

discussions, participants were pleased as their storytelling about resilience indicated their actively overcoming challenges.

Studies related to AI resilience find that culture is a significant positive element (Kahn-John et al., 2021; Kahn et al., 2016; Manson, 2020; Stumblingbear-Riddle & Romans, 2012; Grandboise & Sanders, 2009). This study also finds the concept of culture prominent in the lives of the participants; however, the use of the term ‘culture’ did not strongly resonate as a descriptor of this powerful element throughout their discussions. Hence, the theme, *Lifeways Involve Choices to Walk Towards Resilience: The Value of Traditional Native Lifeways*, better encapsulates this multi-faceted, influential, and fluid concept as reflected by the lived experiences of these AI participants (Kahn-John et al., 2021; Gone, 2007).

Based on the themes and sub-themes derived from the AI participants’ voices, AI resilience is a journey created by past and present lifeway (Kahn-John et al., 2021; Willetto, 1996) challenges, during which an individual: (a) seeks to return to harmony and balance (Morehead et al., 2015), (b) is strengthened in some way (Pepic et al., 2022), and (c) attains wisdom during the journey, thereby avoiding future difficulties of the same sort. Importantly, this definition encompasses the past, present, and future which are important for AI people (Struthers & Peden-McAlpine, 2005). Participants also discussed how AI resilience is demonstrated or accomplished. From their viewpoint and through their narratives and storytelling, participants described resilience as: (a) asking for help when needed (Burrage et al., 2016) and reciprocating or giving back (Gone, 2007) when lifeway challenges have decreased; (b) drawing from their spirituality, both traditional Native lifeways and/or Christian religions (Goodkind et al., 2010); and (c) through their families (Burnette, 2018; Robbins et al., 2013) in order to build strong communities—urban and tribal (Grandboise & Sanders, 2009; Kirmayer et al., 2009).

Participants illustrate how resilience is shown through help-seeking when needed, and when their lives are better, they practice reciprocity consistent with the Native worldview of harmony and balance. This relationship aligns with other work showing that reciprocity is embedded within AI societies (Gone, 2007) and with prevalent help-seeking behavior observed among urban AI women experiencing intimate partner violence (Evans-Campbell et al., 2006).

Throughout the focus group discussions, an intersection between Native spirituality and Christianity related to tribal or nontribal lifeways became evident among some participants (cf. Goodkind et al., 2010). In other words, a specific higher power did not predominate but rather a shared valuing of the Creator and Jesus and/or God was observed (Portman & Garrett, 2006). A

case study of a multi-tribal middle-aged woman exemplified her synthesis of Navajo, Native American Church, and Christian religious belief systems (Begay & Maryboy, 2000). Perhaps participants in this study felt intrapersonal strengths from both the Creator and Christian God.

AIs' immediate and extended families are also a source of strength (Burnette, 2018; Robbins et al., 2013). Likewise, participants identify their immediate, extended, and multi-generational families as critical reserves of strength. Participants also distinguish central features of their families, such as their determination and the important teachings conveyed regarding physical, mental, and spiritual strength.

Studies have identified AI communities as an important source of resilience for AIs (Grandboise & Sanders, 2009; Kirmayer et al., 2009). In urban settings, AI people also find resilience in community. For example, in this study, participants discussed the urban community center as a welcoming place where they greeted each other with warmth and hugs. The community and university center venues were considered a home when away from their Indian Country homes. Thus, community gatherings are an essential ingredient of resilience where relationships are cultivated (Hulen et al., 2019). Place is particularly important given the greater likelihood of AIs living in cities to experience social isolation and both explicit and subtle discrimination (D'Amico et al., 2019), as well as the detrimental impact of racism on their health and well-being (Williams et al., 2019). Our study participants likewise discussed poverty, overt racism out in the streets, and social inequities suffered when living in cities.

In this study, several AI participants' statements were congruent with the resilience definition of Oré et al., which states resilience is "the ability to adapt or respond positively (i.e., to exhibit growth and transformation) to stress and adversity" (2016, p. 135). Growth and transformation following stressful circumstances is clearly evidenced by the discussants. However, 'adapting' to adverse circumstances was not revealed in participants' discussions. Ungar's (2008) definition also finds partial support (e.g., dynamic character), but substantive differences exist as well (e.g., the magnitude that learned wisdom denotes for AI focus group participants). Furthermore, just one AI participant expressed a lack of knowledge regarding the term 'resilience.'

There is partial support for prototypical definitions of individual resilience, such as "the ability to adapt or respond positively (i.e., to exhibit growth and transformation) to stress and adversity" (Oré et al., 2016, p.135) or "positive adaptation in spite of adversity" (Rudzinski et al., 2017, p.2). Specifically, urban AI participants affirm that resilience involves dealing with adversity (e.g., lifeway challenges) and positive responses (e.g., exhibit growth or transformation or return

to/seek harmony and balance) to these challenges. However, adaptation, positive or otherwise, was not revealed in the focus group discussions. Instead, participants emphasized the necessity to move away from adversity rather than adjust to it. Their focus was to proactively journey toward harmony and balance, thereby moving away from negative lifeway challenges. Participants also voiced through narratives and storytelling the importance of wisdom by learning from those challenges and not repeating them.

Partial support for elements of Ungar's (2008) resilience definition is also evidenced in our study. For example, participants discussed individual and contemporary lifeway challenges such as work and university responsibilities. Participants also revealed harsh experiences such as prejudice, discrimination, and institutional racism. Similarly, the fluid nature of Ungar's definition is likewise championed by our study participants (i.e., navigate vs. journey). We might also accept that "health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being" (2008, p. 225) approaches what is meant by 'seeks to return to harmony and balance.' Yet, Ungar's phrasing has more passive overtones than what our participants conveyed. Participants actively sought to return to harmony and balance and are strengthened during this journey. Further, lifeway challenges are conceptually broader and more encompassing than psychological and environmental adversity. For example, participants pointed to historical and contemporary lifeway challenges such as Indian Boarding Schools, Relocation, North Dakota Access Pipeline, and Wounded Knee. Hence, when experiencing adversity, the discussants acknowledged and applied historical lifeway challenges in their examples. Participants also emphasize the central role of wisdom during their resilience journeys. It's insufficient to simply bounce back, but rather one must emerge stronger than before, learning from challenging experiences so as to avoid repeating them, thereby demonstrating wisdom. Finally, Ungar's (2008) definition explicitly includes the individual's culture, family, and community as culturally meaningful resources. Similarly, our study participants address these elements when discussing the raised question of how AI resilience is demonstrated or accomplished.

These participants resided in cities at the time of the study, although the majority were raised within the territorial borders of their tribal nations and communities. The first two authors noted that many conversed in their Native tongues during focus group breaks and after the focus groups concluded. Several participants approached the first two authors to request our tribal heritages, including our tribal nation clans as appropriate. Further, most of the participants moved to nearby cities fairly recently or were temporary urbanites while attending university. Although

these AI conceptions of resilience are drawn from urban AI voices, these participants were also robustly endowed with their tribal nation's lifeways stemming from their Indigenous worldviews (Haozous et al., 2021).

Limitations

These findings may not pertain to other AI people including other urban AIs because research activity was limited to the Southwest United States. Due to resource constraints, just one student focus group was conducted on one university campus. Recruitment settings such as community centers may shape resilience trajectories and thus appear more central than they are among those who do not frequent these centers. Conversely, the integration of such places may suggest pathways for greater community integration outside of reservation boundaries.

Implications

We suggest that utilizing AI urban community driven conceptualizations and definition of AI resilience may be more reliable and valid with strength-based studies, including interventions, with urban AI people (Kirmayer et al., 2009; Manson, 2020), particularly as most interventions have been designed from an *etic* (outsider) framework (Dickerson et al., 2020; Gittelsohn et al., 1999). For example, when designing interventions with urban AI people, care should be taken to encourage intervention participants to return to or to seek harmony and balance; emphasize that undergoing lifeway challenges strengthens intervention participants; and promote the wisdom participants have gained through lifeway challenges to help them avoid future difficulties.

CONCLUSION

The study developed a culturally relevant definition of AI resilience built upon urban AI participants' voices as exhibited through the themes and sub-themes derived in a qualitative multi-investigator consensus analysis. AI resilience is a journey created by past and present lifeway challenges during which one: (a) seeks to return to harmony and balance, (b) is strengthened in some way by lifeway challenges, and (c) attains wisdom during the journey, thereby avoiding future difficulties. Hence, conceptions of AI resilience are multi-faceted, center on impactful events, manifest Native values, are movement-oriented, and build strength and wisdom.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to the participants for their generosity in sharing their stories, wisdom, humor, time, meals, and friendship. We thank the various urban AI community centers/entities for their support of this work, allowing use of their conference rooms, restrooms, and dining halls. We also thank the university students who worked with the project (Alexis McKinley and Naasgo Redhorse). Furthermore, we thank Jan Kerata, CAIR, for her administrative support as well as Dr. Anna Schwartz (NAU, School of Nursing) and Dr. Octaviana Trujillo (NAU, Applied Indigenous Studies) for their support.

FUNDING INFORMATION

This study was funded by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities under grant number P20MD006872 (Co-PIs: Dr. Priscilla R. Sanderson, PhD, CRC, and Dr. Nicolette I. Teufel-Shone, PhD). The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not represent the official views of the NIH.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

AUTHOR INFORMATION

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APPENDIX

Table A1
Descriptive statistics – Age, household size, household income

Indicator	Mean	Range	Standard Deviation
Age	49.46	18.5 – 74.5	16.28
Household size	2.64	1 – 6	1.85
Household annual income	\$27,039.68	\$2,500 – \$149,999.50	\$32,979.00

Table A2
Descriptive statistics – Gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious/spiritual affiliation

	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Men	10	40
Women	14	56
Transgender and Two Spirit	1	4
Marital Status		
Single (never married)	11	44
Married	3	12
Cohabiting (living with partner but not legally married)	3	12
Divorced	6	24
Other (separated, widowed)	2	8
Employment Status		
Employed	13	52
Unemployed	4	16
Retired	3	12
Full-time student	5	20
Education Attainment: Highest level of school completed		
8 th grade and less	2	8
Some high school, no diploma	1	4
High school graduate, diploma or equivalent (GED)	2	8
Some college, no degree	10	40
Trade/technical/vocational training	4	16
Associate’s degree	1	4
Bachelor’s degree	3	12
Master’s degree	2	8

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Table A2
Descriptive statistics – Gender, marital status, employment status, education, religious/spiritual affiliation

	Frequency	Percentage
Religious/Spiritual Affiliation		
Tribal Belief System	4	16
Native American Church (NAC)/Peyote Road/Way	1	4
Christian	13	52
Unaffiliated	1	4
Don't know	1	4
Tribal Belief System & Catholic	2	8
Tribal Belief System & Christian	1	4
Tribal Belief System & NAC/Peyote Road/Way	1	4
Tribal Belief System & NAC/Peyote & Christian: Catholic	1	4
Totals	25	100

Table A3
Themes (1-4) and sub-themes: Example quotes

Themes	Sub-themes (S) and Quotes
Theme 1. AI People Built Resilient Strength via Toughness and Wisdom	<p>S1. Active Resistance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Endure toughness, yeah. Or the hardships, yeah something like that.” (University man) • “It’s how you survive, how you stand strong, even though there are challenges. There might be hard times and stuff like that. How you keep yourself strong and standing.” (Middle-aged woman) <p>S2. Recovery, Strength, and Wisdom</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I feel like resilience is like the ability for something to be able to take a hit, or like a large blow and see how fast it recovers.” (University woman) • “I also think it’s being able to come back with a vengeance, like stronger” [another participant chuckles]. [This elicits agreement from two other discussants]. (University woman) • “I think resilience is coping mentally, emotionally, physically, and spiritually.” (Middle-aged woman) • Resilience to me means to be able to withstand whatever comes your way and being able to come back with as a stronger person body, mind, and soul. To be able to stand there and say, “I’ve done it. I got through this.” (Middle-aged woman)

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Table A3
Themes (1-4) and sub-themes: Example quotes

Themes	Sub-themes (S) and Quotes
<p>Theme 2. Lifeways Involve Choices to Walk towards Resilience: The Value of Native Lifeways</p>	<p>S1. Resilience is Dependent on Impactful Experiences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That’s my resilience, okay [chuckles]. No, [softly] resilience it just. [Bit louder]... We still come back to, to where we’re at because we know that this community center- this Center is available to us, but yet like we, we don’t want to come back because there’s certain things that you know happened and that exist and you don’t wanna really like face it. (Middle-aged woman) <p>S2. Storytelling conveys Lifeway Challenges</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And I'm a really hard, persevering type a guy, you know, and when I were working for the forest services, I had crews under me, and, a lot of times a lot of decisions had to be made right away. And the whole crew, man, they just look at you and you got all these eyes on ya, "What are we gonna do?" "Where are we gonna go?" You always plan ahead of time so I've learning that at a really early age just to plan ahead of time... And expect the unexpected so I'm always, I guess, a believer in expecting the worst, planning for the best and a residual plan [chuckles]. That's what keeps me strong is that mind, the stable mind, but never forgetting where--what you believe in as a Native American man. (Middle-aged man) <p>S3. Surviving Post Colonialism Leads to Wisdom and Resilience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resilience seems to be encapsulated in what’s going on with the North Dakota Access Pipeline where everyone’s coming together to relive this like cultural hurt but they’re growing from that experience, and kinda showing strength in numbers and strength in culture. (University woman) • Native American land is sovereign land but you know [sic] US invaded over like 100 countries without permission like breaking US international law because like the UN’s put a call on everything that doesn’t relate to us and I feel like it’s just like history repeating itself you know. And like they’re actually going through camps and actually going into fight full on body armors or like live ammo going into these camps and they’re kicking people out and arresting people like this just because Trump signed the executive order, I mean. Like more of a dictator’s running this country now. (University woman) • My mother lived on the reservation she was with seven or eight or nine, I can't remember, brothers and sisters. And she taught herself to read English by the newspaper as wallpaper. She watched her grandmother sweep the dirt floors with water to get the dust from flying around. And she couldn't wait till the bus came to relocate them to Sherman in Riverside. And she became very educated, I guess, through the boarding school and she met my father there and they got married, you know the story. And she had me, the one and only, and it was very difficult because I wanted to be Indian and she didn't want me to be Indian. And, she wouldn't teach me the language, she wouldn't teach me the culture, she wouldn't teach me. And then on top of that I end up going to an all-white school through grammar school, junior high, and high school. And I was spit at, I was kicked, I was called n***er [sic], every [sic] and I'd come home crying and my mother would say "Be tough. Say a prayer for them." I said, "Oh brother". So [laughs] years ... it was hard for me. And I always wanted to be Indian. (Elder woman)

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Table A3
Themes (1-4) and sub-themes: Example quotes

Themes	Sub-themes (S) and Quotes
<p>Theme 3. Help: Giving and Receiving</p>	<p>S1. Asking for Help, Reciprocity, and Good Citizenship Makes You Strong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What makes me strong is putting down my pride. I was very prideful of having everything and going down to nothing. And asking for help from people that I wouldn't think that would give me anything. And it was given to me from people that I wouldn't expect it from, and it made me stronger to get into like the community here. Now that I got back onto my two feet, I give here in the community, I help. (Middle-aged woman) • It was hard for me to humble myself too. Cuz [sic] I had custom homes and places and stuff, and I came down to nothing. I had to ask for help and these people here, they do help. And they joke with you, make you smile again. Give you good stuff and food everything, you know what I mean? It's a really good place to be. Not just, this woman here, there are many of them out there that can come here for services, and it's really nice. I like to see them--family. (Middle-aged woman)
<p>Theme 4. Lifeways Involve Choices to Walk towards Resilience: The Value of Native Lifeways: The Value of Traditional Native Lifeways'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family Relationships and Dynamics • Communities: Tribal and Urban 	<p>S1. Spirituality/Religion and Families Builds Strong Communities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I still come back here because I love this place and I love the people here and just to see just to feel that just like you said the warmth and the feeling that everybody gives to, I mean just to see everybody back here is like, yeah, it's cool. [chuckles]. (Middle-aged woman) • Everybody here we all gather up here but sometimes we visit each other once in a great while and we meet up at [urban community center], but then we come back here [referring to a different urban community center]. We come back together. This is a powerful pounding drum of life here [emphasis added]. (Middle-aged Two Spirit) • I come here every time I just need, I mean just need a hug or just a smile or just to look at somebody or just to have, have like something that I have and give it here. You know because it's where I got what I needed to move on to, to live my life the way I am living it now. And I love everybody that comes here and I just love this place, it's a home away from home. And this is a community for everybody no matter where you're at, no matter what you're doing, or where you come from, this is where everybody comes to and it's a beautiful place to be. (Middle-aged woman)

Table A4
Additional sub-themes

Sub-theme	Quotes
Spirituality and Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For me, I think my strength comes spiritually. I practice like traditional [tribal] teachings but we're also Catholic, and we also dabble in Native American Church. So, it's like you got all these spiritual stuff coming at you. But spiritually I try to focus on [tribal nation] teaching like [tribal specific lifeways]. (University woman) • My Native American and Christian belief, that's what keeps me strong is that mind, the stable mind, but never forgetting where--what you believe in as a Native American man. I believe in spirituality as Native Americans do. I believe in my tribal beliefs. And I'm also Christian too. I believe in both of them so I don't forget either one. (Middle-aged man) • I'm one of those people who I've seen God. I've been in and out of Heaven. I've experienced a lot of phenomena, networking with angels. So it's more than a belief it's been my existence. And I like to pass on to people in the community to be, you know we're forerunner, spiritual people. And we're--everything's, in my beliefs in what I have experienced, is we are Prayer Warriors. And so we have that within us, to know there is a Creator and to have that hope and faith and positive outlook of being functional and contributing in our community. (Middle-aged woman)
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And especially, I get my strength from my mother. She was a very strong, determined woman. And, she would never let me say "I can't." She would say, "You do this." And I would. I never questioned her. So that's where I get my strength from. (Elder woman)
Extended Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My strength, my other strength I think I gained from my family. My father, my mother, grandmother. [Short pause] And, in my old age I think I gained my strength from my children. They're my best teachers. And, I guess that's where I am today as an elder. (Elder woman) • And not only that, my sisters stand behind me, they're really, very supportive. And my [late] dad used to be supportive, and my grandmother. So, my immediate family, they're really, really--we're there for one another, so they do make me strong. And my mom, although she's not--limited in a lot of things, but she's able to help and be there for us, so. (Middle-aged woman)
Family: Reservation-Based and Practicing Native Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What I think makes me strong, is from the beginning it's always been my family. My family's been the foundation for everything I've accomplished and everything I will accomplish, and that goes for mental, spiritually and physically because it is rigorous to be culturally active, and physically and mentally and spiritually. It requires a lot of putting your faith in the natural world as well as people, which now a days that's kind of hard. But, I believe that my family is the ground work for my strength, and then I am my own strength basically because I'm trying to take it all in, and apply it wherever I go and trying to never leave it behind no matter how far I am from home. (University woman)