LISTENING TO INDIGENOUS GIRLS' EXPERIENCES OF WARMTH AND CARING: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

MELISSA MAJOR

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN PSYCHOLOGY

YORK UNIVERSITY

TORONTO, ONTARIO

AUGUST 2021

Abstract

Indigenous Girls in Canada face the results of centuries of compounded social, economic, psychological, and spiritual harms due to the disrupting force of colonization, which still carries harms today and reveals itself in gaping disparities between the wellbeing of Indigenous children and the general population of children in Canada. Indigenous scholars frame the residential school system as morphing into the child welfare system (Blackstock, 2007). Family relationships were ruptured under colonization, residential schools, and the child welfare systems. All of these disruptions created intergenerational trauma, leaving children to navigate life with memories of the threads of caring moments they have received from significant relationships. The present study focused on the voices of 16 Indigenous girls and their memories of caring moments. Half of the girls in this study had been referred to services at an Anishinaabe family care center (i.e., an Indigenous child and family mental health care centre); the other half were girls from the surrounding communities. The purpose of this study was to listen to the girls' voices regarding what they have received from significant people in their lives. An inductive thematic analysis of interview transcripts with eight clinically referred girls and eight community girls revealed four overarching themes: 1) Moments of Love, Warmth, and Care, 2) Relationship Expectations, 3) The Development of Socioemotional Capacities, and 4) View of Self as Caring. The model derived from these themes elaborates how moments of warmth and care create developmental experiences of growth (i.e., Relationship Expectations, Socioemotional Skills) that enable the girls to view themselves as caring. Implications for culturally competent interventions with First Nations girls are discussed.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my graduate supervisor, Dr. Debra Pepler. Her respectful and courageous Indigenous allyship guided us as she walked alongside me in the journey of accomplishing this project. Her distinguished knowledge of children's development and her humble approach to building and honoring relationships led me in my growth as a researcher and a person. Dr. Pepler is a role model and an important relationship in my life as I was able to trust her most with my experiences as an Indigenous, first-generation graduate student. Thank you Dr. Pepler for looking out for me, supporting me, and hearing my voice. Thank you to Drs. Mary Desrocher, Yvonne Bohr and Sarah Flicker for being on my thesis committee, and for their encouraging and thoughtful comments on this project. I am grateful for their ongoing work advocating for and uplifting Indigenous students and communities as researchers, diversity advocates, and strong, caring women.

Thank you to both Dr. Pepler and Taylore Miller for helping me with the coding process. I could not have completed this project without them, especially Dr. Pepler, who was deeply invested in the coding process. Thank you to Kathryn Pierce for informing my understanding of the qualitative methods used in this study. Thank you to Dr. Kirsten Madsen, Dr. Susan Dion, Dilico, and the girls who shared their stories.

I would like to thank my graduate cohort for being there with me throughout these past two years. I cherish their ongoing friendship and support. Thank you to my community at Bishop's University who championed me and supported me to reach for where I am today and beyond. Thank you to my family, Indigenous community, and faith community for uplifting me in the tough moments of my journey and celebrating me in my successes, especially my partner Nick, my mother Lorraine, and my grandmother Sheila. I am very grateful to my late grandpa Elmer, who inspired me to do this work by teaching me that listening is the most valuable gift I can offer to the voices of our Indigenous relations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Listening to Indigenous Girls' Experiences of Warmth and Caring: A Qualitative Study

> It is love itself that brings us all together. This human family we are part of, this singular voice that is the accumulation of all voices raised together in praise of all Creation; this one heartbeat, this one drum, this one immaculate love that put us here together so that we could learn its primary teaching – that love is the energy of Creation, that it takes love to create love.
>
> Ojibwe Knowledge Keeper Richard Wagamese, 2016, 46.

In the current study, I listen to the voices of Indigenous girls who had been interviewed as part of a study by Madsen, Pepler, and Dion (2007) which ran from 2003 to 2006. I focused on the interview questions to gain understanding about the importance of relationships for girls' development. A developmental-relational framework informed the central focus on memories of loving warmth and care as revealed by the girls' voices to gain insight into the nature of these experiences. My exploration of the nature of these moments of warmth was informed by the literature on the importance of experiences of warmth and caring from parents. My interest was sparked by Lieberman and colleagues' paper 'Angels in the Nursery' in which they posit that memories of parental warmth scaffold future relational success for women whose family life was strained (Lieberman et al., 2005). By studying the girls' descriptions of these moments, I listened to learn what Indigenous girls describe they have received from others in terms of warmth and care.

The attitudes and behaviours rooted in colonial assumptions of superiority have disrupted Indigenous relationships with self, family, community, nation, and the land; what is commonly known to most Indigenous peoples in North America as "All my Relations" (Cardinal & Pepler, 2021; King, 1990). The principle, "All my Relations", is a reminder to Indigenous Peoples that they are in relationship with family and friends, as well as all human beings and all parts of the earth, water, and sky. "All My Relations" reflects a responsibility to a web of kinship and an encouragement to respect the universal family through a harmonious and morally sound lifestyle

(King, 1990). In fact, a common Indigenous reprimand is to say that one "acts as if they had no relations" (King, 1990, p.2). The disruption of colonization has occurred in cascading layers over the past 500 years (Canadian Heritage et al., 2008; Cardinal & Pepler, 2021; Compendium of Language Management in Canada, 2020). Colonial oppression is still in motion and can be observed in actions taken by systems of power today (Blackstock, 2007; Blackstock et al., 2006b; Canadian Psychological Association, 2018), as well as by the sequela of intergenerational trauma in families from centuries past (Fryberg, Covarrubias, & Burack, 2018; Greenwood, De Leeuw, & Lindsay, 2018). The disruption of "All My Relations" through colonization and the subsequent trauma has had serious consequences for children over generations. Indigenous children are disadvantaged in terms of their rights, wellbeing and development, as nearly all health and status indicators (e.g., disease, suicide rates, access to clean water, poverty) of Indigenous children in Canada fall far below national averages (UNICEF, 2010; Blackstock et al, 2006b). For example, First Nations children are up to seven times more likely to die in infancy (Eni, 2010), are 50 and 80 times more likely to be hospitalized due to vaccine-preventable diseases such as chicken pox (MacMillan et al., 1996; Tarrant & Gregory, 2001). Indigenous children face disproportionate rates of diabetes and obesity due to traditional diet losses and polluted food sources (Schwartz, 2001). They experience ear infections leading to hearing loss up to 40 times the national average; these infections have been linked to immune deficits due to factors such as diet, leading to losses in auditory learning, language acquisition, and literacy (Bowd, 2005). The cumulative weight of historic, systemic, generational, spiritual, physical, mental, and cultural harms is deeply reflected in individual, family, and community struggles.

Importance of Nurturing Relationships within Indigenous Families and Communities

Indigenous children's health is deeply connected to the health of their mothers and communities (UNICEF, 2010). Residential schools split up families and left children to grow up without parents; those children who survived became adults who were learning how to become parents (UNICEF, 2010). The risks facing Indigenous girls and women have been documented by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG, 2019) and included: physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, spiritual, and cultural violence, as well as verbal and financial abuse and neglect. Structural, institutional, and systemic violence are a part of girls' everyday life (MMWIG, 2019). Canada's institutions failed and continue to fail to uphold the rights of Indigenous girls, and thus adverse girlhood experiences are common (MMWIG, 2019). Despite these harms, Indigenous families and communities have resisted these harms with a deep strength and commitment to relationships. Indigenous worldviews place children at the heart of their beliefs. Penticton member Elaine Alec articulated this: "Our children are at the centre of our people – they are our value that ties our people together and centres our nations. Without our children we have no purpose." (UNICEF, 2010, p.11). With an Indigenous perspective, each child is seen as a sacred being, created with a distinct personhood and special gifts (Lafleur, 2013). Adults have the responsibility to notice and nurture those unique gifts in supporting how a child comes into their own as a member of society, so that children are supported to live a good life (Tagalik, 2009). Communities raise children as a collective; this shared sense of responsibility is what underpins the phrase "it takes a village to raise a child" (Tagalik, 2009).

Locating Myself

I have conducted his work with my supervisor Dr. Debra Pepler. As a Clinical-Developmental student, I have pursued this line of research to position myself to be able to enrich clinical practice with culturally diverse traditions of wellness. I identify as a person of mixed descent, both of colonizers (German, Scottish, Irish) and Indigenous heritage. I am the paternal great-great-granddaughter of Anna Amy Weeks-Glynn, daughter of Louis Weeks of the Lakota Sioux tribe of Nebraska. I am the paternal first cousin of Ramone Glynn who spoke his language and lived with his mother Anna on the reserve until she passed away. He suffered discrimination for speaking his language and retaining his culture after leaving the reserve when his mother passed. I am also the maternal granddaughter of Elmer Andrews, animal figure and totem carver, son of Mildred Gorham who passed away early in her life the same year as her father Henry (Harry) Gorham who were both believed to be Métis of Québec; for both Mildred and Harry there is little public record or knowledge. Through my personal journey of learning and reconnection with my Indigenous heritage I have come to understand my own experiences as a woman and person of mixed descent, as well as heal from my experiences as an assault survivor and religious trauma survivor in ceremony at York's Centre for Indigenous Student Services. These perspectives influence my approach as a developmental-relational, feminist, trauma-informed researcher. I have conducted this culturally grounded work in Toronto, the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit, Anishnabeg, Chippewa, Haudenosaunee and Wendat peoples (Toronto.ca, 2019). Anishinabek traditions are honoured as the cultural framework of this study (Center for Indigenous Student Services, 2021; Dilico Anishinabek Family Care, 2019).

Developmental-Relational Theory

The developmental-relational perspective from which this study was conducted focuses on development and on relationships as mechanisms for healthy development. The Search Institute defines developmental relationships as relationships that are powerful in the lives of young people. These relationships promote development through five core mechanisms: Expressing care, challenge-oriented growth, providing support, sharing power, and expanding possibilities (2019).

Critical Tasks of Adolescent Girls' Development. During adolescence, young women are preparing, in part, for their relational roles as intimate partners and mothers (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1975). When girls have grown up in adverse, often violent circumstances, they may lack models of healthy relationships and loving nurturance (Lieberman et al., 2005). Adolescence is a developmental stage of psychological, sexual, and social maturation when girls undergo biological and social changes (Magnusson & Statin, 2018). Shifts occur in the endocrine system, and other physical traits during puberty, as it is a time of cognitive, emotional, interpersonal, moral, and social growth (Magnusson & Statin, 2018). Critical tasks of adolescence during this period include: preparation for one's role in community (e.g., higher education, vocation, etc.) and establishing an identity and cohesive worldview (e.g., ideologically, relationally, etc; Magnusson & Stattin, 2018). Relationships are critical to adolescent development. The quality of attachment relationships shape attachment styles which, in turn, influence the development of romantic relationships (Allen, 2002; Lopez & Gormley, 2002). During adolescence, girls become more aware of their appearance, abilities, and status in the context of social situations and society, and they may reflect on their own situation more introspectively (Magnusson & Statin, 2018). Adolescence is described by Erikson as the stage of

Identity Formation versus Role Confusion in which adolescents explore various identities (Erikson & Erikson, 1998). According to Erikson, success in this stage results in the ability to commit to self and others, with a tolerance for differing ideas. Identity forms within a sociocultural context (e.g., families, creeds, cultures; McAdams & McLean, 2013). For generations of Indigenous families, however, government policies have forced cultural assimilation of children, with experiences that alienated them from their Indigenous identity with subsequent social upheaval (Green, 2009; Greenwood, De Leeuw, & Lindsay, 2018). Thus, Indigenous girls may lack the cultural and social contexts that were created to notice and nurture their gifts (Green, 2009; Tagalik, 2009).

Indigenous Perspectives of Relationships Supporting Children's Development. Adults connected to children are expected to nurture, observe, protect, and tailor guidance for them. Children are cherished and respected as future adult leaders. Teaching/learning relationships are viewed as partnerships that will help children grow into their true identity (Tagalik, 2009). The strength of the adult-child relationship is viewed as central to the success of children's learning outcomes (Tagalik, 2009). Indigenous families engage in shared parenting and have a future-oriented view of children such that they interact with children with intent to call forth healthy and strong identities. Indigenous views of parenting are that children are gifts from the Creator who are cherished as the centre of society. Indigenous parenting has a nonverbal teaching and learning style, as parents often observe behaviours rather than intervene, and there is an emphasis on emotional restraint and aggression inhibition. Children are viewed as future adults who are their own person. Parents carry a spiritually based view of destiny with which they view the long-term course of their children's lives, providing a context for children to act and become

who they are by learning from their own actions. This parenting style embodies the belief that struggles are only temporary and that everything will work out in the end (Neckoway, 2007).

Relational Importance of Caring. From birth, children's healthy development depends on secure attachment and consistent patterns of nurturance with their primary caregivers (Bretherton, & Munholland, 2008; Carlson, & Sroufe, 1995). Attachment needs persist throughout the lifespan. Children develop positive views of the relationships and the world when they are raised in a safe haven and feel loved and protected. With a secure base to explore their worlds, children can experience healthy autonomy in adolescence, and when they become parents themselves can transmit experiences of security to the next generation (Cassidy, Jones & Shaver, 2013). When children feel accepted, safe, and loved by caregivers, they develop internal working models of relationships or relationship expectations[1] that enable them to create and sustain healthy and securely attached relationships later in life (Bretherton & Munholland, 2008; Lieberman et al., 2005). When children experience availability and responsiveness within their attachment behavioural system from a dependable attachment figure, this experience contributes to their inner working model of relationships which comprises their views of what to expect and how to behave in relationships (Cassidy, Jones & Shaver, 2013). Secure attachment in adolescence enables youths to become intimate with others when they feel safe, when giving and receiving love is enjoyable (Bartholomew, 1990). These experiences lay the foundation for the transition to being available, non-restrictive, and selfless when caring for dependants (Lieberman, 2005; Bartholomew, 1990). Adults who were securely attached as children (a continuously secure attachment) have a positive view of self and others, look up to healthy role models, and are generally able to regulate emotions (Roisman et al., 2002). Children who did not

[1] Although this theme was originally conceived as 'Internal Working Models', I have chosen to use language that more closely aligns with an Indigenous worldview.

grow up forming secure attachments can still achieve ‘earned secure’ attachment. This later attachment experience occurs when adults are able to find healthy ways to adapt to trauma and adverse childhood experiences and are able to focus on memories of warmth and care (Roisman et al., 2002; Lieberman et al., 2005). Earned secure attachment occurs when adults are able to develop self-awareness about patterns of attachment, effective coping and self-regulation, as well as co-regulation and communication with significant others (Roisman et al., 2002; Lieberman et al., 2005). Within the current study, I have focused on Indigenous girls’ development in relationships with a focus on warm and loving experiences that have supported them along a positive developmental pathway.

Healthy Development Depends on Relationships.

> “After decades of forming hypotheses, conducting surveys, crafting and rewriting definitions, analyzing data, and writing journal articles, Search Institute researchers and practitioners have arrived at a surprisingly simple conclusion: **nothing—nothing—has more impact in the life of a child than positive relationships**.”
>
> –Peter L. Benson, creator of the Developmental Asset framework (2010).

Social-emotional development occurs through relationships. If relationships are strained, then the context for girls’ healthy development is fragile. Girls growing up in a stressful and unstable family context may have strained relationships with their parents, siblings, and friends (Pepler et al., 2004; Pepler et al., 2006a). Aversive social conditions such as emotional, physical, verbal or sexual abuse, criticism, insults, exposure to parental conflict, harsh and inconsistent discipline, parental rejection, explosive discipline, nagging, and coercive or authoritarian parenting disrupt children’s social-emotional and cognitive development which influences their behaviour (Biglan et al., 2012). Prosocial parenting with respect, warmth, empathy, affection, and interest supports youth as they transition into adulthood with a foundation of healthy habits and skills such as cognitive, social, physical and self-regulatory skills to overcome obstacles

(Biglan et al, 2012). Social support from parents, other caring adults, and peers can foster personal competence and self-worth, self efficacy, healthy behaviours, and psychological wellbeing (Langford et al., 1997). Indigenous adolescent girls experience a wide range of risks within the family, school, and community (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2014; Kral et al., 2011; Statistics Canada, 2017; Zukewich & O'Donnell, 2008). Therefore, a focus on factors that contribute to positive outcomes for Indigenous girls through a positive youth development framework is pertinent as a means of highlighting their resilience and strength (Wexler et al, 2013). Positive youth development arises from forming strong bonds with positive adult role models and participating in constructive activities (Catalano et al., 2002). Some of the girls in this study had been referred to an Indigenous family care service for varying reasons such as aggression and internalizing problems. Dion (2013) conducted a qualitative analysis on the girls' use of aggression as a developmental self-defence or protective function. She described how some Indigenous girls adapt to their experiences of violence by responding aggressively to survive (Dion, 2013). Girls growing up in families with high conflict lack opportunities to develop critical relationship capacities such as effective communication skills, ability to negotiate stress, and trust, which are central to nonviolent relationships (Pepler, 2012). Without relational tools such as self-regulation, sensitivity to others, models of healthy relationships, and social problem-solving, girls struggle to navigate relationships. This struggle can lead to a hostile attribution bias, elevated stress responses, and ultimately the use of violence to solve problems (Pepler, 2012). The girls' behaviours are best understood in terms of their available coping capacities (Pepler, 2012).

Indigenous Girls Forming Identity and Building Hope. Relationships are the foremost determinant of Indigenous health and wellbeing, such that health is conceived as a relational

matter, and is defined by Indigenous worldviews not as the health of the individual but the health of the whole community (Cardinal & Pepler, 2021; Australian National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organization, 2006, p. 5-6). Adolescence involves distinguishing the self as a unique identity that belongs in greater social networks, has a purpose, and can contribute to one's community (Magnusson & Statin, 2018). The formation of identity during adolescence (Erikson & Erikson, 1998; McLeod, 2013) has been conceptualized as an activity in identity co-creation, as adolescents' identities arise from the context of their deliberations about who they desire to emulate, how they are treated by others, how they will treat others, and how they become aware of this through the mirror of others' responses to them (Bretherton, 2008; Lopez & Gormley, 2002; Sroufe, 1990). Girls develop identity cohesion and the capacity for intimacy as they achieve autonomy and interact with the world. It is important for youth to have a sense of hope, community, purpose and belonging, and faith that they will grow up to have a place in society. For children growing up in high-risk environments, Werner and colleagues (1989) found that they could be protected from developing problem behaviour through three mechanisms: 1) having significant relationship ties with people in their lives who provide emotional support during stressful times; 2) having a disposition of sociability, intelligence, staying active, an ability to communicate, and an internal locus of control; and 3) being part of a community that provides a system of beliefs which rewards one's competencies or hard work (e.g., church, school, work). Chronic psychological adversity has been associated with early childhood onset psychiatric disorders with comorbid emotional, learning disability, and conduct symptoms. Moreover, a causal link has been established between family adversity and organic brain dysfunction in their relation to child psychiatric disorders (Cuartas et al., 2021; Rutter, 1989a).

Angels in the Nursery. Based on her clinical experiences and research, Lieberman (2005) contended that memories of warmth and care (or 'Angels') shared between a parent and child, in which the child feels accepted, understood and loved, can bring about the intergenerational transmission of safety and self-esteem that form a foundation for relational success. Recalling nurturing moments promotes maternal mental health in women who have experienced personal trauma (Narayan et al., 2017). Recalling positive memories has been shown to regulate negative moods (Gillihan, Kessler & Farah, 2007; Josephson, 1996). For the present research, I used the framework of 'Angels in the Nursery' to identify and analyze moments of warmth, love, and care in the girls' lives to highlight aspects of positive youth development.

Creating the Talking Back Project with Indigenous Girls

The Talking Back Project. The Talking Back project was developed in response to a request to Dr. Kirsten Madsen from concerned staff working at a Dilico Anishinabek Family Care. Dilico is a multi-service agency that provides a wide range of child welfare, treatment, and health services from an Anishinaabe framework (Madsen et al., 2007). Indigenous-led child welfare organizations are deeply important because non-Indigenous child welfare systems represent colonial systems of dislocation, infantilizing diversity by viewing Indigenous parenting as at odds with western attachment theory, using it to justify child welfare seizures (Carriere & Richardson, 2009). Dilico operates at five sites and is governed by 13 Nations (See Appendix A).

The project was a response to a lack of research on Indigenous adolescent girls, especially from a strengths-based model. The project was co-created through a partnership between academic researchers, Dilico female staff, and Elders from the community with the goal of listening to First Nations girls and formulating an understanding of aggression from

experiences in their day-to-day lives. The goal was to improve pre-existing prevention and intervention programs, and to work alongside and for Indigenous girls (Madsen et al., 2007). The project team were committed to recognizing the girls' expertise on their own experiences, the power relationships between adults and youth, and being mindful of the tension when engaging in academic research within community settings. The research was conducted from a critical feminist framework to understand girlhood aggression as serving a purpose (Madsen et al., 2007).

There is a dearth of clinical-developmental research conducted with Two-Eyed seeing or holding two worldviews in mind to solve the same problem (Foley, 2003; Martin, 2012; Simonds & Christopher, 2013). I integrated both Indigenous and Western clinical viewpoints of the girls' interviews. Research with a developmental-relational perspective is needed to account for larger systemic, political, historical, and ongoing colonial traumas that resonate in Indigenous girls' lives. Indigenous family and community relationships have been affected by deep, long-lasting, and ongoing systemic problems caused by colonial harms. As I listened to the girl's voices, I tried to avoid letting the adverse experiences in the girls' lives take center stage, but instead used them as a contrasting context to highlight positive relationships and development.

Current Study and Objective

Within a positive youth development and relational framework, I considered how Indigenous girls' nurturing experiences could be viewed as positive processes that support their development despite their adverse experiences. The central question in this study was: 'What aspects of relationships in the girls' lives bring feelings of warmth, love, and care with people in their lives?' This study provided an opportunity to listen intently to their voices to understand what matters to the girls, how they have been nurtured, and what they have been learning

through nurturing relationships. Dr. Pepler and I met with Talking Back Project principal investigator, Dr. Kirsten Madsen, to review the project's objectives and discuss how we could honour the girls who shared their stories with us best. Research ethics approval for secondary data analyses was obtained from York University.

Method

The present study involved secondary data analysis of interviews with First Nations adolescent girls from Thunder Bay and the communities north of Thunder Bay. The interviews that were analysed for this research were offered by Indigenous adolescent girls from Thunder Bay, which is Robinson-Superior Treaty territory and the traditional territory of the Anishnaabeg and the Métis, as well as Algoma, which is Robinson-Huron Treaty territory and the traditional territory of the Anishnaabeg, specifically the Garden River and Batchewana First Nations, as well as Métis People (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2017).

Participants

The Talking Back Project involved interviews with 26 First Nations girls, whose ages ranged between 12 and 18 years. For the present study, I drew a subsample from these 26 girls. The subsample included all eight of the girls who had been referred for Dilico services for problems such as aggression and internalizing symptoms. An additional eight girls were chosen randomly from the remaining 18 girls who were interviewed. These girls had been recruited from First Nations communities in the Dilico catchment area but had not been referred for mental health services (Dion, 2012; Madsen et al., 2007).

Procedure

The Talking Back Project. A Women's Advisory Committee was created which comprised three academic researchers (Kirsten Madsen, Susan Dion, and Debra Pepler) and

Dilico staff and Elders from the communities served by Dilico. The research team, Indigenous child welfare staff, the Girls Intake staff, and the Dilico liaison were some of the parties involved in protocol formulation. The Women's Advisory Committee met twice in Thunder Bay, dedicating time to exchanging ideas to ensure the safety and cultural appropriateness of choosing participants, designing the overall project, and creating the interview questions. The researchers, Dilico staff and Elders also discussed ethics and procedures for handling girls' disclosures of abuse, and subsequent supports available through Dilico. The Women's Advisory Committee developed the interview questions and interview protocol based on an Indigenized, feminist perspective (Madsen, Pepler, & Dion, 2007). Interview protocols were developed as a response to community concerns brought up at the meetings, and a step-by-step guide with detailed procedures was created to respond to girls' disclosures or distress during the interviews. Important components of the procedures included abuse disclosure, crisis response protocol, resources, and existing policies (Madsen, et al., 2007). Prior to the interviews, girls were asked to complete an assent form with prior parent/guardian consent (See Appendix B). If participants sought treatment by way of participating in the interviews, protocols were set in place to refer them and respond to disclosures of abuse/harm. A clinical meeting about how the findings from the project could benefit intervention strategies then took place.

The interviews were conducted by research assistants who were Indigenous women. The interviews were audio taped then transcribed. For the current study of girls' memories of nurturing experiences, I focused on all domains explored in the interviews to achieve the most complete picture of relationships in the girls' lives.

Interview Questions.

The semi-structured interview developed by the Women's Advisory Committee comprised 56 questions covering four domains: Self, School, People in Your Life, and Home (See Appendix B). These domains were selected by the Women's Advisory Committee, which was bicultural, with representation from both Clinical-Developmental psychology and Indigenous community service and research. The spirit in which the domains were chosen was grounded in Two-Eyed Seeing. There were 19 questions in the 'Self' domain, such as: "What are three words you would use to describe yourself?". There were 8 questions in the 'School' domain such as: "Tell me about the person you learn the most from." There were 14 questions in the 'People in Your Life' domain such as: "When you are in trouble, who do you go ask for help?". There were 11 questions in the "Home" domain such as: "If you could change one thing about where you live, what would it be?". Following these four domains, there were two sections: "Being a girl", with questions such as: "Are there any opportunities that girls get that boys don't get?"; and "How do you feel about this interview?" with questions such as "Is there anything else that you would like to tell me?". I focused on all of the questions administered during the interview and looked for the key constructs in answers to any question.

Qualitative Analysis Approach

An Inductive Thematic Analysis was used as the method of identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterned themes in the data. This approach guides the researcher to organize themed responses and describe them in detail. It involves consideration of what constitutes a theme and an ongoing dialogue about the analytic process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I identified and have reported on themes of warmth, love, and care exclusively, as opposed to giving a description of the whole dataset. I did this inductively, or in a "bottom up" fashion (Braun & Clarke, 2006),

linking themes strongly to the data. This approach allows unexpected or nonconforming themes to arise from the data. The girls' voices determined the themes because this process of coding does not attempt to fit data to a prescribed framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Themes were identified at a semantic level. This process consists of description (where data were organized to reveal patterns in semantic content), summary (drawing things together concisely), interpretation (a theorizing about the meaning of the patterns found, and their broader significance), and connections to previous literature (making sense of these patterns based on previous work; Braun & Clarke, 2006). My approach balanced a constructionist perspective (exploring sociocultural and structural conditions underlying the girls' stories) with an essentialist perspective (drawing straightforward theorizations from the girls' words in trusting their language to be a reflection of what they meant to say; Braun & Clarke, 2006). This method is the most appropriate way to honour the girls' voices, as it creates space for what they have said to take form.

The criteria upon which I selected portions of meaning were shaped by the nature of the interviews themselves. The interviewers were Indigenous women who were trained to create a safe space for the girls and empower them. As such, there was more scaffolding, and guidance provided in the interview than might be expected in a Western research interview. This Indigenized process was didactic, interwoven, and collaborative such that the girls appeared to receive support and understanding from the interviewers. In adapting my analysis to these factors, I developed a set of decision criteria by which I conducted the selection of passages to code: I focused on the girls' voices rather than the interviewers. I accepted concepts that were direct answers to questions posed by the interviewer (i.e., if it was a direct passive answer of agreement to a specific question it was coded as the theme in the question); I didn't accept the

interviewers' attributions about the girls' statements (i.e., if it was language coming from the interviewer and the girl didn't comment or agree on).

Analysis Steps. Two coders were involved in this study: the primary researcher (myself), a recent Indigenous graduate in Psychology as a research assistant Taylore Miller, and my supervisor Dr. Pepler. The five phases of this project unfolded over the course of five months. During the first phase, I familiarized myself with the 16 transcripts independently (eight referred girls and eight community girls) by reading each of them two to three times and noting my thoughts about the girls' words throughout, then saving the results for later analysis. In the second phase, Dr. Pepler, Taylore and I read through a few unmarked transcripts together and discussed our overall impressions. We documented our impressions by recording comments beside the transcripts and these data were set aside for later analysis. In the third phase, Dr. Pepler and I read through 11 of the 16 transcripts in a new unmarked file and coded themes through consensus, these codes were logged for further analysis. In the fourth phase, I imported all 16 unmarked transcripts into NVivo software to organize the data and began to formulate a codebook by attributing individual codes to each portion of meaning found in a given passage. I took an open coding approach, whereby I assigned codes based on what I believed pertained to moments of warmth in the girls' lives. Themes were identified at a semantic level, in that the girls' words were analyzed as they had been said (instead of looking into them theoretically). In the fifth phase, I synthesized the codes from all previous phases of consensus-based group coding and individual coding. In this way, I recorded the kernels of my impressions which had been informed by previous discussions and review, then confirmed or adapted the individual codes to reflect the consensus of the previous three iterations of coding (alone, and with Dr. Pepler). Dr. Pepler and I met weekly to address questions I had about individual codes and the

model as a whole. Each theme was then examined for internal consistency to verify that the properties of the subcategories were conceptually similar and conceptually distinct from subcategories in other groupings. Reliability was not calculated dichotomously because codes were abstract as opposed to present or absent (Armstrong, Gosling, Weinman, & Marteau, 1997; Cascio et al., 2019; Richards & Hemphill, 2018). Inter-rater reliability was established through consensus as Dr. Pepler, and I sought agreement on the themes, subthemes, and codes by reviewing them in five phases then integrating our perspectives.

Results

The main goal of this study was to listen to the girls' voices to hear their memories of love, warmth, and care with people in their lives, capturing the girls' expressions of nurturance during interviews. A total of 334 moments of warmth, love, and care were identified in the 16 transcripts. Eleven of the 16 transcripts were co-coded (69%).

The model was formed with an inductive approach whereby the girls' voices animated the labels, categories, and clusters of ideas. During this phase a provisional model was created by reading back through the codes and either eliminating passages from categories where they did not fit or collapsing categories together that were too similar. This lent itself to a 'bottom up' data-driven model. Individual kernels of meaning or *codes* (e.g., 'someone to turn to') were clustered together to comprise clusters of meaning or *subthemes* (e.g., Safety and Trust). Subthemes were clustered together to comprise four overarching *themes* (e.g., Moments of Warmth and Care). These four overarching themes therefore reflect the qualities expressed in the girls' stories which pertain to and expand on the original research question: 1) Moments of Warmth, Love and Care; 2) Relationship Expectations; 3) The Development of Socioemotional Capacities, and 4) View of Self as Caring. These four *themes* and their *subthemes* and *codes*, as

well as the discrepancy between groups in developmental mechanisms are discussed below. Individual codes, their descriptions, and exemplary quotes can be found in Appendix C.

Moments of Warmth, Love, and Care

All girls shared memories of moments of warmth, love, and care, which was the first of the four overall themes. As these moments were identified, the girls' voices helped form a picture of what occurred in those loving moments. As each moment was identified, it was coded for two elements: once for the theme of the moment itself (e.g., feeling happy, feeling supported) and the relationship context that it was occurring in (e.g., 'with mothers' or 'with cousin'; for frequencies of the relationships girls reported by group see Appendices D, E and F). The qualities were then grouped into clusters which reflected the overall characteristics that emerged from the individual qualities (or codes) in the moments. The girls' voices have shaped an image of their loving moments which portrays their experiences of care as being carried along by five themes which are presented and discussed in order of how often the girls spoke of them: 1) Honouring Development, 2) Humour, Generosity and Playfulness, 3) Intimacy and Closeness, 4) Inspiring and Confirming Identity and Worth, and 5) Safety and Trust. These subthemes and their codes which pertain to the girls' descriptions of Moments of Love, Warmth, and Care are depicted in Figure 1, then discussed below. Note that values that are visible when scrolling over Figure 1 reflect the number of coding references, not the number of participants who spoke about a given theme (which is reported in the paragraphs below).

Figure 1.

Moments of Warmth, Love and Care

Note. Percentage of codes attributed to the given subtheme or code (can be viewed by scrolling over an item).

Honouring Development. The first subtheme relating to the girls' stories was described in instances when they were met where they were at and provided with understanding and scaffolding. Fourteen out of the sixteen girls described important others giving them *Advice and Stories* which guided them in their lives (e.g., "I like talking with her [Grandma], I like when she tells me her stories"). Ten girls described being able to *Talk it Out* with others when they needed to process their thoughts and emotions (e.g., "I like going to see my granny when I am feeling sad … I just like [to] talk to her…"). Eight girls said that their relationships made them feel *Seen or Understood* (e.g., … she [granny] listens to me; she won't have to say anything, she'll just say a couple of things and it will be ok"). Six girls described feeling as if their loved ones *Honoured their Vulnerability* by being patient with their mistakes or questions (e.g., "… my mom, she'll explain it to me, and then she'll tell me that she loves me and say: 'I make mistakes too', my mom will say that's ok, we all make mistakes, were human"). Five girls described relying on *Relationships as a Respite* from turmoil or conflict (e.g., "I went to live with my sister for like a year [then at] my aunties … uncle's … [and] Granny's… That's the time when I was having a hard time getting along with my mom and her boyfriend, and I just wanted to get away from that"). Three girls spoke about the healing aspect of *Reconciling Relationships* (e.g., "… my mom and dad split for awhile and I didn't…know who my dad was…finally when I was six, he came to where we were living to visit me and my brother and sister and that was the best thing that happened to me…then [my parents] they got married"). Three girls also described receiving care from their community such as experiences of *Shared Parenting* (Neckoway, 2007), as they could rely on several different caring figures (e.g., "I'll walk to my auntie's, and I'll talk to her and say what is going on and she talks to me about it. Or at my grandma's house, she'll be like:

'well you have to do your homework'"). These are the ways the girls described their relationships holding them as they grew and matured.

Humour, Generosity, and Playfulness. The second subtheme relating to girls' stories of warmth, love, and care revealed an emphasis on the joy and delight that comes from having relationships with those who do not take themselves too seriously and who have a good sense of humour, as well as those who are playful and generous. Fourteen out of sixteen girls described having *Humour or Playfulness* in their relationships:

> *"*My friends and family…We just like to have fun together. Hang out and make each other laugh… [cousin's name] [1] … she makes me smile from talking, I don't know, she does practical jokes all of the time… [another cousin's name] … he can be dumb sometimes and does the stupidest things, but you always get a kick out of it. I guess. It's just fun being around him."

Thirteen girls expressed *Sharing Joy and Delight* in their relationships when they felt excited to tell others good news or rejoice and enjoy special things together (e.g., "I like to tell my foster parents … When I was doing really bad in history and then I got a really good mark in history … I studied. I actually studied"). Twelve girls described receiving *Special Gifts* that created meaningful moments in their lives (e.g., "She [Grandma] used to always mostly take care of us. Me and my brother and my sisters. And she would always come and take us out to McDonald's or go to pow wows"). Six girls described relationships making them *Feel Happy* (e.g., *"*When I go to my granny's house … Just being with my granny because she is the sweetest person in the world, when I am with her, I am happy"). This is how the girls described moments of joy, celebration, and humour shaping gleeful moments and providing them with bright memories to draw on. [2]

[2] To protect the girls' confidentiality and the confidentiality of their families/community, names have been replaced with [name]or a corresponding relationship role (e.g., [Grandma]).

Inspiring and Confirming Identity and Worth. The third subtheme relating to the girls' stories was described as moments when their relationships reinforced and affirmed their identity and worth, as others reminded them of who they were and what they deserve to experience. Fourteen of the sixteen girls described their relationships as supporting their *Self-Worth and Confidence* through reinforcing their recognition that they are worthy of good things:

> "He [love interest] liked to phone me, and we'd hang out, we would go for coffee in [location]. And he would invite me over to his house … and [he] would tell me a lot of nice things: 'You're smart, you're beautiful and you have respect for yourself, you're gonna go places.' He told me a lot of nice things."

Seven girls expressed *Feeling Loved and Wanted* by others through being treated as welcome and precious (e.g., "My parents, giving me food and clothes and loving me and showing that they do actually do want me"). Six girls described aspects of *Cultural Connection* to their identity as Indigenous girls, which gave them a sense of healing (e.g., *"*Going to sweat lodge in London ON. It's called a healing lodge … It was kinda weird because you see all of these spirits. And they go around the thing and it's pretty hot … [I felt] protected … she prayed, and things were just like, better"). Six of the girls expressed being treated with *Kindness or Niceness* which reinforced their feelings of worth and belonging (e.g., "My friends really don't do mean things to me … I've never really been ditched before. You always have one friend to turn to if you need one"). Five girls described *Being Inspired* by role models (e.g., "My dad … He's [had] hard times, but … Tried to be good … no matter what was going on inside, he still like finished school and got a good job and all that") which helped them aspire to be just as successful and healthy.

Intimacy and Closeness. The fourth subtheme girls described was having experiences with others that were warm, close, and intimate such that they felt held and loved, be it a

comforting hug from a caring parent or the delight of holding hands in a romantic relationship. Fourteen of the sixteen girls described how spending *Quality Time* with a special person gave them a sense of closeness (e.g., "[Q: I love it when I…] Am with my mom … We'll hang out and watch movies once in a while. We'll go for a car ride and get coffee and stuff from [cafe]. We'll go shopping or to the movies"). Nine girls described a personal *Place-Based Connection* to nature or a favourite family space on the land (e.g., "What I like the best is that I have my family here [on the reserve]. Like, I have my sisters, my uncle, I got everybody here. It's quiet, it's peaceful, it's beside the lake and there's good people around here"). Eight girls described *Gathering and Togetherness* as a valuable time which made them feel surrounded and close with others, whether it was an event or making a life choice to move closer to family (e.g., "Friends, music, just togetherness, having fun, being hyper and laughing and having my space but not too much"). Seven girls expressed experiences of *Authenticity and Closeness* in their relationships as they describe moments of kindred connection (e.g., "We're really close. She is like my number one person … [My mom is] I don't know, my best friend, I guess"). Five girls described moments of *Warmth and Intimacy* such that they felt physically close to a loved one (e.g., Living with my mom … we used to share a room and I remember her coming into the bed and hugging me"). Four girls also described the excitement of getting close to someone (e.g., "…he [love interest] was like the nicest guy I ever met. And he just asked me out and I said yeah. And we would just hang out and stuff and it was really fun … Holding hands. And hugging each other and stuff") in terms of *Romance and Companionship*.

Safety and Trust. The fifth subtheme that emerged from the girls' voices was safety as a foundational element in their relationships, which allowed for subsequent trust in important relationships. Twelve of the sixteen girls described having *Someone to Turn to* when they were

experiencing a difficult time as an important part of feeling safe and being able to trust others (e.g., "…if it is a situation with fighting, or stuff like that I would tell adults … Them knowing what to do and just being trust worthy and caring"). Seven girls expressed receiving *Provision and Support* from their relationships such that they felt cared for by others (e.g., She's been here my whole life for me and did things with me and cared. She [mother] put a roof over my head, stuff like that. I don't know, she gave me things I needed, not just what I wanted"). Six girls described being *Guided and Protected* by caring others in their lives, which showed them that they cared about their wellbeing (e.g., "[My family] Made sure that I wasn't in trouble like some people that we know and stayed off the streets. Stuff like that"). Five girls appreciated the *Dependable Presence* of others who remained predictable, reliable, and available to them (e.g., "Because she [sister] has been with me my whole entire life since we have been living with my mom and she was always there for me"). Four girls expressed that being *Home with Family* was a safe place to be for them and that it provided security (e.g., "[Q: Tell me about a place that you go that you consider special and why] Home … 'cause I live there … [with] my family … Sometimes I play with my little sister and brother"). Three girls expressed that they felt *Peacefulness and Tranquility* in spaces occupied by caring people which made them feel safe (e.g., "I love being with her [Grandma]. It's really peaceful at her house and I love her a lot"). Two girls described *Feeling Carefree* as a child (e.g., "[Q: The thing I remember best about being little?] Being happy. You don't have to worry about nothing, just going to have fun at your friends'"). The girls expressed that feeling safe and secure in the presence and care of others led to being able to experience the benefits of learning to trust in and rely on others.

The Distribution of Relationships in Moments of Warmth, Love, and Care. The distribution of caring relationships reflects the percent coverage of codes that pertained to a

specific relationship, meaning the greater the coverage, the more moments of love, warmth, and care were attributed to that relationship. Each moment of love, warmth, and care was dual coded: once for the theme of the moment itself, and once for the relationship it pertained to. Overall, both groups of girls reported their most significant relationships to be with their mothers and friends (Appendix D).

Relationship Expectations

The second major theme centred on the girls' development of Relationship Expectations. The girls' memories of moments of love, warmth, and care appeared to shape how they internalized their views and expectations of relationships, how to behave in relationships, and what to expect from future relationships. These schemas of relationships or relationship expectations have been referred to as internal working models (Bowlby, 1988). As these moments of warmth were identified, the girls' voices helped form a picture of what those loving moments contributed to their relationship expectations. As the girls described the moments of warmth they had experienced in their relationships, a connection was visible between the language they used in describing the love they had received and the interactions they expected to have with others going forward. The girls' language surrounding the internalization of their relationship understandings and expectations was gathered, and the qualities of these expectations were then grouped into subthemes which reflected the overall characteristics that emerged from the individual qualities (or codes). The girls' voices have revealed their relationship expectations which is summarized into four subthemes: 1) Yearning for Peace, Predictability or Stability, 2) Information About What Romantic Relationships Should Look Like, 3) Information About What Development Should Look Like, and 4) Information About

Whom to Model Oneself After. These subthemes and their codes which pertain to the girls' relationship expectations are depicted in Figure 2, then discussed below.

Figure 2.

Relationship Expectations

Note. Percentage of codes attributed to the given subtheme or code (can be viewed by scrolling over an item).

Yearning for Peace, Predictability, or Stability. The first Relationship Expectations subtheme emerging from the girls' stories suggested an inner yearning for harmony, such as for closeness, an absence of chaos, or a deeper connection to their culture. The girls had an expectation of being in healthy, connected, and safe relationships. Eleven of the girls had *Separation Fears* which were described as a fear of a person who is close to them being harmed or passing away which was at times linked to experiences they previously had in relationships (e.g., "[Q: I'm most afraid that?] If my mom ever died like, I wouldn't know how handle myself"). Nine of the girls expressed a *Yearning for Harmonious Relationships*, such that they described wanting an absence of conflict or turmoil (e.g., "[Q: Just once I would like it if?][3] My family could get together and make up for what happened in the past"). Nine of the girls *Yearned for Closeness*, in that their desire to be closer to others circumvented reasons that a person may be held at a distance from them (e.g., "[Q: What makes you sad?] Thinking about my mom … Because I am not with her … Because she has a drinking problem … I only get to see her once a month and sometimes not even … [Q: I wish that I could?] Be with my mom"). Two girls expressed a *Yearning for Cultural Connection*, in their desire to be provided with more culturally based activities (e.g., "You know if you had a pow wow out here, or just get a couple of girls into a group, like five or six girls and put a booth up there … Get together with their regalia and make some for people to buy off of you. I would do that for fun. I made my own dress actually"). Two girls also described *Missing a Loved One* (e.g., "[Q: What makes you happy?] My little brother

[3] A bracket within the quote containing a 'Q:' (e.g., [Q: I love it when I…] indicates the interviewer's question as it was spoken to provide context for the quote. Some interview questions are 'finish the sentence' questions ending in an ellipsis, and some are standard questions ending in a question mark.

… Because I can remember my stepdad … He died") who had passed or that they were unable to see at the time.

Information About What Romantic Relationships Should Look Like. The second subtheme relating to the girls' stories was discussion surrounding romantic relationships: when they are appropriate, what role sex and sexuality play, what role friendship plays, and what the girls felt ready for at this stage of their lives. The girls shared differing perspectives about what they thought of romance. Nine girls expressed that they expected a romantic partner to be *Kind and Respectful* (e.g., "[Q: What qualities do you look for in a partner?] Somebody who is nice and respects me and others"). Eight girls described appreciating elements of *Playfulness and Companionship* in a partner such that they expected a foundation of close friendship (e.g., "I guess a best, best, best, boyfriend. Like a boy who is a friend, like a real best, like a guy friend"). Seven girls shared that they wanted to experience *Trust and Caring* in a relationship with a partner; some of these expectations were built on observations of others (e.g., "My friend went out with this guy, and he was nice. They really helped each other out and they trusted each other and all that. They went out for a while"). Five girls insisted on a partner being *Responsible and Sober* so they would be present, healthy and reliable, with an absence of substance abuse in their life (e.g., "[Q: What qualities do you look for in a partner?] …smart … Like, not into drugs and off drinking"). Finally, three girls expressed a desire to experience *Romantic Feelings and Attraction* with a partner (e.g., "For two people to have full happiness in their life without exceeding the lines where you don't want to go too far with the sexual part, or you're happy with what you have, and you love spending time with them, and you'll never give them up for anything else"). This is how the girls communicated what their expectations were for either current or aspirational romantic relationships.

Information About What Development Should Look Like. The third subtheme girls shared related to what it means to grow up in the context of relationships. Their language when discussing interactions they had with Elders, caregivers, and the younger generation shaped an image of what development looks like to them. Eight girls expressed a desire for *Autonomy and Responsibility* in that they wanted independence (financial, personal), to contribute to society, or to care for the younger generation:

> "… first of all, to finish my high school is my main goal. Cause once I've done that; I got the world at my hands and lots of opportunities like from there. Or to be a teacher, motivate young people to finish school, like live their dreams out and work in elementary cause that's when they're young and they can start from there. Uh, I also want to write a book. And I want to be a lawyer, and work my way up to be a judge, and I want to be a nurse. I don't know there are a lot of things, I am not sure yet."

Along with this, three girls described a view of themselves as relatively young in terms of getting involved in a romantic relationship, or what I will call a *Developmental Romantic Perspective*. I chose to classify this subtheme under development and not romantic relationships because the girls mainly expressed their thoughts about relationships from a perspective of themselves as developing, putting an emphasis on consent, and their youth as a reason to abstain from romantic involvement:

> "Now, I don't have a boyfriend right now cause it's not important to me, it doesn't mean anything to me right now because I'm young … But in another relationship, um I was dating this guy and all the time [he] wanted to have sex. And I didn't want to. To me, a relationship is not about that, it's about, first of all getting to know each other, care for each other, instead of just jumping into that. I didn't want to, and he kept bugging and bugging [me] and he got all mad. I didn't want to give into that. I'm not gonna make him happy if I'm not making myself happy."

Another code related to development that arose was the girls taking an *Unconditional View of Parents* despite harms or feelings of confusion: "[Q: The person I most admire is] My

mom … She's trying her hardest, I can see … Sometimes she lies but sometimes she doesn't … [My mother is] nice … too generous sometimes … she doesn't see that in herself ..."
as girls took a positive view of parents.

Information About Whom to Model Oneself After. The fourth subtheme girls described was their perspectives of whom to model themselves after, who was someone they looked up to or a caregiver. Six girls described *Intelligence and Humility* as being worthy characteristics to aspire to (e.g., "My grandma, 'cause she helps me with my math. Well, my grandmother and my mom because they are kind of wizards at school. My grandma graduated at the top of her class in high school, grade 12. She was the first one to graduate …"). Two girls also mentioned appreciating *Strength and Honour* in a role model, as they believed that strength was a positive quality to have (e.g., "The best thing that ever happened to me was? Hum, like just always having my mom there, my mom told me a story about the things she has been through. And I was alive, I was just really happy that I just have my mom here, she is so strong, and she is still with me and that's the best thing that's happened to me, having my mom").

The Development of Socioemotional Capacities

All the girls spoke about how their relationship expectations and moments of care gave them capacities to navigate life. These capacities were shown in girls' descriptions of how people in their lives scaffolded the development of these capacities, in how the girls spoke about themselves and others, or in the way they managed their emotions. The girls' voices elucidated their socioemotional and coping capacities which were summarized into three subthemes: 1) Sense of Self and Self-Value, 2) Emotion Regulation, and 3) Sense of Morality and Valuing the Other. These subthemes and the codes which pertain to the girls' development of socioemotional capacities are depicted in Figure 3 and discussed below.

Figure 3.

The Development of Socioemotional Capacities

Note. Percentage of codes attributed to the given subtheme or code (can be viewed by scrolling over an item).

Sense of Self and Self-value. In the first subtheme, girls described having a sense of self-awareness and self-compassion that was learned in relationships. Twelve of the sixteen girls showed that they valued themselves by describing behaviour I will call *Defending the Self Against Mistreatment*: girls were able to identify aggression, coercion, racism, sexism, and other harmful behaviours, as well as resist or reject the mistreatment:

> "…If you don't like who I am or where I'm from … that's your problem not mine … People will say 'you're dirt.' Whatever, you're dirt too. We come from the same place … if your gonna say something mean about me I [have] nothing against you except for the fact that … you can't respect who I am … they'll be scared of you because some people are scared of Native people."

Eight girls had an *Awareness of Positives* about themselves and in their lives which helped them navigate difficult situations and cope (e.g., "I'm smart enough to take care of myself now … I know how to tell people no … I know how to do things for myself … and I feel smart, I guess"). Seven girls practiced *Self Preservation* (e.g., "I don't understand why people drink … it's like you're abusing yourself and you I used to do it, but I know what happens now, I just don't want to be like my aunties") by abstaining from drugs, alcohol, and unprotected sex. Seven also *Insisted on Consent* by saying no to peer pressure regarding gang membership, crime, and pressure to have sex (e.g., "If he's like beating you up or something, like hurting you in any kind of way, making you do something you didn't want to do. You could just like leave or get the person out of there, so they're not made to do something they don't want to"). Four girls described *Valuing Strength of Character* (e.g., "… be who you are and don't care [about] what anyone else thinks unless it's an adult, keep your mouth shut, but stand for who you are, and don't let anyone intimidate [you]") in that they identified the importance of, for example, being strong, working hard, and having self-compassion.

Emotion Regulation. In the second subtheme, girls described being able to manage their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours by regulating their emotions. Ten of the sixteen girls described *Mind-Based Self-Regulating* whereby they used relaxation, introspection, or seeking space to manage emotions (e.g., "I just go [to] a non-populated place and put some music on ... Something to get my mind out of its stage, or sometimes maybe write in my diaries"). Nine girls described *Body-Based Self-Regulating* by using physiological regulation techniques like sleeping, crying, or exercising to manage emotions (e.g., "I don't know, sometimes I let it out, I end up crying … or I go for a bike ride"). Seven girls described their relationships as teaching them emotion regulation by *Co-Regulating*, whereby a loved one stays calm and models how to manage emotions for them:

> "I don't know, they [family] just talk to me and make me feel better. Like if I'm having a hard time at home with homework and I'm getting stressed out and snap at my mom and she kind of says hey, if you're gonna be like that why don't you take a walk or something. So, I'll walk to my auntie's and I'll talk to her and say what is going on and she talks to me about it."

Finally, two girls described what I will call *Spirit-Based Self-Regulating* whereby they practiced looking to a higher power for solace, grounding themselves by establishing trust in spiritual entities to guide, protect, and care (e.g., "Like I pray to [Creator], and I think if the Creator brings me to it, he'll bring me through it. It's another way I'm strong").

Sense of Morality and Valuing the Other. In the third subtheme, the girls expressed an inner integrity towards others and a subsequent compassionate view of the other in a general moral sense. Seven girls *described Valuing the Wellbeing of Others* such that they felt concern for their life decisions and safety (e.g., "I used to be inside this gang … I didn't want to do it anymore, so I stopped … I kind of felt sorry"). Two girls described *Valuing the Dignity of Others.* One girl shared her perspective of her desire for other girls to have self-esteem:

> "… a lot of First Nations girls … they have low self-esteem … if they have low self-esteem how are they gonna believe in themselves, how are they gonna be strong if they have low self-esteem, they're gonna be weak, they're gonna make wrong decisions … [but] there is so much out there for them. I just want to let them know, let them know to believe in themselves."

Two girls described themselves *Valuing the Wisdom of Others* by recognizing and appreciating the teachings and seniority of others who have good intentions for them and work hard to help, (e.g., "Because they have good advice. The older people have already experienced that, and they'll tell you … they understand, they know what you're going through. In other words, they show that they care"). Two girls described *Valuing the Experiences of Others,* meaning they believed others' voices and trusted their warnings (e.g., "If they went out with one of your friends and they were mean to them and cheated on them, you're not gonna go out with them because they're gonna cheat on you too or be mean to you or hurt you all of the time. Like who wants that").

View of Self as Caring

In the final theme related to girls' own caring for others, all the girls expressed interest in the wellbeing of the next generation. The girls expressed views of themselves as caring individuals which are summarized into two subthemes: *Views of the Other* and *Tasks of Caring*. These subthemes and their codes which pertain to the girls' self-views are depicted in Figure 4, then discussed below.

Figure 4.

View of Self as Caring

Note. Percentage of codes attributed to the given subtheme or code (can be viewed by scrolling over an item).

Views of the Other. In the first subtheme, the girls' language about others for whom they cared illustrated their reflections on and reasons for caring. Although '*A Sense of Morality and Valuing the Other*' (a subtheme in *Socioemotional Capacities*) illustrated the girls' general moral sense toward others, this subtheme is specifically about the girls' developmental capacities

to view themselves as caregivers of the next generation. Eleven girls described a view of *Others as Worthy of Sympathy* such that they felt sadness about the suffering or death of others and a concern for others' wellbeing (e.g., "[Q: What makes you sad?] Seeing my brother and sister hurt. Or my friends"). Six girls described taking a view of *Other as Equal* in terms of viewing the love and respect from others as something to be reciprocated quote (e.g., "[Q: My mother is?] A lovable person … because she understands me …"). Five girls shared their views of *The Next Generation as Worthy of Guidance* by expressing that they wish for those younger than them to receive the scaffolding they need:

> "… you kind of gotta be there for [younger relatives] as a parent because you gotta guide them into the right direction … You just need extra when you're younger. You don't want to be getting yourself into trouble at such a young age. Like my cousin has already been charged [by] his own family. But he doesn't know, like you don't know better when your dad isn't always around, or your mom isn't. I don't know, just been tossed up between each parent. You need extra guidance I think."

Four girls described viewing the *Other as Worthy of Being Understood*, as they emphasized the importance of empathy and understanding for others based on personal experiences (e.g., "I want to help kids that have like problems like I used to have a problem with depression and stuff … I don't know. Sometimes I think I can relate to the things that are happening").

Tasks of Caring. The second subtheme related to how girls' views of others shape how they treat others. This subtheme emerged from the girls' descriptions of how they act towards others. Ten girls described wanting to exude *Safety and Approachability* as they felt concern about the way others experience them, hence they monitored the way they acted around others (e.g., "… sometimes I'd try to change my personality from being rude to, like if I could stop myself right then and there then I would because … Like I'll say something to my mom and my grandma will hear it. I'll just say sarcastic mean things sometimes, but I don't mean to ..."). Nine girls described being passionate about *Caring and Helping.* They reported enjoying being a

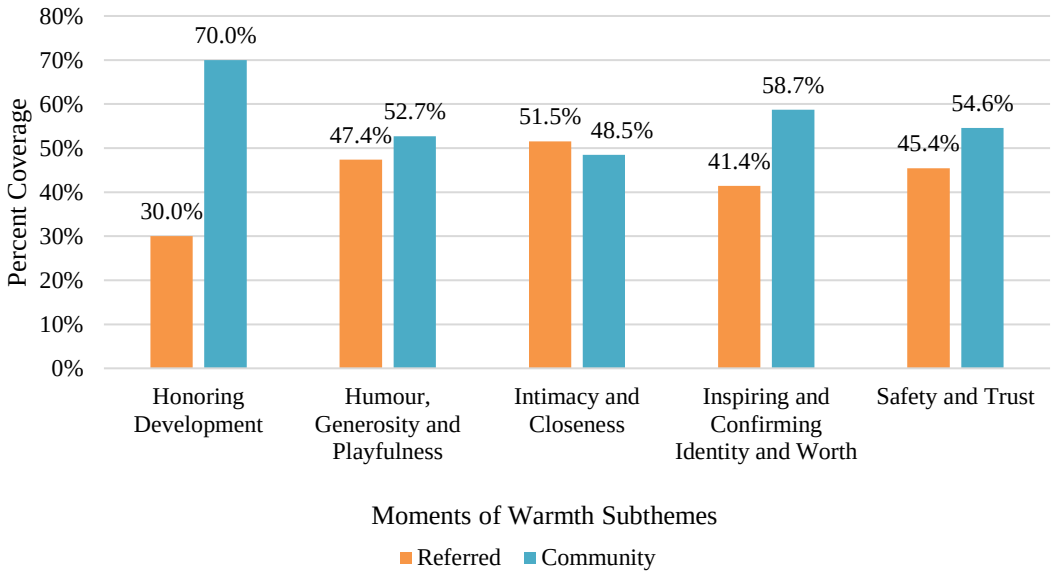
helpful person or wanting to go into a helping profession (e.g., "… I just like helping them out mostly because, I don't know, they're getting older, and they have one more person living with them …"). Seven girls described treating others in an equitable manner in terms of *Celebration and Advocacy* (e.g., "I'm not a snob, I'm friends with everybody. Like handicap people. I have a best friend named [name] and whoever makes fun of her [I] just back her up and I just say why are you doing that." Finally, three girls described offering *Gratitude and Reciprocation* to others who care (e.g., "I learn a lot from my foster mom. [I'm] really thankful for having her in my life").

Group Comparisons

Although this is a qualitative study and not designed to assess the differences between the referred and community girls, there are some trends evident in the girls' discussions across the four main themes that merit consideration. The figures below depict percentages attributed to the proportion each group contributed in terms of the total coding coverage for a subtheme.

Figure 5.

Moments of Warmth Subtheme by Group

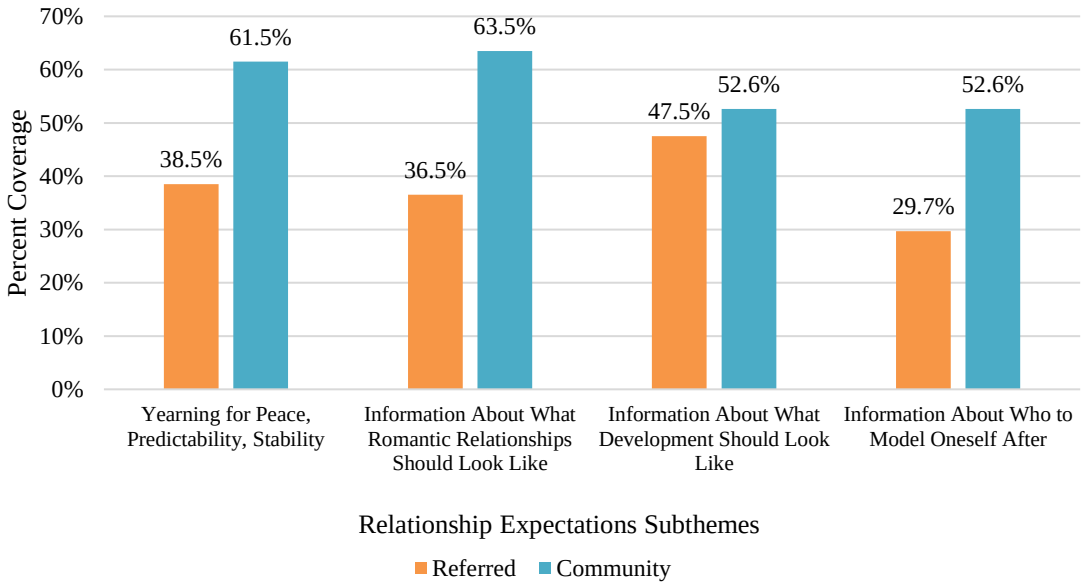


Note. Comments regarding moments of warmth subthemes for referred and community groups.

In the first theme Moments of Warmth, Love and Care, the girls referred to Dilico contributed 44.4% of the statements, whereas the community girls contributed 55.6% of the statements coded under this theme. Group responses for the subthemes under Moments of Warmth, Love and Care is provided are depicted in Figure 5. As can be seen in the figure, the most notable difference between these groups of girls was on comments that significant others in the girls' lives were *Honouring Development*. Appendices E and F explore this further as the referred group reported friends *Honouring Development* more so than mothers.

Figure 6.

Relationship Expectations Subtheme by Group

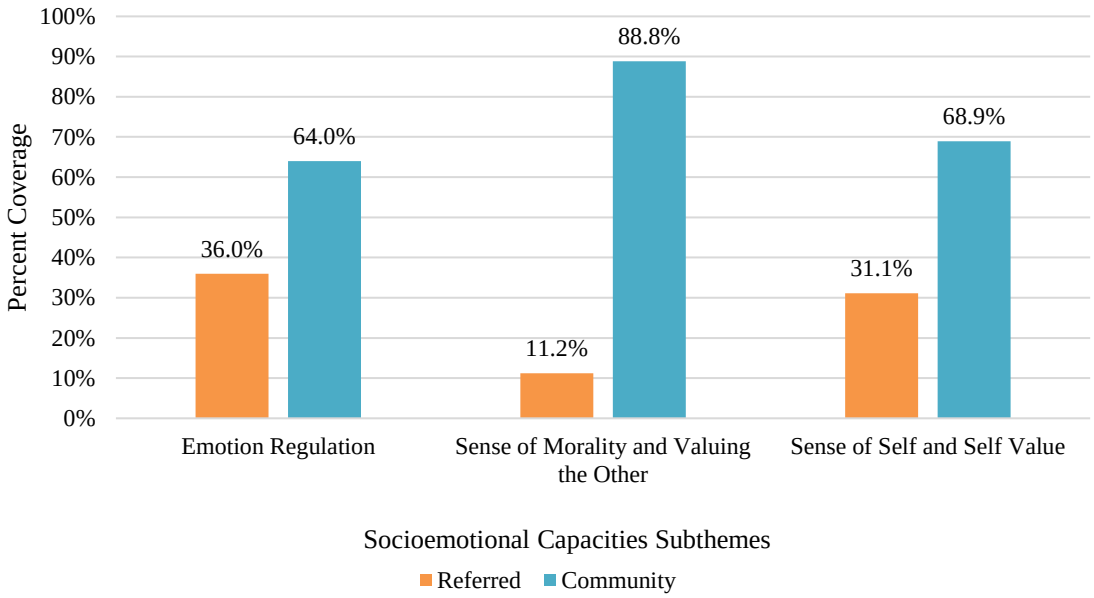


For the second theme Relationship Expectations, the girls in the referred group contributed 39.9% of the statements, whereas the community girls contributed 60.2% of the statements coded under this theme. As can be seen in Figure 6, the most notable difference between these groups of girls in the responses on the subthemes under Relationship Expectations was on *Information About What Romantic Relationships Should Look Like*. Appendices G and H

explore this further as the referred group reported higher on feelings of attraction and taking a developmental view of parents.

Figure 7.

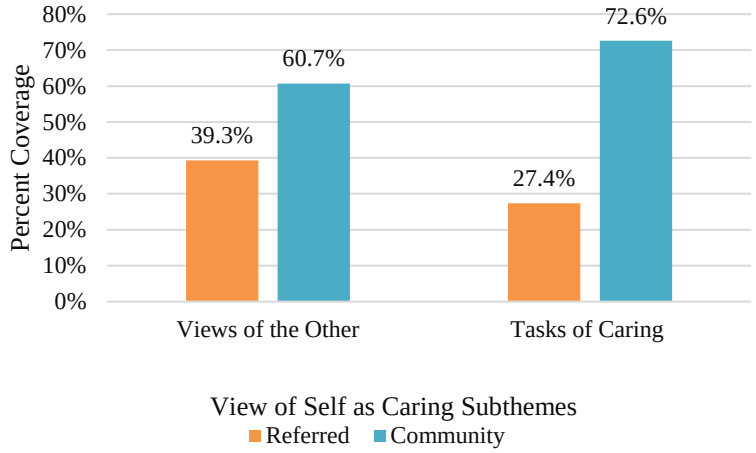
The Development of Socioemotional Capacities by Group



For the third theme The Development of Socioemotional Capacities, the girls in the referred group contributed 29.3% of the statements, whereas the community girls contributed 70.7% of the statements coded under this theme. As can be seen in Figure 7, the most notable difference between the two groups of girls was on Sense of Morality and Valuing the Other.

Figure 8.

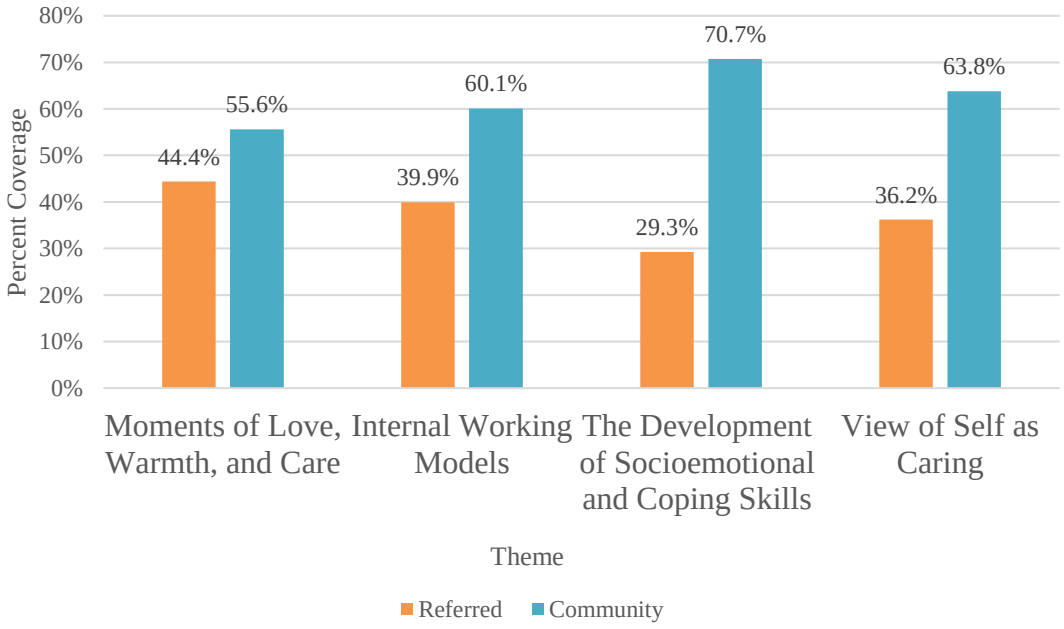
View of Self as Caring by Group



For the fourth theme Viewing of Self as Caring, the girls in the referred group contributed 36.2% of the statements, whereas the community girls contributed 63.8% of the statements coded under this theme. As can be seen in Figure 8, the most notable difference between these groups of girls was on Tasks of Caring.

Figure 9.

Intergenerational Gifts Model Theme by Group



There was a relatively even representation of data from both referred and community groups in Moments of Warmth, Love and Care, however, subthemes that provide insight into developmental mechanisms reveal more unevenly weighted representations in favour of the community group on the themes of Relationship Expectations, The Development of Socioemotional Capacities, and View of Self as Caring as seen in Figure 9.

Intergenerational Gifts: The Overall Model

As discussed above, four overarching themes emerged from the girls' interviews: 1) Moments of Warmth, Love, and Care; 2) Relationship Expectations; 3) The Development of Socioemotional Capacities, and 4) View of Self as Caring as pictured in Figure 10. When taken together, the girls' voices inform a cyclical model that connects the moments of warmth and care the girls have received to their relationship expectations and developmental capacities, which in turn bring them to see themselves as caring individuals.

Figure 10.

Intergenerational Gifts

Note. Percentage of codes attributed to the given subtheme and theme (can be viewed by scrolling over an item).

Discussion

This study provided an opportunity to listen intently to Indigenous girls' voices to understand what matters to them, what they need, and how they have been nurtured. The girls' descriptions of these moments of love, warmth, and care supported the development of a model that portrays the developmental mechanisms underlying what Lieberman and colleagues (2005) described as 'angels in the nursery'. These are memories of warmth and care which young women can draw on as they develop as caregivers. Moments of warmth in relationships were identified by consensus in transcripts of interviews with 16 girls. Eight of the girls had been referred to Dilico, an Anishinabek family care service, eight of the girls were from communities in the Thunder Bay and Algoma regions. The findings from an inductive thematic analysis of the girls' interview transcripts are discussed below in light of theory and research on adolescent development, Indigenous wellbeing, and relational determinants of health (Cardinal and Pepler, In Press). Based on the girls' interviews, I developed a model of intergenerational gift-giving which connects moments of warmth, love, and care with the developmental outcome of viewing oneself as caring.

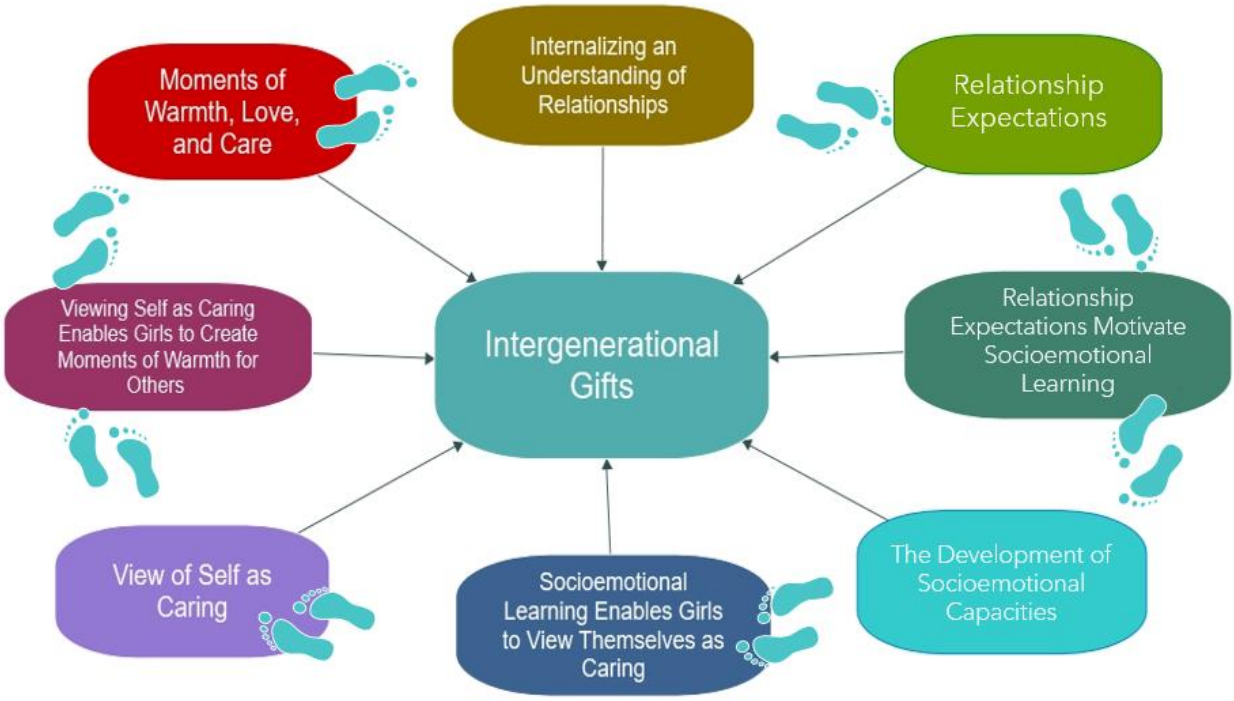
Proposing a Model of Intergenerational Gift Giving

Gifts of warmth, love, and care are transmitted from generation to generation in the context of relationships, as shown in Figure 11. Based on the girls' voices, I have developed a model of intergenerational gift giving. Each of the gifts the girls discussed giving to others seemed to be directly related to the gifts they had received from relationships. Relationships are the foremost determinant of Indigenous health and wellbeing, such that health is defined in Indigenous worldviews not as the health of the individual but the health of the whole community (Cardinal & Pepler, 2021; Australian National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health

Organization, 2006, p. 5-6). Therefore, I argue the case for relationships being the foundational developmental mechanism of maturation into viewing oneself as caring.

Figure 11.

The Cycle of Intergenerational Gift Giving



Note. Previous generations give the gift of warmth and care enabling girls to care for the next generation. See Appendix I for subthemes and codes.

As depicted in Figure 11 above, relationships with significant others are integral in shaping the views of that children develop of themselves, as these representations colour their choices, identity, and other-oriented behavior going forward (Bretherton, 2008). Secure internal working models guide children to seek out constructive relationships (Bretherton, 2008; Bowlby, 1988). These relationships expose children to more opportunities to learn socioemotional and coping skills. Children internalize a set of rules for interacting with others through a reciprocal process: those who seek positive and fulfilling relationship experiences receive the support they expect because they treat others with care, expecting that it will be returned (Bretherton, 2008;

Bowlby, 1988). This process of treating others with respect and care deepens children's experiences of both being cared for and viewing themselves as a caring person. Through this intergenerational cycle, children receive the gifts of warmth, love, and care from earlier generations and pass these gifts on to subsequent generations.

Moments of Care and Internalizing an Understanding of Relationships.

When the children feel accepted, safe, and loved, they had opportunities to form relationship expectations that enabled them to seek securely attached relationships. Importantly, memories of parental warmth scaffold future relational success for women whose family life was strained (Bretherton & Munholland, 2008; Lieberman et al., 2005). The girls described the moments of warmth, love, and care that they had received. In speaking about these moments, the girls also used language that revealed that they had internalized the received warmth and care, what those moments of caring had taught them, and how these relationship experiences supported their development of an identity as a caring person. As depicted in Figure 11 above, when girls received care and love from others, this contributed to an understanding of what to expect from relationships. This process is a well-established tenet of attachment theory (Bowlby, 1988): Internal Working Models or relationship expectations are formed through early care experiences. These expectations shape general representations of caregivers' responsiveness and availability as well as children's perceptions of their own deservingness of care (Bretherton, 2008).

Children's experiences of love grounded their choices, identity, and other-oriented behavior (Bretherton, 2008), and attachment relationships shape the development of romantic relationships (Allen, 2002; Lopez & Gormley, 2002). For example, in Sarah's[4] interview she

[4] To protect the identity of the girls, placeholder names have been assigned to real participants' stories. Using girls' 'names' creates a story form which is consistent with Indigenous views.

described her father as a source of care and guidance. He attended pow wows and he told her that she should associate with safer friends because she was worth more than her current choices. Sarah then describes leaving a gang she was involved in because she felt sorry. Sarah also describes dating a young man with whom she is good friends, who goes to pow wows, is funny, and supports her. Therefore, it is possible that Sarah internalized her father's words of care which shaped her relationship expectations and behaviour. This can be seen in her social relocation away from the gang she was involved in, identification of a caring and supportive partner, and appreciation of a connection to her culture. Sarah's father is a good example of a caring figure who transmitted many gifts of love and care to Sarah (guiding, teaching, protecting, instilling worth, and bridging a connection to culture). He supports Sarah during a critical transition in her development as a young woman pursuing romantic experiences (Magnusson & Statin, 2018; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1975) and an integral part of her identity formation regarding cultural connection (McAdams & McLean, 2013) which is especially important for Indigenous girls (Green, 2009; Tagalik, 2009). When the girls had developmental relationship experiences (Search Institute, 2019) in the past, it seemed to help them believe they could expect positive experiences in future relationships.

Relationship Expectations Motivate Socioemotional Learning.

Children's experiences of dependability contribute to their views of what to expect and how to behave in relationships (Cassidy, Jones & Shaver, 2013). Traditionally, communities are expected to nurture, observe, protect, and tailor guidance for Indigenous children and youth who are cherished and respected as future adult leaders (Tagalik, 2009). Subsequently, the girls approached relationships with a will to learn and an expectation to be honored in their development. These relationship expectations provide opportunities for developing

socioemotional capacities (Bretherton, 2008). The girls spoke most frequently on moments of caring that honoured their development. Indigenous views of developmental relationships (Search Institute, 2019) involve partnerships that foster growth and identity (Tagalik, 2009), whereby Indigenous parenting carries a spiritually based view of and a responsibility to provide opportunities for children to become who they are through experiential learning (Neckoway, 2007). The girls who were motivated to learn because of their relationship expectations acquired socioemotional capacities. Having a positive view of self and others as well as looking up to healthy role models usually relates to better emotional regulation (Roisman et al., 2002). Developmentally, it is important to identify and cherish the gifts that parents have given in moments of warmth, love, and care, that can help girls navigate attachment confusion. These memories are supportive relational tools which can nurture a sense of worth and deservingness of love. Beyond positive relationship expectations, the girls described yearning for peace, predictability, or stability most as they discussed walking through emotions from confusing experiences with loved ones. This is a disproportionately common experience for Indigenous children and families (Cardinal & Pepler, 2021; Blackstock et al, 2006b).

Notably, girls' desire to be closer to others circumvented reasons they may otherwise dismiss the person. This is possibly due to previous moments of warmth with that person. For example, Dawn described a warm and caring memory of her mother coming into bed and hugging her when she was younger. Dawn also described a yearning to be close to her mother as at the time her mother was in treatment for substance use. Dawn's relationship expectation of closeness may be a result of the earlier gifts of warmth and intimacy given to her by her mother, despite Dawn's being unable to see her because she was in treatment. Dawn also describes pursuing experiences of closeness and warmth which may be related to what Dawn learned from her mother: that

hugging is a safe and caring interaction. Dawn shared a recent memory of spending time with her partner when they held hands and hugged. Lieberman and colleagues (2005) noted that women who experienced attachment disruptions were able to balance these negative experiences with memories of warmth that they could draw on to pursue rewarding relationships. Moreover, children are able to have later life attachment experiences in which they are able to develop self-awareness about patterns of attachment, effective coping and self-regulation, as well as co-regulation and communication with significant others (Roisman et al., 2002; Lieberman et al., 2005). Recalling memories of warmth and care as Dawn did can support the belief that one is deserving of love, and the pursuit of positive relationship experiences as Dawn shared about her partner, in which they are able to develop socioemotional capacities (Roisman et al., 2002; Lieberman et al., 2005). The girls described learning experiences with those who were not primary caregivers such as friends, boyfriends, and cousins. The girls shared that when they were unable to look to a parent to teach them, they were able to learn from other caring figures.

Developing Socioemotional Capacities Enables Girls to View Themselves as Caring

Social-emotional development occurs within relationships (Magnusson & Statin, 2018; Sroufe, 1990). Although relationships in the girls' lives were strained (Pepler et al., 2004; Pepler et al., 2006a), the girls described experiences of social support from other caring adults and peers which fostered socioemotional capacities such as personal competence and self-worth, self efficacy, and healthy behaviours (Langford et al., 1997). Relationships are a crucial factor in one's ability to become self-acquainted and self-regulate (Gillespie, 2015). An Anishinaabe teaching of 'All My Relations' addresses helping self first and acknowledging that, once individuals are able to achieve their best selves, they are best able to contribute to their families, communities, and Nations (Gwekwaadziwin Miikan, 2021). Youth need to be

supported to be their best selves to reach their full potential of becoming self- and other-aware individuals who can self-regulate.

The socioemotional tools the girls described having were directly relatable to the care they had received, because they were motivated to seek out relationship experiences that built their socioemotional capacities. For example, Rose was taught by her mother how to 'say no' in tricky or dangerous situations, as she describes her mother telling her to leave or call the cops if something dangerous happened. Rose also discussed insisting on consent as a useful skill in her life as she said that she believed it was wrong to acquiesce to someone who was violent or who might try to make her do something she did not want to do. She said that she would leave or help another person escape the situation so that no one would be forced to do something they were not comfortable with. When girls are supported to become aware of themselves and others in relationships that honour their development, they are more motivated to learn about how to best interact with others (Bartholomew, 2008). Rose demonstrated an awareness of and the capability to exercise consent, which are both useful relational skills. Girls who are supported in their development of socioemotional capacities are motivated to begin looking outward to their families, communities, and Nations (Gwekwaadziwin Miikan, 2021).

A View of Self as Caring Enables Girls to Create Moments of Warmth with Others

The roots of other-oriented care or generativity (a concern for future generations; Lawford et al., 2005) began in loving moments, forming positive relationship expectations, and were grown by learning about the self. The socioemotional tools the girls had were directly relatable to the care they had received, and the girls' ability to view themselves stemmed from being supported by others. When adolescents are supported in their development, which entails identity formation, they are able to transition from an egocentric period in their development (Enright,

Lapsley, & Shukla, 1979) to one that is centered around establishing intimate bonds with another, and traverse onward to caring for the next generation (Erik & Erikson, 1998). Research by Lawford and colleagues (2005) asserts that youth can embody generative attitudes in adolescence when supported in relationships. Moreover, it is culturally appropriate for girls raised in the Anishinaabe tradition to value and focus on the wellbeing of the next generation (Lafelur, 2013).

The girls were able to carry teachings from loving moments with them while navigating life. For example, Grace explained how her mother and aunt were patient with her mistakes and taught her how to regulate her emotions through modelling what to do when she felt upset. When Grace felt stressed out or snapped at her mother, Grace's mother guided her towards taking a walk, so she walked to her aunt's home, knowing she would be there for her to talk to her about her problems. Grace also describes a socioemotional capacity she gained: she said that young people make mistakes and understood that that is how they learn. Grace also described her view of the next generation, saying that it was important to be there for the younger generation, and to be like a parent to them to guide them, to acknowledge that children need 'extra' in that stage of their development.

Group Comparisons

The referred and community group appeared to differ in the frequency with which they mentioned moments in instances of warmth, love, and care received. The community group mentioned more of these moments, which tended to increase as the model progresses (See Figure 9). The referred group reported a greater focus on friends rather than mothers or family, with fathers not mentioned as a primary focus (Appendix E). This may mean that girls who do not receive adequate support from immediate family members tend to turn to peers for guiding and

teaching support more so than parents. The community group reported receiving care from an equal distribution of mothers and friends closely followed by family and fathers (Appendix F). As girls take a great interest in developing their social networks during adolescence meaning that they may spend more time with peers but continue to seek social support and care from parents and peers equally (Magnusson & Stattin, 2018). The types of care they seek from peers may be primarily play- and growth-oriented whereby the care they seek from parents may relate more closely to provision, guidance, and structure. During adolescence, girls should be able to view parents and family as a secure base while they explore the world with peers (Bretherton, 2008).

A reliance on boyfriends for care was more significant for the referred group as opposed to the community group (Appendices E and F). This means that girls who look to peers for guidance and support outside of their parents may tend to take on more adult roles and seek out romantic relationships for support, drawing more heavily on friends first, then mothers, closely followed by boyfriends to receive the warmth and care they need (Pepler et al., 2004; Pepler et al., 2006a). Furthermore, the referred group had fewer instances of positive relationship expectations than the community group save for the 'romantic feelings and attraction' category (Appendix G). Girls from the community group discussed feeling too young to pursue a relationship and were less likely to seek romantic relationships their community counterparts (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993; Pepler et al, 2004; Pepler et al., 2006b). This can be seen in the referred groups' reporting of specific relationship expectations (Appendix G). The referred girls' surroundings and previous experiences may have shaped relationship expectations to be wary of trusting others. The referred group also had the highest frequency of statements on the theme regarding viewing a parent as in development (Appendix H). In contrast, the referred girls made fewer statements on receiving information about whom to model oneself after (Figure 6). These

apparent differences between the groups of girls reflect the importance of relationships as foundation for developmental wellbeing (Bartholomew, 2008) and the core of Indigenous health (Cardinal & Pepler, 2021). This supports the notion that relationships promote optimal development, and both groups of girls would be best served by receiving warm, dependable care (Biglan et al, 2012).

The Value of Intergenerational Gifts

The girls' voices suggest that they have found ways to thrive, even when they had not experienced warmth, love, and care in its fullness. For girls growing up in strained family relationships, it is possible for gifts of love and warmth to be passed down by caring figures who balanced both the harms of colonization and the tasks of caring for the next generation. The girls' voices tell a story of adaptation to obstacles that were imposed on them by the harms of colonization. Girls' secure relationship expectations, socioemotional capacities, and desire to care for others seem to be directly proportional to the love and care they received from others. Patterns in the data between the referred and community group suggest that girls who received more support were able to reflect on their worth and purpose more deeply. It is important for those involved in girls' lives to foster opportunities for them to reflect on what they want from relationships, what they believe they deserve, and who they aspire to be. Learning about relationships, in relationships lays the groundwork for developing an awareness of the self in the world, awareness of the other, and the boundaries between the two. Moments of love permeate patterns of layered harms, providing a pathway of warmth and care for the next generation to stand on and journey towards healing, these are the gifts given from one generation to the next.

Limitations and Ethical Considerations

This study comprised interviews with Indigenous girls. Although there were deep considerations of the ways in which the interviews were conducted, the girls' accounts may have been incomplete. The girls who had experienced trauma may have been uncomfortable or unwilling to share aspects of their lives which recall traumatic memory. The connection of relationships in small communities may have posed a challenge to confidentiality as the interviewers may have known the girl and her family. The researchers worked closely with the interviewers to ensure the ethical principle of confidentiality. The Women's Advisory Committee was aware of the multiple and intersecting layers of vulnerability; therefore, ethical guidelines and procedures for support systems were put in place for participants for participants who were in need of support (Dion, 2013). Participants were referred to services they were most comfortable with (i.e., Dilico or Non-Indigenous) by interviewers if they required extended support. Services were told that the study may cause an influx of clients (Dion, 2013). There may have been the potential for a disconnect between memories of trauma and memories of warmth, as positive memories from a problematic relationship can create conflicting emotions.

The girls seemed to struggle to articulate their thoughts and feelings. There are many reasons their voice is not full yet (e.g., being away from home, cultural teachings of emotional restraint; Neckoway, 2009). Furthermore, it is possible that colonial harms impeded deeper discussions, as the girls' emotions and thoughts may not have been available to them at all times. The girls may have been cautious to share, or they may have learned caution as an adaptive skill. Furthermore, it is developmentally appropriate for the girls in this study to have provided short responses. Meaning making in narrative identity typically begins developing in adolescence (14-18 years) and the ability to articulate one's inner thoughts relates to self-esteem which has been

shown to be lower in girls than boys at this age (McLean & Breen, 2009). This developmental lag may have affected the depth of information received in the interviews, as girls often exercised their right to withdraw from many questions and asked to 'pass'. This is also a strength; it shows the girls felt comfortable and safe to decline certain questions that made them uncomfortable. However, it is difficult to know whether the girls' abstention from sharing was due to discomfort or a lack of verbosity.

Interviewers were sensitive to the girls' abstention from articulating their thoughts and feelings, as they tried to scaffold the girls' sharing. I acknowledge the possibility of leading questions and over-interpretation of the girls' answers. The interviewers were community members, trained to create safety. There was scaffolding and guidance provided in the interview. As such, the girls appeared to receive support and understanding from the interviewers, who provided many specific terms to label and articulate emotions, thoughts, and behaviors. I was careful not to over-interpret the answers that simply complied with the leading questions, nor the simplistic or ambiguous one- or two-word answers. In this way, I tried to avoid putting words into the girls' mouths. Additionally, although inductive thematic analysis is meant to be data-driven, no researcher can be free of their theoretical or epistemological biases (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Study Relevance

For Indigenous girls growing up in the context of Anishinaabe teachings, connections to land, traditional teachings, and spirits play a major role in healing and growing (Lafleur, 2013). Culturally competent interventions should support connections to culture, community, and caring figures. Cultural continuity (Auger, 2016), land-connection (Lafleur, 2013), and community health (Cardinal & Pepler, 2021; Australian National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health

Organization, 2006, p. 5-6) are foundational tenets of Indigenous youth wellbeing. Moreover, culture has been conceptualized *as* intervention (Gone, 2013; Wilson et al., 2016). This means that it is sufficient to recognizes the wisdom and authority of Indigenous worldviews centered around community, the sacred, and the child, as one's core approach to intervention with Indigenous girls (Cardinal & Pepler, 2019). Many successful Indigenous intervention programs include a land connection component which relates to viewing the land as a sacred teacher and connecting with the sacred (Aqqiumavvik, 2021; Change & Booker, 2019; Gwekwaadziwin Miikan, 2021; Ka Ni Kanichihk, 2021). Therefore, culture and relationships can serve as interventions for Indigenous girls. This study adds to a small yet growing body of clinical-developmental literature on Indigenous girls from a relational, positive youth development model. The inductive thematic analysis was chosen to support and empower Indigenous girls' voices from a non-oppressive, oral traditions, and culturally conscious manner drawn from critical feminist theory. The inductive method is designed to limit interpretation error by using verbatim words of participants. Referred services are often culturally-, urban-, and gender-biased (Dion, 2013). This study offers transcultural insight from a clinical-developmental perspective, rendering a picture of Indigenous girls' relationships.

Implications and Future Directions

The model derived from this research guides responses for youth who have lacked the warmth, love, and care that is foundational to developing a secure perspective of relationships. Past research provides a framework for supporting the girls in walking the pathway to healing. Lieberman and colleagues (2005) contend that despite the disadvantages they have faced, mothers who have survived trauma can come to be caring parents through focusing on moments of warmth with their mothers. Roisman and colleagues (2002) state that one can establish an

earned-secure attachment style with significant relational work. Therefore, the proposed model is a pathway shaped by the voices of the girls to walk themselves gently back to believing they can receive love and give love, and this gift can be passed onto the next generation.

Capacities the Girls Have. The girls have spoken of many protective factors that have supported their development. These include a sense of right and wrong, their own worth, what they need and want, what they like, who they should trust, when to set boundaries, worth and purpose, the sacred, and cultural continuity. The girls spoke of their experiences of love and care and how they draw on deeply special relationships to hold on to the good even in the face of ambivalence, separation, and heartbreak. In varying levels of maturity and growth, the girls have expressed a will to thrive and to become caring people. It seems that many of these things are directly related to the gifts they have been given in relationships (teachings about self-worth, survival, morality), whether from relationships with relatives or from those outside their potentially chaotic family circumstances.

What supports could benefit the girls? What have the girls expressed that they want and enjoy? The girls have expressed appreciation for peace, availability, quality time. They have expressed desire for a deeper connection to their culture and their loved ones held at a distance from them. They enjoy going to the pool, to the mall, watching movies, dating boys, spending time with their moms and grandmas, talking with friends, playing sports and staying active. They appreciate learning Ojibwe, being taught and guided by wise ones, and being given the autonomy and independence to make their own mistakes. These desires are expected of a teenaged girl. It is important to acknowledge that the problems the girls experience are not intrinsic to them but are rooted in the social circumstances they find themselves. The girls have had to adapt to

destructive, racialized experiences which have impacted their development. The girls have shared what provides them with joy and their hopes for the future.

It would be beneficial to support those who already have warm and caring relationships with Indigenous youth. Fostering increased quality time and moments of warmth with caregivers by providing resources for caregivers will support the girls' wellbeing. What other ways can the girls be supported to develop optimally? Re-establishing appropriate and healthy expectations for relationships by providing guidance as to how to set boundaries and protect oneself in relationships. Calling upon the girls' memories of warmth, love, and care as a pathway to establishing positive relationship expectations helping girls understand what they deserve and what is healthy to expect and attach oneself to.

Conclusion

In this research, I have attempted to counter colonial deficit models with a diversity-informed developmental strengths-based model. This involves acknowledging that previous behaviors (such as being aggressive, quiet, withdrawn) have worked for girls previously in their development, but don't work in larger social system, while approaching development with a growth mindset encouraging that capacities for success can be acquired along the way (Gwekwaadziwin Miikan, 2021). Moreover, this view makes space for girls to garner the confidence to move forward steadily with good faith in their own developmental process. This can look like meeting girls where they are at and the belief, they can acquire the skills along the way. With the right support and provision of opportunities, girls will develop the capacities they will need to function in the world. Having a positive adult believe that they can succeed helps them believe that they can acquire necessary skills and succeed. Research has established that it

only takes one positive adult to change the course of a child's life (Rutter, 1989b). Not only does this benefit the youth, but the girls have expressed that this becomes an intergenerational attitude.

This study focused on the aspects of relationships in girls' lives that create feelings of warmth, love, and care. By listening to the girls' voices, I explored what mattered to the girls, how they have been nurtured, and what they had learned in nurturing relationships. When girls feel safe, loved, and supported, they are best able to care for themselves and others. An inductive thematic analysis revealed a model with four overarching themes: 1) Moments of Love, Warmth, and Care, 2) Relationship Expectations, 3) The Development of Socioemotional Capacities, and 4) View of Self as Caring. The model identified that gifts of love, warmth, and care are transmitted from generation to generation in the context of relationships and, in turn support a concern for future generations. This concern for future generations is learned by recognizing and dwelling on moments of love, a reflection on and acceptance of oneself as being deserving of love, a motivation to work towards learning and healing, and resulting behaviors that affirm the worth of self and others. Caring about the next generation builds hope for the future based on the belief that circumstances can be improved, that suffering can be lessened, and that it is possible to heal from distressing experiences. Walking the healing pathway supports the belief that girls can provide care and support for the future generation and that this is a future worth working towards. This is a future where Indigenous families, communities, and Nations can survive and thrive.

References

Allen, J. P., Marsh, P., McFarland, C., McElhaney, K., Land, D. J., Jodl, K. M., & Peck, S. (2002). Attachment and autonomy as predictors of the development of social skills and delinquency during mid-adolescence. *Journal of Consulting and Referred Psychology*, 70, 56–66. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.70.1.56

Armstrong, D., Gosling, A., Weinman, J., & Marteau, T. (1997). The place of inter-rater reliability in qualitative research: An empirical study. Sociology, *31*(3), 597-606. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038597031003015

Auger, M. D. (2016). Cultural continuity as a determinant of Indigenous peoples' health: A metasynthesis of qualitative research in Canada and the United States. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, *7*(4). https://doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2016.7.4.3

Australian National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organization, 2006, 5-6

Ausubel, G. (1954). *Theory and problems of adolescent development*. iUniverse. Lincoln, NE. xix.

Aqqiumavvik. (2021). *Young Hunters Program*. Retrieved June 24, 2021, from https://www.aqqiumavvik.com/young-hunters-program.

Bartholomew, K. (1990). Avoidance of intimacy: An attachment perspective. *Journal of Social and Personal relationships*, *7*(2), 147-178. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407590072001

Benson, P. L. (2010). Parent, teacher, mentor, friend: How every adult can change kids' lives. Minneapolis, MN: Search Institute.

Biglan, A., Flay, B. R., Embry, D. D., & Sandler, I. N. (2012). The critical role of nurturing environments for promoting human well-being. *American Psychologist*, *67*(4), 257. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026796

Blackstock, C. (2007). Residential schools: Did they really close or just morph into child welfare. *Indigenous LJ*, *6*(1), 71-78.

Blackstock, C., Cross, T., George, J., Brown, I, & Formsma, J. (2006a). *Reconciliation in child welfare: Touchstones of hope for Indigenous children, youth, and families.* Ottawa, ON, Canada: First Nations Child & Family Caring Society of Canada / Portland, OR: National Indian Child Welfare Association. https://fncaringsociety.com/sites/default/files/Touchstones%20of%20Hope%20Booklet.pdf

Blackstock, C., Bruyere, D., & Moreau, E. (2006b). *Many Hands, One Dream: Principles for a New Perspective on the Health of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Children and Youth.* Ottawa: Canadian Paediatric Society. https://fncaringsociety.com/sites/default/files/manyhandsprinciples.pdf

Bowd, A.D. (2005). Otitis media: Health and social consequences for Aboriginal youth in Canada's North. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, *64*(1), 5-15. https://doi.org/10.3402/ijch.v64i1.17949

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bretherton, I., & Munholland, K. A. (2008). Internal working models in attachment relationships: Elaborating a central construct in attachment theory. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and referred applications.* (267). The Guilford Press.

Canadian Heritage, Government of Canada, Nunavut, & Inuit Heritage Trust. (2008). *Inuit Contact and Colonization, Contact with Explorers*. Retrieved June 3, 2020, from http://www.inuitcontact.ca/flash/

Canadian Psychological Association. (2018). *Psychology's response to the truth and reconciliation commission of Canada's report*. Toronto, Canada: CPA. https://cpa.ca/docs/File/Task_Forces/TRC%20Task%20Force%20Report_FINAL.pdf

Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT). (2017). *Guide to Acknowledging First Peoples & Traditional Territory.* Retrieved June 24, 2021, from https://www.caut.ca/sites/default/files/caut-guide-to-acknowledging-first-peoples-and-traditional-territory-2017-09.pdf

Cardinal, S., & Pepler, D. (2019). Walking Alongside to Find the Healing Pathways: Learning Through a Community Mobilization Process in Indigenous Communities. *The Lancet*. https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3417877

Cardinal, S., & Pepler, D. (2021). Community Journey of Change through Relational Determinants of Health. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, *12*(3).

Carlson, E. A., & Sroufe, L. A. (1995). Contribution of attachment theory to developmental psychopathology. In D. Cicchetti & D. J. Cohen (Eds.), *Wiley series on personality processes. Developmental psychopathology, 1*. Theory and methods (581–617). John Wiley & Sons.

Carriere, J., & Richardson, C. (2009). From longing to belonging: Attachment theory, connectedness, and indigenous children in Canada. In McKay, S., Fuchs, D., Brown, I. (Eds.). *Passion for action in child and family services: Voices from the prairies*, 49-67. University or Regina, CPRC Press, Regina.

Cascio, M. A., Lee, E., Vaudrin, N., & Freedman, D. A. (2019). A team-based approach to open coding: Considerations for creating intercoder consensus. *Field Methods,* 31(2), 116-130. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X19838237

Cassidy, J., Jones, J. D., & Shaver, P. R. (2013). Contributions of attachment theory and research: A framework for future research, translation, and policy. *Development and psychopathology*, *25*(402), 1415. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579413000692

Catalano, R. F., Berglund, M. L., Ryan, J. A., Lonczak, H. S., & Hawkins, J. D. (2002). Positive youth development in the United States: Research findings on evaluations of positive youth development programs. *Prevention & Treatment*, *5*(1), 15a.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2020, April 3). *Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs)*. Retrieved June 11, 2020, from https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/childabuseandneglect/acestudy/index.html?CDC_AA_refVal=https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/acestudy/index.html

Center for Indigenous Student Services (CISS). (2021). *About Us.* Retrieved July 1, 2021, from http://aboriginal.info.yorku.ca/about-us/.

Change, G. L., & Booker, E. (2019). Girl groups to address sexual violence. https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/59336/59495.pdf

Compendium of Language Management in Canada (CLMC) & the University of Ottawa. (Last updated 2020). First Nations, European Colonization and the Native Peoples & Start of the European Invasion. Retrieved June 5, 2020, from https://www.uottawa.ca/clmc/linguistic-history/first-nations

Cuartas, J., Weissman, D. G., Sheridan, M. A., Lengua, L., & McLaughlin, K. A. (2021). Corporal punishment and elevated neural response to threat in children. *Child Development, 92*(3), 821–832. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13565

Fuligni, A. J., & Eccles, J. S. (1993). Perceived parent-child relationships and early adolescents' orientation toward peers. *Developmental Psychology, 29*(4), 622–632. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.29.4.622

De Leeuw, S., Greenwood, M. & Cameron, E. Deviant Constructions: How Governments Preserve Colonial Narratives of Addictions and Poor Mental Health to Intervene into the Lives of Indigenous Children and Families in Canada. *Int J Ment Health Addiction* 8, 282–295 (2010). https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-009-9225-1

Dilico Anishinabek Family Care. (2020). *First Nation Communities*. Retrieved June 5, 2020, from http://www.dilico.com/article/first-nation-communities-155.asp

Dilico Anishinabek Family Care. *Vision, Mission and Core Values.* (2020). Retrieved October 30, 2019, from http://www.dilico.com/article/vision-mission-and-core-values-154.asp.

Dion, S. (2013). Webs of strength and resistance: Hearing Aboriginal adolescent girls telling their stories. *Understanding and addressing girls' aggressive behaviour problems: A focus on relationships*, 73-92.

Eni, S. (2010). Health Disparities in Canada: A Focus on First Nations Children. *UNICEF Annual Report 2009, UNICEF*. (11).

Erikson, E. H., & Erikson, J. M. (1998). *The life cycle completed (extended version)*. WW Norton & Company. New York, NY.

Foley, D. (2003). Indigenous epistemology and Indigenous standpoint theory. *Social Alternatives*, *22*(1), 44. https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=200305132;res=IELAPA

Fryberg, S. A., Covarrubias, R., & Burack, J. A. (2018). *The ongoing psychological colonization of North American indigenous people: Using social psychological theories to promote social justice.* The Oxford handbook of social psychology and social justice, 113-128.

Green, J. (2009). The Complexity of Indigenous Identity Formation and Politics in Canada. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, *2*(2), 36-46. https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcis.v2i2.29

Greenwood, M., De Leeuw, S., & Lindsay, N. M. (Eds.). (2018). *Determinants of Indigenous Peoples' health: Beyond the social* (2nd ed.). Canadian Scholars.

Gillespie, L. (2015). *The Role of Co-Regulation in Building Self-Regulation Skills*. Young Children, 94. https://www.naeyc.org/system/files/RR-0715.pdf

Gillihan, S. J., Kessler, J., & Farah, M. J. (2007). Memories affect mood: Evidence from covert experimental assignment to positive, neutral, and negative memory recall. *Acta psychologica*, *125*(2), 144-154. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.actpsy.2006.07.009

Gone, J. P. (2013). Redressing First Nations historical trauma: Theorizing mechanisms for indigenous culture as mental health treatment. *Transcultural psychiatry*, *50*(5), 683-706. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461513487669

Gwekwaadziwin Miikan. (2021). *Gwekwaadziwin's goal is to remove barriers to treatment for Indigenous youth and young adults in Northeastern Ontario*. Retrieved June 23, 2021, from https://gwek.ca/admissions/

Josephson, B. R. (1996). Mood regulation and memory: Repairing sad moods with happy memories. *Cognition & Emotion*, *10*(4), 437-444. https://doi.org/10.1080/026999396380222

Ka Ni Kanichihk. (2021). *Restoring the Sacred (RTS).* Retrieved June 24, 2021, from https://www.kanikanichihk.ca/rts/

King, T. (1990). All my relations. McClelland & Stewart. Government of Alberta. 1-7. In *Aboriginal Perspectives*, Toronto, ON, 2004, 71–80. https://www.learnalberta.ca/content/aswt/well_being/documents/all_my_relations.pdf

Kral, M. J., Idlout, L., Minore, J. B., Dyck, R. J., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2011). Unikkaartuit: meanings of well-being, unhappiness, health, and community change among Inuit in Nunavut, Canada. *American journal of community psychology*, *48*(3-4), 426-438. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-011-9431-4

Lafleur, G. S. (2013). Ojibwe Elders' Experiences of Peace: To Teach Our Well-Being With the Earth. Doctoral Dissertation. http://hdl.handle.net/10464/5119

Langford, C. P. H., Bowsher, J., Maloney, J. P., & Lillis, P. P. (1997). Social support: a conceptual analysis. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *25*(1), 95-100. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.1997.1997025095.x

Lawford, H., Pratt, M. W., Hunsberger, B., & Mark Pancer, S. (2005). Adolescent generativity: A longitudinal study of two possible contexts for learning concern for future generations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *15*(3), 261-273. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2005.00096.x

Lieberman, A. F. (2007). Ghosts and angels: Intergenerational patterns in the transmission and treatment of the traumatic sequelae of domestic violence. *Infant mental health journal, 28*(4), 422-439. https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.20145

Lieberman, A. F., Padrón, E., Van Horn, P., & Harris, W. W. (2005). Angels in the nursery: The intergenerational transmission of benevolent parental influences. *Infant Mental Health Journal: Official Publication of The World Association for Infant Mental Health*, *26*(6), 504-520. https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.20071

Lopez, F. G., & Gormley, B. (2002). Stability and change in adult attachment style over the first-year college transition: Relations to self-confidence, coping, and distress patterns. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *49*(3), 355-364. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-0167.49.3.355

MacMillan H.L., MacMillan A.B., Offord D.R., Dingle J.L. (1996). Aboriginal health. *Canadian Medical Association Journal.* doi: 155:1569-78. 8956834

MacPhail, C., Khoza, N., Abler, L., & Ranganathan, M. (2016). Process guidelines for establishing intercoder reliability in qualitative studies. Qualitative research, *16*(2), 198-212.

Mcadams, D. P., & Mclean, K. C. (2013). Current directions in psychological science. *Curr Dir Psychol Sci*, 22(3), 233-238. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721413475622

Madsen, K., Pepler, D., & Dion, S. (2007, July). *The talking back project: Background to project using interviews with aboriginal girls.* Paper presented at the meetings of the International Society for Critical Health Psychology, Boston, U.S.A

Magnusson, D., & Stattin, H. (2018). *Pubertal maturation in female development*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., New Jersey. 4-6.

Martin, D. H. (2012). Two-eyed seeing: a framework for understanding indigenous and non-indigenous approaches to indigenous health research. *CJNR (Canadian Journal of Nursing Research)*, *44*(2), 20-42.

McLeod, S. (2013). Erik Erikson, Psychological Stages. *Simply Psychology*. *3*.

Narayan, A. J., Ippen, C. G., Harris, W. W., & Lieberman, A. F. (2017). Assessing angels in the nursery: A pilot study of childhood memories of benevolent caregiving as protective influences. *Infant mental health journal*, *38*(4), 461-474. https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.21653

Neckoway, R., Brownlee, K., & Castellan, B. (2007). Is attachment theory consistent with Aboriginal parenting realities?. *First Peoples Child & Family Review: A Journal on Innovation and Best Practices in Aboriginal Child Welfare Administration, Research, Policy & Practice*, *3*(2), 65-74. https://doi.org/10.7202/1069465ar

Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada. (2014). *Engaging Inuit men and boys in ending violence against women and girls*. Retrieved from https://www.pauktuutit.ca/wp-content/uploads/EMB_GBA_Report.pdf.

Pepler, D. (2012). The development of dating violence: What doesn't develop, what does develop, how does it develop, and what can we do about it?. *Prevention Science*, *13*(4), 402-409. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-012-0308-z

Pepler, D., Craig, W., Yuile, A., Connolly, J., Putallaz, M., & Bierman, K. L. (2004). Girls who bully: A developmental and relational perspective. *Aggression, antisocial behaviour, and violence among girls: A developmental perspective*. Guilford, New York. 90-109.

Pepler, D. J., Craig, W. M., Connolly, J. A., Yuile, A., McMaster, L., & Jiang, D. (2006a). A developmental perspective on bullying. *Aggressive Behaviour: Official Journal of the*

International Society for Research on Aggression, *32*(4), 376-384. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20136

Pepler, D., Waddell, J., Jiang, D., Craig, W., Connolly, J., & Lamb, J. (2006b). Aggressive girl's health and parent-daughter conflict. *Pristine Publications*. *5*(2). 25-41. http://hdl.handle.net/1807/9492

Richards, K. A. R., & Hemphill, M. A. (2018). A practical guide to collaborative qualitative data analysis. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 37(2), 225-231. https://doi.org/10.1123/jtpe.2017-0084

Roisman, G. I., Padrón, E., Sroufe, L. A., & Egeland, B. (2002). Earned–secure attachment status in retrospect and prospect. *Child development*, *73*(4), 1204-1219. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00467

Rosenberg, F. R., & Simmons, R. G. (1975). Sex differences in the self-concept in adolescence. *Sex roles*, *1*(2), 147-159. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00288008

Rutter, M. & (1989a). Isle of Wight Revisited. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *28*(5), 633-653. https://doi.org/10.1097/00004583-198909000-00001

Rutter, M. (1989b). Pathways from childhood to adult life. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, *30*(1), 23-51. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.1989.tb00768.x

Schwartz H. (2000-2001). ‘Assessments of neurotoxic effects in First Nation community exposed to PCBs’. *Health Canada, First Nations and Inuit Health Research Project*. www.hc-sc.gc.ca/sr-sr/finance/tsriirst/proj/persist-org/tsri-299-eng.php.

Simonds, V. W., & Christopher, S. (2013). Adapting Western research methods to indigenous ways of knowing. American journal of public health, 103(12), 2185-2192. https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/pdfplus/10.2105/AJPH.2008.136127

Sroufe, L.A. (1990). *An organizational perspective on the self. In The Self in Transition: Infancy to Childhood,* eds.D Cicchetti, M Beeghly, 281–307. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press. 66,80.

Statistics Canada. (2017). *Women in Canada: A Gender-based Statistical Report*. Retrieved from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-503-x/2015001/article/14785-eng.htm.

Tagalik, S. (2009). Inunnguiniq: Caring for children the Inuit way. *National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health*. Retrieved August 2, 2021, from https://www.nccah-ccnsa.ca/docs/health/FS-InunnguiniqCaringInuitWay-Tagalik-EN.pdf

Tarrant, M., & Gregory, D. (2001). Mothers' perceptions of childhood immunizations in First Nations Communities of the Sioux Lookout Zone. *Canadian journal of public health*, 92(1), 42-45. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03404842

The Search Institute. (2019, September 06). *Developmental Relationships Framework*. Retrieved June 25, 2021, from https://www.search-institute.org/developmental-relationships/developmental-relationships-framework/

UNICEF. (2010). *UNICEF Annual Report 2009*. UNICEF.

Wagamese, R. (2016). *Embers: One Ojibway's Meditations*. Douglas and McIntyre Publishers. 46.

Werner, E. E. (1989). High-risk children in young adulthood: A longitudinal study from birth to 32 years. *American journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59(1), 72-81. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1989.tb01636.x

Wexler, L., Gubrium, A., Griffin, M., & DiFulvio, G. (2013). Promoting positive youth development and highlighting reasons for living in Northwest Alaska through digital storytelling. Health promotion practice, 14(4), 617-623. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839912462390

Wilson, C., Oliver, V., Flicker, S., Prentice, T., Jackson, R., Larkin, J., ... & Mitchel, C. (2016). 'Culture'as HIV prevention: Indigenous youth speak up!. Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement, 9(1), 74-88.

Zukewich, N., & O'Donnell, V. (2008). Aboriginal Children's Survey, 2006: Family, community and child care. Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

APPENDIX A

Map of Dilico Location

Note. Dilico Anishinabek Family Care Service Area Map (Dilico Anishinabek Family Care, 2020).

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

OPENING

GIRLS RIGHTS

We started to notice that more girls were involved in violence, not just doing it, but also receiving it, and we wanted to do something about this. So we decided to do interviews because in order to know what to do to help, we need to know what's going in your minds and lives, and what you think. We want to learn more from girls.

For the next hour I will be asking you to answer some questions about yourself, what you like and don't like; the people in your life; and about your home. It is important for you to know that there are NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. The only thing that matters is what you think, feel, and want to say.

You may not always have an answer for my questions, and that is fine as well. You don't have to. As a matter of fact_____(girl's name), if you can't think of an answer just say: "pass" and at the end of the interview I'll ask again and maybe then you will have an answer, but if you don't that is okay too.

It is important that for you to understand that this interview is completely voluntary. If you do not want to do this interview, you do not have to. Also, if you DO NOT WANT TO ANSWER A QUESTION, just say so "_____(girl's name). If you can't think of an answer or feel uncomfortable answering, just say: "pass". If you want to come back to answer any questions later, you can do that.

If you have any questions while the interview is going on, just ask. How you feel is important.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

When you participate in an interview like this, your answers are not shared with anyone but the other researchers. We will not tell anyone what you said. What will happen is that your ideas will be mixed together with the other girls' ideas.

The only time we have to tell someone what you said, is if we feel your health and safety or someone else's health and safety may be in danger. This means that according to the law, if you tell us that you have been hurt or abused or if you tell us that you or someone else is about to be hurt, we have to report it so that someone can help.

FORMAT:

As I said before, I am here to listen to your stories. To start, I will be asking you questions about you, who is important to you, your home, where you learn, and other things that might be important to you. Asking questions helps us to understand your story in one way, but to learn even more, I will also ask you to FINISH SENTENCES that I start. So basically, I will sometimes say something like "I like it when…" and ask you to finish the sentence. For example: "I like it when I get to spend time with my dog." Again, there are no RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. The only thing that matters is what you think, feel, and want to say.

The first questions are about you.

SELF

1) What are three words you would use to describe yourself?

For the next question I will give you a sentence completion question. I start with the sentence and you finish it. Say the first thing that comes out.

2) I love it when I …

3) If you could change three things about yourself, what would you change? Why?
4) What makes you happy?
5) What makes you angry?
6) How do you deal with your anger?
7) What makes you sad?

Finish the next set of sentences for me.

8) I wish that I could…
9) I just do not understand why…
10) I am really good at…
11) I am most afraid that…
12) I never know what to do when …
13) The best thing that ever happened to was...
14) The worst thing that ever happened to me was…
15) Just once I would like it if …

SPECIAL PLACE

16) Tell me about one place, any place that you go to that you consider special? Why?

AS A CHILD

Finish the next few sentences for me.

17) When I was 7 I remember I would always …
18) The thing I remember best about being little…
19) The thing I like least about being little….

AS A LEARNER

20) Tell me about a book/movie/story that you have seen/heard?
21) Some of us do well in school some of us do poorly. But whether we do well or not, really does not tell much about how smart a person is. This is not about school smart, but smart in general, sort of like street smart. How smart are you and how do you know that?
22) Tell me something that happens at school that you really like.
23) Tell me about something that happens at school that you do not like.
24) Tell me about the person you learn the most from.
25) Do you have a favourite school subject?
    If so, what is your favourite school subject?
    If so, what do you like best about your favourite school subject?

26) Have you ever been involved in something or seen something that has changed the way you behave with people or feel around people?

GOALS

27) What is something that you want to do someday?

PEOPLE IN YOUR LIFE

28) Is there someone in your life who makes you feel good about yourself? If so, who?
29) Tell me about one person you like to spend time with?
30) What does it mean for a girl to have a romantic partner?
31) Do you have a romantic partner? Or have you ever had a romantic partner?
32) If so, do you want to tell me about that person?
33) What qualities do you look for in a romantic partner?
34) If you could change one person in your life, who is that person, and what would you change?
35) When something really good happens to you, who do you tell?
36) When you are in trouble, who do you go ask for help?
37) What is it about that person that makes him or her someone you turn to?
38) Have ever participated in something that you won't do alone?
    If so, what?

Finish the next few sentences for me.

39) The person I most admire is…
40) I admire her or him because…
41) The worst thing a friend ever did to me was…

HOME (Family & Community)

42) Where do you live?
43) Who lives with you?
44) Have you always lived there?
    If not, where else? With who else?
45) Tell me what you like the best and/or what you like the least about where you live.
46) If you could change one thing about where you live, what would it be?

Finish the next few sentences for me.

47) The best thing my family ever did for me was…
48) I can never make my family understand why…….
49) My mother is…
50) My father is…
51) When someone asks "Where are you from?" How do you feel telling the person you are from_____. Why do you think that is?
52) If you could teach or tell your little sisters, cousins one thing what would you teach them?

BEING A GIRL

53) Sometimes boys get more opportunities than girls. What do girls not get? What do girls want?

54) Are there any opportunities that girls get that boys don't get?

HOW DO THEY FEEL ABOUT THIS INTERVIEW?

55) We are doing these interviewers because we want to hear your stories and learn from them. How do you feel about being asked these questions and being asked to tell your stories?
56) Is there anything else that you would like to tell me?

CLOSING

"Thank you for helping us and sharing your thoughts, knowledge, and experiences. At the moment myself and another interviewer are doing interviews, but once I get the chance, I will go through your interview with the other interviewer and look at what key points came out of this interview. An example of a key point might be that you have a good friend that you can trust. Once I have done this, would you like me to contact you and we can meet again and go over these key points? By doing this you can tell me if you think I was correct or if you would like to add something. "

If yes: "I should be contacting you within the next 3 months. Is it still okay to call you at this telephone number?"

End: Give the girl your business card and state: " If in a week or so you decide that you want to tell me something that you may have forgotten to say now, please feel free to leave a message on this telephone number. But remember I am not a counselor, but a researcher.

APPENDIX C

Model Themes

- Theme
- Subtheme
- Code
- Brief Description
- Exemplary Quotes

Moment of Warmth, Love, and Care	
Honouring Development	
Being Seen or Understood	
Being noticed, included, and supported in their identity and needs	"My family, like my grandma, I missed her lots, my cousins. Cause when I came for a visit, that would make me happy because I would be somewhere where I knew everybody. And in [large city] it would be like really big, and nobody is really there for you." "I like going to see my granny when I am feeling sad. Like, um I just like talk to her, and she listens to me like she won't have to say anything, she'll just say a couple of things and it will be ok."
Honouring Vulnerability	
Providing an open and shame-free space to explore mistakes, questions, thoughts	"Like with my mom, she'll like explain it to me, and then she'll tell me that she loves me and 'I make mistakes too', my mom will say that's ok, we all make mistakes, we're human."
Reconciling Relationships	
Finding peace in severed relationships, reconnecting	"… my mom and dad split for awhile and I didn't…know who my dad was…finally when I was six, he came to where we were living to visit me and my brother and sister and that was the best thing that happened to me…then [my parents] they got married. And they have a little boy. He's four years old now, my brother [bother's name]."
Relationships as Respite	
Relationships as a respite from relational conflict, providing reassurance	"I went to live with my sister for like a year and then I went to my auntie's house. And I moved to my uncle's house, I stayed at my Granny's for a while. That's the time when I was having a hard time getting along with my mom and her boyfriend, and I just wanted to get away from that."
Shared Parenting	
A community of caring adults that provide love and guidance outside of biological parenting	"I'll walk to my auntie's, and I'll talk to her and say what is going on and she talks to me about it. Or at my grandma's house, she'll be like well you have to do your homework, and stuff like that to get through school so you may as well do it now and get over and done with it. I don't know, they encourage me to do things. My mom does too but, they are a little bit more encouraging."

Talking it Out	
Being heard by a trustworthy person, verbally processing ideas and feelings	"I'll get up and I'll leave and go hang out with some friends so I'm not so, just taking it out. Talking about things makes me feel better, cause if you don't talk your gonna hold that grudge inside of you all the time and not get over it."
Advice and Storytelling	
Advice and life lessons or life stories that guide	"My friend [name] … she tells me things about reality." "My mom … She knows right from wrong." "My foster mom … She tells me a lot of things, like we talk lots when others are around like her daughter." "I like talking with her [Grandma], I like when she tells me her stories."
Humour, Generosity, and Playfulness	
Sharing Joy and Delight	
Creating or sharing in moments of good news, rejoicing, delighting	"I like to tell my foster parents… When I was doing really bad in history and then I got a really good mark in history … I studied. I actually studied." "When my mom and my grandma would dress me up with dresses and put on, whatever that's called on the top of your head … It's like ponytails, but it's like right here. My grandma used to call them waterfalls. Cause it's like a dolphin, how they have those little spouts."
Feeling Happy	
The presence of a loved one as an emotional encouragement	"When I go to my granny's house … Just being with my granny because she is the sweetest person in the world, where when I am with her I am happy."
Humor or Playfulness	
Sharing in fun and excitement in a playful manner, the value of humor and not taking oneself too seriously	"My friends and family…We just like to have fun together. Hang out and make each other laugh… [cousin's name] … she makes me smile from talking, I don't know, she does practical jokes all of the time… [another cousin's name] … he can be dumb sometimes and does the stupidest things, but you always get a kick out of it. I guess. It's just fun being around him."
Special Gift	
A special gift in the form of a trip, meal, object, activity, club membership, or event.	"She [Grandma] used to always mostly take care of us. Me and my brother and my sisters. And she would always come and take us out to McDonald's or go to pow wows."
Inspiring and Confirming Identity and Worth	
Cultural Connection	

Empowerment and healing through connection to cultural traditions (Spiritual experiences, pow wows, Sweat Lodge, Ojibwe language classes, etc.)	*"*Going to sweat lodge in London, ON. It's called a healing lodge … It was kinda weird because you see all of these spirits. And they go around the thing and it's pretty hot … [I felt] protected … she prayed, and things were just like more better."
Feeling Loved and Wanted	
Feelings of being wanted, being worthy of love and cared about	*"*My parents, give me food and clothes, and loving me, and showing that they actually do want me." "I don't know, [my family] help me out I guess, show me that they care and loved me." "My family makes me happy … I don't know. They, I just feel so loved around… laughing." "This one person, I liked the fact that he respected me for like who I was, and he always gave me space, my time. Although he showed that, like, like when he wanted to be with me. I don't know, there's not one thing that I didn't like about him."
Self-Worth and Confidence	
Instills self-worth, confidence, feeling good about self	*"*I don't know, because he [my father] tells me not to hang around with certain people and like if someone wants to fight me, he'll just say 'you're way better, like you're way smarter than them, like better' because they're dumb and you're smart." "He [love interest] liked to phone me, and we'd hang out, we would go for coffee in [place]. And he would invite me over to his house. Oh, he works, were he works mumble, inaudible, and would tell me a lot of nice things. You're smart, you're beautiful and you have respect for yourself and he would be, you're gonna go places. He told me a lot of nice things."
Kindness, Niceness	
Showing kindness, a person is nice or behaves nicely	"[My father is] Very kind." "My friends really don't do mean things to me …The other thing that happens, I've never really been ditched before. You always have one friend to turn to if you need one."
Being Inspired	
Modelling success, resilience, and grit. Showing peers/ the younger generation	"[My friend] She had to do a lot of things in her life. And she has a good life right now, she is doing well."

by example that they can succeed or thrive	"My dad … He's [had] hard times. But then it's like… Tried to be good so like no matter what was going on inside, he still like finished school and got a good job and all that."
Intimacy and Closeness	
Authenticity and Closeness	
Feelings of being kindred or having a close relationship	"I was just really happy that I just have my mom here, she is so strong, and she is still with me and that's the best thing that's happened to me, having my mom … We're really close. She is like my number one person … [My mom is] I don't know, my best friend, I guess." "[Mom is] Very comforting, [we] just have this thing that is special, it's not supposed to be put into words."
Gathering and Togetherness	
Valuing togetherness, making decisions to be close to loved ones, meeting often	"Friends, music just togetherness, having fun, being hyper and laughing and having my space but not too much." "Moving to Thunder Bay again because we used to live in [city] … My family, like my grandma, I missed her lots, my cousins. Cause when I came for a visit, that would make me happy because I would be somewhere where I knew everybody ..."
Romance and Companionship	
Romantic love, having friendship in love, a significant other relationship	"…he [love interest] was like the nicest guy I ever met. And he just asked me out and I said yeah. And we would just hang out and stuff and it was really fun … Holding hands. And hugging each other and stuff." "For like three months already… Guy friend. I don't know. He goes to pow wows, he's funny and he's cool. Like I spend a lot of time."
Place-Based Connection	
Relational connection to space, place, nature, or location	"…my camp…Eagle Bay…all of my family camps there and that's the time we spend with them besides the Christmas and Thanksgiving and all that." "What I like the best is that I have my family here [on the reserve]. Like I have my sisters, my uncle, I got everybody here. And it's quiet, it's peaceful, it's beside the lake and there's good people around here."
Quality Time	
Spending time together in a meaningful way, engaging in a common interest or activity	"[Q: I love it when I…] Am with my mom … We'll we hang out and watch movies once in a while. We'll go for a car ride and get coffee and stuff from [cafe]. We'll go shopping or to the movies." "Hang around with friends and basketball and hockey … We usually just rent a movie and watch it at someone's house."
Warmth and Intimacy	
Intimate connection, warmth, comfort. A	"And then he was like ah come here and then he hugged me, and then I was happy… [We] Laid on the grass looked up at the clouds, asking

nurturing or romantic touch.	each other what they saw in the clouds. I got too cold, went back to my house … Then we went upstairs for supper, came back downstairs, laid on my bed. I was just cuddled…that, that was the best thing that ever happened to me." "And, sometimes when I hug my foster mom, it doesn't really feel like the same way as when I hug my mom … Living with my mom … um, when I was living with her over here, in Thunder Bay, we used to share a room and I remember her coming into the bed and hugging me." "[Q: The thing I remember best about being little?] Getting carried."
Safety and Trust	
Dependable Presence	
Availability, reliability, predictable care and stability, consistency	"There is this one time when I got really depressed, I don't remember what it was ... And my foster mom would come in every day talking to me and asking me why I was depressed, and I wouldn't talk to her, I would just cry." "Because she [sister] has been with me my whole entire life since we have been living with my mom and she was always there for me.
Guiding and Protecting	
Concern about or looking out for, vigilant about safety and survival	"I just see that people are scared of drunks and everything. I'm not really scared of them, like they're just drunk, just don't bother them or anything … Cause one time we were walking near the bars with my grandmothers cause we had to go from my auntie's and yeah, you just don't talk to them or try to ignore them and they won't do anything they'll just ask you for money. Like and I just say no." "[My family] Made sure that I wasn't in trouble like some people that we know. And stayed off the streets. Stuff like that."
Home with Family	
A safe, special place to go, home as a secure or safe place to be	"[Q: Tell me about a place that you go that you consider special and why] Home … 'cause I live there … [with] my family … Sometimes I play with my little sister and brother." "My grandma's house … because she just makes me feel better when I am with her. So, I could talk to her or else I go to my auntie [name's] house."
Innocence and Feeling Carefree	
Trusting caregivers such that they are carefree, knowing they have nothing to worry about, caregivers shielding innocence	"[Q: The thing I remember best about being little?] Not to worry about anything. Like nothing will, I don't know, just like." "[Q: The thing I remember best about being little?] Being happy. You don't have to worry about nothing, just going to have fun at your friends."

Someone to Turn to	
Feeling safe in relationships and subsequent ability to trust a person, organization, or community	"I would tell other friends. But if it is situation with fighting, or stuff like that I would tell adults … Them knowing what to do and just being trust worthy and caring." "Like, I don't know, I have a lot of trust in my family and my friend [name]. Her dad always helps me out. Like he'll come and pick me up if something is wrong, then take me back to his place, like to [friend] and I can like sleep there if I wanted to."
Peacefulness and Tranquility	
An absence of chaos, an ability to focus, to feel at ease, and to relax or unwind	"I love being with her [Grandma]. It's really peaceful at her house and I love her a lot." "My reserve in the bush … It's peaceful, and I like it. It makes me feel good."
Provision and Support	
Provision, being taken care of, feeling comfortable to ask for/receive support	"She's been here my whole life for me and did things with me and cared. She put a roof over my head, stuff like that. I don't know, she gave me things I needed, not just what I wanted." "When I was sick one day, like help me all the time. My sister would get me a drink and my brother would get me things like make something to eat for me… And my mom and dad would like help me out and all that."
Internal Working Models	
Information About What Development Should Look Like	
Developmental Romantic Perspective	
Taking a developmentally appropriate romantic perspective (valuing singleness, abstinence, consent, aromanticism in young age)	"Now, I don't have a boyfriend right now cause it's not important to me, it doesn't mean anything to me right now because I'm young … But in another relationship, um I was dating this guy and all the time [he] wanted to have sex. And I didn't want to. To me a relationship is not about that, it's about, first of all getting to know each other, care for each other, instead of just jumping into that. I didn't want to and he kept bugging and bugging and he got all mad. I didn't want to give in to that. I'm not gonna make him happy if I'm not making myself happy."
Unconditional View of Parent	
Forgiving or unconditional view of parent despite harm	"[Q: The person I most admire is] My mom … She's trying her hardest, I can see, and she doesn't want to talk to [partner], she says anymore. But I don't really believe her because she says a whole bunch of things. Sometimes she lies but sometimes she doesn't … I don't know, [I] just tell her I found [out] the truth. Yeah, she'll try to ignore me and everything … [My mother is] nice, sometimes, generous, too generous sometimes. And sometimes, she doesn't see that in herself ..."
Autonomy and Responsibility	

Respect for and Desire to emulate caregivers, desire for autonomy and to be responsible for self and others	"I make my money so I can have my fun and instead of taking it off my mom. Like mom, do you have five bucks do you have ten dollars, do you have money. 'Cause if you leave your mom dry she's not gonna have money for herself." "Uh, first of all, to finish my high school is my main goal. 'Cause once I've done that I got the world at my hands and lots of opportunities like from there. Or to be a teacher, motivate young people to finish school, like live their dreams out and work in elementary cause that's when their young and they can start from there. Uh, I also want to write a book. And I want to be a lawyer, and work my way up to be a judge, and I want to be a nurse. I don't know there are a lot of things, I am not sure yet."
Information About What Romantic Relationships Should Look Like	
Playfulness and Companionship	
Romantic partners as funny, fun, playful, a companion or friend	"I guess a best, best, best, boyfriend. Like a boy who is a friend, like a real best, like a guy friend." "[Q: What qualities do you look for in a partner?] Funny, kind, and just like playful and running around and everything."
Kindness and Respect	
Romantic partners as kind, respectful and humble, honouring boundaries	"[Q: What qualities do you look for in a partner?] Somebody who is nice and respects me and others." "They have to be kind to me and other people and to themselves." "They can't be mean. Like they can't think that they are everything … He used to think that every girl likes him and it would really bother me."
Responsibility and Sobriety	
Romantic partners as responsible, sober, hard working and smart	"He has to have money (Laughing), that's a good thing. He has to work. And not a drunk." "Hard working, good personality, trusting. Stuff like that … [Q: What kind of things would you want to trust him with?] I don't know, like if we were to get married and kids …" "[Q: What qualities do you look for in a partner?] …smart … Like, not into drugs and off drinking."
Romantic Feelings and Attraction	
Romantic partners as someone to love, romantic feelings, makes them happy, sexual attraction	"[Q: What does it mean for a girl to have a romantic partner?] Somebody to love or like." "For two people to have full happiness in their life without exceed the lines where you don't want to go too far with the sexual part or your

	happy with what you have, and you love spending time with them and you'll never give them up for anything else."
Trust and Caring	
Romantic partners as faithful, trustworthy, honest, available, and caring	"[What would make for a good boyfriend?] Just being there for that person and no one else but that person." "My friend went out with this guy, and he was nice. They really help each other out and they trusted each other and all that. They went out for awhile."
Information About Who to Model Oneself After	
Intelligence and Humility	
Role models as smart and always learning	"My grandma, 'cause she helps me with my math. Well my grandmother and my mom because they are kind of wizards at school. My grandma graduated at the top of her class in high school, grade 12. She was the first one to graduate …" "My cousin, [name]. She is always learning. You can talk to her and everything."
Strength and Honour	
Role models as strong, hard working, and sober	"[Q: Tell me about the person you learned the most from, like who do you look up to as a role model?] No one. [Q: What would you like that person to be?] Smart and healthy and going to work and not drinking." "The best thing that ever happened to me was, hmm, like just always having my mom there, my mom told me a story about the things she has been through. And I was alive, I was just really happy that I just have my mom here, she is so strong, and she is still with me and that's the best thing that's happened to me, having my mom."
Yearning for Peace, Predictability or Stability	
Missing a Loved One	
Remembering a loved one who has passed away, missing someone who is far away	"[Q: What makes you happy?] My little brother … Because I can remember my step dad … He died." "A family member passed away … I still think about my cousin … [Q: What happened to your cousin?] She killed herself, overdosed. "[Q: Just once I would like it if …] If I could see my cousin … again …" "I lost my crib partner … My uncle [name] … [Q: Did he pass away?] Yes … [Q: Just once I would like it if?] I could see my uncle again."
Yearning for Closeness	
Yearning for closeness, love, and warmth (at times despite ambivalence)	"[Q: What makes you sad?] Thinking about my mom … Because I am not with her … Because she has a drinking problem … I only get to see her once a month and sometimes not even … [Q: I wish that I could?] Be with my mom."

	"[Q: What makes you happy?] Seeing my family … Like my brother, my brother doesn't live with us. Just me and my mom and my dad and my other brother I never see them … I haven't really seen my dad. Like he came down yesterday, but he didn't really come and see me. But I got to see him not that much either."
Separation Fears	
Yearning for safety, fear of losing a loved one or being separated from them	"[Q: I'm most afraid that?] Something will happen to my brother and sister." "[Q: I'm most afraid that?] I don't know, whenever I am not with my mom, I feel that she is going to get hurt because, like when I used to live with her, um her boyfriends would always really hurt her and I am afraid that it's gonna happen." "[Q: I'm most afraid that?] If my mom ever died like, I wouldn't know how handle myself."
Yearning for Cultural Connection	
Yearning to be more deeply connected to one's Indigenous (Anishinaabe/Ojibwe or other) culture, family legacy, ancestors, traditional practices	"You know if you had a pow wow out here, or just get a couple of girls into a group, like five or six girls and put a booth up there … Get together with their regalia and make some for people to buy off you. I would do that for fun. I made my own dress actually."
Yearning for Harmonious Relationships	
Desire for healthy relationships, respect, for there to be harmony among important relationships in their family/personal life	"[Q: Just once I would like it if?] Everything was just perfect. Like one day, no madness or nothing, like just perfect. Like walk around and like my mom seems to walk around and then she'll want to go home, straight home and like." "[Q: Just once I would like it if?] That nobody would fight, like about stupid things, like solving their troubles. Like if my friends, we go out into trouble together, they put it all on me because they are scared of their parents more." "[Q: Just once I would like it if?] My family could get together and make up for what happened in the past."
The Development of Socioemotional Skills	
Emotion Regulation	
Co-Regulating	
Teaching self-regulation skills, talking it out, helping make sense of feelings and cope	"I don't know, they just talk to me and make me feel better. Like if I'm having a hard time at home with homework and I'm getting stressed out and snap at my mom and she kind of says hey, if your gonna be like that why don't you take a walk or something. So I'll walk to my

	auntie's and I'll talk to her and say what is going on and she talks to me about it."
Spirit-Based Self-Regulating	
Looking to a higher power for solace. Grounding oneself by establishing trust in spiritual entities to guide, protect, care.	"Like I pray to [Creator] and I think if the Creator brings me to it he'll bring me through it. It's another way I'm strong."
Body-Based Self-Regulating	
Physiologically based self-regulation, anger management, or catharsis	"I don't know. I just, got to sleep and forget about it, try to." "When my mom made visit and she showed up drunk and then I was really upset because I think that she really didn't want to … because she got drunk that day. And then I cry and cry and cry in my room … or listen to music … and then later talk about it to my foster mom." "I don't know, sometimes I let it out, I end up crying or just write about it for hours and then I feel better after, or I go for a bike ride."
Mind-Based Self-Regulating	
Gaining self-control over emotions, thoughts. Seeking space, introspection.	"I just go to a non populated place and put some music on. Sleep it off, read it off or exercise. Something to get my mind out of its stage. Or sometimes maybe write in my diaries." "I go into my room right away and talk to my teddy bears … Like they're on my bed and I'll just sit there … and I'll get up and I'll leave and go hang out with some friends so I'm no so, just taking it out." "I just like writing poems. Sometimes I write poems about life and like when I get mad I'll write poems."
Sense of Morality and Valuing the Other	
Valuing the Dignity of Others	
Desiring for others to have, seeing value in having self-esteem, strength, wisdom	"I don't know, if you just started doing something like put out programs for self esteem. Yeah, like I said earlier, a lot of First Nations girls. Like they have low self-esteem and maybe that stuff is like coming in um, and everything to, not a lot but since people are dysfunctional, then that makes them have low self-esteem and sometimes they find love in the wrong places. And they just give up on themselves like through schooling, like I can't do this and just drop out and turn to other things. And those other things will affect them and feel more bad about it … Yeah. Because if they have low self-esteem, how are they gonna believe in themselves, how are they gonna be strong if they have low self-esteem, their gonna be weak, their gonna make wrong decisions. Say they [are] temped drugs, drugs will, they could loose like everything they have … Like other people know to

	believe in themselves and were gonna know that they … that there is so much out there for them. I just want to let them know, let them know to believe in themselves."
Valuing the Wisdom of Others	
Honouring the wisdom of elders by seeing the value in listening and heeding advice/teachings	"I wish that I could have listened in school and listened to my mom growing up. And getting all my credits so I could have been done school this year." "Because they have good advice. The older people have already experienced that, and they'll tell you … they understand, they know what you're going through. In other words, they show that they care."
Valuing the Experiences of Others	
Taking a developmental or compassionate view of others, believing their experiences	"If they went out with one of your friends and they were mean to them and cheat on them, you're not gonna go out with them because they're gonna cheat on you too or be mean to you or hurt you all of the time. Like who wants that." "If someone was to come up to me and fight me or jump me or something, I would know how to handle it. I would talk to them, I would be like: 'what's wrong with you?' or like I seen this poor guy on the road with a cart and he was digging in the garbage for food or something. I gave him three dollars for groceries or something."
Valuing the Wellbeing of Others	
Valuing mutual respect, peace, conflict resolution and communication, viewing the other as deserving of respect and safety	"Respecting everybody around you. If you give them respect, then they will give you respect back." "I have seen the inside of this. I used to be inside this gang, but I didn't want to do it anymore, so, and after I did a lot of drugs and I changed my life. I didn't want to do it anymore, so I stopped … I kind of felt sorry."
Sense of Self and Self-value	
Valuing Strength of Character	
Identifies value in important characteristics, strength, independence, self-compassion, work ethic.	"… be who you are and don't care what anyone else thinks unless it's an adult, keep your mouth shut. But stand for who you are, and don't let anyone intimidate [you]." "[Q: If you could teach or tell your little sisters or cousins' one thing, what would you teach them?] … to be strong."
Defending Self Against Mistreatment	
Identifying relational mistreatment, racism, or sexism and resisting or	"I don't care. If you don't like who I am or where I'm from, or what I do, or how I am, that's your problem not mine … I don't know I just happened. People will say you're dirt, whatever, you're dirt too, we come from the same place. It doesn't matter, like if you're gonna say something mean about me I nothing against you except for the fact that you're, like that you can't respect who I am, so just, I don't care about

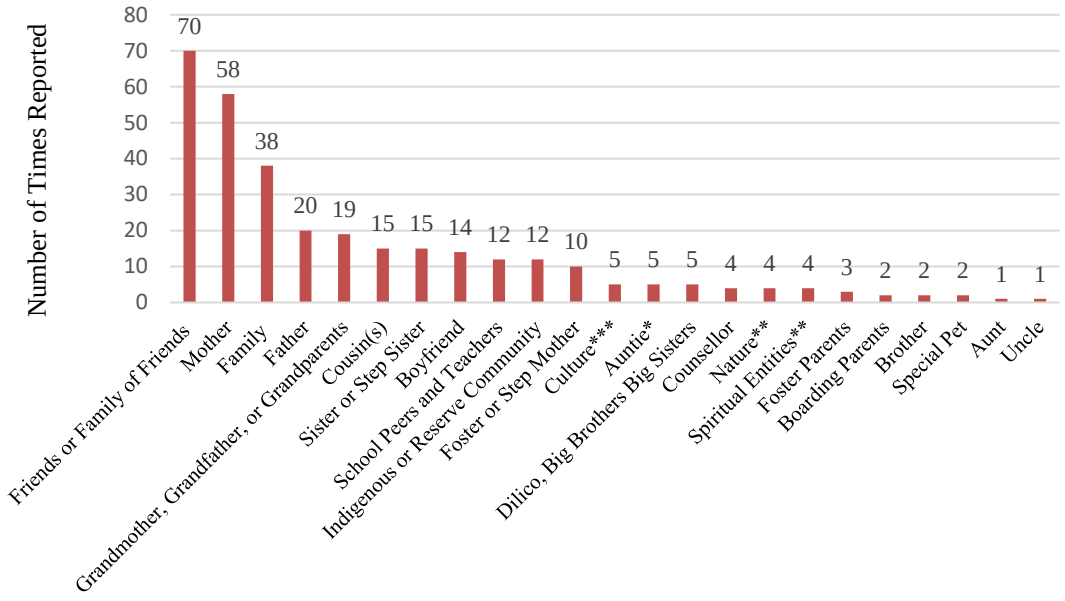
rejecting it, setting boundaries	you either. Don't try to make friends with someone, and they'll still be kind of weirded out because your Native, and they'll be scared of you because some people are scared of Native people." "… a guy can go with like sleep around everywhere, like with seven girls and then he won't labeled as anything but yet if a girl maybe sleeps with like two guys she is a slut. We [girls] don't get that like same level of respect … [Q: So what do you think girls want?] … To be happy? I don't know what they [girls] want. (Laughing)." "And my dad because he was never there for me, and it always feels to me that um, he's missing all these things. I've noticed … it's been [hard] for me to accept him, since he was never there and now that I'm older and I know all this stuff, I just don't want him just walking into my life 'cause he won't teach me anything. It was all my mom."
Awareness of Positives	
Self-awareness, self-esteem, identifies positive qualities, coping skills, and relationships	"I'm a good drawer. I have a lot friends and I love my family." "I would think that I am the smartest person in the world, but I think I'm smart. Like a lot of people tell me that I am smart, like oh, you know a lot of stuff … Like I'm smart enough to take care of myself now. Uh, and uh, basically when taking care of myself, like I know how to tell people 'No'. I know how to take care of myself, I know how to do things for myself, and I don't really know how to explain it, and I feel smart, I guess (Laughing)."
Self Preservation	
Self preservation through sobriety, drug abstinence, safe sex	"People drink when they, I don't understand why people drink. Because, like it's like you're abusing yourself and I used to do it but I know what happens now, I just don't want to be like my aunties." "I don't now, it's pretty obvious. If you have a boyfriend, could be like short or long time, and getting pregnant. And that wouldn't be a good effect. But then again you know teenagers like dating and experiencing."
Insisting on Consent	
Valuing consent, saying no to peer pressure or crime, changing social influences, safety and survival	"Just think of what they would be like if what you'd be like if it happened to you. You would need to know how to deal with that. If he's like beating you up or something, like hurting you in any kind of way, making you do something you didn't want to do. You could just like leave or get the person out of there so they're not made to do something they don't want to."
View of Self as Caring	
Tasks of Caring	
Safety and Approachability	
Concerning self with how others	"And sometimes I'd try to change my personality from being rude to, like if I could stop myself right then and there then I would because,

experience them, efforts to be safe, funny, inspiring	hmmm, I'm not really sure. My mouth can get me into trouble sometimes from certain things … Like I'll say something to my mom and my grandma will hear it. And I'm like why are you listening or why do you care. I'll just say sarcastic mean things sometimes, but I don't mean to, it just happens."
Celebration and Advocacy	
Feeling proud of, defending others, accepting and welcoming diversity	"Because I picture myself and I'm not a snob, I'm friends with everybody. Even though there is something wrong with them. I am definitely friends with those kind of people. Like handicap people. I have a best friend named [name] and whoever makes fun of her and just back her up and I just say: 'Why are you doing that?'."
Caring and Helping	
Helpfulness or desire to be in a helping profession	"Because I just like helping them out mostly because, I don't know they're getting older, and they have one more person living with them …" "What makes me happy? When I am, when I accomplish things, and when I'm learning and when I'm with my family and when I'm helping other people." "I want to get into college, become a paramedic … Because I want to help people and just like, it sounds like a fun job, but challenging."
Gratitude and Reciprocation	
Valuing relationships, expressing gratitude for love, care, or guidance	"I learn a lot from my foster mom. [I'm] really thankful for having her in my life." "I'm proud of every moment that I can have with her [grandma]. 'Cause she is like the bestest person in the world, I love being with her."
Views of the Other	
The Next Generation as Worthy of Guidance	
Desire to care for, inspire, scaffold, and protect younger generations	"Well try to be happy. They're just doing what they want. They're all younger, like ten and under, so you kind of gotta be there for them as a parent because you gotta guide them into the right direction. 'Cause if their parent is off and just don't care about you. Like my auntie is not like that, none of them or my uncles. They wouldn't do nothing to make their kids to go into the wrong direction. They have everything for them. Food, house … You just need extra when you're younger. You don't want to be getting yourself into trouble at such a young age. Like my cousin has already been charged with from his own family. But he doesn't know, like you don't know better when your dad isn't always around, or your mom isn't. I don't know, just been tossed up between each parent. You need extra guidance I think."
Other as Worthy of Being Understood	
Empathy and understanding for	"I want to, I don't know what I want to do. I want to help kids that have like problems like I used to have a problem with depression and stuff

others based on personal experiences	… I don't know. Sometimes I think I can relate to the things that are happening." "[Q: What is something that you would like to someday?] … Be a foster parent … I would help them because I would know what most understand their feeling."
Other as Equal	
Love and respect from others as something to be reciprocated	"[Q: My mother is?] A lovable person … because she understands me, I guess." "[Q: Tell me about the person that you learn the most from.] My grade six teacher, Mr.[name] I listen to him. Because he wasn't one of those dumb teachers. He was one of those good teachers … He just always put me in line. All my other teachers, they didn't really do that. That's why I miss grade six … Like to make sure I do my homework and make sure I pay attention in class. If I don't pay attention, he would be like 'what did I say?' … [Q: And then you did better. And then you felt better. So keeping you in line made you feel like he cared.] Yeah. [Q: And you cared about him?] Yeah. He was my favourite teacher."
Others as Worthy of Sympathy	
Sympathy, concern for others' wellbeing, sadness about their suffering or death	"[Q: What makes you sad?] See my brother and sister hurt. Or my friends." "Like he knows that his mom is probably dying and he should come down and help her out too. Like, to go get her a cranberry juice and everything. Yeah."

APPENDIX D

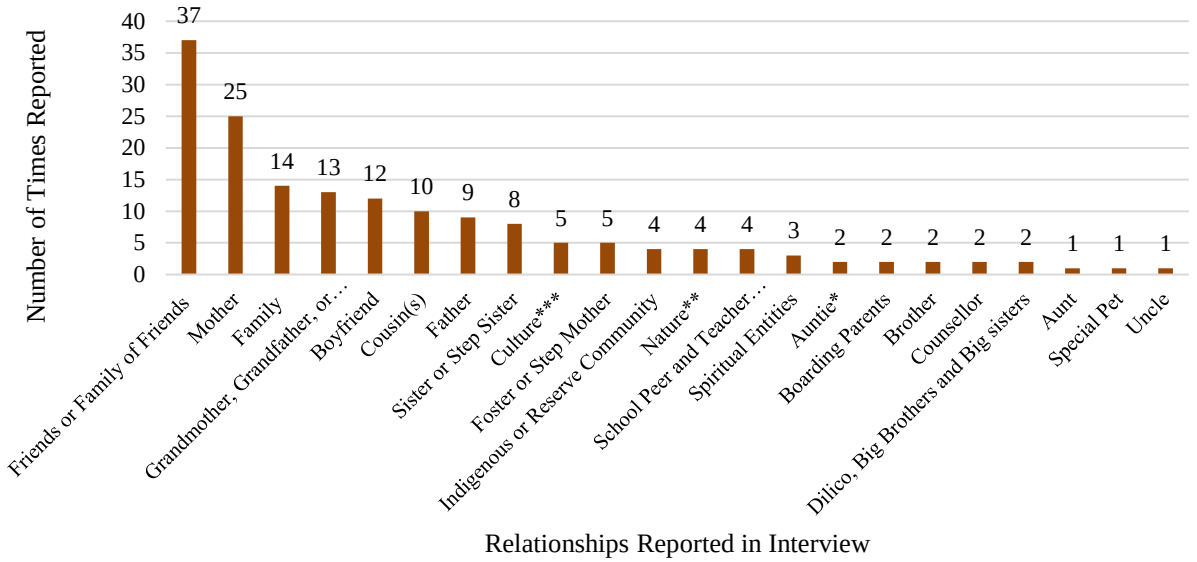
Relationships in Moments of Warmth



Note. Number of times a given relationship is reported in the interview as being associated with a moment of care. *Auntie is a cultural reference to a caring female figure who acts as an aunt but is not necessarily the sister of one's mother, and as such has been kept distinct from Aunt. **Spiritual Entities and Nature are included here as they are a significant part of 'All My Relations' (King, 1990). ***Culture is included here as a relationship to one's culture is a well-established tenet of Indigenous wellbeing (Auger, 2016). Note that he total number of relationships may not reflect the total number of coded moments, because one relationship report may pertain to two or more different moments of warmth.

APPENDIX E

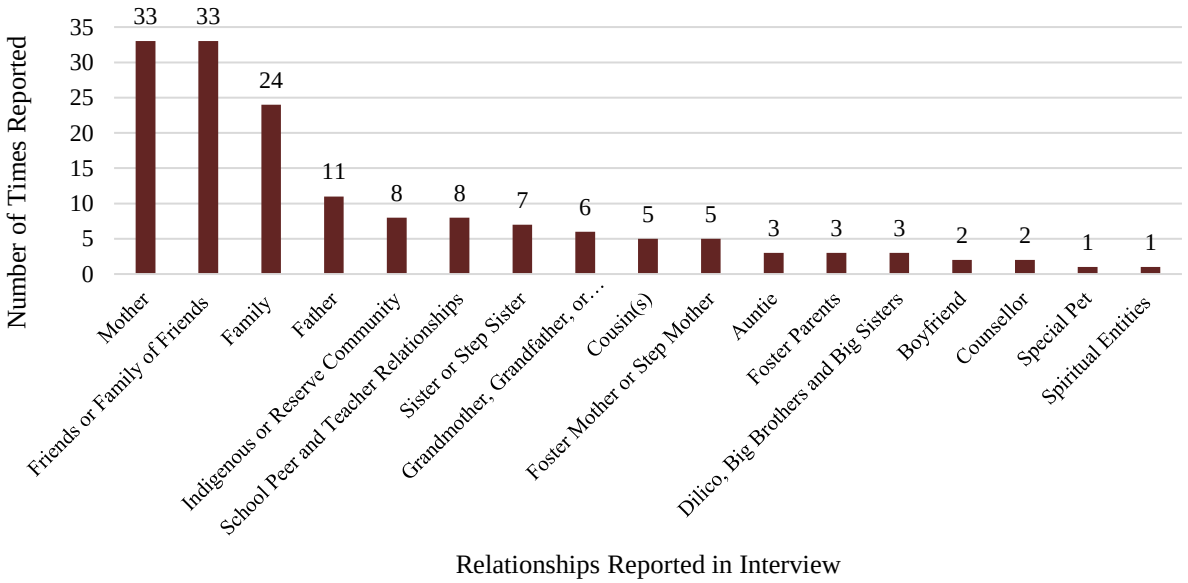
Relationships in Moments of Warmth in Referred Group



Note. Number of times a given relationship is reported in the interview as being associated with a moment of care in the referred group.

APPENDIX F

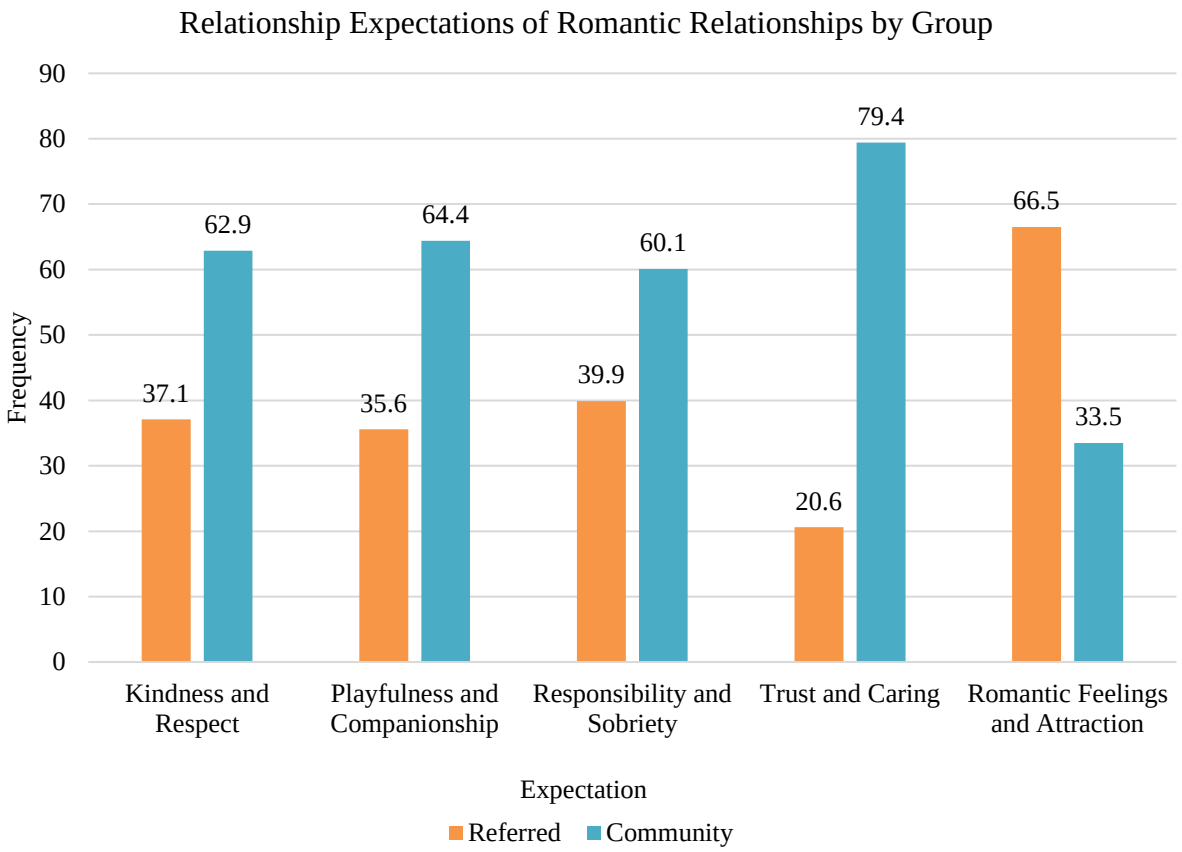
Relationships in Moments of Warmth in Community Group



Note. Number of times a given relationship is reported in the interview as being associated with a moment of care in the community group.

APPENDIX G

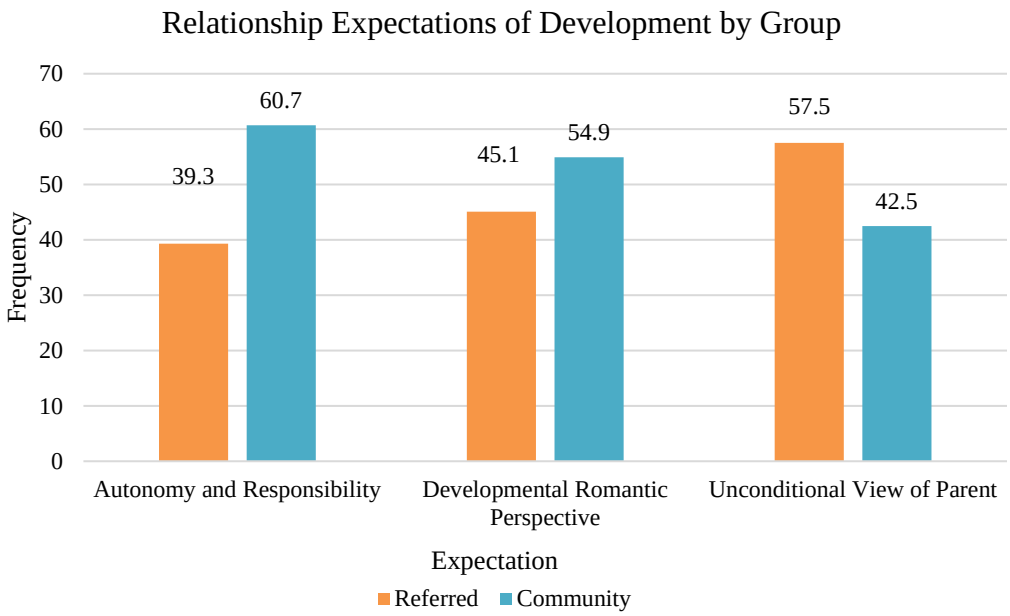
Relationship Expectations of Romantic Relationships by Group



Note. Frequency of coding instances per category represent internal working model codes pertaining to romantic relationships by referred or community groupings.

APPENDIX H

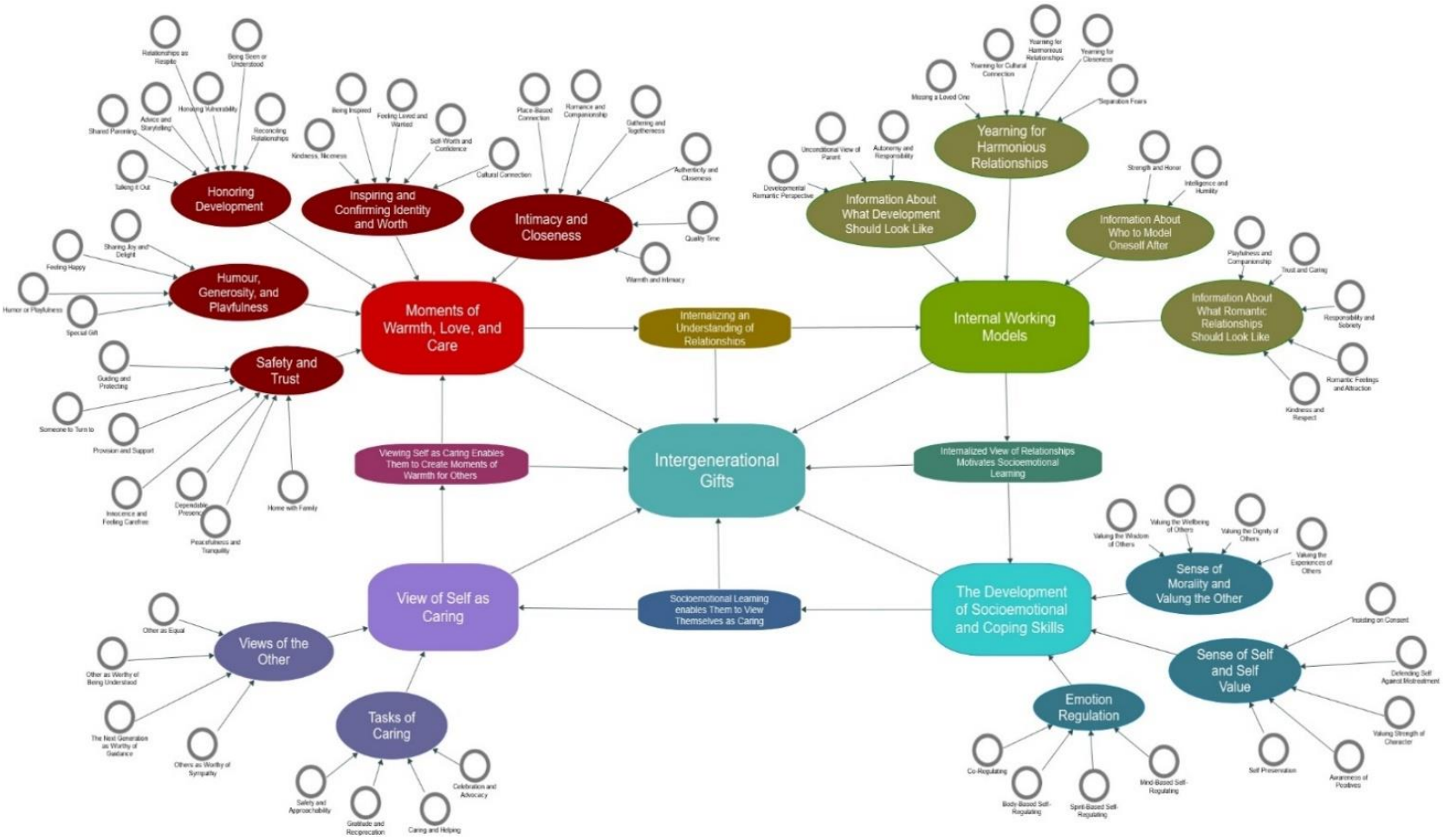
Relationship Expectations of Development by Group



Note. Coding coverage per category by group.

APPENDIX I

Model of Intergenerational Gifts



Note. Overall model of Intergenerational Gifts as pictured with subthemes and codes.