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‘A learning experience’: Disciplinary and parenting practices among Native American families

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Abstract

Research indicates that effective disciplinary practices, such as offering praise and teaching acceptable versus non-acceptable behaviour, can act as protective factors against the social and behavioural health disparities experienced by Native Americans (NA). The purpose of this critical ethnographic study ($n = 436$ qualitative elder, adult, youth and professional participants) was to use the Framework of Historical Oppression, Resilience, and Transcendence (FHORT) to qualitatively examine participants' reported experiences of disciplinary practices. Thematic analysis of qualitative results indicated several approaches to disciplining children, which included the following themes: (a) Establishing Structure and Boundaries; (b) Taking Away Privileges and Rewarding Good Behavior; and (c) Teaching Right from Wrong. Results indicate that despite experiencing historical oppression, NAs still report many disciplinary and other parenting practices contributing to family resilience that were present prior to colonization. Communal and relational supports contribute to positive parenting practices, indicating an importance to promote holistic and inclusive clinical treatment approaches.

KEYWORDS

family resilience, mental health, native Americans or American Indians or indigenous, parenting, social support or community support

1 | INTRODUCTION

Native American (NA) youth experience many health disparities, including mental health disorders, substance use disorders, suicide, violent crime victimization and trauma at disproportionately high rates (Sarche & Spicer, 2008). Effective parenting practices, such as offering praise and teaching acceptable versus non-acceptable behaviour (i.e., discipline), can act as protective factors against these negative outcomes among NAs (Kulis et al., 2016; Pu et al., 2013). In particular, effective parenting strategies have been linked to lower rates of alcohol use (Urbaeva et al., 2017; Walls et al., 2007) and violence (Pu et al., 2013), along with improved mental health (Goodkind et al., 2012), and social and emotional functioning (Frankel et al., 2014; Wurster et al., 2020) for NA youth. Research consistently reports better outcomes for Native American (NA) youth whom experience effective parenting (Frankel et al., 2014; Goodkind et al., 2012;

Pu et al., 2013; Urbaeva et al., 2017; Walls et al., 2007; Wurster et al., 2020). Given the gap in NA grounded research on the topic, more culturally specific information on NA parenting practices is needed.

Centuries of colonial attempts to undermine NA children and families have impacted NA parenting practices; such practices must be considered within the culturally specific context of historical oppression (Burnette, 2016, 2017; Weaver & White, 1997). *Historical oppression* is a societal or macro level risk factor and includes intergenerational, extensive, and insidious forms of historic (e.g., boarding schools that removed children from their families and concomitant parenting and socialization, land loss and forcible relocation) and contemporary (e.g., early death due to health inequities, racism and invisibility) oppression that were first imposed through colonization and have been perpetuated through internalization (Burnette & Figley, 2017).

Historical oppression, particularly the intentional and systematic disintegration of NA families through boarding schools (Burnette, 2016), has undermined NA family socialization practices and imposed abusive, culturally inappropriate practices (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Lajimodiere, 2012). Due to this historical context, Whitbeck (2006) cautioned prevention researchers against imposing Western parenting models on NA communities, but instead advocated for identifying culturally relevant risk and protective factors and looking for guidance within NA communities (Whitbeck, 2006). Yet, existing clinical interventions for NAs tend to be drawn from non-NA research and tend to be culturally incongruent (Dixon et al., 2007; Gone & Trimble, 2012; Griner & Smith, 2006; McKinley et al., 2019). Not only do these programs not work well for tribal communities, and may be a form of cultural disruption, a contemporary form of historical oppression that imposes Western ideals and norms onto NA communities while subjugating or devaluing NA values and practices (Burnette, 2016).

Given the extreme lack of culturally relevant clinical interventions coupled with extant health inequities, an ethical immediacy for culturally specific research and knowledge related to parenting are needed to develop such interventions (Gone & Trimble, 2012; McKinley et al., 2019). Indeed, interventions for NAs overwhelmingly take a non-NA approach, which have been found to be ineffective and even harmful for NAs (Burnette & Figley, 2016; Gone & Trimble, 2012). In fact, a multicultural substance use programme that included multiple ethnicities actually caused an increase in drug use for NA subsample after the substance abuse intervention (Dixon et al., 2007). Interventions developed from culturally specific information and tailored to a

specific group have been found to be fourfold more effective than culturally tailored interventions (Griner & Smith, 2006).

The Framework of Historical Oppression Resilience, and Transcendence (FHORT) is one such culturally relevant framework that identifies and explicates culturally relevant risk and protective factors across ecological (macro [societal], meso [community or relational], and micro [individual]) levels (Burnette & Figley, 2017). The FHORT takes a holistic approach to understanding key outcomes by investigating the balance of ecological and culturally relevant and interacting risk (those that worsen outcomes), promotive (those that are positive in any circumstance), and protective factors (those that are particularly salient with the presence of adversity) across ecological levels (Burnette et al., 2020; Masten, 2018) to understand outcomes of interest (see Figure 1). For the purpose of this article, we focus on protective factors related to family resilience, namely positive disciplinary parenting practices. Family resilience is the capacity of families to cope and adapt to adversity, often with greater skills than prior to the adversity (Burnette et al., 2020; Masten, 2018). Based on treaty agreements with sovereign federal tribes, a U.S. Federal Trust Responsibility stipulates the U.S. Government to provide for NAs health well-being because of Treaty land agreements; yet NAs remain underrepresented and invisible in mainstream research, which is a contemporary form of historical oppression, impeding solutions to address extant inequities (Burnette & Figley, 2017).

Despite much work investigating risk factors and historical oppression (Burnette, 2016; Frankel et al., 2014; Walls et al., 2007; Wurster et al., 2020), we primarily focus on protective and promotive factors to build on the emerging research investigating strengths

The Wellness Perspective of the FHORT

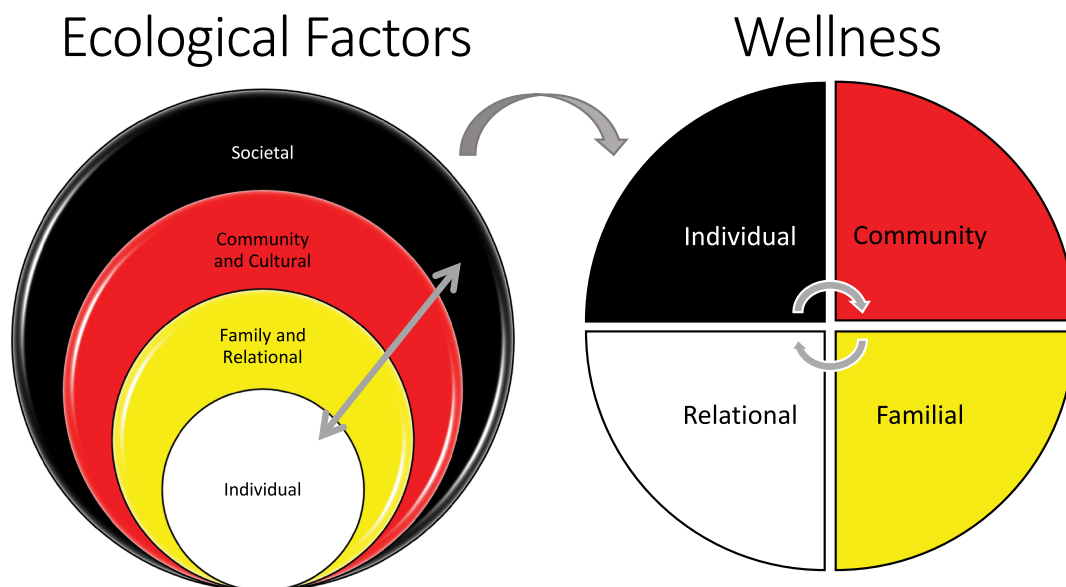


FIGURE 1 The wellness perspective of the framework of historical oppression, resilience, and transcendence (FHORT). Within the FHORT, ecological risk and protective factors across societal, cultural and community, family and relational, and individual levels predict key outcomes of wellness and resilience. For the purpose of this article, we focus on aspects of promotive disciplinary practices related to family resilience. Figure adapted with Permission from (McKinley, 2021)

(Burnette et al., 2020; Pu et al., 2013). We investigate participants descriptions of parental discipline and parental expectations as a component of family resilience (Burnette et al., 2020).

2 | THE FHORT, FAMILY RESILIENCE AND POSITIVE PARENTAL DISCIPLINARY PRACTICES

Families tend to provide the foundation of support for youth, adults, and communities, and often buffer against disparities in health and social conditions that ethnic minorities tend to experience (Burnette, 2017; Burnette & Figley, 2016; Walls et al., 2007; Weaver & White, 1997). However, the bulk of resilience research focuses on individuals rather than families (Hawley, 2013). Parenting practices, such as discipline practices are conceptualized as promotive factors that contribute to family resilience (Burnette et al., 2020). Scarce research, however, focuses on the role of disciplinary and positive parenting practices.

Family resilience and positive parenting practices have been foundational for NAs since before colonization (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Burnette, 2017; Weaver & White, 1997). Positive and effective parenting practices, such as verbal praise, teaching morals and values, and facilitating natural consequences, are characteristic of traditional NA parenting (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Glover, 2001). Moreover, NA families have been traditionally characterized by extended family ties and strong parent-child bonds (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Boyd-Ball et al., 2014; Glover, 2001). Extended family members are considered contributors to family resilience (Burnette, 2017), assisted in teaching morals and values, providing supervision, and protecting children from harm (Ayers et al., 2017; BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Glover, 2001). Most notably, extended family members were often responsible for discipline and punishments to keep the bond between parent and child strong (Boyd-Ball et al., 2014). Generally, nurturing in the form of verbal praise and small gifts (also known as positive parenting practices) was common (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Glover, 2001). Emphasis on the community and belonging within a clan, band, or group was prioritized (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011). Children were allowed to make mistakes and experience natural consequences without interference from adults, unless those consequences would result in serious harm (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011). Families focused on instilling morals and self-control (Ayers et al., 2017; BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Glover, 2001; Kulis et al., 2016).

Despite the influence of colonization and the intentional separation of families through boarding schools (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998), many of these parenting practices are still prevalent, demonstrating immense resilience. For example, NA families are much more likely to utilize extended family to help with discipline than non-NA families (Boyd-Ball et al., 2014; Burnette, 2017; Masse, 2006). Additionally, the traditional emphasis on allowing children to learn from mistakes may explain key differences in parental monitoring and supervision measures (Masse, 2006). Thus, the purpose study was to

use the FHORT to qualitatively examine participants experiences of disciplinary and parenting practices. The overarching research question for the qualitative component is as follows: How do NAs describe their approach to discipline? The parenting processes rather than the makeup of the support system for parenting is focal.

3 | METHODS

3.1 | Research design

This study employed a critical ethnographic study with qualitative ($n = 436$) participants from two Southeastern tribes. Data were collected as part of a larger study using critical ethnographic methods to identify risk and protective factors related to family resilience within these tribes (McKinley et al., 2019). A critical ethnography recognizes and attends to power differentials in the research process through the use of critical theory and triangulates many forms of data to increase rigour (Carspecken, 1996). This article focuses on disciplinary practices among Indigenous peoples in the Southeast. Throughout the research process, we followed guidelines provided in the Toolkit for Ethical and Culturally-Sensitive Research with Indigenous Peoples (Burnette et al., 2014; McKinley et al., 2019). We collected several forms of qualitative data, including focus groups, family interviews, and individual interviews with tribal members across the lifespan (elders, adults and youth), and social service and health professionals working with tribes.

3.2 | Setting

We refer to the two Southeastern tribes by the pseudonyms 'Inland Tribe' and 'Coastal Tribe' and have removed potentially identifying information to protect these communities' identities (Burnette et al., 2014; McKinley et al., 2019). Although the focus is not comparative, a federally-recognized and state-recognized tribe, each with populations of over 10,000 enrolled members, were included to understand family dynamics among tribes with distinct resources. Federally recognized tribes have access to federal healthcare and grants and infrastructure not available to state recognized tribes. The federally recognized Inland Tribe is located near the Gulf Coast, and provides its own criminal justice system, healthcare facilities, schools, and social services. Participants from this tribe had a significantly higher educational attainments status, likely due to tribal education provided for members, along with tribal scholarships. The state-recognized (but not federally recognized) Coastal Tribe inhabits a region close to the Gulf 5Coast and offers limited employment and educational resources. Both tribes are located in the Jim Crow Deep South. As such, until desegregation in the 1960's, formal schooling beyond missionary schooling was not available for tribal members who were neither allowed in the segregated schools for Whites nor Blacks. Family resources for tribal members in the federally recognized tribal are greater with tribal family and social services being

available. Extensive extended family supports were prominent across both tribes. Likewise, both tribes are impacted by the broader context of historical oppression which has impaired their socio-economic status.

3.3 | Data collection

Prior to study activities, we attained approval from the Institutional Review Board and tribal councils. We used flyer distribution and word of mouth methods to recruit participants, with the assistance of tribal agencies and cultural insiders (Burnette et al., 2014; McKinley et al., 2019). In an effort to increase cultural sensitivity, participants were able to choose their preferred interviewer: the first author (PI) or a tribal interview (Burnette et al., 2014; McKinley et al., 2019). All participants chose the first author, preferring to be interviewed by someone from outside of their tight-knit communities. Table 1 displays sample demographics, including the subsamples of qualitative participants including elders (56 and older), adults (24–55), youth (11–23) and professionals who worked in human services, social and family services, behavioural health, and the tribal justice departments. Data were collected with a total of 254 participants in individual interviews, 217 participants in 27 focus groups, and 163 participants in 64 family interviews. Though the total of these groups is 634, approximately 30% ($n = 198$) engaged in more than one form of qualitative interview (though only counted once source or participant), which adds to rigour in triangulating findings across both sources and interview type. Thus, the total qualitative sample size is 436. A culturally-congruent life-history approach was employed for individual interviews, after which we provided participants a copy of their transcript (Burnette

et al., 2014; Carspecken, 1996; McKinley et al., 2019). All qualitative data collection was guided by semi-structured interview guides for the individual and family interviews as well as the focus groups. Wording for interview guides were developed at a fifth-grade comprehension level with input from cultural insiders. An example of a semi-structured interview question related to this inquiry was: ‘Describe a strong or resilient family today; What are characteristics of thriving versus struggling families? What are important values of resilient families? What are the important processes in resilient families?’ Interviews were conducted at places designated by the participant, which included a private conference room set up in the tribal communities and the participants homes. For their participation, individuals received a \$20 gift card to a nearby store, and families received a \$60 gift card.

3.4 | Data analysis

We conducted qualitative data analysis using team-based methods (Guest & MacQueen, 2008) recommended for ethnographic data. The research team included the PI and tribal and non-tribal research assistants (Burnette et al., 2014; McKinley et al., 2019). Data from each focus group, individual, and family interviews were individually analyzed through NVivo. Though the themes emerged across distinct groups, the overall themes were present across subsamples and interview types and synthesized holistically for this article, adding to the triangulation of data. Each theme indicates the participant and participant type (family, individual and focus group) of the sources that those themes emerged from. We conducted reconstructive analysis to inductively identify themes in the data. First, team members listened to each interview individual, family, and focus group interviews, with each recording and professional transcript being reviewed multiple times for immersion. Then, we used low-level coding techniques to create a hierarchical coding scheme across all interview types.

We then looked for implicit and explicit meanings in the data, and collaboratively developed a final coding scheme across groups. Though the source of each theme was identified, the themes were synthesized across all data sources. It should be noted that qualitative themes are interrelated and at times overlapping. As such, the same text can be coded under multiple themes. To disentangle themes, we utilized Team Based thematic analysis. Initially, the research team coded text and quotes under all related themes. Then, separate documents of key themes were created with associate text and quotes. The research team identified duplicative themes, and collaboratively decided which quotes were most salient to each distinct theme. All of the research team reviewed the iterative versions of the results until the final version was reached. We used Cohen's Kappa coefficients (McHugh, 2012) to test inter-rater reliability, which was high (0.90 or higher). This study focuses on unifying themes across tribes and participants. For reference, we include the tribal affiliation, gender, and data collection type (focus group, family interview or individual interview) for each participant quote presented in results. Attesting to the salience of the focal topics within both tribes, themes related to

TABLE 1 Participant demographics

Participant demographics	Qualitative ($n = 436$)
Inland tribal nation	52%
Coastal tribal nation	48%
Males	34%
Females	66%
Age range 21–80 years	$M = 40$
Married (yes)	29%
Children (average) range = 0–14	3
Siblings (average); range = 0–18	5
Education	
High school equivalent or less	48%
Some college/associate's	38%
Bachelor's degree or higher	14%
Subsample of participant	
Professionals ($n = 70$)	16%
Elder, aged 56 or older ($n = 105$)	24%
Adult, aged 24–55 ($n = 147$)	34%
Youth, aged 11–23 ($n = 114$)	26%

discipline practices and parental expectations were coded 290 times across 172 sources (interviews, focus groups and family interviews) in the Inland Tribe, and 402 times across 163 sources in the Coastal Tribe. Further, themes related to the specific subthemes in this inquiry were coded 188 times across 108 sources in the Inland Tribe, and 196 times across 79 sources in the Coastal Tribe.

4 | RESULTS

Across samples and interviews, participants described the following themes related to positive parenting and parental discipline: (a) 'He Had Rules and He Had Guidelines': Establishing Structure and Boundaries; (b) 'They Have to Earn Things': Taking Away Privileges and 'Sometimes, You Got to Reward Them': Rewarding Good Behaviour; and (c) 'It's a Learning Experience': Teaching Right from Wrong.

4.1 | 'He Had Rules and He Had Guidelines': Establishing structure and boundaries

Within both tribes, participants described how they establish structure and boundaries with their children as a means of making expectations clear. Rules and routines were noted as important ways to establish structure in children's lives. In a focus group with the Inland Tribe, a professional woman emphasized the importance of bedtime routines, stating, 'A lot of the kids might have problem in school because they are not going to sleep early because parents allow them to play games all night long, and they don't discipline them to go to bed early.' Establishing such a routine and guidelines around sleep was seen as an important way to set children up for success in school. Rules were also used as a means of establishing behavioural expectations for children. An elder woman from the Coastal Tribe remembered that in her home growing up: 'We had to have rules. We heard in a certain tone, "You'd better be home or that's it. You can't go out."' These household rules provided needed structure so that children were aware of expectations. Similarly, a woman from the Coastal Tribe recalled the structure her mother established during her upbringing, stating: 'She [Mom] would set the rules ... she'd have them on the bulletin board. "You better do this. You better do that. By the time I get home, this better be done."' This participant's mother set clear expectations for her children, who saw her as 'loving, supporting.' A mother from the Inland Tribe felt that it was important to establish guidelines for her son, even as he grew older, explaining:

Whatever he had, he always knew he had rules and he had guidelines. Just because half your friends have access to vehicles or they can get on the road and take off at midnight, "Mom can I go?" "No." "Mom, I'm 17." "Mom I'm 18." He's 20, but I'm still saying "No." If you live in my house, you still follow my rules.

Participants also stressed the importance of maintaining appropriate boundaries between parents and children, ensuring the role of the parent was clearly established. In a focus group with professionals working with the Coastal Tribe, a participant explained:

A parent is a parent. In some of those other households I think what we sometimes see is, "I'm not necessarily always a parent I want to be your friend." A parent cannot be that. They're [children] not necessarily getting the lessons they need to learn and those kinds of things. I think sometimes, some people, unfortunately, in their interest in wanting to have better for their kids have spoiled them to the point there's no responsibility.

A mother from the Coastal Tribe described how she communicated her stance to her children:

You may not like me; you may even hate me. The friendship will come later. I'm doing what I think is best for you. Whether you like it or not makes no difference to me. But you are going to do what I tell you while you are in this house.

A professional woman from the Inland Tribe also described the importance of parents establishing boundaries around their own emotions, ensuring that they did not take things out on their kids:

If you are mad, that's fine, go do something. Release that anger, release that emotion, do not take it out on them [children], and I know that's hard, because I also facilitate a parenting group too, so I try to teach a lot of the parents, it's okay to be mad. It's okay to be frustrated, but if you are disciplining your child, are you disciplining them because you are irritated or aggravated from something else? Are you really irritated or aggravated from what the goal you are trying to teach them? You have to be able to separate yourself.

These speakers recognized that emotions, including negative emotions, need to be expressed; yet parents ensure safe expression of negative emotions—both for themselves and their children.

4.2 | Parenting strategies: Rewards and non-physical punishment

4.2.1 | 'They Have to Earn Things': Taking away privileges

Many participants' approach to discipline focused on implementing consequences for children's bad behaviour by taking away certain privileges. A Coastal Tribe mother in a family interview recounted

how she and her husband took away their son's car privileges to ensure he learned a lesson from his wrongdoing, as stated:

The last time we really punished him hard, he was 19, 20, he was supposed to do a placement test ... and he did not get up. I must have called him over 50 times ... so we took the car away from him, the phone and computer, and he was pissed ... All he had to do was get up and go take that test, and he did not ... but taking the car ... was the key.

The parents felt that the privileges removed were commensurate with the mistake made. A father in a family interview from the Inland Tribe described a similar strategy of removing privileges:

They got trash and dishes and if they act up they get to mop the floor, and you know put some extra chores on them if they act up. ... Grounding is a big thing in my house. As far as the older kids. Stay in their room, no outside. No outside, no electronics, um, you know and doing schoolwork preferably. If not, reading something.

Participants frequently mentioned taking away or limiting children's access to electronic devices as a means of taking away privileges. Two teenage girls from the Inland Tribe noted that this was their parents' approach. When asked what would happen if they do not complete their chores, one girl responded, 'I'll get my electronics taken away or something,' and the other said, 'My mom would have a talk with me, and she would tell me if I don't get straightened up ... she'll probably like pick up something that I have like an ... iPad and [take it away].' One mother from a Coastal Tribe focus group explained that her son's privileges had to be earned by meeting expectations:

You go to your room and no TV. I take away his TV. I take away his game things. I take them away, outside. I take away everything he likes to do. Yeah. He is going to earn that privilege. And it's like his dogs, I say, "That's your dogs, your responsibility. You wanted them. Food, water," and he has to take out the trash. He has to help me pick up the yard and he has certain things he has to do, because if I just let him have it easy street ... yeah, you want your kids to have things. That's good, but they have to earn things. ... I am strict, and I mean what I say. I demand respect and he's going to show it to me. I say, "You can think it in your head but do not let it come out of your mouth because you are going to respect me. You're going to mind me. You're my responsibility."

As this mother expressed, children were expected to earn their privileges.

4.2.2 | 'Sometimes, You Got to Reward Them': Rewarding good behaviour

Beyond implementing consequences for bad behaviour, participants described encouraging children's good behaviour by rewarding it. An elder woman from the Coastal Tribe explained:

Positive strokes for the kids, not negative. If you fail, do not put them down about it. Encourage him because he's going to feel like ... a failure. Give positive strokes, and when they come home with good grades, acknowledge them, award them. I do not care if it's with a bit of ice cream. Show some kind of way of appreciating the child.

A mother from the Inland Tribe agreed with these ideas, stating, 'If it's good report cards and we tried, if he got bad report cards, he didn't get anything but if he got something good, then if he wanted a game, then we would get it.' An Inland Tribe father also felt that rewarding good behaviour was a valuable alternative to physical punishment, relating: 'I'm teaching them discipline instead of spanking them. ... then sometimes you got to reward them. ... Give them a piece of candy, or apple or something after they do whatever I tell them to do.' As these participants' statements attest, offering children rewards encouraged positive actions.

4.3 | 'It's a Learning Experience': Teaching right from wrong

Participants in both tribes described a discipline philosophy focused on teaching children right from wrong. Many parents felt it was important for children to understand why they were being punished, using discipline as an opportunity to instill moral values. A mother from the Coastal Tribe stressed the need to explain wrongdoing to children so they could learn that

I try to explain things to them. ... With my dad, ... I would get fussed [at], and it was ... one-way ... With them [children], I try not to holler, but I know it's in me. ... I try to make sure they understand why I'm fussing ... Like, "I told you not to do this, but you are still doing it, so this is why you are getting in trouble, ... why you should not do this."

Ensuring that children understand why they are being disciplined was a practice a mother from the Inland Tribe learned in parenting classes. In a family interview, she explained her approach:

We discipline her. Then, what I was taught in parenting class is, once you discipline, talk to them and let them know what they did wrong. ... When I'm frustrated and

mad at the same time, I kind of do discipline her then ... leave her alone, so I can calm down.

This parent also recognized the need to regulate and cope with her own emotional responses in parenting. A father from the Inland Tribe also emphasized his desire for children to understand why their actions led to disciplinary measures. He described his approach to discipline as follows: 'Mostly, just talk to them. Take away their privileges and follow up and then make them understand ... what's been right or wrong and make them come back and apologize.' A woman from the Inland Tribe remembered her parents brought all of the children together for learning, 'If one of us kids got in trouble ... we didn't all get a spanking, but ... we were all talked to at the same time ... that's where the value ... the value is what I remember ... growing up.' A mother from the Coastal Tribe also conveyed that, in contrast to her upbringing, she employed democratic processes with her daughter to understand why rules and expectations were in place:

She likes going two houses down to her friend's house, but she stays in the yard. But I'll explain to her that it's not safe, and this can happen and that can happen. I remember growing up, nothing was ever explained. It was, "You do this, do that." Yeah. So, I try to make them kind of understand the reasons behind stuff and have them involved a little.

Teaching children to discern right from wrong and reasons for setting limits were emphasized.

Discipline was a necessary measure to guide children towards proper behaviour, as a mother from the Coastal Tribe expressed in a family interview: 'Depending on what the situation is, and what they're doing wrong, try and show them what they should be doing in that situation. Try and instill that in them.' She added that she and her husband would have children write down 'What they did wrong. I hit my sister.' This tool ensured children learned from mistakes. A man from the Inland Tribe recalled of his parents: 'If I did something wrong, they would sit me down ... They would explain to me the things I should do, I shouldn't do, what's right, what's wrong.' This discipline focused on correcting problems and communicating expectations.

Many participants felt that disciplining their children was an opportunity to instil values that would transcend the family environment. Discipline was viewed as a way of teaching children to take responsibility for their actions, a value that would help them as adults. In a focus group with the Inland Tribe, a mother used children's mistakes as teach opportunities, as stated:

Sometimes it's a learning experience. Take responsibility. You tore up something, well, we'll go back and fix it. And if you do it and teach it to your child, the child will take responsibility for what they have done, either at school, in the community, ... [or] anywhere else. ... It

just goes from ... what the parents teach the kids ... the kids watch their parents.

This speaker's statement shows her belief that teaching children to take responsibility for their actions will guide them in and out of the home. More than one speaker emphasized the importance of teaching children to have good manners. A mother from the Inland Tribe stated:

I want to teach them ... I want to instill manners into them, that's a big thing for me. And respect and just you know the discipline, cause I just—You see a lot of kids out here that's wild. They do not have any manners ... and I do not want my kids like that.

Parents from a family interview in the Inland Tribe described the importance of teaching children to take care of themselves and respect others. The father stated:

I think it's the, the level of, I guess, discipline at our house. See, we are not pushovers. We want to be strict. Ah, we want to be firm, but we want to be fair. ... We want them to be able to take care of themselves whenever they need to and how they need to.

The mother in this family interview went on to explain:

I'm real, real stickler ... about certain things. There's just things I do not let slide. ... There's [sic] some things I do not compromise. ... Whether they like it or not, that's how I'm going to raise my kids. ... I know it sunk in because parents of some of their friends, you know, if I've met them, "You have such good kids. They're so respectful. They use their manners". I say, "Oh, they do listen to me." [Laughs]. It pays off in the long run.

Despite more work in the short term, addressing behaviours in the moment seemed to pay off. A mother in a family interview from the Coastal Tribe described a similar disciplinary philosophy, emphasizing the importance of teaching children right from wrong so they treat others well:

I always told the kids, "I'm not raising you all for me. I'm raising you all for the world. I want you all to be able to get along in this world and get along with people, and love people, and know people. This is what you have to do. You have to be concerned about what you do, that people care for you. If you do not do the right thing, they are not going to care for you. You make sure people care for you."

Teaching right from wrong helped children conduct themselves appropriately in the world.

5 | DISCUSSION

Consistent with other research with NA families (Ayers et al., 2017; BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Glover, 2001), participants described important parenting strategies including having rules and guidelines to establish structure, parameters, and expectations for children's behaviour. Maintaining schedules, routines, and sleep schedules were important for optimal child functioning. Many participants expressed the importance of establishing parameters around the parenting relationship, as stated, 'A parent is a parent.' Thus, although it is important to have warmth (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Glover, 2001), parents knew that their role was to appropriately correct children, even though children may not agree with or like it.

Setting limits and saying no were aspects of parenting participants described. Parents also emphasized setting clear and explicit behavioural expectations to avoid disciplinary problems. Although all emotions, including anger, are okay and important to express, participants spoke about appropriate and safe ways of expressing these emotions and the importance of modelling this for children. At times, they coped with and deescalated their own strong emotions so that their children could learn from witnessing others' safe emotional expression. Finding constructive outlets for strong emotions, such as through play, activities, and in appropriate spaces, were recommended. Participants communicated that, although everyone deals with discomfort, establishing parameters around when, where, and how to express this discomfort in constructive, rather than destructive ways, were important coping strategies. Teaching self-control through emotion management aligns with traditional NA parenting goals (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011).

Parents described the parenting strategies of taking away privileges for unwanted behaviours and rewarding children for positive behaviours. When children demonstrated unwanted behaviours, parents described non-physical discipline strategies, primarily by taking away privileges for unwanted behaviours and establishing the expectation to earn privileges. Household responsibilities through chores were ways that some children earned privileges. Privileges often took the form of technology, free time and treats. Participants emphasized the importance of rewarding children for positive behaviours such as getting good grades, along with showing appreciation for children. While the type of rewards given have changed over time, traditional NA parenting practices also emphasized praise and tokens (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011).

Participants described discipline as a learning experience. Explaining the reasons for rules and consequences and using mistakes as an opportunity for instruction were emphasized, with participants using the tool of discussion and communication as way for children to understand actions and their consequences. These learning opportunities also provided an opening to instil values, ethic, and behavioural expectations in children. Participants emphasized, not only the importance of deterring negative behaviour, but also providing pathways for appropriate behaviour. Participants felt it was important to explain to children how to behave appropriately, offering positive alternatives to help children make good choices in the future. Teaching morals

through discipline was a common traditional practice (Glover, 2001). Again, parents emphasized needing to cope and deal with their own emotions as parenting was undoubtedly frustrating; thus, frustration management was emphasized. This study increased understandings of disciplinary practices and other factors that contribute to parenting within two NA tribes. The scope of the analysis was limited to the parenting practices themselves, rather than the make-up of the family support system, which has been examined elsewhere (Burnette, 2017). All data are self-report only, rather than from observational or independent assessment.

6 | CONCLUSION

Positive parenting strategies that direct NA youth have been present before this historical oppression of colonization undermined parenting practices through boarding schools, the patriarch, and other forms of oppression (Burnette, 2017; Weaver & White, 1997). The results of this study demonstrate the resilience and transcendence of NA cultural values related to parenting and discipline, despite centuries of oppression. The disciplinary practices described by participants included positive disciplinary strategies (rewarding good behaviour), setting clear expectations to avoid disciplinary problems, and perceptions of discipline as an important means of teaching children how to behave and interact with the world around them. These strategies are strongly reflective of traditional approaches to parenting in NA communities in the U. S (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Glover, 2001). As indicated Broer et al. (2020), contemporary NA parenting and disciplinary practices are influenced by cultural and contextual factors (community and social support), relational factors (relationship quality and family resilience), and individual factors (mental health), suggesting the importance of considering parenting through a relational theoretical model such as the FHORT (Burnette & Figley, 2017). Cooperative parenting practices are supported by extended family systems and transmitted cross-generationally (Henrich & Muthukrishna, 2021).

Practitioners working with NA families can help model and reinforce the disciplinary practices described here to foster effective parenting strategies. NAs without traditional parenting knowledge have expressed an interest in learning these techniques (Goodkind et al., 2012) and several culturally informed interventions have combined parenting education with traditional values to meet this need (BigFoot & Funderburk, 2011; Dionne et al., 2009; Goodkind et al., 2012; Kulis et al., 2016). These interventions have resulted in increased positive parenting, decreased parent-child conflict, and more consistent disciplinary practices. Research with NAs indicate that when community members effectively assisted in youth monitoring, youth substance use was lower (Boyd-Ball et al., 2014). Thus, service providers can work to increase social and community support for NA parents. Promoting and fostering positive parenting practices in NA communities may help protect families and children from adverse outcomes and health disparities disproportionately experienced by NA peoples.

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DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

No data available due to tribal agreements.

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