

A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF NATIVE CHILD WELFARE. AN
IDENTIFICATION OF THE CULTURAL AND STRUCTURAL DIMENSIONS OF
PROPOSED MUSQUEAM IDNIDAN BAND FAMILY AND CHILD SERVICES

By

Stanley Ronald Kuperis

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Department of Graduate Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date November 23. 1990

STAN KUPERIS

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ABSTRACT

The Musqueam Indian band has no formal child welfare agreement with the province of British Columbia. Recently the Musqueam Indian Band has expressed a desire to work towards developing community based child and family services on reserve. This research examines the historical factors as well as contemporary factors relating to child welfare at the Musqueam Indian Band. This research utilized a qualitative research paradigm to identify the specific community dimensions that would be the basis for autonomous family and child services at the band. This study identifies the importance of kinship, linguistic, geographic, religious, experimental and contemporary dimensions within the Musqueam community. This study goes on to provide policy and program recommendations for culturally specific family and child services at the band. This research will be incorporated into a funding proposal put forward to the provincial government for programs and services at the Musqueam Indian Band.

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INTRODUCTION

I became interested in native child welfare while in contact with two isolated reserves in northern B.C., Ingenika and Fort Ware. During this time I was employed by the Ministry of Social Services and Housing as a social worker. I became shockingly aware of the negative effects the removal of native children from their community has on the well-being of those children. Children are severed from kinship ties, family, religious and ceremonial practices, and familiar territory. The removal of native children often results in behavioral disturbances, alienation, and depression. Native children experienced difficulty adjusting to routines, cultural practices, and norms unfamiliar to them.

I also became aware of the lack of resources and programs necessary to alleviate difficulties native families are experiencing. Existing programs are not culturally appropriate and are not band-based and therefore are not effective in alleviating community problems. In contrast Carrier-Sekani and McLeod Lake, Nuu Chah Nulth and Spallumcheen bands have developed child welfare programs of their own. These programs allow for bands and tribal councils to acquire staff, resources, and develop culturally specific programs in their communities. These programs are the exception, not the rule for the provision of child welfare services in native communities. I have felt that child welfare services on reserves should be locally controlled, autonomous and specific to the needs of the community.

This research will begin with a general overview of the issues surrounding native child welfare. Issues such as the

number of native children in state care and the effects that apprehension and placement has on native children, their family, and community will be explored. I will also examine the related loss of cultural identity and its impact on First Nation Peoples as well as the jurisdictional disputes that have arisen between the First Nation Peoples and the Federal and Provincial governments.

This research will proceed to examine key historical factors related to the loss of cultural identity by First Nation Peoples and the need for native self determination and autonomy. In the context of this broad picture this research will utilize qualitative research methods to explore the Musqueam bands' cultural uniqueness, values, traditional child rearing practices and social structure as the basis for a band-based child welfare program. Findings from this research will be incorporated into policy, practice and program recommendations for implementing a child welfare projects at the Musqueam Indian Band.

Chapter II CONTEMPORARY AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INDIAN CHILD WELFARE

The Dimensions Of The Problem

There is and has been a disproportionate number of native children in the care of British Columbia's Superintendent of Family and Child Services. In my review of studies, reports, books, and government documents this is the most striking point about child welfare services in native communities. Patrick Johnston in his book on native child welfare states the following statistics:

"In 1955 there were 3,433 children in the care of B.C.'s child welfare branch. Out of that number it was estimated 29 children or less than 1 percent of the total, were of Indian ancestry. By 1964 however 1,446 children in care of B.C. were of Indian extraction. That number represented 34.2 percent of all children in care. Within ten years, in other words, the representation of native children in B.C.'s child welfare system had jumped from nil to a third." (1.)

Recently First Nation communities have been pursuing native sovereignty over child welfare matters and several bands have negotiated child welfare agreements with the Federal and Provincial governments. This is reflected in a new social consciousness which has recognized the uniqueness and importance of native culture, and the necessity of native children remaining in their own communities. One would assume the numbers of native children in care would have decreased. I have found this not to be the case. In January of 1989 there were approximately 6,900 children in the care of the Superintendent of Family and Child Services in B.C. Out of that number approximately 2,300 were of Indian ancestry. In other words 33 percent of the children in care in January of 1989 were native children. In the northern regions of British

Columbia this percentage increases to 60 percent of the children in care. The native population in British Columbia is about 4 percent of the total population.

(Personal Communication, District Manager, Rick Gremm, Ministry of Social Services and Housing, Dec. 15, 1989)

The Admission of large numbers of native children to care continues to have a devastating impact on native children and their communities. Social workers in British Columbia are afforded wide discretion to apprehend and remove children who are deemed to be in need of protection. In British Columbia social workers are not required by law to offer or provide family services that would permit the child to remain with his or her parents. The negative impact of this practice on children and families may far outweigh the immediate, perceived benefit to the child's well being. In Native Children and the Child Welfare System, Patrick Johnston makes the following comment:

"The effects of apprehension on an individual native child will often be more traumatic than for his non-native counterpart. When the native child is taken from his parents, he is also removed from a tightly knit community of extended family members and neighbors. In addition, he is removed from a unique, distinctive and familiar culture." (2.)

The apprehension and removal of native children results in a loss of cultural identity. This struggle for a personal and cultural identity is a common dynamic among many native children who are raised in non-native homes. (Amicus Populi Consulting, 1986) (3.) My own experience as a social worker in British Columbia has confirmed that removal of native children from their communities results in a loss of cultural identity. In addition, native children also experience behavioral

disturbances, alienation, and depression when removed from their supportive communities. Problems are often magnified rather than alleviated when native children are removed from their communities. Mark Collins in his paper, Child Welfare Among Native People makes the following point:

"The removal of a child from the traditional community, to a placement in a white urban area, can often damage the child's self-concept. The barrage of stereotyped 'negative image' and transaction based on these images often become internalized in the child's behavior." (4.)

Apprehension and the removal of native children is not only damaging to children, but also to families and native communities. The apprehension of native children serves to weaken native families as a whole. Patrick Johnston states that for many native parents who already have low self-esteem, the removal of a child is but another confirmation of their feelings of worthlessness. (5.) The Alberta Council of Treaty Women state the following:

"Each time an Indian child is spirited away from our reserves, the family unity is being destroyed and we are being deprived of our future great leaders. Indian children have an inalienable right to keep their parents. They have an inherent right to retain their language and culture. We do not condone the system that pirates away our children and even exports them to foreign lands. We are saying this planned process of cultural genocide must cease." (6.)

The removal of native children from their community has resulted in a loss of cultural identity, assimilation, acculturation, and a weakening of the unique native heritage. The cohesive nature and generational connectedness has been broken as native children do not understand and cannot relate to their cultural identity and heritage. This fact of the

disproportionate number of native children in care therefore undermines the stability of both native families and native communities.

In addition to the apprehension and removal of native children from their communities, other significant historical factors have led to a loss of cultural identity. These factors include the fur trade, colonization, the reserve system, residential schools, and jurisdictional disputes between the federal and provincial governments.

Historical Factors

In order to understand the family and child welfare problems as they are experienced today in the Musqueam community, it is essential to understand the historical influences on West Coast Indians as a whole. The rationale for exploring the historical influences affecting West Coast Indians as a group, and not Musqueam in particular, is that there are no specific documents that relate to the Musqueam band's history. The literature does indicate, however, that the West Coast Indians shared similar experiences and I have chosen to expand on these key historical influences. (Lewis, Duff, Manuel and Hawthorn)

The European Fur Trade

The European fur trade was the first significant influence upon West Coast First Nation Peoples. In the early 1800's the North West Company founded trading posts in British Columbia's interior. In 1824 Fort Vancouver near the mouth of the Columbia River was established as the headquarters for coastal

trade. The coastal Indians were not oblivious to this trade and began trading in copper, iron, muskets, ammunition, trinkets, cloth and blankets. Alcohol was also introduced to Indians at that time. The result of this trade initially was greater wealth, and a strengthening of existing social and economic systems. (7.) Potlaches became increasingly common and became occasions for displaying wealth and presenting gifts. The emergence of the European fur trade, however, soon brought about colonization.

Colonization

The lower mainland became part of the colony of British Columbia in 1858. With the colonists taking up residence, this created problems with land ownership. In 1859 Governor James Douglas asserted the principle that all lands belonged to the British crown which implied that the Indians held land subject to approval by the crown. The arrival of colonists with the intent of acquiring private land ownership, created conflict over land use within the colony. James Douglas made attempts to have Indians conform to the laws of the colony. Governor James Douglas also set aside reserves for Indians while asserting crown ownership and authority to dispose of remaining lands. (8.) James Douglas adopted three general principles or policies to reduce conflict. These policies included restriction of Indian access to harmful commodities, such as liquor and arms. They also emphasized measures to keep disturbances to a minimum by not interfering in the internal affairs of Indians and to gradually bring them under the framework of British Law. His third policy assertion entailed

promoting civilization through government agents and missionaries. (9.) Indian administration had its' infancy in the policies of Governor James Douglas in 1858.

The result of colonization was the beginning of the loss of cultural identity and a unique way of life. The arrival of Europeans undermined many aboriginal customs and in innumerable way altered and destroyed the uniqueness of native life. Conflicts regarding land use and land ownership brought about the current system of reserves, which further altered and undermined the First Nation Peoples traditional life style.

"What we don't like about the Government is their saying this: 'We will give you this much land; how can they give it when it is our own? We cannot understand it. They have never bought it from us or our forefathers. They have never fought and conquered our people and taken the land that way, and yet they say now that they will give us so much land - our own land" (10.)

The Reserve System

With the coming of confederation in 1867, The British North America Act assigned the federal government jurisdiction to enact legislation dealing with Indians and lands reserved for Indians. (British North America Act, Section 91 (24). (11). The Indian Act is the federal statute that deals with Indian status and the governance of Indians residing on reserves. The establishment of reserves and the assignment of Indians to reserves was the first break in their traditional relationship with the land. This traditional relationship was characterized by a spiritual oneness with the land and the removal of Indian people from their land left a spiritual void in the lives of many First Nation People. Many bands still

utilize their lands for traditional spiritual purposes such as spirit dances. Due to the legacy of the lengthy government enforced regulation of life on Indian Reserves, traditional ceremonies are now only a shadow of what they once were and they have been changed to suit the more limited lands within the reserve.

A second important way the reserve system influenced native culture was that it changed their way of livelihood. No longer did native people have access to vast hunting and fishing areas as before. Life on reserves is typically poverty stricken, with increasing reliance placed on outside systems for support. Federal government responses to these issues gradually took the form of social assistance programs similar to those offered destitute persons in the larger society. However, these programs only served to increase dependency, promote economic deterioration, and undermine the traditional support system. In the words of one recent observer:

"The current social assistance policy is a problem by virtue of the dependency it fosters. Cultural values such as reciprocity, which contribute both economically and spiritually to the collective, are eroded severely, and the community as a living organism is rendered dysfunctional." (12).

By 1983 a well publicized Parliamentary Report noted that across Canada unemployment on reserves averaged 35% and in some areas was as high as 90%. (13.) By limiting the resources available for economic development the reserve system maintains the cycle of poverty and increases stress within families. Poverty increases the potential for child maltreatment as studies have indicated. (14.) The socioeconomic conditions on British Columbia's reserves have directly contributed to family

and community difficulties.

It is also important however, to note the positive values some First Nation People have identified in the reserve system. It has allowed easy access to family and kin associations. It has given geographic stability and relative security of land tenure. Most importantly the reserve system has established band and tribal administrations which provide the potential for local self-government, autonomy, and control. Even though the reserve system is incongruent with traditional native values, some gains have been achieved through this system.

Residential Schools

Perhaps the greatest negative impact on First Nations culture and family life arose as a result of the residential school system. The philosophy of the residential schools was always to assimilate and acculturate native peoples. The Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission in their training manual for residential schools states the point in the following way:

"Ever since the first permanent European settlement in Canada, efforts have been made to school the children of the Aborigines in the ways of the newcomers. Both Church and State felt it was their responsibility to Christianize as well as civilize the poor ignorant dwellers of the North America Forests." (15.)

Residential schools were in regular use from 1892 to 1957 and some residential schools remained in existence well into the 1970's. The residential schools represented a partnership between various Churches and the federal government. The government policy at that time was to assimilate native Indians into the dominant culture. In a government document the role of the residential school was defined in the following way:

"It was the missionaries who first saw the necessity of education for the Indians and made sustained efforts to establish schools and keep them well attended. They also endeavored to inculcate the white man's notions of healthful living, good housing and proper diet. The various missions established showed the results of this teaching and created many nuclei of civilization in a wilderness." (16.)

Children were often removed from their families and community for ten months of the year and sent to schools located a great distance away from their homes. One result of the residential schools was that up to four generations of Indian people had very little experience with traditional Indian life. J.A. MacDonald puts the experience of residential school in the following way:

"The experience for most Indian children was one in which they were encouraged to devalue traditional beliefs, customs, and language. The absence of children from their homes for most of the year also reduced parental influence and authority and contributed to conflicts between the older and younger generations." (17.)

The most distressing aspect of the residential school was the loss of the transmission of culture. Culture had traditionally been transmitted orally from elders to children. When children were away at residential school cultural identity was lost. Traditional native language was lost and the full meaning of legends, religious ceremonies, and spirit dancing passed on through language was lost. In more recent times education has therefore become an important issue for First Nation People. They realize the need for a specific school curriculum that assists their children to become prepared for today's life. Native people however want Indian culture and their traditions to be a

supplement to the current curriculum. For them it is very important that education not be a means of assimilation and acculturation, but rather a means of regaining cultural identity.

Government Jurisdiction and Indian Child Welfare.

The last historical factor that has contributed to a loss of cultural identity, autonomy, and self determination can be described as the jurisdictional question. Over the past 30 years there has been disagreement between the federal and provincial governments about which level of government has the legislative responsibility to provide child welfare services to reserves and who should pay the cost of services. Patrick Johnston discusses the jurisdictional question in the 1980's. He describes the child welfare situation for native people as unsatisfactory to appalling. He notes that in the past both levels of governments sought to absolve themselves by arguing that the responsibility rested with the other party. More recently this jurisdictional question has been at least partly resolved between the two levels of government. In British Columbia the Ministry of Social Services and Housing exercises a mandate under the Family and Child Services Act to provide child welfare services to Indians both on and off reserves in British Columbia. The Federal government assumes the financial cost of maintaining registered Indian children admitted to the care of provincial child welfare authorities. The result of primary jurisdictional responsibility resting with the provincial government has been an incongruent mixture of very limited

programs and services on reserves. Until recently preventive child welfare services to Indians in B.C. have been almost non-existent. Child welfare services on reserves have typically consisted of investigation of child protection complaints, apprehension, removal of children, and referral to mainstream services. Services have been inadequate, culturally inappropriate and perceived by natives as punitive in nature.

The issue of jurisdictional responsibility has never been settled for First Nation Peoples. Native peoples have not accepted jurisdictional responsibility resting with either level of government. Many First Nation People support the notion of native sovereignty in child welfare matters.

"This alternative does not require a change in either federal or provincial legislation in as much as it ignores both. It would entail a unilateral declaration of bands exclusive authority to provide child welfare services to members of the band. It is essentially the option taken by the Spallumcheen Band in British Columbia and it may be the preferred option for other Indians." (18.)

These historical influences have undermined and devalued native culture and traditions leaving First Nation People with a loss of cultural identity. In order to remedy the situation native groups have been pursuing native sovereignty. Native sovereignty refers to a recognition of the right of First Nation People to self govern, control, and determine how they will respond to issues within their communities. Native sovereignty in the sphere of child welfare refers to the right to hold legislative, administrative, and resource development responsibility for child welfare concerns within native communities. Native sovereignty incorporates the right to

establish laws, resources, and interventions that are culturally relevant and community specific in alleviating child welfare concerns. Native sovereignty and the right to be self-governing in this writers opinion will promote and re-establish cultural identity for First Nation People.

In this chapter I have provided a summary sketch of some critical components of the contemporary Native Indian child welfare problem in British Columbia. I have also attempted to outline some salient historical forces which have contributed to this problem. In the next chapter I will describe the methodology utilized in researching current child welfare issues as perceived by members of the Musqueam Band.

CHAPTER III DESCRIPTION OF METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted utilizing a qualitative research paradigm. This research paradigm is especially useful in understanding phenomena in their social context.

Qualitative research consists of detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behavior. (1.) Qualitative research focuses on the kinds of data or the information that is collected rather than the instruments used to collect the data. The type of data produced by qualitative methods is especially useful for the Musqueam Band. The data will be incorporated into a proposal put forward to the Ministry of Social Services and Housing and the Department of Indian Affairs. The intent will be to begin a band based Child Welfare program at Musqueam. The data produced identifies the dimensions of current and traditional familial patterns, values, and the local culture of the Musqueam Band. These dimensions are an essential foundation for the proposal, since they make the proposal specific to the structure and values of the Musqueam community.

Qualitative methods of research are holistic. By this I mean that qualitative methods strive to explicate situations as a whole. I want to present a holistic view of family and community life at Musqueam. Within this holistic view there are unique entities and specific parts, but they are always related to the whole, or entirety of the social context. The conceptual model I will be utilizing is the dimensional model of social research. The dimensional model is utilized when a researcher seeks to identify the dimensions of some global concept. This research identifies the dimensions of the

structure of the Musqueam community, its values, family patterns and local culture. The end result is a mapping of global concepts, and the dimensions or subareas relating to each concept. (2.)

Qualitative methods are inductive in nature. This research does not assert a hypothesis which will be accepted or rejected via statistical analysis. Rather the research begins by documenting specific observations, or content of material, and builds towards general patterns or dimensions of the social situation. The research is descriptive and systematically identifies core concepts and dimensions within the Musqueam community. These core concepts or dimensions are refined and defined by the raw data collected through interviews and literature and ensure that the concepts are grounded in data. The final product is a mapping or description of the Musqueam community that adequately reflects the significant areas of concern that are important to a band based child welfare project.

Data for analysis have been collected from relevant literature, interviews with an anthropologist, elders at the band, and the Musqueam Band's child welfare task force.

The following resource materials were key in supporting the research findings. A comprehensive history of native Indians in B.C. written by W. Duff provided a crucial overview of the impact of the white man and colonization upon West Coast Native Groups. This book provided a historical context for current issues at the Musqueam band.

A second resource book by Patrick Johnston highlights the major issues, programs, and policies that are currently part of

native child welfare in B.C. This book was especially useful in bringing to light the number of native children in care and its impact on communities as a whole. Patrick Johnston provides specific examples of current programs that promote native sovereignty on reserves across Canada. This book was applicable to the formulation of the research question and to specific family and child welfare services outlined in this thesis.

A third resource is a book by Claudia Lewis. Claudia Lewis portrays the day to day life of her experience in a native home on B.C.'s West Coast. This resource was utilized to portray kinship ties, spiritual ceremonies, and native values. The aspects of native life are outlined in the research findings chapter of this thesis. These three resource books are listed in the Bibliography of this thesis.

Qualitative interviews allow the interviewer to define the focus of the interview, while enabling the respondent to determine the content. The interview schedule for this study was semi-structured in nature with specific topical areas covered in each interview. The respondents determined the important content under each topic. Outlined in Appendix I is the semi-structured interview guide utilized in interviews with Musqueam elders. The interview guide utilized in interviewing key informants from the community is found in Appendix II.

Interviews were also conducted with four elders of the Musqueam Indian Band. An elder can be defined as an individual who is a member of the elders group at the Musqueam Indian Band. A presentation was made to all the elders explaining the purpose, methodology and benefits of conducting this research

at the band. Four elders volunteered to take part in this research and interviews were conducted with these four individuals. These interviews provided much data about experiences and life, both past and present, of members of the band.

Interviews with the task force consisted of questions regarding the Musqueam Band's history, demographic statistics, number of children in care, and their vision of a child welfare program at the Musqueam Band. Semi-structured interviews proved to be effective in eliciting relevant topic information, while refraining as much as possible from influencing the content. Cues and elaborative questions were utilized to classify content within the interviews.

I conducted interviews with the band social worker, two members of the child welfare task force and an anthropologist who is closely associated with the Musqueam band. Abstracts of each interview are located in Appendix "E".

After completion of the interviews with the elders and other Key informants, the first step in data analysis consisted of transcribing the audio tapes. The transcription of interviews allowed for careful analysis of the interview data. Once the transcribing was complete the process of coding the data began. The initial coding conducted was open coding, whereby concepts were developed to fit the data. This involved closely scrutinizing the data, paragraph by paragraph, in order to develop a tentative concept that reflected the information conveyed in the paragraph. The following excerpts from an interview with an Anthropologist will be used to clarify the coding process.

"There are large classifications and categories of kin folk by generation. (named person) would use those terms and know some of the specifics of it, but what it creates is a framework of kin, of relatedness in very large categories for everyone to plug into."

The open code utilized for this statement is 'kinship connectedness'. This concept alludes to the connected nature, or sense of belonging among individuals and families within the Musqueam community. The open codes are one level of abstraction above the content conveyed in the text. Open coding reflected the content, or embodies the meaning of the text in terms of a concept. Another example from the research is the following excerpt.

"You inherit equally from either parent, names, rights, or kin associations. The patronymic battlery is not at all meaningful, but it is still used."

The concept formulated for this thought was 'double descent'. Both kinship connectedness and double descent were verified in subsequent coding of interviews as valid and grounded concepts in the data. This process of initial coding occurred until new concepts did not appear and current concepts were reflected in the subsequent data. The end result of this process is referred to as conceptual density. Strauss refers to conceptual density as a multiplicity of categories and properties and their relationships.(3.) Due to the time frame for conducting the research conceptual density was not achieved. Nevertheless several of the major concepts and the dimensions of these concepts were identified reflecting family and community interaction at the Musqueam Band.

The second stage of coding utilized in the research was axial coding or second order coding. Open coding referred to

the core categories or concepts. Axial coding consists of analysis done around these categories or concepts. Axial coding defined and determined the aspects of the concept or category. In many cases axial coding identified the linkages between concepts. For example "kinship connectedness" was identified as a core category. Axial coding of data defined this concept in terms of connecting the community together, inclusiveness of kinship relatedness, an obligation to family and kin, continuity of family and accessibility of people to family and diffuse extended kin. Axial coding in effect defined and operationalized the concept of kinship connectedness.

Axial Codes that defined core categories were derived from interview data. For example, inclusiveness of kinship relatedness as an axial code was derived from the following interview quotes.

"Everyone is related to somebody, and many are related to someone on different reserves. We are all one big family. It is important for children to know who their relatives are. Each child has a big family who they belong to. At Musqueam its like one big family. We are all related in one way or another."

"There is a far and larger recognition of kin that is stable and has a history of family inter-relationships. If you want to find a connection there will be a connection between people at the band."

An exhaustive list of core categories, their corresponding codes and related interview quotes can be found in Appendix A.

The last form of coding utilized was selective coding. This entails selectively analyzing interview data that relates only to my core categories. Selective coding further defined and broadened the core categories and made them "rich in

meaning".

The final chapter of this research seeks to apply the core categories and specific codes to policy recommendations which may be incorporated into a proposal to the Ministry of Social Services and Housing and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs regarding a band based child welfare project. These policy recommendations will serve to direct the Musqueam Band in entering negotiations and discussions with both levels of government for culturally relevant and community specific programs.

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The central question that my research will address can be stated the following way: "What are the structural, familial and cultural dimensions of the Musqueam people that are the foundation for a locally controlled, autonomous, and culturally specific native child welfare program at the band?"

As outlined previously native child welfare is not well defined and operates in an unplanned and inconsistent manner in the province. In efforts to formulate programs that are culturally relevant, a firm understanding of the values, beliefs, family life, and culture is required. Once these values, traditions and customs have been identified they can be applied either directly or in principle to guide current programs being developed at the Musqueam Band.

In the next chapter I will summarize the major research findings, concentrating on the historical, demographic, and social factors that are specific to the Musqueam Band and relevant to development of band-based policies for child

welfare.

CHAPTER IV RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research findings can be divided into two areas. The first area is general over-riding findings discovered from the literature and interviews. These findings can be interpreted as general themes emerging from the research. The focus of these findings is on identifying core thematic categories and their corresponding axial codes.

One general theme that emerged from the research was that the Musqueam community places value both on the traditions and history of the Musqueam people as well as its unique contemporary culture in place today. The Musqueam people value their community and social structures in existence now as well as their historical traditions, and cultural patterns. The Musqueam realize that their community, families, and contemporary culture are vastly different from the larger society. These differences are valued and distinguish what being a Musqueam Indian is today. What I discovered is that Musqueam people have a distinctive culture based both on contemporary factors as well as historical traditional factors. This I believe is essential in understanding the Musqueam family and community structure.

A second theme that emerged was that of connectedness. The concept of connectedness is defined as a community sense of belonging, a personal and community identity that expresses itself through language, religious experience, kinship ties, a similarity of experience, geographic location and a changing cultural climate. Connectedness is the underlying core theme that provides belonging, cultural uniqueness, and community

strength for the Musqueam people.

The second area of findings relates to the specific structural dimensions of the community. In the following section I will provide definitions of concepts or the specific dimensions that emerged from the interviews. These concepts include linguistic connectedness, geographic connectedness, kinship connectedness, religious and ceremonial connectedness, experiential connectedness and changing cultural climate.

Interviews with key informants, elders, and Musqueam child welfare committee members quickly revealed the important structural dimensions of the Musqueam community. Structural dimensions refers to the specific cultural practices, values, and experiences that make the Musqueam community unique and distinct from other communities. No one structural dimension sets apart the community from the larger society, or other native communities. When these structural dimensions are combined, however, the Musqueam band stands out as unique from the surrounding contemporary society.

LINGUISTIC CONNECTEDNESS

Linguistic connectedness refers to both the language of Halkomelem that was traditionally spoken and transmits the Musqueam culture in a full and rich meaningful way, and contemporary language and its attributed meaning. The Halkomelem language provides the sense of identity and cultural separateness from the larger society and other west coast native groups. Very few Musqueam people besides some of the elders speak Halkomelem.

"No one knows the Halkomelom language anymore, its a difficult language to learn. There is

no one who can teach the younger ones anymore."
 (Personal Communications - Musqueam elder)

It became clear through the interviews that the elders were very angry at the loss of their language through the residential school system. The elders value Halkomelem because their religious and ceremonial practices take on their full rich meaning when conducted in Halkomelem. Historically Halkomelem has tied the community together. Now that the language is lost the Musqueam band is more easily assimilated into the larger society.

"I was telling my great granddaughter before you got here that they wanted us to forget to talk Indian. If a nun heard you talking to another girl in Indian you got punished... our language is important for passing on the traditions and so on."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

Despite this loss of the Halkomelem language it still affects how the Musqueam people attribute meaning to English words. For the Musqueam people some English words take on broader meaning than the commonly held English meaning. The term family, for example takes on the Halkomelem meaning of kin, which incorporates most people residing in the band. Family is therefore not merely a nuclear family or even extended family in the narrow English sense. Rather it refers to the wide range of kinship networks within the community.

"English people will use the term uncle or aunt. They (Musqueam) have hundreds of aunts and uncles not in the narrow English sense. There is a new set of kin terms used colloquially, but they're used with fitting some of the structure that comes through earlier times."

(Personal Communication - Anthropologist-UBC)

Linguistic structure and word definition are therefore unique in the Musqueam community. Word meaning and definition is

derived from the linguistic structure of the Halkomelem language and has adapted to the changing community. The meanings attached to English words provide uniqueness and sets apart the Musqueam community both from the larger surrounding society and from other native groups.

GEOGRAPHIC CONNECTEDNESS

I define geographic connectedness as the physical land and the Musqueams' view of this land as having a spirit that gives direction, a vision, and unifies the Musqueam people with nature. The location of the Musqueam band is very important to the community. Access to the ocean for fishing, forests and mountains for hunting was important to the livelihood of their ancestors. Today hunting and fishing still provide livelihood to the band. Musqueam elders still view the land, ocean, animals, fish etc. as spiritual forces. The elders view the lands as having a spirit that gives direction and help to them. Human beings and nature are unified - the creator unifies the creation. Therefore if one is to understand the world he must seek a vision through nature and look to the land for direction. The land therefore, while physical, also takes on spiritual significance.

"The land gives us a vision, a direction for our people. Each family is represented by an animal and that characterizes what each family will be like."

"We used to can fish and berries and all that. We used to can enough salmon to keep us going in the winter. Families helped each other out by doing that."

(Personal Communication- Musqueam Elder)

The land surrounding the band is to be respected and cared for, not owned and exploited. Historically the Musqueam people

have had difficulty maintaining their connections to the surrounding area. In 1860 the colonists established policy to establish Indian Reserves and compensation was given for native people to surrender land. In 1870 the Musqueam reserve was surveyed and defined. This action confined the Musqueam people to 416 acres of reserve land adjacent to the University of B.C. Endowment Lands. Previous to 1870 the Musqueam people moved about in family groups in what is now English Bay, Burrard Inlet and the lower Fraser River delta. In 1888 legislation was passed to restrict fishing by Indian People. This legislation curtailed an important economic activity of the Musqueam people and further removed them from their connections with the ocean. In 1913 a proposal was initiated to relocate the Musqueam band and transfer their reserve land to the Municipality of Point Grey. In 1913 the Musqueam people refused to relocate and remained in their current location. In 1973, 1977, and 1984 the Musqueam Indian Band submitted land claims to the foreshore area in Point Grey. In summary the Musqueam People have been confined to 416 acres and connections with the larger area have been destroyed. No longer are the Musqueam people unified with their traditional lands. Colonization and the expansion of the Point Grey Community has resulted in a loss of religious and cultural connectedness to the land.

"The land is too small for the group. The reserve keeps shrinking and shrinking. We are getting squeezed out. We used to be on land all the way to what is now Marpole. We're getting jipped."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam elder)

"Elements of traditional land use still persist, but they are in a new setting. They are not what they once were at 100 or even 40 years ago.

Traditional land use and ceremonies are changing, and the Musqueam people recognize it. They are still vital and important to the community."

(Personal Communication - Anthropologist)

Geography also connects the community through a sense of continuity of residing on the same coastal lands throughout many generations. The Musqueam people have lived on the West Coast for thousands of years and their location has provided stability and a home base for the community. Traditionally the band's current location was the main winter village which provided security and a home base during the winter months. This location has remained constant through the generations. The geographic location provides proximity to family and close kinship ties. The band's location also allows regular contact with other West Coast bands. This is important for potlaches, spirit dancing, and smoke house ceremonies.

KINSHIP CONNECTEDNESS

Kinship connectedness I have defined as the diffuse connections between individuals and families which encompass most of the Musqueam community. Kinship refers to the quality of a relationship and the extent that support and help is given through relationships. Kinship therefore extends beyond family in its traditional meaning to other individuals or groups in the community.

"If you want to find a connection between people there will be a connection. There is a much larger recognition of kin and relatedness than in white society. Family networks are diffuse, quite large and quite variable. Everyone has a connection they can plug into."

(Personal Communication - Anthropologist)

The value of kinship and the extended family network is

still in place today and is essential in understanding the Musqueam community. Family to the Musqueam means blood ties not only to an individual, but also to the band. A blood tie to any band member means a tie to every band member. It is band membership and active participation in the community that defines who is a brother. Individuals who are tied to the band and who are active in the community are valued and respected by its members. This is essential in understanding kinship in the Musqueam community.

"Everyone is related to somebody, and many are related to someone on different reserves. We are one big family. It is important for children to know who they belong to. At Musqueam its like one big family, we are all related in one way or another."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

Unique to the Musqueam band is the bilateral nature of status and belonging. There are no classifications and distinctions between grandparents and their siblings, between uncles, aunts and parents, or between cousins, brothers and sisters. This lack of classification instills a sense of belonging to, rather than exclusion from kin.

"No matter how far out the generations extend; all uncles, aunts, fathers, brothers, mothers, sisters and first cousins are all under one term. It covers all of them."

(Anthropologist - U.B.C.)

Claudia Lewis in her book, Indian Families of the North West Coast, has the following to say about classifications.

"Status and belonging were passed on to children bilaterally. Grandparents on both sides were called by a single term, including also grandparent's siblings. Cousins were equated with brothers and sisters, and there were no distinctions made between parent's siblings." 1.

A very significant feature about the kinship network is a sense of obligation to family, kin and the band. In speaking

to the elders and other band members, they related how support is given among members of the band.

"When someone is short of food or the welfare money has run out there will always be food and money available. Everything is shared."
(Elder - Musqueam Band)

This support becomes especially meaningful in times of crisis and in times of celebrations. For example at spirit dancing celebrations families and kin associations come together to support and celebrate. Also at funerals kin networks come to support each other. Families support through their attendance, taking part in the ceremonial aspects, and by providing food and money to the family. The networks are very much alive and actively support each other in times of crisis. These kinship networks are one of the distinguishing characteristics that set the Musqueam community apart from the larger society.

"At longhouse dancing, at funerals, or weddings, families come to support each other. Families help each other when they see someone in trouble. Everyone has some kin that they can go to. Children have many uncles and aunts, grandparents, or cousins that they can go to. Infants are looked after, families are right away there to help."
(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

A unique point about kinship networks is the role elders play in the community. The elders have a role in passing on the traditions, counselling younger families and children and giving direction to the band council. The elders provide the intergenerational continuity between the generations.

"Every morning, the old man would get up and just talk. It seemed like he was passing something on to us. We didn't take it in or listen that good. The older people pass on the traditions and the knowledge they had ... We try to tell some of the younger people, but I'm not sure if they listen. With my grandchildren I try to tell them what I learned when I was growing up."
(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

The quote above denotes the oral tradition of passing on the culture through the generations. Within the Musqueam community there is a resurgence of interest in knowing the religious and cultural significance of earlier Musqueam practices. The elders are increasingly being called upon to relay what in the past was the Musqueam's history and culture. Elders therefore have a vital role in kin associations as they are the connection between the generations.

SPIRITUAL AND CEREMONIAL CONNECTEDNESS

Spiritual and ceremonial connectedness refers to the spiritual and ceremonial practices that for the Musqueam people include spirit dances, spirit names and longhouse ceremonies. These practices provide a commonality of spirituality that binds the community together. In addition to connecting the community together these spiritual and ceremonial practices provide cultural distinctiveness. I found that I had to respect the individual wishes of the elders and only probed in so far as they felt comfortable disclosing. The activities and practices of the long house and spirit dances are not open to the outsider.

"It is not proper for me to tell you about spirit dancing and initiation activities in the long house because they have only been revealed to Indian people. I will tell you this. Young People get initiated. They get a vision. You are in a dream land until your song comes. You initiate the vision and power comes to you. We don't tell everyone what happens in our spiritual gains. If you tell, whatever power you gain leaves you."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

In spite of this reluctance to disclose this area of their community life I was able to achieve glimpses of their

traditions. It appears that spirit dancing, long house dancing and spirit names constitute the majority of ceremonial celebrations. Spirit power is central to the Musqueam religious beliefs. Spirit power refers to a belief in the power of spirit forces that sustains an individual and gives direction in choosing different paths in life. This spirit power endows a person with a special song, cry or spirit dance. Musqueam people refer to this spirit power as a spirit helper.

The Musqueam people believe that young people can be initiated or endowed with a spirit song, dance or cry. This initiation process is described as a four day affair where a young person is attended by several elders in the long house. The young person must keep a vigil of drumming, rattling and singing until his spirit song or dance comes out. One of the elders referred to this welling up of a spirit song or dance as a person's "Indianness" coming out. Once this initiation process is complete there are ceremonies and celebrations in the winter where all those initiated conduct their spirit song or dance.

"Young People get initiated. They are in the longhouse for four days. Certain things go on. They get a vision; you can't get out of the longhouse. You are in a dreamland until your song comes. You initiate the vision that you see. Your vision power comes to you."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

"Every winter we have spirit dancing where we give Indian names to our children or grand children. Its really just the spirit dancing and spirit names that still goes on."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

Young people play a vital role in these ceremonies and they provide the on going religious connection between religious practices of earlier and those of today. At the band there is

growing interest by several young people in involving themselves in these ceremonies. Many young people, however show no interest. Young people who are initiated in this way are valued and promote a unique cultural identity among the Musqueam community.

Young persons who have been initiated into the long house also take on a spirit name. This name characterized who they are and who their spirit helper is. Within the Musqueam community spirit names are passed on from one generation to the next.

"We still pass on the Indian names we had from way back. Every family has their own names. Your children grow up and take up those Indian names. There are a lot of names that have been lost. Many of the older people are gone and have not passed on their names. There is hardly anyone now that would go back, so a lot of the names were lost."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

Spirit names are therefore a reflection of families in the community. Spirit names also provide a connection for Musqueam young people to their family as well as the community as a whole. It is also essential that Musqueam children and young people remain tied to their community in order that these religious practices continue. This is one of the reasons why Musqueam children are important and valued in the community.

Spiritual and ceremonial traditions provide social experiences that are rewarding for the community as a whole. The whole community becomes involved in the religious experiences within the community and connects and binds the community together. It is the unified sacredness of the earth, the seasons, individuals and the supernatural that is a connecting force in the Musqueam community. An anthropologist

who is closely connected to the Musqueam community refers to the religious traditions and cultural practices in the following way:

"Elements to their traditional religion still persist, but they are in a new setting, and are not what they were 100 or even 40 years ago. They're changing and people recognize it, but they are still vital. They are important in that community there. They have to do with what being Indian is there. It sets them off dramatically from the surrounding people. They value them for that reason partly, and they also value them because they are tremendously rewarding personally and in social experience. It is a positive rewarding aspect of their contemporary culture."

(Anthropologist - U.B.C.)

EXPERIENTIAL CONNECTEDNESS

Experiential connectedness refers to the commonality of experiences that are a part of both the recent history and contemporary life at the Musqueam Indian Band. These experiences include the reserve system, band membership, residential schools and a dependence on the Department of Indian Affairs. These four areas are very common experiences of the majority of Musqueam people. Coding and analyzing the data revealed that these areas have both positive and negative aspects for those experiencing them.

The Musqueam reserve came into being in 1870, which in effect confined the Musqueam people to 416 acres. Many of the elders refer to the reserve with ambivalence. It promotes discrimination and poverty. It sets apart the Musqueam people from the surrounding community. One elder referred to the negative aspects of the reserve in the following way:

"You can never be totally happy with the reserves. They create conflict among our people. We have to learn about how to get along with each other, not fight about band membership or land. The

reserve makes us dependent on the department. We have to learn not to depend on the department, but be self-reliant."

(Musqueam Elder - Personal Communication)

The above quote refers to a kind of dependence and conflict that the reserve system creates. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provides the funding to the band for all programs, housing and administration. This has created an unhealthy reliance on the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. There is ongoing conflict regarding funding child welfare programs on reserve. The child welfare task force is seeking approval for funding child welfare programs that enhance self-reliance and autonomy for Musqueam people. Federal and Provincial governments however, have refused funding these programs at the Musqueam band.

"The band, at present is looking at preventative programs. We would like partial control and jurisdiction over child welfare at the band. For example we would like a group home for our teenagers, so that they do not have to go to foster homes outside the band. We however can't get money for this."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Child Welfare task force member)

Although the reserve may be seen as negative and discriminatory, the elders also have identified its value. The reserve system has provided housing, a community residence, a local band council and administration, resources and services for the community, and coastal land. These aspects of the reserve system are valued because they are the basis for developing autonomy and local control over community affairs. It is interesting to note the valued aspects of the reserve system as most of the literature comments on the negative influence the reserve system has had on the native community.

The Musqueam child welfare task force has recognized this administrative strength and are utilizing the structure of the reserve system to develop policies which will address child and family community problems. Rather than becoming frustrated with the current system and attempting to change the reserve system through conflict, the task force has decided to produce change via engaging the system from within. How they are attempting to bring about this change is specifically discussed in the final chapter of the thesis.

A second experience that has connected the community together as a whole is the residential schools. Although the residential schools were clearly harmful and eroded native culture, they also provided common experiences for the adult members contributing to a kinds of camaraderie amongst the band members. All those interviewed attended residential schools, and lived the experience which has become a part of their contemporary culture. All those interviewed mentioned two important negative outcomes of the residential schools. The first was a loss of language and culture, and second was the separation from family and kinship ties. Interviews with elders confirmed the government's policy of assimilating and acculturating native peoples. One native elder explained her experience in residential school in the following way:

"They wanted us to forget to talk Indian. If a nun heard you talking to another girl in Indian you got punished. They didn't allow us to do Indian dance. They used to tell us it was from the devil. Lots of elders don't know the history or traditions anymore because they went to residential school."

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

Musqueam elders discuss residential schools with an

underlying feeling of anger and regret. More than anything else the residential schools have erased much of the history and culture of previous generations. The Musqueam elders are very suspicious of the current educational system and fear that their culture will be further eroded.

A second negative outcome related to residential schools was the separation from a network of kin. For ten months of the year children were spirited away to residential schools around the lower mainland. Children became estranged from their immediate families, community and culture. Among members of the Musqueam community there was a loss of identity. Acculturating to the climate of Roman Catholic society was difficult for most native children. The elders also reported that a return to the setting and climate of the reserve for two months was also difficult. There was no sense of belonging or security for native children in or out of the reserve. One of the elders described his experience in residential schools in the following way.

"I don't know the history very well because I went to residential school. I went to Coquitla which was a federal school. A lot of our people went to residential schools in Coquitlam, on the Island, St. Pauls, or across the border. We were only home for a few months in the summer. We weren't allowed to speak our language or practice our traditions."
(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

With children being absent from families this interrupted and undermined both the native culture and family life. More recently the apprehension and removal of native children also threatens to break apart the native culture.

Field research would identify more common experiences of Musqueam people. The residential schools, reserve system and

membership and a dependence on the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs were the common experiences of Musqueam people.

CONTINUING EVOLUTION OF THE MUSQUEAM CULTURE

The Musqueam elders and members of the task force recognize the changing cultural climate. This is not seen as negative, but rather a positive aspect of Musqueam community. This changing cultural climate is not seen as conforming or acculturating into the larger society. Rather the changing Musqueam community still remains unique and the Musqueam community values this contemporary unique culture.

"Why the Musqueam people are distinct has partly to do with their roots, but only partly, it also has to do with social and economic dynamics of that place. There has been an adaptation, or evolution of culture. It is adaptation and change that fits people into the circumstances they are in."

(Personal Communication - Anthropologist)

The Musqueam people value both their religious and ceremonial traditions, as well as their current striving to become an autonomous, self-sufficient community. The interviews with the elders revealed that the contemporary culture emphasized increased autonomy and community participation and includes educational, spiritual, administrative aspects. Several of the Musqueam young adults are enrolled in programs at the Native Educational Centre. These programs include training for leadership in band administration, and social development. Musqueam elders view education as a way of assuming autonomy and control over band programs. Band members also have been involved with the Ministry of Education in developing educational programs and curriculum on reserve. Expertise is beginning to be developed by band members themselves in this

area and should promote autonomous indigenous native leadership.

"Children and young people today have to educated themselves and become self-reliant. They can't depend on the department. We are beginning to learn not to depend on the department.

(Personal Communication - Musqueam Elder)

Autonomy and self-reliance is an important theme for Musqueam people. This is not the kind of autonomy or individuality found in the larger society. Autonomy and self-reliance refer to community or band autonomy. It refers to the use of local expertise, resources, and community strengths to develop social programs. The cultural climate at Musqueam today appears to focus on ownership and control of both band policy and program development. This struggle for autonomy is experience through negotiations with various Provincial and Federal Ministers regarding ownership of programs. Increasingly local community participation in social programs is required. Local band members are beginning to develop expertise in social work, band administration, education, family therapy and early childhood educations. Participation in community life is valued and is becoming a large part of what it means to be a Musqueam Indian.

In summary the cultural climate is unique to the Musqueam. However it now incorporates both traditional language, religious customs, and kinship networks as well as contemporary aspects. These contemporary aspects encompass those activities that promote autonomy and local participation in community. The implications for child welfare policy and programming will be explored in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER V CHILD WELFARE POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

In the section I will outline the implication for child welfare policy of the foregoing research findings. These policy implications can then be utilized in guiding the development of Musqueam band's family and child welfare programs. The relevant implications for policy include programs which enhance community responsiveness, spiritual and physical well-being, band autonomy, local community participation, and self-reliance. This chapter will incorporate the components in specific recommendations for culturally congruent family programs for the Musqueam Indian Band. These specific band-based programs include kinship homes, safe homes, group homes, family day care, and a parent support group.

It becomes apparent that the process of applying the cultural thematic content within the Musqueam community requires both reflection and community participation. Child and Family programs such as kinship homes, group homes, or supportive services must have input from all segments of the band. This process of applying cultural content to programs must be an ongoing process to examine whether developing programs reflect kinship, linguistic, geographic, spiritual and experiential dimensions within the band. This section is the beginning of such a process, and will need to be pursued by the child welfare task force and band members as a whole.

Prior to discussing policy implications it is essential to clarify the function of the child welfare task force presently in existence at the band. The child welfare task force has been mandated by the band council to develop and implement

band-based child welfare programs on reserve. Up to this point the task force has only engaged in limited discussions regarding programs at the band. In the conclusion of this chapter I provide recommendations regarding further clarification of the task force's mandate and recommendations for immediate activities for the task force's consideration.

The first implication for policy arising from the research findings is the need to ensure community responsiveness in the Musqueam program. Child welfare services are currently delivered in British Columbia in a bureaucratic and uniform manner. Mainstream programs and services generally speaking, do not meet native child welfare needs. The locus of control has always been outside of the Musqueam band for the development of social programs. Prescribed social programs and child welfare services have been available to the band. However, these services are not culturally specific to the needs of native people and have not met the specific needs of the Musqueam community. In my opinion there must be "equitable inequities" in child welfare services. In other words there must be a preferential or a community specific service delivery system that responds to the needs of the Musqueam community. In order for programs and services to be responsive to the community they must be community specific, culturally based and involve community participation. More specifically, programs that are responsive to the community must incorporate the kin networks in existence at the band, spiritual and ceremonial practices, contemporary language and its attributed meaning, geographic proximity, and the changing cultural climate at the band.

The second policy implication is that child welfare programs on reserve should emphasize both the spiritual and physical well-being of consumers. This spiritual and physical well-being must be defined by the Musqueam Indian Band members, not the Ministry of Social Services and Housing, or the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The question arises then as to what an adequate, culturally appropriate, and community specific model of child welfare would be for the Musqueam band. In order to establish a sense of physical and spiritual well-being, I believe the following areas should be incorporated into the model. First of all kin networks, as they are found in the Musqueam community, must be the main resource for families and children. Utilizing kin networks assures children remain connected to their community, their heritage, and family. The elders must play a vital advisory role for the directions of programs and services. Elders provide the connection with the past and promote community of spiritual values in proposed programs of the band. Programs and services must recognize valued traditional ways and valued contemporary community strengths. Programs must therefore incorporate spiritual aspects, linguistic aspects, kinship ties, and experiential aspects of life at the Musqueam band.

As noted in the research findings autonomy and self-reliance through local community participation is valued in the Musqueam community. The third policy implication is therefore the need to incorporate elements of autonomy and local community participation in the band's child welfare program. The provision of services to the Musqueam people through the Ministry of Social Services and Housing has been centralized

and planned in Victoria, or in regional offices without regard for Musqueam priorities or community conditions. Many of the family service programs in place at the band are irrelevant. Musqueam families participate in these programs only as a means of conforming to the expectations of social workers in order to have their children returned to their care.

The Musqueam band has had little input to date into the child welfare services they require and would support in their community. The band's child welfare task force is seeking autonomy in developing resources in their community. The task force recognized that any program or policy must be supported and sanctioned by the community as a whole. This will involve public meetings regarding new programs and initiatives proposed by the band. The task force is calling for a transfer of decision making authority from outside governmental authorities to the members of the band. The band must have autonomy and decision making authority in the areas of prevention, resource development, and placement of children. Local decision making power and control of programs will guarantee access to services and will ensure programs are responsive to community needs.

In summary, the policy and program components for Musqueam child and family services must include community responsiveness, spiritual and physical well-being, self-reliance, community participation and autonomy in decision making power. All six components must be defined by Musqueam band members through public meetings which provide opportunity for community participation in planning and implementing child welfare programs on reserve.

CHAPTER VI CHILD AND FAMILY PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE
MUSQUEAM INDIAN BAND

Family and child services at the band must have the underlying goal of keeping children connected to the band, kin networks, and community experience. The Musqueam Indian band is seeking to develop band-based resources so the above goal can be achieved. The child welfare task force maintains that Musqueam children should be productive and valued members in their community. It also believes that their cultural identity should be reinforced and their connectedness to kin maintained. The child welfare task force has therefore purposely focussed on prevention of child abuse and neglect and resource development.

This section will focus on the general beliefs and goals of the child welfare task force as well as recommendations for specific programs on reserve. Incorporated into this section will be geographic information and a discussion of social programs on reserve. Incorporated into this section will be demographic information and a discussion of social programs that members of the task force have identified in the Musqueam community. In conclusion I will provide comments on native child welfare in general and the Musqueam situation in particular.

Members of the task force have recognized that there are times when children must be removed from their homes in order to protect them from abuse or neglect. The members however take strong exception to the notion that children must be removed from the community in order to protect them. The band has adopted the philosophy that children must first be maintained in their own homes. If this cannot be achieved,

then they should be cared for in their own communities. The service delivery structure, resources and programs must support this philosophy. There are approximately 525 band members of whom 155 live off reserve. According to members of the task force there were at least 12 children apprehended in the last year and who are in care presently outside the band. It is very difficult to determine the total number of band children in the care of the Superintendent of Family and Child Services. Since the Ministry does not release this information and the band has not kept statistics, this information remains unavailable. It is safe to assume, however, given provincial statistics, that numerous Musqueam children have been apprehended and have permanently been removed from their homes. The Musqueam band would like a change in provincial child protection policy and law which would require consultation with the band prior to apprehension of a child. This would require that all resources designed to support the family be exhausted before removing a child from his family. It would require that placement outside the family normally be with a child care resource on the reserve and placement off the reserve only occur in circumstances where an appropriate and essential resource is not available on the reserve.

It is my recommendation that there be a distinct division between the child welfare functions of the Ministry of Social Services and Housing and the band. The band should assume responsibility for prevention, family support services, child welfare resource development and decision making with respect to placement of children brought into care. The Ministry of Social Services and Housing would continue to be responsible

for investigation of complaints of abuse and neglect, apprehension of children, and presentation of cases in Family Court. The population base at the Musqueam Indian band is very small, with strong kin ties and associations. Any native social worker hired by the band should not have delegated apprehending authority, as this would create conflict of roles and lead to a breakdown of kin associations. The current band social worker does have expertise in child welfare and is familiar with the structure and kin networks in place at the band. Investing this person with delegated authority to apprehend children would create conflict and undermine this person's credibility in developing resources and services. The social worker at the band should focus on early intervention and prevention rather than on investigation and apprehension of children.

As clarified in the research finding, the Musqueam see themselves as connected together and having shared community responsibility for addressing social issues in the community. Child welfare programs must be reframed to promote acceptance of the identity of interest between the community and its families through shared participation in promoting healthy and stable family life and a concerned, cohesive, and supportive community. The child welfare task force is therefore eliciting community support in developing and participating in child and family programs on reserve.

Programs on the Musqueam reserve should be comprehensive in nature; that is they should offer more than one form of intervention by providing a range of services such as home help, support groups, counselling and financial aid. They must

be accessible in both location and philosophy, be family focussed and available to all band members. This is the intention of the child welfare task force in generating new programs and initiatives in the Musqueam community. Programs on reserve can be divided into two categories, preventive family and child support service and crisis intervention. The Musqueam Indian band in program development has focussed on these two areas.

SPECIFIC BAND-BASED PROGRAMS

Kinship Homes

An essential program needed at present on the Musqueam reserve entails the development of kinship homes. Historically kin networks supported individuals in times of crisis, and difficult times. This tradition can be maintained through what I would call kinship homes. Kinship homes would promote community involvement in the care and nurturing of their native children and ensure that children remain connected to their communities. Kinship homes allow native children to participate in all aspects of community life, especially spiritual aspects. Children continue to inherit spiritual names and perpetuate the spiritual and ceremonial aspects of the Musqueam community.

I would define a kinship home as a home located on the Musqueam reserve approved by the band and agreed to by the Ministry of Social Services and Housing for the temporary placement of Musqueam children. A kinship home would preferably include the child's grandparents, aunt or uncle, brother or sister, first or second cousin or step parent, but could also include any other family which has band membership

and residence on the reserve.

Presently the British Columbia Family and Child Service Act defines foster homes as those approved by the Superintendent or his delegate.

"Foster home means a private home approved by the Superintendent for the placement of a child, whether or not payment is made for the maintenance of the child."
(section 1)

This same statute, however, authorized the Superintendent to delegate any of his powers.

"The Superintendent may delegate any of his powers, duties, functions and capacities under this act to any person or class of person, and that person or class of person shall be subject to his direction."
(section 3[4])

The child welfare task force as a committee must, in my opinion, be given delegated authority to establish and approve kinship homes in the Musqueam community. This delegation of authority must be established through a statement of protocol between the Musqueam band and the Superintendent of Family and Child Services. Included in this protocol should be criteria for kinship home selection as agreed to by the band council and the Ministry of Social Services and Housing. Criteria for approval of kinship homes must be based on the structure, values, culture and reality of the Musqueam community. In order to establish this criteria public meetings must be held where all interested community members can have input into these criteria.

The establishment of local kinship homes at the Musqueam band is an essential step in ensuring that children in need of protection remain in the community. Kinship homes would be in the place of existing foster care homes that the Ministry of

Social Services and Housing provides. Kinship homes in effect reflect the Musqueam notion of kinship connectedness. In earlier times children who were unable to be cared for by their parents, were cared for by kin. The community as a whole was responsible for the welfare of its children and children remained connected to their local culture and community. Kinship homes would therefore allow children to remain geographically, ceremonially, linguistically and experientially connected to their community.

SAFE HOMES

Within the Musqueam band many children are apprehended during times of crisis in families. Often alcohol abuse has spurred violence and children are at risk. Temporary safe homes would meet the need to protect children during these times. Temporary accommodation that is sanctioned and supported in the community and approved by the band and agreed to by the Ministry of Social Services and Housing is an effective means to protect native children through voluntary short term placements while avoiding the need for apprehension. Safe homes at the Musqueam band should be designed to be resources for children who need emergency substitute care and for victims of family violence. Safe homes must make it possible for both mother and child to be accommodated in circumstances where the father is abusive both to the mother and child.

At the Musqueam band the elders centre is respected and could be utilized as a safe home. Again, policies and procedures for implementing a safe home would need to be established through community meetings. It is my

recommendation that the child welfare task force utilize the experience of other bands in establishing safe homes. Resource people such as Gloria Wilson at the Squamish band, or ex-chief Wayne Christian of the Spallumacheen band can provide valuable assistance in organizing such a resource. A safe home in order to be successful must have full community support. Native children requiring temporary protection due to crisis may be required to be apprehended and then returned soon after apprehension to the parent once it is safe to do so. The British Columbia Family and Child Service Act under section 9 (5) provides that,

"Where a child has been apprehended and before a report is presented to the court under section II, the Superintendent may, if satisfied that continued custody is unnecessary, return the child to the parent apparently entitled to custody."

Brief placement in the proposed Musqueam safe home can alleviate the need to remove a native child from the native community. A safe home would therefore meet the basic safety needs of children and yet allow children to remain geographically connected to the community. Safe homes also would reduce the traumatic effects that apprehension has on children by allowing children to remain in a familiar environment and be cared for by local band members.

An integral part of safe homes is family service interviews that seek to alleviate the crisis and promote an environment where children may be safely returned to their parent. It is my recommendation that counselling as well as home support services be in place so that native children can be returned quickly to their parents. I would also recommend that an elder be linked with a family in crisis to provide

support and direction. The elders can play a vital role in assisting families to provide a safe environment for their children.

GROUP HOMES

The child welfare task force has recognized that a group home is essential as a temporary residential placement for Musqueam youth experiencing severe conflict with their parents and experiencing difficulty with alcohol and drug abuse. The task force recognized that Musqueam youth have lost a sense of identity and need to establish pride in their culture and in themselves. The group home would have three distinct aspects. First the program would assist native youth to learn more about the Musqueam history and unique culture. Language, geography, spirituality, and religious practices as part of the program could provide a sense of identity for Musqueam youth. Participation in smoke house dancing and religious aspects would provide links with the past and a deep sense of belonging.

The last aspect of the group home must be education or employment focussed. Youth in the group home should attend school or be involved in projects that benefit the community.

Once again the community must participate by providing feed back about what they would want and support in their community. Public meetings that allow input from all community members is essential if a group home is to be successful in the Musqueam community. In addition the task force should visit other local bands to inquire about how they established group homes in their native communities.

Family and Child Services

Family and Child Services on the Musqueam band must incorporate a variety of interventions and programs. Family and Child Services must fit with the structure and values in place currently at the Musqueam band. The child welfare task force has recognized several resources it wishes to establish in the community. All resources must reflect the fact that kin networks are the basic underlying unit at the band. Kin networks already in existence at the band must be strengthened and supported. In this connection the task force has identified three resources that it wishes to develop over the next several years. These include a family daycare, a parent support group, and a family support worker.

Family Day Care

I would recommend the band establish a family day care for parents who require respite from their children. This family day care should be a model for appropriate child care techniques, as well as a model of traditional nurturing and care of children. Several band members are interested in early childhood education, and could staff a family daycare. The Musqueam band can also promote community participation by providing opportunity for the homes of local band members to be approved as family day care homes. I would define a family day care home as a home approved by the band for day care respite for children of families experiencing stress in caring for their children. Family day care is a preventative measure that can help a native family avoid unnecessary apprehension.

Parent Support Group

The child welfare task force is also seeking to establish a parent support group. This group should provide a supportive group environment for parents to discuss issues concerning their children and provide support for each other in their roles as parents. An essential aspect of this group would be native professionals working in the area of family therapy, child care, or social work who can serve as resource people for this group. A family support group is one means where the Musqueam community as a whole can share in the responsibility of supporting all of its members.

Community Resource Worker

The child welfare task force should also seek appointment of a community resource worker whose position would be to establish resources at the Musqueam band. The primary function of this position would be to act as a consultant to the task force in developing child welfare resources for the band. This individual should be a native person familiar with West Coast Native groups and competent in writing funding proposals and negotiating child welfare agreements with the Provincial and Federal governments.

Funding Sources

With Provincial spending restraint and current Federal government spending cutbacks it is difficult for the Band to receive funding through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs or the Ministry of Social Services and Housing. I would recommend that the Ministry of Social Services and

Housing provide funding for the development of kinship homes and a group home on the reserve. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, I would suggest, should provide the funding for family and child services under the auspices of their social development funding. In any event the Musqueam Indian band must develop specific funding proposals addressed to both levels of government for the programs it seeks to develop on reserve. The exact nature of funding goes beyond the scope of this paper and is an issue that the child welfare task force must address with each level of government.

Planning Future Program Development

The Musqueam Indian band is in the beginning stages of developing child and family services at the band. In the next year I would recommend that the band pursue four areas in developing community-specific, band-based programs on reserve. These four areas are as follows: the establishment of a Child and Family Welfare Committee; the completion of a comparative survey of other native child welfare programs; the organization of community meetings focussed on child welfare issues; and the securing of a consultant to assist with funding proposals.

The band council must establish a Child and Family Welfare Committee with a specific mandate, clear objectives and goals. This Child and Family Welfare Committee should be directly responsible to the band council for completing its mandate, goals and objectives. In turn this committee must delegate tasks to the task force for completion. The child welfare task force should be responsible to the committee for completion of its tasks. The Child and Family Welfare Committee must provide

the direction for policies and programs on reserve, be responsible for securing a consultant and negotiating program proposals and funding with both levels of government. In effect the Child and Family Welfare Committee should assume the functions and roles that the task force now is engaged in. The task force would therefore become a working committee organizing community meetings, gathering information, and implementing the policies and programs established by the committee. The rationale for this structure is to insure all activities are coordinated and Child and Family services are established according to policies that reflect the cultural uniqueness of the Musqueam people.

The Child and Family committee, I would recommend, should visit programs established on other reserves to gather information on comparative native family and child welfare services. Gathering data on existing programs on other reserves would give ideas for new initiatives at the Musqueam band. Other bands have developed expertise that could benefit the Musqueam band's situation. The Spallumcheen, Squamish, Nuu Chah Nulth, McLeod Lake, and Carrier-Sekani bands can provide examples of how current programs have been developed and may provide ideas or expertise for sharing with the Musqueam band.

A third area the Musqueam band must pursue is engaging the community in the development of band based family and child welfare services. Thus far the majority of ideas have been generated through a small number of band members that make up the current task force. It is important that all Musqueam band members have an opportunity to be involved in the planning, development and implementation of services in order for these

services to be successful. Initial investment by Musqueam band members in program development, I believe, will ensure they are utilized and supported in the community. The Child and Family Welfare Committee must give ample opportunity for community participation and discussion of any policies or programs that it wishes to implement. Ongoing community meetings provide this opportunity for community participation.

Finally the band, I believe must hire a consultant with expertise in program development and writing program proposals. This consultant must be familiar with West Coast Native Communities, local culture, the structure of the Musqueam band and the power structures of the Ministry of Social Services and Housing and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. This consultant should therefore assist the band in program formulation and negotiations with both levels of government.

If the Musqueam Indian band pursues these four areas they will make positive progress in establishing culturally relevant, band-based family and child welfare services at the band.

CONCLUSION

Successful child welfare programs at the Musqueam Indian band will be a mixture of contemporary child welfare services as well as traditional programs based on the current structure and values of the community. Effective programs on the Musqueam reserve must have a single purpose; to keep Musqueam children connected geographically, linguistically and ceremonially to the band. Maintaining ties to the band promotes belonging, a sense of identity, and security for Musqueam children. Musqueam child welfare programs should not merely reflect traditional Indian methods of parenting, or attempt to incorporate traditional spiritual ceremonies. Rather they should ensure that children remain connected to their native community and to their kin associations. In short, successful child welfare programs must empower the local band members by promoting community participation, autonomy, self-determination, and cultural relevance. I believe that the research findings strongly support the current efforts of the Musqueam band to develop a child welfare program, one that acknowledges the contemporary aspirations of Musqueam band members who live in a setting adjoining a modern urban community. The research also builds upon positive cultural connections with Indian traditions and kinship networks. There is special emphasis on connectedness in geography, language, spirituality, experience, and kinship ties. It is my hope that this research accurately reflects what Musqueam members have portrayed to me and aids them in securing their own child welfare programs.

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APPENDIX "A" THE MEANING OF CONNECTEDNESS FOR MUSQUEAM INDIANS

A community sense of belonging, a personal and community identity also includes a sense of continuity through the generations.

Core Category: Geographic Connectedness - The physical land the Musqueams view of this land as having a spirit that gives direction, a vision, and unifies the Musqueam people with nature.

Axial Codes

Sample of Supporting Quotes

lived in one place
hundreds of years

"Those people have lived there for
for 4000 years in one place."

less mobile and
dispersable

"That reserve, it is stable and
difficult to move away from"
"Due to social and economic
dynamics those people are less
mobile and dispersable."

land importance

"Elements of traditional land use
still persist, but they are in a
new setting. Traditional land use
and ceremonies are changing and
the Musqueam people recognize it.
They are still vital and important
to the community."

close proximity of
family

"The key difference between family
Musqueam and the larger society
is accessibility to family and
kin."
"If you want to find a connection
between people there will be a
connection at (the band) that they
can plug in to."

provides vision

"The land gives a vision a
direction for our people."

unifies the Musqueam
with native

"Human being and native are People
unified - the creator unifies the
creation."
"Each family is represented by an
animal, and that characterizes
what each family will be like."

Core Category: Kinship Connectedness - Diffuse connections between individuals and families which encompass most of the Musqueam community.

Axial CodesSample of Supporting Quotes

kin association	"There is a much larger recognition of kin and relatedness than in white society. Family networks are diffuse, quite large and quite variable."
connects the members together	"If you want to find a connection there will be a connection." "Everybody is related to somebody ...we are one big family."
obligation to kin	"There is a very great sense of obligation to kin. Families are right away there to help." "When someone is short of food or the welfare money has run out, there will always be food and money available. Everything is shared."
kin support	"At longhouse dancing, at funerals, or weddings, families come to support each other. Families help each other when they see someone in trouble."
Accessibility of people to family	"The key difference between people Musqueam and the larger society is accessibility to family and kin."
Diffuse extended kin	"There are over 700 who are my relatives there. If you're a blood kin, or born into the band, or marry into it, you have a large interaction with kin folk."
Intergenerational continuity	"There is a history of family relationships. Generations extend to the second and third and fourth generations." "My grandparents were part of the original people, so I still have a lot of relatives today."
Bilateral Nature of status and belonging	"Status and belonging are passed on to children bilaterally. Grandparents on both sides were called by a single term." "All uncles, aunts, fathers, brothers, mothers, sisters, and first

cousins are all under one term."

Role of elders

"Every morning, the old men would get up and talk. The older people pass on the traditions and the knowledge they had."

Core category: Spiritual and Ceremonial Connectedness -

Spiritual and ceremonial practices that for the Musqueam people include spirit dances, spirit names and longhouse ceremonies.

Axial Code

Samples of Supporting Quotes

longhouse dancing

"They are in the longhouse for four days. Certain things go on. You get a vision...you're in a dreamland until your song comes."
"Every winter we have spirit dancing where we give Indian names to our children."

Spirit Names

"We still pass on the Indian names we had from way back. Every family has their own names. There are alot of names that have been lost."
"Our children grow up and take on the spirit names from way back."

Spirit Power

"You get initiated and get spirit power. This is called spiritual gains."
"Your spirit power gives you direction in your life; which path you should follow."

Initiation ceremony

"Young people get initiated. They are in the longhouse for four days. Certain things go on. They get a vision; you can't get out of the longhouse. You're in a dreamland until your song comes. You initiate the vision that you see. Your vision power comes to you."
"The Young people have to keep drumming, rattling and singing until his spirit song or dance comes out."

Core Category: Linguistic Connectedness - The language of Halkomelem that was traditionally spoken and transmits the Musqueam culture in a full and rich meaningful way, and contemporary language and its attributed meaning.

Axial CodesSamples of Supporting Quotes

Halkamelom

"Our language is Halkomelom."
 "The older elders and earlier generations would know Halkomelem"

Generalization of

"She would generalize English words as if they were Halkomelem."
 "Current language reflects the structure of earlier times."
 "All uncles, aunts, fathers brothers, mothers. sisters, and first cousins are all under one term."

Fits structure of Halkomelem

"There is a new set of kin terms used colloquially, but they're used with fitting some of the structure that comes through earlier times."

Language transmits culture

"Spiritual ceremonies, longhouse dancing, and spirit names when spoken in Halkomelem are more meaningful."
 "The Halkomelem language is important for passing on the traditions and so on. I try to talk Indian to my grandchildren so that they will know what we did in the past."

Language loss

"I was telling my great grand daughter before you got here that they wanted us to forget to talk Indian. If a nun heard you talking to another girl in Indian you got punished."
 "No one knows the Halkomelem language anymore, its a difficult language to learn. There is no one who can teach the younger ones anymore."

Core Category: Experiential Connectedness - The commonality that are part of both the recent history and contemporary life at the Musqueam Indian Band.

Axial CodesSamples of Supporting Quotes

Residential Schools

"A lot of our people went to residential schools in Coquitlam, on the Island, St. Pauls, or across the border. We were only home for a few months of the summer. We weren't allowed to speak our language."

"Lots of elders don't know the history or traditions anymore because they went to residential schools."

Reserve System
Dependence on
outside agencies

"You can never be totally happy with the reserves. They create conflict among our people...The reserve makes us dependent on the department. We have to learn not to depend on the department, but be self-reliant."

Control and Self
determination

"We would like partial control and jurisdiction over child welfare and the band. For example, we would like a group home for our teenagers so that they do not have to go to foster homes outside the band."

"Children today, have to educate themselves and become self reliant, they have to learn not to depend on the department."

Ceremonial Social
Experience

"Musqueam value traditions and ceremonies because they are tremendously rewarding personally and in social experience."

"The Ceremonies are an adaptation, but they are a rewarding aspect of that contemporary culture."

Community Participation

"To be Indian, is to participate and be a good member of the community."

"We have to have community meetings where people can say what they think, and what they would like for programs at the band."

Band Membership

"If you are a member of the band and live here you belong. You

know what it means to be
Musqueam."

APPENDIX "B" CODING EXAMPLE

1. Traditions - constant state of change over time.
2. Influence of dominant culture.
3. Idealization of traditions, cultural elements.
4. Inaccuracy of reconstructing past.
5. Uniqueness of current community.
6. Linkage of past to present-connectedness.
7. Familial structure.
8. Prestene past.
9. Descriptive account.
10. Encumberment of the past.
11. Cultural distinctiveness.
12. Vitality and significance of religion.
13. Indianness/Separation
14. Highly valued religious experience.
15. Religious adaptation to land base.
16. Crosscurrent of opinion about child rearing.
17. Parameters of child rearing.
18. Abstractions of memory.
19. Family definition.
20. Linguistic familial labels.
21. Familial classifications.
22. Kinship closeness/distance.
23. Double descent.
24. Diffuse family networks.
25. Kinship support.
26. Accessibilit to kin ties.
27. Geographical proximity.
28. contemporary social and cultural dynamics.
29. Cultural evolution.

The above codes refers to open coding by phrase or paragraph. The numbers correspond to the statements numbered in the transcript. This open coding procedure was conducted with all the interviews. From the massive list of open codes, core categories were constructed which incorporated into the core categories and therefore conceptual density was not achieved. Further interviewing, date analysis may reveal other categories leading to conceptual density. This is beyond the scope of this thesis.

APPENDIX "C" TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH A MUSQUEAM ELDER

Background to the interview. Interview was conducted on March 3, 1989. Verbal consent was received for participation in the research project. ???? has a long history of involvement with Musqueam band. His first wife, now deceased, was Musqueam, and he has two sons who are members of the band. He has about forty years of contact with the band and is familiar with band members and their values and family life.

R: Traditional, you were saying that traditional are things of the past and child rearing that they used to have. You made a nice statement. They used to have and its probably changed. 1.

I: Changed due to assimilations into the white culture. 2.

R: Right.

I: That's how I view it and I think and I have read in the literature that they are not going to be able to go back to the ways things were. R: That's right.

I: What I am looking at is what sort of principles and core values that they can incorporate, at least in principle in their life style now.

R: My response to that is that is going to head us to trouble, and that we need to think differently about that. Two reasons why I guess that's difficult. One reason why that is difficult is that you are setting out to discover, to find, to identify, what is traditional, cultural elements or patterns or boundaries that is of that past time, idealized. 3. There is and empirical problem in that, it is impossible to reach that time. To discover

what was. 4. You can touch the periphery of it through the memory of old people perhaps, and through some of the literature you may touch the edges of that. To bring it back and reconstruct it is virtually impossible. To find it all and reconstruct it in an artificial sense. Our view tells us its not there; of course its not there. Things have changed. They assimilate, they change. We are trying to do something thats incredibly difficult. A second point is why we want to go back to that traditional, in the sense of the long past. We are trying to find out what is specific and unique to this group of people that has to do with child rearing practices, and how these practices might differ from the surrounding community. To put it another way, how do we reach back not into the distant past, but what is specific and different about what is there now? 5. So if we change the word traditional to something that is - your task becomes not to identify what is traditional but what is the cultural value pattern of child rearing at Musqueam now. There you see what we have done, we have made that realm of phenomena reachable because it is there now. You can go out and find something out about it. It is an interesting question why we are lead to reach way back to the past.

I: The question that I have, is whether the way of looking at life the way the native view themselves, the community, the environment, is that still intact today? And how has it changed?

R: You don't really need to know how its changed in great detail, what you need to know is whats there that is unique

and specific to these people that they value. It has its roots in the past. To puzzle out those connections is an incredibly hard thing to do because you don't have any real ground to get a hold of that data or phenomena. 6. But you can find out by interviewing people, what they want their family life to be, what they want their children to be and you can establish that very empirically. It is there. It is a matter of collecting it and discovering it. 7. I would suggest that you should get rid of that word traditional and encourage Musqueam to get rid of that word traditional and to think in a model which is different. A model that doesn't concern itself so much with assimilation and cultural change over the long run. What I'm saying is think differently from the mainstream of people like yourself. Anthropology is as guilty as social work or any other people in perpetuating this notion of some pristine past, which is almost a sacred thin of the traditional culture of these people. 8. We still write descriptive accounts of what Indian culture is like. 9. By reaching back to that thing we say that they lived in wooden long houses and we perpetuate that view of people. It is a view that locks them into that past. It encumbers them with that past life in a way that is not necessary. The past life is great, as long as you're not burdened by it. If you have to be like that past continually it's a burden. It's a burden and it's unrealistic. 10.

I: I think it is unrealistic.

R: Yes, but you sense that.

I: From what I hear you saying, is that rather than looking

back to the past, lets look at and by talking to people at Musqueam band, lets find out what they want their family life to be right now and how that's different from the larger society. 11.

R: Exactly, and that things are always changing in every culture, we are not what we were 200 years ago. We are completely different in child rearing than even 50 years ago. In my childhood it was different than in your childhood. It has to do with changing values and social structures and so on. Musqueam has been caught up in that form of change as well. They don't want to go back to live in wooden long houses. Elements of their traditional religion still persist, but they're in a new setting there, not what they were at 100 or even forty years ago. They're changing and people recognize it, but they are still very vital, and they're different. 12. They are very important in that community there. They have to do with what being Indian is there. It sets them off dramatically from the surrounding people. 13. They value them for that reason partly, and they also value them because they are tremendously rewarding personally and in social experience. 14. It is a positive rewarding aspect of contemporary culture. It is an adaptation, everything is an adaptation. 15.

I: So then, you have been out at the Musqueam band alot. I have talked to Faye and she says you're out there quite alot.

R: Yes.

I: Maybe you have some perceptions of what it means to be an

Indian at the Musqueam band right now?

R: A little but I'm not as close as I would if I lived there. Actually I have two sons that are Musqueam band members. My first wife who passed away some years ago was from that place. Since she has died bill C31 has allowed our sons to become status Indians and are now members of the band. Their Mother would have been very gratified to know. One lives in Vancouver and is a part of the society there. I don't live there so I don't know what the issues and difficulties might be in child rearing right now. You can bounce some questions off me and as an informed outsider I might be able to help you.

At the outset, if you set out what you are going to do is to find out what the current values and wishes and practices are about what child rearing, you get into the cross currents of opinion about what child rearing should be and what families ought to be. 16. That is a big job, but one could set to sketch that and show the parameters of that. 17. Now you can also reach back to a bit of the past which is still current and that is views of the people my age and older. The elders who have views from experience what life should be. You could do some interviews of people that are not about the past. If you ask them to reach into the past they can't do it too that 100 years ago, and you put them at a disadvantage because you ask them the question as if you expect them to be able to do that. It asks them to do the impossible. Often we do that and we don't realize what we are doing. Its not productive. What it does is spin out abstract models that

they have picked up on that they manufacture for us. 18. Really they are not very helpful. Furthermore it sustains that model of a pristine kind of past, that somehow has to be part of the present. For Musqueam to get the money for this kind of program they have to say they live in long houses, and have this extended family thing in some kind of an artificial sense. They do have a sense of family that is different today and you can get at that.

I: My first question is then from your sense of Musqueam, what is different about the family that you can pick out?

R: You need to ask that question too in a sort of way that you can get facts and data about experience from people. There is a sense of family and community there that doesn't exist in the larger society. For myself I can apply a kin term to everybody at Musqueam. There are 700 people who are my relatives. If you're a blood kin or born into one of these communities, or if you marry into another community your world of interaction with native people are kin folk. 19. That still lives but it lives in a slightly changed way. People Fayer's age probably know very few kin folk who speak Halkomelem. She would generalize English terms as if they were Hasqueam. We would get uncle and aunt in the original earlier system and in the system that's still alive for some of the people. There is in the first and second generation, Mother and Father are distinct. There is one term for each of these categories. All the rest are the same -blood kin. No matter how far out the generations extend, so that all Uncle and Aunts (not their spouses) but all Fathers, Brothers, Mothers,

Sisters and first Cousins of those people area all under one term. It covers all of them. 20. They do not distinguish gender. English people will use the term Uncle or Aunt. They have hundreds of Aunts and Uncles not in the narrow English sense. There is a new set of kin terms used colloquially but they're used with fitting some of the structure that comes through earlier times. There are large classifications and categories of kin folk by generation. 21. Faye would use those terms and know some of the specifics of it, but what it creates is a framework of kin, of relatedness, in very large categories for everyone to plug into.

I: So then, when you look at the Musqueam band and you talk about kinship it involves alot of the whole community.

R: Yes. If they want to find a connection, there will be a connection. That doesn't mean to say that you are the same or as close to everyone as everyone else in the same category. There is a selection within that, to there is a closeness and distance within the same relationship. If you have as you can have a 100 or so grandparents, they're not all the same. There is a closeness to ones' immediate parents parents. 22. There is a much larger recognition of kin and its relatively stable in terms of residence, and its grown very much. It has a history of family relationships and a patronim as defined by some but not exclusively because these people traditionally earlier and still don't give greater weight to the male or female connection. You inherit equally from either parent names or rights or kin associations. The patronimic battlery is

not all that meaningful, but it is still used. 23. You can identify the families very well at the ceremonial and ritual events. At smoke house dancing or at funerals families come together to support close kin. They are helped by those who are not quite as close. Families are very large. Those kind of family networks are quite diffuse, quite large and quite variable in their definitions. 24. Those are very live and active and they support people in times of trouble. Everyone has some kin that they can go to. Children have wide circles of older kinfolk who they can go to or some of the infants can be looked after. 25. There is a very great sense of obligation to kin. Those are some of the things that you will be able to find. People will tell you immediately about them and give you concrete examples. Families are right away there to help. 26. What is there and active and valued is what is there now; not what might have been a hundred years in the past. There is community gatherings of larger networks of extended kin. These extended kin have greater meaning at times of crisis and also in times of celebration. Take for example Christmas or Birthdays. They're great family gatherings and people come together. Anglo-Saxon networks are not as large and connected as that of native people. Those people have lived here for 4000 years in one place. 27. There is there a continuity of family and accessibility to family.

I: I think that's a key difference from the larger society, that accessibility to family and kin.

R: Exactly, it's right there and it's perfectly obvious.

You can probably see how you can set out to do this. One thing you're going to have to give the same lecture I'm giving to you to Faye and others who expect you to reach to the past because you're a student and a scholar and you have access to that library out there that has all that stuff. It doesn't have it there. We didn't explore that, but I can refer you to all the literature and ethnographies such as Barnett, Marion Smith, and Wayne Bellows and Claudia Lewis. There is nothing really of very much help to you really.

I: The problem at hand is what they want at Musqueam right now.

R: Right and what you will have to be on guard for is when you present to them is to say this what I can get together for you. What you will have to be prepared for is their doubt that is the traditional. To get rid of the word traditional from the start you'll be ahead. I am not going to look for what was of the past. I am going to look for what is culturally relevant to this community now. They have a distinctive culture now. And why they are distinct has partly to do with their roots, but only partly, it also has to do with social and economic dynamics of that place. The reserve, that is stable and difficult to move away from. It has people who are ethnically discriminated against. 28. That makes them less mobile and dispersable. If you can overcome that expectation that the other people who want you to produce this picture of the pristine past you will be ahead.

I: I guess its not realistic to take the past and fit it

into the present.

R: No and that's what their life is. They have done that in a real sense. That has been the adaptation of culture. That is what it does, it takes what is there and that is what evolution is. It is adaptation and change that fits people into the circumstances they're in. 29. But when you have a culturally distinct people the larger system looks at them and says, well it's doing things to them that are inconsistent with those sets of values that are there now. And that is the injustice and unworkability of that kind of social service.

I: Is there another value or area that relates to how they want their family life to be or how they raise their children?

R: They want their children to be Indian. Very much so.

I: What does Indian mean for them?

R: You should ask them that.

I: I plan to.

R: I have a view of that but they will tell you what that means. Basically it means being a good member of the community.

APPENDIX "D"

CONSENT FORM

Research Project: A Qualitative Analysis of Native Child Welfare. Identification of Cultural Components of Musqueam Indian Band Child and Family Services.

Thank you for considering participating in this research project. Please be aware that you are in no way obligated to participate in this interview. The information received from this interview will be used for research purposes. No identifying information is required in your answers to these questions. After completion of this project in June 1990, audio taped interview will be erased. This research will utilize audio taped interviews with elders at the Musqueam band and other key informants as a means to identify values and cultural patterns of the Musqueam people. This information will be used in developing child welfare services at the Musqueam band.

You have the right to decline to participate in this research. You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. You have the right to refuse to answer any or all questions. The interview will require approximately one hour of your time. Refusal to participate or withdraw would be without prejudice to you.

Your signature below indicates your voluntary agreement to participate in this research. If you would like to receive a free summary of the results of the research when it is available this fall (1989) please print your mailing address in the space provided.

I have read the above statement of my rights and I voluntarily consent to participate in this interview and research, and acknowledge a receipt of a copy of this consent.

Researcher: Stan Kuperis

Name: _____

Master of Social Work
Candidate, Department
of Social Work, The
University of British
Columbia.

Address: _____

APPENDIX "E" ABSTRACT OF INTERVIEW WITH MUSQUEAM BAND
MEMBERS WHO ARE ELDERS.

The main theme running through this interview is the intergenerational nature of members in the band. This elder comments on the memories he has of grandparents and parents who were part of the original people who settled in the area. This original group now is represented in over 700 Musqueam band members. This elder also alludes to the roles that the elders fulfil in passing on the history and providing spiritual guidance to both adults and children on the band.

The effects of the residential school system on local band members is a contentious issue with this elder. Some of the effects mentioned are the loss of language, loss of ties with family, and the loss of spiritual ceremonies and spirit power. According to this elder this was the most harmful influence on the Musqueam band in the last 100 years. He comments that there is no one left to speak about the Musqueam history, due to the fact that everyone of the elders spent most of their childhood and youth away from kin and the reserve.

This elder discusses spirituality and the place of ceremonies within the Musqueam community. The Musqueam people however, believe that if you tell an outsider about spirit power and spirit dances, the power you have received will leave you. This elder was therefore very reluctant to disclose this aspect of the community. In summary; young people are initiated in the longhouse for four days. They receive a vision and a spirit song. You remain in a kind of dreamland until your spirit song comes to you. When you receive this vision or spirit song, you initiate this vision in your life. In the winter, those who are initiated in the longhouse conduct

their spirit dances and spirit songs during longhouse ceremonies.

The elder goes on to discuss the reserve system. The reserve he states has created conflict among band members. The poor housing, lack of land, alcohol abuse, and a reliance on the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has created "nagging" and hostility between band members. He states there is no longer a sense of helping one another, but rather competitions and rivalry between kinship groups. His solution to all of this is gaining control over and assuming responsibility for their own social problems. He believes education and Musqueam youth learning about the Musqueam and Indian culture will improve life at the band.

INTERVIEW WITH ELDER AT THE BAND - RODDIE PETERS

Two main themes that emerged from this interview are the strength of kinship ties and the extended family parenting within the Musqueam band. Kinship ties promote a deep sense of belonging and connects youth to a historical lineage of Musqueam ancestry. This elder states that the "strength of native communities is in their extended families". These extended families have a long history that links today's youth to the area and land that surrounds them.

A second major theme is that of extended family parenting and community participation in the lives of all Musqueam youth. This elder states that many of the younger people go to the elder people for advice or just to talk to. The experience and wisdom of the old is cherished and respected by Musqueam youth. Many of the grandparents also take one of these grandchildren

and take a very active role in their parenting. There is a sense of communal responsibility for children and all members of the band.

INTERVIEW WITH ANTHROPOLOGIST

This Anthropologist has a long history of involvement with the Musqueam Indian Band. He has had 40 years of involvement with the band, and is familiar with band members, their values and family life.

The main point that this anthropologist makes is that the notions of connecting ceremonies and traditions of the past to current Musqueam life is impossible to do. Not only is it impossible to do, it also burdens the Musqueam people by encumbering them to the past. Rather, this Anthropologist suggests that it is important to empirically determine what Musqueam people want their family life to be right now, and how that is different from the larger society.

This Anthropologist goes on to state his definition of kin networks at the band. He makes the important point that kin networks are the essential difference between the Musqueam community and the larger society. Kin networks are the large classification and categories of kin folk that creates the sense of relatedness and belonging for band members.

This interview was very useful in providing an overview of the Musqueam community and its uniqueness from the larger society and other native groups. It provided a framework for collecting data and approaching the research topic.

INTERVIEW TO FEMALE ELDER AT THE BAND

This interview begins by providing a historical perspective on family life on the reserve. It appears from this interview that the day to day caring for children was the responsibility of grandparents. Children also became more independent by accepting responsibility at an early age. The elder contrasts earlier times at the band, to contemporary times. She concludes that Musqueam youth today are very much influenced by the surrounding contemporary society. In earlier times, members were satisfied with life at the band. Today members look outside the band for satisfaction.

This elder also comments on another significant aspect of Musqueam culture. Spirit names are an important aspect of kinship ties at the band. Every kin network has a spirit name that is passed on throughout the generations. These spirit names characterized each family. She states that many of the spirit names were lost when the government would not allow longhouse ceremonies or spirit dancing.

This elder also makes note of the importance of the Halkomelem language to the Musqueam band. She confirms that the Halkomelem language is important for providing the full, rich meaning behind ceremonies and spirituality at the band.

12 Summary of methodology and procedures. (Must be typewritten in this space)

The method of analysis will be qualitative analysis of relevant literature, anthropological studies, and interviews with Musqueam first nation people at the Musqueam reserve.

A sample of 10 subjects will be interviewed. Six will be elders (age 55 and older) and four will be key informants in the larger community. The interviews will be conducted as an informal conversation that covers a set of specified topics rather than a structured formal interview schedule. All interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed for analysis.

The process of analysis will involve successive coding of detailed interviews, texts, relevant literature and anthropological studies. This coding will lead to the identification of core themes and categories within the wide area of Musqueam child rearing practices, family structures, and communication patterns.

DESCRIPTION OF POPULATION

13 How many subjects will be used?

10

How many in the control group?

14 Who is being recruited and what are the criteria for their selection?

Elders of the Musqueam Indian band. Knowledgeable key informants within Vancouver's large native community.

Participants or respondents should have knowledge of traditional customs, child rearing practices, and family structures that are specific to Musqueam peoples.

15 What subjects will be excluded from participation?
16 How are the subjects being recruited? (If initial contact is by letter or if a recruitment notice is to be posted, attach a copy.) NOTE that UBC policy absolutely prohibits initial contact by telephone. Initial contact will be by band personel who will explain the purpose and procedures of the research. Once this initial contact is complete I will be introduced to the respondents by band personel at the time of the interview.
17 If a control group is involved, and if their selection and/or recruitment differs from the above, provide details. N/ A

PROJECT DETAILS

18 Where will the project be conducted? (room or area) Musqueam Indian Band,
19 Who will actually conduct the study? Stan Kuperis, Master of Social Work Candidate, University of British Columbia.
20 Will the group of subjects have any problems giving informed consent on their own behalf? Consider physical or mental condition, age, language, or other barriers. N/A
21 If the subjects are not competent to give fully informed consent, who will consent on their behalf? N/A
22 What is known about the risks and benefits of the proposed research? Do you have additional opinions on this issue? This research will assist the Musqueam band to develop culturally based programs for child welfare issues within the community.

23 What discomfort or incapacity are the subjects likely to endure as a result of the experimental procedures?

None

24 If monetary compensation is to be offered the subjects, provide details of amounts and payment schedules.

N/A

25 How much time will a subject have to dedicate to the project?

One hour.

26 How much time will a member of the control group (if any) have to dedicate to the project?

N/A

DATA

27 Who will have access to the data?

Musqueam Indian Band Council and U.B.C. School of Social Work

28 How will confidentiality of the data be maintained?

Data will only be made available to the Musqueam Band Council and U.B.C. faculty only.

29 What are the plans for future use of the data (beyond that described in this protocol)? How and when will the data be destroyed?

No future use of data beyond this project will be engaged in. Data will be destroyed in ~~October of 1989~~ ^{May 21 1990} by erasing the audio taped interviews.

30 Will any data which identifies individuals be available to persons or agencies outside the University?

no

CHECKLISTS

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31 Will your project use: (check)

- Questionnaires (submit a copy)
- Interviews (submit a sample of questions)
- Observations (submit a brief description)
- Tests (submit a brief description)

INFORMED CONSENT

32 Who will consent? (check)

- Subject
- Parent/Guardian
- Agency Official(s)

In the case of projects carried out at other institutions, the Committee requires written proof that agency consent has been received. Please specify below:

- Research carried out in a hospital - approval of hospital research or ethics committee.
- Research carried out in a school - approval of School Board and/or Principal. (Exact requirements depend on individual school boards; check with Faculty of Education Committee members for details)
- Research carried out in a Provincial Health Agency - approval of Deputy Minister
- Other, specify:

33 UBC Policy requires written subject consent in all cases other than questionnaires which are completed by the subject. (see item #34 for consent requirements) Please check each item in the following list before submission of this form to ensure that the written consent form attached contains all necessary items.

- Title of project
- Identification of investigators (including a telephone number)
- Brief but complete description IN LAY LANGUAGE of the purpose of the project and of all procedures to be carried out in which the subjects are involved.
- Assurance that identity of the subject will be kept confidential and description of how this will be accomplished
- Statement of the total amount of time that will be required of a subject
- Details of monetary compensation, if any, to be offered to subjects.
- An offer to answer any inquiries concerning the procedures to ensure that they are fully understood by the subject and to provide debriefing if appropriate
- A statement of the subject's right to refuse to participate or withdraw at any time and a statement that withdrawal or refusal to participate will not jeopardize further treatment, medical care or influence class standing as applicable. NOTE: This statement must also appear on letters of initial contact.
- A place for signature of subject CONSENTING to participate in the research project, investigation or study.
- A statement acknowledging receipt of a copy of the consent form including all attachments.
- Parental consent forms must contain a statement of choice providing an option for refusal to participate. (e.g. "I consent/I do not consent to my child's participation in this study.")

QUESTIONNAIRES (completed by subjects)

page 6

34 Questionnaires should contain an introductory paragraph which includes the following information. Please check each item in the following list before submission of this form to insure that the introduction contains all necessary items.

- Title of project
- Identification of investigators (including a telephone number)
- A brief summary that indicates the purpose of the project
- The benefits to be derived
- A full description of the procedures to be carried out in which the subjects are involved
- A statement of the subject's right to refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without jeopardizing further treatment, medical care or class standing as applicable
NOTE: This statement must also appear on explanatory letters involving questionnaires.
- the amount of time required of the subject must be stated
- The statement that if the questionnaire is completed it will be assumed that consent has been given
- Assurance that identity of the subject will be kept confidential and description of how this will be accomplished.
- For surveys circulated by mail submit a copy of the explanatory letter as well as a copy of the questionnaire

ATTACHMENTS

35 Check items attached to this submission if applicable. (incomplete submissions will not be reviewed)

- Letter of initial contact (item 16)
- Advertisement for volunteer subjects (item 16)
- Subject consent form (item 33)
- Control group consent form (if different from above)
- Parent/guardian consent form (if different from above)
- Agency consent (item 32)
- Questionnaires, tests, interviews, etc. (item 31)
- Explanatory letter with questionnaire (item 34)
- Other, specify:

EIGERS Interview schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULEObjectives

1. Identify the dimensions of traditional child rearing practices of First Nation Peoples.
2. Identify the dimensions of human interaction with the community, and extended family.
3. Identify the traditions, religious practices, and cultural values and beliefs related to children, family and community.

Introduction of Research

Purpose and rationale for the research
Explanation and signing of consent form

Demographic Information.

Relationship of the person to their extended family. (Genogram)
Age. Definition of what an elder is in that community.
Role the person has in relation to the community.

Child Rearing Practices of Today

Could you describe how Musqueam children are being brought up today?

- discipline
- transmission of values, religion, traditions
- education
- role and place of children in the community
- nurture and care
- other
- examples from their observations or experience

Identification of Traditional Child Rearing Practices

From what was passed on to you what do you know of the traditional practices of raising children in the past?

- place of traditions and religious practices
- role of elders
- role of community in child rearing
- how unacceptable behavior was dealt with in the past
- vignettes or examples from memories of how children were reared in the past
- other

Integration

How can the values, practices and traditions of the past be incorporated into child care practices of today?

Letter of Initial Introduction to key informants.

Dear _____

I am a graduate Master of Social Work student at the University of British Columbia who is conducting research into West Coast First Nation traditional child rearing patterns. It is my intention that establishing a parenting model that is culturally specific to the Musqueam people would promote strength in families, and in the community as a whole. In addition the inclusion of traditional Musqueam values and practices would help make future social programs acceptable to band members. The rationale for identifying the dimensions of traditional child rearing practices is to provide information to social development workers in the development of their community based child welfare program.

Part of my research will involve collecting anthropological data, and supporting data related to this area. It is my understanding that you have specialized knowledge and information in this area. It would aid my research and broaden its scope if I were able to interview you regarding the core dimensions of child rearing practices among First Nation Peoples. The purpose of this letter is to alert you to my research. I wish to follow up with contact by telephone and arrange for an interview if you are in agreement.

Sincerely,

Stan Kuperis
Master of Social Work, Candidate
Department of Social Work,
The University of British Columbia

CONSENT FORM

Research Project: A Qualitative Analysis of Native Child Welfare. An Identification of the Cultural and Structural Dimensions of the Musqueam Indian Band Family and Child Services.

Thank you for considering participating in this research project. Please be aware that you are in no way obligated to participate in this interview. The information received from this interview will be used for research purposes. No identifying information is required in your answers to these questions. After completion of this project in May 1990 the audio taped interview will be erased. This research will utilize audio taped interviews with elders at the Musqueam band and other key informants as a means to identify values and cultural patterns of the Musqueam people. This information will be used in developing child welfare services at the Musqueam band.

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Your signature below indicates your voluntary agreement to participate in this research. If you would like to receive a free summary of the results of the research when it is completed this spring(1990) please print your mailing address in the space provided.

I have read the above statement of my rights and I voluntarily consent to participate in this interview and research, and acknowledge a receipt of a copy of this consent.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Researcher: Stan Kuperis

Master of Social Work
Candidate, Department
of Social Work, The
University of British
Columbia.