question. The focus would, therefore, be to inquire into the local parenting practices of Indigenous families within Campbell River and surrounding areas. Qualitative data was gathered with the intent to answer the new research question: What are the parenting practices of the Indigenous peoples of Campbell River? The research project involved engaging with the local Indigenous communities, through consultation with culture keepers. The research participants included eleven individuals who identified as Indigenous and lived in proximity to Campbell River. The data collection methods afforded the research team with an opportunity to integrate the use of community-based research techniques. The data collection included an individual demographic questionnaire, an individual ecomap of family make-up, round-table discussions with open-ended questions in a 'World Café' style, and concluded with a community mapping exercise. The information gathered was analyzed using Nvivo software that placed response to open-ended questions in hierarchies based on frequency of agreement by other research participants. The information was drafted into a framework that is intended to guide cultural congruency in Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD) programs in Campbell River. The findings provided a great deal of information on what child development looks like for Indigenous families within Campbell River and surrounding areas. For example, the information gathered helped to identify family and environmental make-up (through the use of ecomaps and community mapping), the role of families and caregivers in raising a child, the important aspects of child development, and how to appropriately support a child. The information also highlights what to look for when working with families by identifying traditional customs and practices that may help guide child-rearing practices. For non-Indigenous populations, the framework can be used to help increase knowledge about differences between cultures. This in turn, can aid with limiting bias through information sharing between cultures. The research report will present the ways in which the Indigenous Communities within Campbell River and surrounding areas parent their children and the important cultural considerations that must be made when working with this unique community. The resulting framework will provide accessible knowledge about traditional parenting practices as identified by local Elders and culture keepers that may have been lost through residential schools and colonization.

Keywords: Campbell River, BC, Indigenous, cultural keepers, parenting, child rearing



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Correspondence: Dr. Barbara Lee, University of British Columbia
School of Social Work, 2080 West Mall, Vancouver, BC, Canada
Email: b.lee@ubc.ca

Introduction

This research was intended for the benefit of the local communities of Campbell River, BC, including the three local Indigenous Bands of the area: Wei Wai Kum, Wei Wai Kai, and Homalco. The researchers sought to gain a better understanding of the ways in which the local Indigenous communities' parent according to their culture. The information from the data obtained and the framework created is intended to encourage cultural congruence in service delivery by the local child welfare office in Campbell River. The researchers were seeking to answer the question: What are the parenting practices of the Indigenous peoples of Campbell River?. The research plan involved engagement with the local Indigenous communities through consultation with culture keepers. The intention through this process was to collect information that may inform and help guide MCFD to better understand the local communities. This information in turn, may better serve the unique Indigenous communities engaged with the research project, as services and interventions may be better adapted to local culture. The process for data collection was qualitative and integrated the use of community-based research techniques to facilitate creative and organic ways of sharing information.

Consultation in Campbell River through the Campbell River Aboriginal Visioning and Empowering (CRAVE) Network, Laichwiltach Family Life Society (LFLS), and the Sasamans network has provided an avenue for ongoing engagement with the Indigenous communities and MCFD. The research included utilizing the knowledge from these existing networks to aid with the development of a framework for Indigenous parenting in Campbell River. The intention was that, with a document to guide those engaged with Indigenous families, there would be increased awareness and accountability to recognize the unique culture of local families. Although consultation relationships are maintained between the bands and MCFD, there is little formal research to guide engagement and interventions within these specific bands. The researchers intended to gather information regarding parenting and child development from the perspectives of Elders and local

culture keepers of the aforementioned bands. The researchers were interested in recording how child development, traditional milestones, and methods for guiding the development of children is perceived by members of the community.

Although the research focused on a specific area of BC and the findings should not be generalized to other communities, the methods of engagement could be applicable elsewhere. The research was guided by a commitment to obtain local knowledge and to provide this information to child protection services. If social workers adopt the idea of cultural safety in their practice, clients and communities may be better served by interventions that recognize unique perspectives and ways of knowing. Indigenous communities are unique and separate nations; therefore, it is imperative for social workers to adopt an ecological understanding of children and families from such communities. As interventions, including apprehension and family support, are historically designed by non-Indigenous professionals, the research intends to provide information through a framework created by Indigenous culture keepers that may inform social workers on how to better serve clients and communities from a locally cultural lens.

Literature Review

Across cultures, parents play an essential role in the development of children. The literature review conducted in the preliminary stages of research, explained why the roles of Indigenous families needed to be clarified and supported through a trauma-informed, attachment-based perspective flexible to the difference in culture for Indigenous families of Canada. The literature review highlighted the need for culturally informed approaches, collaboration, and an ability to recognize differences between parenting styles in order to work effectively with Indigenous populations regardless of their location. The information reviewed demonstrated that it is possible for trauma informed attachment-based approaches to be complementary to local Indigenous views of parenting but the lens from which the approach is employed must be shifted.

Theories of social and emotional development

emerging from dominant Western cultures have been applied in Indigenous communities, disregarding historical cultural differences in approaches to parenting (Benzies, 2014). For example, raising children was seen primarily as a community responsibility in Indigenous culture as opposed to the immediate families' responsibility, whereas a Western approach to child rearing is considered egocentric in nature (Music, 2016). Parenting in Indigenous culture, therefore, cannot be viewed through such a lens but rather grounded in bioecological theory. Therefore, as noted by Benzies (2014), utilizing "bioecological theory with its focus on relationships in the environment proximal to the child may best be suited" (p. 388). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Interim report (2012), noted that residential school survivors specifically asked for support to both regain and teach traditional parenting values and practices as a means of improving their parenting skills (Muir & Bohr, 2014).

Colonialism and residential schools contributed to intergenerational trauma that continues to have a detrimental impact on Indigenous child rearing practices to date. In rearing their children, ideally, parents understand their own cultural values and beliefs but unfortunately, the difficulty in understanding parenting in Indigenous cultures is often the lack of clarity about the Indigenous values and beliefs that may have been lost through colonialism and the multi-generational influences of residential schools (Morrisette, 1994). The TRC (2012) reported that residential school's greatest impact was the breakdown of family relationships because these children were denied parenting knowledge and skill transmission causing them to disengage from traditional parenting practices. Children returning to their community post residential school found the adjustment back to traditional ways very difficult (Van de Sande & Menzies, 2003). It is important, however, to note that not all traditional child-rearing practices have been forgotten or lost. Present day Indigenous parents still maintain cultural values, emphasize the importance of family and respect for Elders, all of which will need to be key factors in determining which approaches will be

complementary to local Indigenous views of parenting. Assessment tools for interventions must account for cultural differences in order to be an effective approach.

When discussing families, regardless of culture, a key approach utilized by many professionals to date, stem from attachment-based theory. The issue with this approach, according to the literature is that "mainstream attachment theory may not fully reflect an Indigenous infant's socialization experience, which is embedded in the parenting practices shared by many Indigenous communities" (Muir & Bohr, 2014, p. 72). For example, Indigenous children may seek other caregivers, have other caregivers respond to them and may be routinely cared for by others, thus creating a large secure base (Muir & Bohr, 2014). Furthermore, the ways in which family and community members form secure attachment with the child differs as well. Attachment theory stresses the need for parent-child attunement where parents engage in "recognition and understanding of their child's emotional states, conveying to the child a sense of being understood" (Murphy et al., 2015, p. 271). Such attunement could be present at the community level but is often characterized through the bilateral and dialogical model of Western nuclear family culture in attachment-based theory. Muir and Bohr (2014) noted that attachment in Indigenous cultures may present somewhat different from the mainstream in the areas of extended family responses, secure base and distress response. Moreover, "while dialogue is central to attunement in Western families, it is noted that although aboriginal adults may speak less to their children, there is evidence that there is more unspoken body language being used between child and adult" (Muir & Bohr, 2014, p.75). It is, therefore, necessary for any assessment of attachment to include both speech patterns and body language in a view of attunement through a cultural lens.

Furthermore, the integration of trauma-informed practice may be implemented to further contextualize attachment in communities that have been impacted by colonization and intergenerational trauma such as the Indigenous communities in Canada. Whereas Indigenous children may have inherited trauma,

trauma-informed family practice may help to disrupt the intergenerational cycle of adversity (Champine, Matlin, Strambler, & Tebes, 2018). An attachment framework also recognizes that change happens through interpersonal relationships (Murphy, et al., 2015). For Indigenous children, such interpersonal relationships must take into account both the communal dynamics of culture as well as a history of violently oppressive colonialism resulting in trauma. It is, therefore, integral to the attachment-based concept of attunement for a parent to use trauma-informed care for both their child and themselves.

There are numerous factors that affect the delivery of services to Indigenous families and communities. Some of these factors include difficult social environments with low levels of trust, participation, social control, and efficacy, and high levels of anxiety, disempowerment, disorganization, and mobility (Price-Robertson & McDonald, 2011). Many of these factors will require a great deal of changes within the child welfare system in order to improve the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care. It is important and necessary for departments, and individuals who work with Indigenous people to have a meaningful understanding of the history and experiences that have impacted the communities (Libresman, 2004). Instances where communities are not designing and delivering programs themselves, they need to be involved at all stages of program development (Libresman, 2004). This approach will also help service providers identify and implement culturally appropriate programs that will meet the needs of the local community. According to Price-Robertson and McDonald (2011), when Indigenous Elders, community members, and other local service providers collaborate, essential community needs can be identified and addressed appropriately. Therefore, there is a need to understand how the family is viewed within a particular community and to acknowledge the importance of community engagement in order to effectively work with a diverse population; such is the intention of this research.

The theoretical approach of any research fundamentally shapes a project, beginning with what is deemed worthy of researching, what questions are

asked, how they are asked, and how the data is analyzed (Smith, 1999). From the literature review, it was evident that Attachment Theory could be useful with Indigenous families but only if the theory were applied within the local Indigenous cultural context. There, however, was no literature available that was specific to the area of Campbell River. The vision for this research was based on an Indigenous epistemology and Indigenous ways of understanding parenting practices. The theoretical basis for the research is grounded in Indigenous knowledge. The research incorporates the values and beliefs of Indigenous communities in its design, methods, and analysis. In addition, data dissemination was handled in a way that is appropriate for the community. The research team was guided by the principles of OCAP (ownership, control, access and possession). The goal of the research aligned with the guidance provided by OCAP recommendations (National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2007) in that the research served to facilitate learning about health and wellness for Indigenous communities in Campbell River and surrounding areas. Moreover, the framework is designed so that the communities take control and further promote healthy lifestyles, practices, and effective program planning. The OCAP recommendations were aligned with the Anti-Oppressive Practice model (Cree, 2003) that guided the researchers' approach to engagement with the local community.

Research Methods

Sample and Participants

The method of sampling used for the research study was convenient purposive sampling involving key informants (Grinnell & Unrau, 2014). The use of this sampling method targeted community members, and leaders, who are particularly knowledgeable about Indigenous culture and traditional child-rearing practices within and around Campbell River. The participants in the study were members of the CRAVE network, LFLS, or Sasamans, who are established consultants for MCFD. The group represented culture keepers and community elders, who are interested in improving the quality of service delivery. The population size (N=100) included eight to 25 members

who meet with MCFD on a quarterly basis. All participants who chose to partake in the research were at least 18 years of age and identify as Indigenous, First Nations, Inuit, or Metis. They must also have been living in the area of Campbell River at the time of data collection. The inclusion criteria were set to ensure that the information received was grounded in lived experience and family knowledge and accurately reflects the Indigenous peoples of Campbell River.

Recruitment

Due to the positionality of all the researchers being three English-speaking, Caucasian women, who have no previous connections with the community, the first point of contact was the sponsor, a team leader with MCFD. The sponsor had pre-established relationships with the CRAVE network, LFLS, and Sasamans, and advised potential participants of the study during a quarterly meeting. Once the initial contact was made and the ethics review was approved by MCFD, the sponsor was provided with a recruitment poster, providing a brief summary of the study and the contact information of the researchers and a study letter, detailing the purpose and objectives of the study. These documents provided inclusion criteria for participation, as well as, what will be expected of participants, withdrawal procedures, and the risks and benefits associated with partaking in the research. The study letter informed participants that they have the right to withdraw from the study without consequence at any time, and all identifying information will be confidential and stored securely, prior to dissemination. Both the poster and study letter were distributed by the sponsor and included the researchers' contact information if participants wanted to inquire about the study.

Data Collection

Once participants were recruited, data collection occurred over the course of two days in Campbell River at the Oyster Bay Resort. Participants were offered the choice to participate in a focus group on day one, or partake in individual interviews on day two. The ideal number of participants for a focus group is 6 to 8 (Zuckerman-Parker & Shank, 2008). There were 9 research participants in attendance on

day one and 2 individual interviews on day two (n=11). A focus group format allowed for a natural, real-life atmosphere for exploration of unanticipated issues as they were discussed (Grinnell & Unrau, 2014).

At the beginning of each session of data collection, participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire. Participants were also asked to create a personal family eco-map and partake in a community mapping exercise with the whole group. The map that the participants produced was capacity focused, so to reveal community assets, capacities and abilities in relation to parenting (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005). The map also provided an opportunity for participants to reveal cultural values in relation to the community's role in traditional child rearing (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005). This activity was completed as a united group on day one and was done individually by both participants on day two.

With the exception of the demographic questionnaire and eco-map, all data was collected through qualitative questions, created to reflect Indigenous ways of parenting. All the questions were open-ended so to elicit conversation regarding Indigenous parenting in Campbell River. The same questions were asked on day two that were asked on day one. The focus group interview was recorded through field notes, only due to time constraints and difficulty of deciphering a group recording with multiple voices. Individual interviews were audio recorded on day two and transcribed prior to commencing data analysis.

The research questions (12) were facilitated in 'World Café' style whereby each researcher set up question stations (Appendix A). Each of the researchers facilitated a group conversation around one of three tables. Each table contained four specific questions as each participant was asked to answer these questions by writing words or drawing pictures representing their answers on a large flip-chart. This provided participants with agency in documenting their responses the way they see it in their own words. Post-it notes were also available for participants to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with what had already been written, or to add to the ideas of others.

This helped to ensure validity, as it served to identify the collective ideas of the community. The groups rotated tables until they had visited each station and answered all 12 questions. On day two, both participants went through the same process and added their opinions to the same flipcharts utilized on day one. Each participant used a marker with a unique color to aid with the coding during data analysis. Each color was recorded by the researchers and was linked to the research participant throughout data collection and analysis.

Data Analysis

Based on the information accumulated through data collection, content analysis of the common themes emerged relating to the cultural parenting practices and beliefs represented on the flipcharts. Eco-maps were analyzed to gain an understanding of what a typical Indigenous family in Campbell River looks like through an Indigenous lens and how this compares to the westernized ideal of the nuclear family unit. Separating the data from each of the maps (eco-map and community map) into collective categories that participants identified, helped to reveal many common themes (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005).

The community map exercise was based on the grounded-theory approach whereby categories are developed as they emerge from the data rather than according to preformed categories based on assumptions about what might be discovered (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005). By involving participants in the analysis process as each individual used post-its to agree or disagree, it allowed them to take ownership of the research and the direction in which it was headed, rather than basing it on the researchers interpretation of data alone (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005). For the purposes of the research, this has helped to produce a framework that represents what the community would like others to know about their cultural ways of parenting. This also aligned with the OCAP Principles.

Data analysis gathered information from the individual demographic questionnaires, individual eco-maps, posters, transcripts, and the community map. Thematic coding was used (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to

These large themes presented in the hierarchy map within Nvivo are reflected as the pictures in the framework. All responses, however, are included in the framework to ensure every voice was heard. From the analysis of the data and the input from participants regarding design, the framework was created. Once the drafted framework was developed, the researchers returned to Campbell River and presented it to the participants in an effort to illicit feedback. This allowed the researchers to make alterations and to ensure the validity of the final product. Following approval from the participants, the final framework was completed and presented to MCFD. Copies of the framework were also provided to the participants to utilize and share as they please.

Findings

This section provides an accurate overview of the answers to the twelve specific questions that were asked during the focus groups and individual interviews. The findings below guided the development of the framework that was provided to MCFD as well as the participants.

With regards to how children are viewed within their local community, both positive and negative views become evident. Children are often seen as being a blessing and a gift to be protected and guided to learn in a positive manner. Children are revered and respected and it is considered a blessing to have a child join the family, community and Nation. When viewed in this positive manner by the community as a whole, children tend to grow into mature, healthy adults. However, as children age and become capable of communicating, the notion that children are to be seen and not heard becomes apparent. In the past children were told to keep quiet, get outside and play because they were not respected. This view of silence tends to change when the child is approximately six years old and they attend school. Children were also viewed as being at the bottom of the totem pole and were often bullied by adults. Some children may have even experienced nepotism.

Some participants vocalized wanting to change this negative view of children and explained that children should be taught, not ignored. There is a belief that children should be allowed to have a voice as they

have been silenced for too long and they need to be heard. In this manner, they believe that children become independent by watching others do things and by being taught in a positive manner. Allowing children to voice their concerns and what they are learning will help to identify and encourage positive thinking patterns and behavior. The research participants also acknowledged that children should always have the support and encouragement of the community and family as this is vital for their growth and development. Others acknowledged how a child is viewed by the community can sometimes depend on how the parent is viewed by the community. For example, if parents are bullies, children tend to be seen as bullies. While others advised that it will depend more on how the child acts and speaks that will determine how they are viewed within their community.

Ceremonies have been identified as opportunities for children to become engaged with cultural practices and the community members in general. These occur at community events and provide opportunities for children to meet with different members of the community, thus enabling the community to get to know the child. Although participants acknowledged the daycares and youth groups on reserve today, many community members said they would like for the families to return home to reserve. A majority of the elders voiced wanting the children to return to traditions and customs as they believe this will help address the issues experienced by many Indigenous children today and support the healthy development of the child within community.

When it comes to the development of a child, the responses from the participants included expectations of the child's physical, mental and emotional growth, as well as identifiable personality characteristics throughout each stage of life. Participants acknowledged that each child goes through certain stages of development and the presentation of expected skills and behaviors are different for each child and can be viewed differently by each caregiver. When exploring the physical growth of a child, for example, there appeared to be some differences between expectations of capabilities of children as

they age. For example, an expectation was that children become mobile between the ages of eight to 12 months, while other participants expected children to only be sitting up at nine to ten months of age. Eating was also identified as being connected with growth and development as participants noted that babies grow if they are hungry; and when they are eating well, they will shift from baby food to adult food.

With regards to communication, there also appeared to be differences of opinion within the research sample, as to when a child has the ability to communicate vocally. These differences may be attributed to each research participant's experience within their own personal lives as well as their understanding of what constitutes as talking. The fact that there was no unifying answer with regards to the child's ability to communicate, demonstrates the uniqueness of every individual within a family unit and may need to account for the different practices utilized within individualized families.

There was very little information provided regarding mental growth of children. Not feeling ashamed was mentioned and one participant expressed excitement about their grandchild knowing how to use devices such as iPads and cellphones more efficiently than they could. In terms of emotional growth, happiness and contentment with their environment and themselves, with no visible signs of aggression or anger, indicated that children were developing appropriately.

Some participants also identified some red flags that indicated concern for children. These included being argumentative, expressing jumbled speech, lack of hygiene, and being non-verbal. Unfortunately, this can sometimes be difficult to determine particularly if the child show signs of Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD). Negative growth such as shortness and facial signs can be caused by parental drug or alcohol use during pregnancy, which can be displayed by children throughout their development. FASD can have a negative impact on all areas of the child's life as well as the family as a whole.

Ambition, interest, maturity (the way children speak and act), and motivation were identified as

evidence of personality development. For example, according to some participants, if the child demonstrates ambition and motivation, they are maturing accordingly. Maintaining eye contact and responding accordingly was also considered a positive personality development trait. Others commented they were unsure of what to look for in the development of the child because caregivers need to look at the whole child and children tend to grow and develop at their own rate, making it difficult to compare children in general.

As the researchers inquired regarding what services are supportive within Campbell River, numerous programs and services were identified. However, one participant stated there are none because of a lack of respect for Indigenous peoples and culture. In this particular opinion, the participant felt as though the current services being offered do not meet the needs of the population. Another participant also commented there were no available resources, however they were specifically referring to their reservation of residence. There was also the belief by some participants that services being offered off reservation do not accept 'Natives', while another participant voiced frustration with the difficulty of finding housing because many landlords wouldn't rent to 'Natives'. These issues and concerns will need to be addressed in order to help eliminate barriers to services and increase access to supportive programs.

While it is necessary and vital to alleviate these obstacles to services, it is also important to acknowledge those that have been identified as being beneficial and helpful within the local communities. The Big House, counsellors, Foundry, Kwakiutl District Council (KDC), LFLS Transition House, MCFD, resource navigators, Quinsam, Safe House, and Sasamans are just some of the services identified by the research participants as being helpful. Further resources can be found in the Community Map. All of the services identified by the participants are considered to be beneficial because most are culturally focused. Other services offer programs or opportunities that are focused on enhancing overall health and well-being. The research participants noted that the food bank helps low income families access food, culture camps

provide children and youth with an opportunity to engage and learn about cultural practices and skills, while the John Howard Society assists families and youth in the area. These services, along with many others, have been identified as being instrumental in building a strong community. However, as voiced by many of the participants, there is still work that needs to be done and more resources and services will be required in order for each community to thrive both individually and as a whole.

Parents, grandparents, siblings, extended family, friends, aunts and uncles are just some of the people identified as those who help to support a child. They are the individuals that were identified as being familiar to the family and most caregivers rely on their support on a regular basis. As with all cultures, having supportive people to help with child rearing practices can have a positive impact on the development of the child as well as the caregiver.

In noting this, some participants voiced the need to be cautious with whom provides support for a child in a caregiver role. Other participants expressed, however, that any person involved in the life of a child may provide supportive guidance. According to this latter set of respondents, support networks may include whomever a child feels comfortable in opening up to. Those within this network would ideally exhibit positive and supportive characteristics such as a grandmother who listens, supports and babysits or a mother full of love. With regards to support outside of the nuclear family, identifiable supports included the Universe, the city, the community, counselors, mentors, the Nation, teachers, youth workers, animals, Elder workers, and the Creator. Having extra supports provides a sense of security and promotes the wellbeing of the family as a whole. Receiving the support of such community members has been identified as having a positive influence on the child as well as the family as a whole.

Participants commented that caregivers learn about parenting through using information from experts included in books, workshops, or the experts within a caregiver's community. Participants noted that the family could learn from the traditional culture, as a child is raised within a cultural

community. During the focus group, the participants reflected on their own upbringing and commented that caregivers learn how to parent from their own caregivers. This includes the history of each family and the community in which the participants came from. Elders were also noted as having the ability to teach a caregiver how to raise a child in a healthy way within culture.

A theme from the responses was that the greatest opportunity for caregivers to learn about parenting was through interaction within a family's community, informally or at community events. Participants expressed that caregivers can learn from other caregivers, parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. Caregivers were noted as learning about parenting from the process of raising a child. By building a relationship with a child and growing together, both the child and caregiver were noted to be able to learn from their successes and mistakes.

Both the focus group participants and the individual interview participants expressed that children learn from all those around them including other children, teachers in school, elders, community members, family, and role models. Participants explained the environment in which successful learning is achieved as having both respect and patience. The research participants reflected that their role as caregivers was to create a space for a child to learn within. This space encouraged appreciation of each other so that different opinions could be shared. Caregivers were noted to be more successful when they were able to teach with patience and care, paced at the child's speed. One participant recommended that the caregiver should work side-by-side with the child as they learn.

The research participants explained that they perceived learning for children to include kinesthetic, oral, and visual education. Children were also noted to watch others complete tasks and copy it themselves. The participants recognized the role of their local community in educating children, in relation to visual teachings, as elders, teachers, and families may be a source of such education. An example given for such visual teaching was when a child watches Elders prepare traditional food. Within the community, as

expressed by the participants, if children are given cultural oral teachings, they can learn from hearing examples and stories of the 'old days'. Participants reflected on their experiences where children will ask questions and will learn a great deal from hearing the answers to those questions, whether from adults or other children. Participants noted that their role of educating children may at times be passive as children may learn from their own experiences, performing tasks, practicing, and making mistakes.

The research participants expressed that care for a child derives from a practice of listening that is non-judgmental and that prior to helping a child, a caregiver should first receive permission to help. Research participants recognized that the child should try to find their own solution first, with encouragement from caregivers, rather than having the caregiver intervene immediately. Participants saw individual, personal time for children, to be beneficial as it gave the child time to understand and process situations at their own pace. If children do need caregiver support, the research participants noted that the support should be given one-to-one with the child for better results. Whole families were recognized as being a support network to work together in helping a child, but it was noted that families should follow up on plans that are made, to maintain the trust of the child which was seen as imperative for family functioning by the research participants.

When caregivers do help their children with problems, the participants expressed that caregivers should tell the child how important they are and reassure the child of their caring through a calm tone of voice. Participants encouraged caregivers to use positive language and, when a child has misbehaved, recognize that the child is not "bad" but the thing they did was "bad". To teach children lessons, the participants referred to stories as tools for education.

Research participants communicated that caregivers should include others when helping a child and explained that networks that help children include family members, external resources, and even animals and nature. Community events and gatherings was also noted as being helpful to a child. This

was expressed during the open-ended questions and the community mapping exercise as the participants located spaces of community gatherings. Attendance at cultural ceremonies was a strong theme in the data, as a way to teach traditional values and help the child throughout their life.

As many of the participants had current or previous involvement with MCFD, they voiced a need for consultation with the family Elders as soon as possible if MCFD is ever to intervene with families. This will help to lessen friction with the family and to provide holistic support to the child in the hopes that a child will ultimately return home.

When exploring what a home looks like, the participants identified the home as a place where a family shows love and respect for one another. A home can include friendship, laughter, music, food, and culture. In addition to this, participants commented on the fact that the home should be fully accessible to all those who reside in the home, including any foster children who may be living there. When referencing the physical space of the home, the participants acknowledged that a home should be inviting, comfortable, and include items such as beds, clothing, and a garden. Participants also spoke to health and safety concerns, noting that a household should be clean, warm and safe, which for some participants meant that alcohol, drugs and vulgar language should be absent from homes where children reside. The participants also expressed that the home should be a place of learning where a child learns rules, respect, and how to be part of the household by engaging in age appropriate household responsibilities.

One of the major themes that emerged through exploring the participants' perception of a home was the inclusion of culture. Participants stated that culture is incorporated in the household through ceremony, sharing family history, crafting, and traditional food. Some traditional foods that were referenced were: dried, barbecued or smoked fish; ooligan eggs and oil; seal meat; seaweed; and canoe potatoes. It is also necessary to note that the participants highlighted the importance of culture,

not only in the parental home, but in foster homes of Indigenous children as well. It was stressed that foster parents should respect the importance of the child's culture and should become involved in ceremony for the benefit and support of the child they are caring for. Engagement in culture may support the child's development and reduce possible misbehavior.

According to the participants of the study, misbehavior is viewed as things that the child does not understand, or has yet to learn, which will differ based on age and stage of child development. Some examples of identified misbehavior were directly related to conflict with others such as yelling, hitting, picking fights, and competing with siblings. Other noted forms of misbehavior included having a lack of respect, such as not being on time, using vulgar language, and walking away from issues.

In terms of addressing misbehavior, participants spoke to the importance of caregivers speaking to children in a caring tone of voice and having a one-on-one discussion with the child regarding the problem and how to solve it. Participants viewed misbehavior as an opportunity for children to learn and, one method of addressing misbehavior was setting consequences for actions, such as time outs and taking away privileges. When addressing behavior, it was noted that caregivers should stay firm, as failing to stand one's ground will only reinforce the child's behavior. Participants also referenced the benefit of professional counselling services for children who are experiencing intense anger and aggression. Children may need to be educated by professionals or caregivers about their feelings and behaviors to better understand the consequences of their actions.

According to the participants, caregivers teach children in a variety of different ways, because each child has a different learning style. For example, some may learn from watching and/or hearing, while others may learn by doing and being hands-on. In terms of teaching style, participants noted that caregivers should be role models for the children in their lives by setting examples and sharing their personal stories, experiences and family history. Further to this, one participant expressed that caregivers should help guide children in learning and use experiential teaching methods, rather than lectures. Another

participant noted that when a child is placed in the foster care system, the foster parent or child welfare agency should educate the child on their rights.

The participants of the study also spoke to the importance of incorporating culture in teaching children. For example, it was noted that teaching children about their own culture and the culture of others encourages the acceptance of difference. In relation to this, participants acknowledged the importance of educating children on topics from both Indigenous and Western cultures. Aspects of Indigenous culture that were referenced by participants included ceremony, the land, stories, sharing, and family heritage. The importance of Westernized academic subjects such as math and literature were also noted. In terms of knowledge facilitation, participants advised that caregivers can utilize nature, music, stories, family camps, books, and videos to assist children in the learning process. Participants noted that children must learn skills, academic knowledge, and values.

In exploring the values that are important for children to learn, respect was identified most frequently by participants. The value of respect was referenced in several ways such as, respect for personal belonging, for others, and for the child themselves. Participants also spoke to the importance of learning the value of connection with family, friends, and the family origin. It was noted that learning the value of connection helps to reinforce the significance of being there for one another and not drifting away from those a child loves. Further to this, one participant noted the importance of teaching children the value of hard work and achievement, in order to prevent a sense of entitlement. It was also noted that this comes from learning to become self-sufficient and independent, but at the same time, learning to reach out for help when needed.

In terms of who teaches a child values, participants expressed that anyone in the child's life and community can play a role in helping them learn. This includes family members, such as parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles. Grandparents play an important role in teaching values, life lessons, and parenting skills. Community Elders also play an

important role in guiding the community by sharing teachings. Many of the research participants had personal experience providing this education. With regard to where values are taught, participants advised that teaching occurs in the home, community, school, and through personally setting examples for children. Furthermore, participants indicated that parts of nature, such as plants and animals can help teach important values.

Participants had some challenges responding to the question of "How does your community celebrate milestones in a child's life?". It was later discovered during the research team's return to Campbell River to present the draft framework, that each band had different cultural practices for milestones in a child's life. As the research included participants from Wei Wai Kum, Wei Wai Kai, Homalco, and the Metis community, the information received had great variation.

Research participants communicated that children in all communities were celebrated through praise, community dinners, ceremony, gifting, and traditions, but that each Band or family will have a unique way of celebrating. All participants communicated, however, that celebration of children occurs throughout their life, as children grow, achieve, or learn new skills. Skills recognized by research participants as a milestone to celebrate included learning how to operate a canoe, grease making, learning how to fish, dry and smoke salmon, or cook.

Some research participants spoke about celebration related to school education. This was called the Day of Honouring that occurs annually at the completion of another school year. One Metis participant added that a 'sashing' ceremony takes place at this event for Metis youth. The same participant spoke about the Sundance in early August or late July that is recognized as the New Year, with gifting for family members.

All participants spoke about the first haircut of a child as an important ceremony. When the child turns 10 months old, they would receive their first haircut and be passed around the family in a ceremony, located in the Big House, that secures the child's position in the family. There was variation, however,

as one participant spoke about baptism around this time as well. Other participants did not include a Christian element to their comments regarding milestones. Participants noted that as children grow, they may receive a Native name that will be given to them in community.

The coming of Age Ceremony was a repeated theme during the focus group. The participants noted that when children begin to reach maturity, they will be celebrated with the Coming of Age Ceremony. Participants commented that this takes place for women when they have their first menstruation and includes a potlatch day of celebration in honour of the young woman. Family and community members instruct the young woman in how to act as she is now considered a woman. Participants added during follow-up interviews that two men and four women stand with the young woman to show their support for her at this time and as she grows into an adult. It was noted during the focus group and individual interviews that men have a similar Coming of Age Ceremony that is timed based on how they are maturing in puberty. One participant commented on his role in educating young men about respect at this time especially towards women.

During an individual interview, a participant commented that boys have a second ceremony around the age of 17 or 18 to celebrate becoming a man or a 'Hamasta'. The research participant explained that the boy spends 3 days in the wilderness and returns to the Big House where clothes are put onto him as he resists being clothed. It is at this ceremony that he is initiated as the head of the family and an important part of the community.

A participant acknowledged that a person might, at any age, become an elder or receive a medicine name. They explained that when someone is given a medicine name, they are offered tobacco in a sweat lodge and are to return in a week to accept the name. They further noted that nine months after accepting the name, the person provides gifts to people and others speak about their relationship to the person whom received their medicine name. After the first four years with a medicine name, the person will be gifted a pipestone to carve into a pipe within which

they will receive tobacco and be given a blessing by the chief. A participant concluded that at the end of life, one year after a death, the community takes part in an 'Unplug the Tears' ceremony. This, they expressed, included a memorial and a feast with all the relatives.

Discussion and Limitations

An analysis of the data determined that each band (Wei Wai Kum, Wei Wai Kai, Homalco, & Metis) has different views of children, as well as stages of development in a child's life, and a caregiver's role in parenting. These particular findings have been supported by the literature reviews' emphasis on the uniqueness of each local band, and a need for cultural understanding of parent-child attachment. For example, the following question asked during data collection of "how does your community celebrate milestones in a child's life?" highlighted the ways in which each band celebrates milestones differently.

It also became evident in the data that respect was present in all responses and was seen as being bi-lateral from children to adults, and from adults to children. This acknowledgement of respect was seen as a way to enhance positive growth and development of children. Participants also recognized gaps in the parenting they received as children and some identified this as being a result of inter-generational trauma and residential schools. The impacts of colonization and residential schools, on Indigenous families, was a major theme that was present throughout the literature review, as well as during data collection. The analysis also revealed that frustration with child welfare arose from historical interactions which previously lacked respect for Indigenous culture and values. The participants hoped the guidance from the framework, produced by this research, will help fill this gap for caregivers now. It should also be noted that the participants are part of a resurgence movement to reclaim Indigenous culture and hoped that the framework would help with the reclamation of culture in Campbell River. One participant referenced both the historical injustices of colonialism and his hope for the future as they commented the following: "I wasn't put in foster homes or whatever but those thousands of children

that were taken under the government's guidance and everything and put into those places, yah know? I always say today, everything that's happened, we got lots of work to do" (J. Quatell).

According to the literature review, there is a gap in the research regarding parenting in Indigenous communities which needs to be addressed, and that local solutions will need to be found for different Indigenous communities in order for programs and services to be effective. The literature review also revealed there is a preference across Indigenous communities for holistic, complex approaches that heal all sections of the community and address the underlying causes of health and social problems (Libesman, 2004). It also became apparent there is no academically published information specifically related to the Indigenous peoples in and around Campbell River, which prompted the final research question: What are the parenting practices of the Indigenous peoples of Campbell River?

The research conducted, answered the research question and allowed the data to be used in the formulation of the guiding framework. Although the existing literature expressed that rituals and ceremony are important factors in Indigenous parenting, it did not speak to the specific customs of the population of interest and thus the current research study filled this gap (Libesman, 2004). The research brought forth information that is indicative of the specific child rearing practices and perceptions for the identified location of interest. Therefore, this study has been geographically based and lacks generalizability outside of the population of interest. It is recommended that all local bands be engaged in a knowledge-sharing process with local child protection ministries. Although the methods of this research may be used elsewhere, it is discouraged for the findings of this study to be used with other communities.

There was great internal diversity within the research sample and, therefore, the responses presented in the findings cannot be universally applied to all members of the population. As the sample included members from multiple bands, the uniqueness of these cultures was apparent in the diversity of responses. The dissemination process

accounted for the diversity in the sample as each answer to the qualitative, open-ended questions was included in the distributed framework. Therefore, members of minority groups within the sample were still represented in the findings. Moreover, as there was great diversity of heritage among the research participants, the sample size of 11 may have been too small. As only four participants of the 11 were of the same band (Campbell River Treaty 11), the responses may not be reflective of any one band. There were concerns regarding reactivity as some participants may not have known as much about their culture as other participants, and may have agreed with the information applicable to another band although it may not have been applicable to them.

During the data collection process, the researchers limited challenges to descriptive validity by having the participants voice/write their own responses. Some research participants, however, were unable to write their answers and the researchers had to assist. This may have been a challenge to both descriptive validity and interpretive validity, if member checking was not included in the evaluation methods. The researchers initiated member checking upon return to Campbell River a month following data collection to increase the credibility of the research (Grinnell & Unrau, 2014). This process was beneficial as it allowed for descriptive validity to be enhanced. However, not all research participants were available during this process. Only six participants were able to engage in member checking when researchers returned to Campbell River with a draft of the findings for review.

The research team was keenly aware to the historical injustices of research done onto Indigenous peoples. As the primary goal of the research was to counter the Western dominance of knowledge regarding parenting, all possible methods to increase interpretive validity were used. The research was analyzed using thematic coding that was derived from the verbatim phrasing of the research participants. Bias was therefore limited as the researcher's only interpretation was during the organizing of themes into broad themes and subthemes.

Researcher bias was another concern as methods of data collection and analysis were chosen. As all the

researchers are of Western heritage, it was imperative that such perspectives did not bias the data by skewing questions or analysis. The researchers engaged with the participants, prior to data collection, in a sharing circle and a shared meal so when data collection commenced, it was grounded in Indigenous culture with the respect and reverence owed to community Elders. Although the existing research was informed by attachment-based theory, the qualitative questions used to elicit information for this study were not, so to increase theory validity and limit Western bias in data collection. From the literature review, it became evident that attachment-based parenting was not completely applicable to Indigenous communities. Therefore, the questions asked during data collection were a theoretical, as were the methods of dissemination. Although the gap in literature relating to Campbell River was addressed, the answers provided were at times diverse due to the variation in Indigenous heritage of the research participants. Universally the research participants expressed a need for respect, culture, and community. These themes were present within responses related to engagement between caregivers and children, as well as with caregivers and services.

Implications for policy and/practice

The goal of this research report is to present the ways in which Indigenous Communities within Campbell River and surrounding areas parent their children. The report highlights the important cultural considerations that must be made when working with this unique community. The produced framework can be used to help guide the MCFD interventions that are being utilized with the Indigenous population of Campbell River and surrounding areas. It can help guide foster families in caring for Indigenous children from the area. The framework may help inform the expectations of Indigenous families and children in care by MCFD and foster parents.

The framework can also be used to help inform guidelines and professional practice for child protection in terms of risk and protective factors. For example, reliance on extended family is not negligence but a common practice amongst those who participated in this study. This information may, in

turn, will help the social work practitioner to be more culturally congruent and safe. The framework created from this research is also intended to provide Indigenous parents, who expressed in the TRC a wish to learn more about cultural parenting, an avenue to connect with their traditional parenting practices as identified by Elders within the community of Campbell River.

To further the goal of connecting to traditional Indigenous parenting, this report has several recommendations. First, there is a need for service providers to be educated about the uniqueness of each Indigenous band and culture when providing guidance to caregivers of Indigenous children. This can be achieved through not only training and education, but through becoming engaged directly with the community and learning from Culture Keepers. It is also recommended that foster parents become engaged with Indigenous culture through ceremony and other traditional practices to assist them in implementing Indigenous ways of parenting into the home. The developed framework can be used as a resource to guide caregivers in providing culturally safe support to the Indigenous children of Campbell River and surrounding areas, who are placed in their care. Professionals working with Indigenous populations must also critically consider personal bias in service delivery and the assumption that parenting strategies outside of the Western norm are incorrect. Although the framework was developed to help inform MCFD, it is applicable for use throughout the entire community. Moving forward, it is recommended that future research projects utilize the developed framework for a comparative evaluation of IPP.

Conclusion

The goal of the research conducted was to present the specific ways in which the Indigenous peoples of Campbell River and surrounding areas parent their children, while also highlighting the importance of cultural consideration when working with this unique population. The framework itself highlights specific cultural viewpoints and opinions regarding traditional ceremonies, milestones and customs relevant to Indigenous children within their respective

communities. Therefore, the research question posed, was answered through the process of engaging with Culture Keepers and Elders from the geographical location of interest.

Through the research process, it became apparent that the parenting practices of the Indigenous Peoples of Campbell River vary. Thus, the framework developed from the research may serve as a guiding document but there is a need for each family's uniqueness to be recognized. In saying this, there were some principles that were unanimous across the research sample. Universal principles of respect, culture, and community were evident as core guidelines for collaboration with Indigenous Families in Campbell River and surrounding areas. Although the gap in research was filled through this study, further information must be gathered for each family in order to uphold cultural congruence in professional social work practice. It is the belief of the researchers that such a standard of practice is imperative for the future of social work engagement with Indigenous families.

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Appendix A

World Café Station Questions

- What do you look for in the healthy development of a child?
 - How do you know your child is healthy?
- How does your community celebrate milestones of a child's life?
- What does a home look like for your family?
- Who supports a child?
 - Where does a child go to for help?
- What values are important for caregivers to share with their children?
- How do you provide help to a child?
 - What do you think Non-Indigenous community workers should know about Indigenous parenting to support children and families?
- What does it look like when a child misbehaves?
- How do you teach a child?
 - What is important to teach a child?
- How do children learn?
 - Who do children learn from?
 - Where do children learn?
- How does your community view children?
 - What does your community think of children at different ages?
 - How does your view of a child change throughout their lifetime? i.e. when is the child independent
- How do parents learn about parenting?
 - From whom does a parent learn about parenting?
 - Who would you go to for help with parenting?
- What services do you find helpful as a parent in your community today?
 - What services are least helpful within your local community?
 - How could services be more culturally relevant to your community?