BECOMING ADULTS IN A RURAL YUP'IK COMMUNITY: A LONGITUDINAL

QUALITATIVE STUDY EXPLORING RESILIENCE

By

Tara J. Ford

RECOMMENDED: _____
Committee Member

_____
Committee Member

_____
Committee Member

_____
Co-Chair Committee Chair

_____
Co-Chair Committee Chair

_____
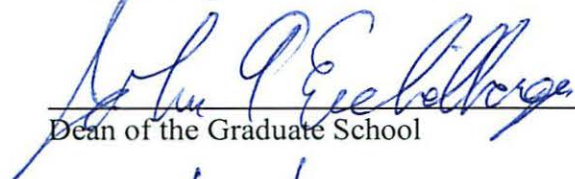Program Director,
Clinical-Community Psychology Program
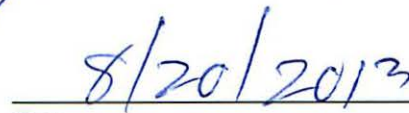
APPROVED: _____
Dean, College of Liberal Arts

_____
Dean of the Graduate School

_____
8/20/2013
Date

BECOMING ADULTS IN A RURAL YUP'IK COMMUNITY: A LONGITUDINAL

QUALITATIVE STUDY EXPLORING RESILIENCE

A

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty

of the University of Alaska Fairbanks

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Tara J. Ford, M.S.

Fairbanks, Alaska

August 2013

Abstract

The aim of this study is to explore strategies for navigating challenges in a rural Alaskan

Yup'ik community among youth and young adults. This qualitative study captures a

longitudinal perspective as youth (*N*=25; 11 -18 years old) were originally interviewed in

January 2010. For the current study, participants were re-interviewed in December 2012.

Follow-up interviews addressed life challenges over the past three years and resources

that helped them with their hard times. To reinforce the multifaceted nature of growing-

up in a rural Yup'ik community, scholarly literature along with observations,

conversations with local residents, and local wisdom captured in anthropological work

are featured throughout this paper. Fifteen youth (14 years old – 20 years old) agreed to

be re-interviewed. Developmental changes were noted regarding challenges and

protective resources. Youth emphasized challenges as sources of vulnerabilities around

lack of employment and interpersonal relationship strain. Similar to findings from the

original study, interpersonal relationship distress was discussed in three distinct contexts

including antagonist "girl drama," family discord, and partner relations conflicts. Youth

identified personal strengths such as re-framing challenges, seeking personal space, and

family support to overcome challenges. Contemporary understanding of emergent young

adults' role and responsibilities in a rural Yup'ik setting warrants further study as it was

found to be a source of vulnerability. Findings can inform clinical and prevention work

in the community. For example, targeted community activities can address reported

challenges including job fairs and workshops on healthy relationships with specificity to

the experience of becoming an adult in rural Alaska.

Table of Contents

x

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Appendices

Acknowledgments

Chapter 1: Brief Overview of the Study

During a trip to the rural Yup'ik community, in Southwest Alaska where this study took place, a respected individual in the community asked the author about the title of this dissertation. The community member listened to the title. After a thoughtful pause, he suggested as an alternative "*Yupiucimta Asvairtuumallerkaa*" (close translation: can't ever break us down). He noted that *Yupiucimta Asvairtuumalerkaa* is a recycled title for the promoting sobriety project in another community within the region. Maintaining my dry title seemed limiting for the fullness of how this community member saw the role of exploring youth narratives and capturing their reflections on strategies for getting through hard times. As humor is a vital part of Yup'ik life, I joked that adopting the title would forever place me in a position of stumbling over my non-Yup'ik tongue. Thus, this dissertation opens with a nod to the better title for this work: *Yupiucimta Asvairtuumallerkaa*. It is my aim to maintain the integrity of the youth and young adults who took time to sit with me, their willingness to share their hard times, and their offering of strategies on developing into successful adults. In addition, I aspire to respect and honor the community as a whole as I present literature, observations, conversations, findings, and future directions to build on the work they courageously embrace as they foster a legacy of a healthy community.

The current study is a longitudinal study with 25 Yup'ik youth who participated in the Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood (CIPA) project. The CIPA study aimed to investigate youth perspectives of social stressors and strategies for navigating adolescent development in five rural circumpolar communities. Participants' historical

context and contemporary realities around growing-up in an era of accelerated social change were cornerstones for rationalizing the need for the CIPA study (Ulturgasheva et al., 2011; Rasmus, Allen, Ford, Charles, & Lindley, 2013). Community-based participatory research (CBPR) methods informed the CIPA study as researchers collaborated with international researchers, community leaders, community members, and youth to design a qualitative, semi-structured interview protocol around youth life history narratives. Twenty-five participants from the Alaskan Yup'ik site between the ages of 11 and 18 years old (12 female, 13 male) were recruited via nomination and snowball sampling. Grounded theory was utilized to analyze the data and develop theory around culturally patterned resilience strategies among Yup'ik young people. Several themes for navigating hard times emerged including connectedness to kinship relations, especially the role of grandparents, youth feeling useful, engagement in subsistence activities, and youth believing in themselves (Ford, Rasmus, & Allen, 2012; Rasmus et al., 2013).

The current study aimed to re-interview as many of the original 25 participants from the CIPA study that could be located and consented 2 years and 11 months later. Fifteen youth were re-located and consented to participate in this follow-up study. This included seven female and eight male participants ages 14 to 20 years old. Their unavailability ranged from not having current contact information to being in alternative care such as state custody or residential treatment. One youth was contacted and did not participate in the follow-up study. Youth and young adults were re-interviewed using the section of the CIPA interview protocol focusing on challenges and strategies to work

through hard times. After participants or their guardians re-consented and minors re-assented, individual interviews were conducted. Youth were asked questions regarding life challenges occurring between the previous interview and current interview and how they responded. This allowed for examination of changes in regards to resilience processes overtime. Participants were asked to complete the same demographic questionnaire completed in January 2010. In addition to typical demographic variables such as gender and age, the questionnaire explored involvement in substance use and extracurricular activities (e.g. church attendance and membership in community groups). The CIPA codebook provided a base coding structure for data analysis. In addition, grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2006) were used for the development of new codes in response to the follow-up interview data. The coding strategy captured developmental changes in resilience processes and identified both stability and change in challenges and protective resources over time. Results from this study provide a first look at the ways in which challenges as sources of vulnerabilities and protective resources both persist and change in response to developmental maturation in a contemporary rural Yup'ik community.

Significance of the Study

Wallis (2002), a Gwich'in Indian, states, "In the early 1970s, I did not want my world to change any more. But I was blossoming onto a hideous thing called womanhood" (p.137). Wallis exemplifies that development is culture specific and that it is laborious at times. The path that moves youth into adulthood is best understood through a cultural lens. Biology sets the underlying drive for human development, while

culture defines the trajectory of development (Sternberg & Grigorenko, 2004). Coming-of-age for Yup'ik Eskimo youth is a blend of traditional influences such as subsistence lifestyle and strong kinship relations, contemporary markers such as owning a snow machine and movement to a cash-based economy, and western adopted markers including graduating from high school or playing basketball.

This longitudinal study offers a unique opportunity to engage Yup'ik youth and young adults during a pivotal developmental time period. Participants are embarking on their transition to mid- to late- adolescence and others into young adulthood. Exploring change from January 2010 to December 2012 allowed two years and 11 months of development. The longitudinal design is vital to studying the stability, expansion, and omission of developmental resilience strategies. Vernon (2004) asserts that resilience is appraised within three leading constructs including (1) assessing risks/stressors, (2) identifying protective processes, and (3) evaluation of outcome. This study provides a snapshot of how youth from the CIPA study are navigating hard times. These findings can give back to the community by way of informing community members, youth, and researchers on how a sample of contemporary rural Yup'ik youth negotiate their pathways to adulthood as they respond to competing expectations around living up to traditional values and contemporary expectations. This study contributes to the literature on Yup'ik resilience in rural Alaska, and in particular, developmental transitions in the resilience processes deployed.

The current study offers the youth and young adult participants a rich opportunity to reflect on their previous research experience and expand the conversation around

resilience processes. One youth noted that after the CIPA interview they felt a sense of

relief, and when they were contacted to participate in the follow-up study, they reported

looking forward to the opportunity to talk with someone about their narrative again.

Simply, this study is significant because it is important to the youth and young adults in

the community. The youth and young adult participants were primed for this follow-up

study to talk about their challenges and how they manage their hard times. The prior

exposure to the interview questions and participants' developmental growth added depth

to interviews around impactful resources for transitioning into adulthood in a rural

environment experiencing contemporary challenges. Participants shared insights into

their challenges and offered suggestions and strategies for growing up in rural Alaska.

Participants are considering issues explored in this study, as they become the next leaders

for Alaska.

Problem Statement for the Study

The reality is that Alaskans' live in a state with stark statistics, compared to the

national average, in the areas of substance abuse and suicide. In 2010, 163 lives were

lost to suicide in Alaska. The incidence rate for this number is twice the national average.

The State of Alaska offers the following risk factors for suicide: depression or other

mental illness, prior suicide attempt, having been exposed to the suicide of another

person, needing but not receiving mental health care, increasing use of drugs or alcohol,

and assess to a firearm or other means in the home (SSPC Annual Report FY2011-2012).

Most youth in rural Southwest Alaska are survivors of suicide in the sense that they have

been impacted by the loss of someone they have known to suicide. Rates are highest among males and individuals between the ages of 15-24 years old.

The State of Alaska Statewide Suicide Prevention Council annual report (FY2010) states, "If, for nothing else, FY2010 is recognized as the year the Council helped Alaskans end the silence about suicide, it will have been a successful year" (p. 29). As conversations are in their infancy around addressing suicide in Alaska, this study dovetails in the conversation to feature Yup'ik youth perspectives on resilience processes.

Sternberg and Grigorenko (2004) assert that most developmental research strips environmental and cultural influences from theory construction. This study aims to capture cultural influences on developmental resilience within a rural Yup'ik community. Ungar (2011a) states that, "… the discursive context in which a child exists will also play a role in deciding which resources are accepted as facilitative of resilience. Thus, the benchmarks of resilience are negotiated and culturally determined" (p. 4). Resources will be uniquely defined within the context as youth develop in their community, which in turn informs tailoring interventions to fit the setting.

Research Question

This longitudinal study aimed to explore how resilience processes in a rural Yup'ik community identified by youth in previous research change in these same youth in response to developmental transition and maturation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The current study is a continuation of the Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood (CIPA) study (Rasmus et al., 2013). The CIPA study was a collaborative international project to explore youth narratives among five circumpolar communities. The Yup'ik site for CIPA study utilized the facilitation of "member checking" focus groups. The CIPA study investigated resilience among Yup'ik youth experiencing accelerated social change. One focus group was with males and another with females. Member checking included discussing with youth living in a rural Yup'ik community emerging themes from the CIPA life history interviews. The aim was to ground the analysis to the realities of Yup'ik experiences. The outcome was met, and localized constructs became the framework for CIPA's analytical codebook and narrative analysis. Through the member checking process, observations around interpersonal patterns and social structure were noticed. An example of this is females were reluctant to share in the larger group setting. On the other hand, the male focus group was more indicative of participants elaborating on emerging themes. Furthermore, it was observed particularly among the males that chronological age was not the ruler for rank or status. For example, an older male informant deferred to a younger male informant when responding to an inquiry. It was explained that the younger male was a successful hunter (i.e., he had caught his first big game/seal).

This social structure is congruent to that found among Siberian Eveny as "…there is not a ridged distinction between childhood and early adolescence, since such chronological distinctions do not matter as much as actual attainment of subsistence

skills…" (Ulturgasheva, 2012, p. 45). These nuances are cultural realities that impact youth development. The interplay of environment and development align with Vygotsky's theory of human development (Fernyhough, 1997). Vygotsky's sociocultural theory asserts that culture, environment, and interpersonal exchanges are the means that facilitate learning and human development. Reviewing the cultural context of the Yup'ik community where this study took place is important to the exploratory work around how resilience processes change in response to developmental transition and maturation. The next few sections present a cultural framework (e.g., a traditional story capturing the non-linear way of developing in a Yup'ik setting) and contextual features (e.g., historic backdrop) which provide depth and texture for engaging in the current study followed by a review of resilience literature.

Yup'ik Coming of Age Story about Development and Resilience

Storytelling holds great value among Yup'ik Eskimos as storytelling operates as a means to share local history, teach, and entertain (Fienup-Riordan, 2003). *Taṅgaurluq Nakacuut Ayautellrat* (translation: The Boy Who Was Taken Away by Bladders) is a recorded story told to a classroom of children by Yup'ik Elder Paul John (Fienup-Riordan). This Yup'ik story exemplifies the developmental connection to subsistence as well as integrates traditional knowledge, human development, and resilience. Furthermore, cultural values are taught in the story including spirituality, communal interconnectedness, and family bonds. In addition, this story highlights sociocultural influences on maturing in a rural subsistence environment.

Taṅgaurluq Nakacuut Ayautellrat (Fienup-Riordan, 2003) is summarized as

follows: a father and mother wanted their only son to become a great hunter, so they sought aid from a shaman to help their son become a great hunter. They wanted the best shaman for their son. Therefore, they visited with powerful men and asked them to complete an assignment before the mother and father hired them to help their son. It was the least likely shaman who successfully completed the task and found the boy's father's hidden knife. This man became the shaman to oversee the boy's development. The shaman gave very specific instructions to the family around what to do at the next bladder festival. The bladder festival is a time when hunters return their seal bladders to the ocean. The festival is a tradition in preparation for a good hunt the follow season. Part of the shaman's instructions was that the mother and father were not to be sad when their son was gone because their son would know they were sad, and he would become lonely. They were to make a sweet dish and take it to the shaman whenever sad feelings started to surface. Their son would be nourished by this act. At the bladder festival the boy went out into the ocean with the bladders and found himself among a group of seals in a meetinghouse similar to the men's hut in his village. A mentor seal helped the boy. The mentor seal pointed out how some people above the ice were very respectful when they cleared away the ice, cleared a path, took care of their kayak, and approached the seals. Likewise, the mentor seal brought awareness to the boy regarding the people who were careless with their work. When the boy's parents started to feel sad for their boy, they followed the shaman's direction and made him a sweet treat. The boy followed his seal mentor around becoming aware of how to live with respect for the seals. When it was time for the mentor seal to give himself back to his respectful hunter, the boy

returned to live among the people. He was found alone near an ice hole. He was taken to his parents. As the boy grew up, he missed his time with the seals. Thus, he returned for visits. As the boy became a man he started a family and stopped disappearing with the seal. He became a great hunter. It is said that when this man became an Elder he taught others in the community how to clear the ice from the water holes and be respectful to the animals (full story in Fienup-Riordan, 2003, p. 29-58).

In its entirety *Taṅgaurluq Nakacuut Ayautellrat* teaches rich life lessons for Yup'ik youth including respect for the environment, role of elders, social structure, and family relations. Furthermore, the story outlines expectations regarding awareness and development. This story is an example of localized knowledge that explores challenges (e.g., successfully raising and providing for a family and dealing with feelings of sadness) and protections (e.g., communal resources and being aware) through development. The traditional story teaches concepts that conceptually parallel contemporary constructs explored in this study.

Historic and Contextual Features

A brief historical backdrop offers a framework for conceptualizing the realities of contemporary indigenous populations, for colonization impacts indigenous populations' livelihood today (Duran & Duran, 1995). Bruno Barras (2004), an Yshiro-Ebitoso leader in South America, states the thematic similarities that exist across colonialized populations:

I must begin, and I do not intend to offend anybody, with the arrival of the so-called 'discoverers' and what this event meant to us. Upon their arrival, they

justified their deeds by saying that they came to civilize us. I wonder, what did

they mean by 'civilization'? In our understanding and experience, civilization

means the dispossession of our lands, the demise of our culture and the attempt to

make White people out of us. We had our stories, our knowledge, our ways of

organizing, our ways of praying and our ways of mapping our territories. But

none of that was of importance to the Whites. They made their written words and

their maps the only valid ones. Thus we lost our territories, and the younger

generations were turned away from the ways of our ancestors. The colonizers

completely disregarded our realities and asserted their own views of us. (p. 47)

Common legacies for colonized populations include health disparities and cultural

disruption. Colonization was a process of forced schooling, political domination, forced

land management, and suppression of indigenous language (Chance, 1990; Bjerregaard,

2001; Kirmayer, Fletcher, & Boothroyd, 1998). Along with similarities, there are

differences among colonization experiences such as year of contact, natural resources

extracted, and religious dogma (Langdon, 2002). These experience vary across

indigenous populations

Alaska Natives experienced colonization in waves. Early explorers arrived in

1725, for Peter I czar of Russia hired Danish captain Vitus Bering to explore if Russia

was attached to North America (Thompson, 1996). Subsequent voyages traveled the

coastline of Alaska and established the lucrative trade of sea otter pelts. Throughout the

1700s, Russian, Spanish, and British explorers exported furs from Alaska. Early

colonization in the state was among indigenous populations along the coastlines

(Thompson, 1996; Roderick, 2008). In the 1800s the United States became involved in the fur trade. Then in 1867 the United States purchased Alaska from Russia. During the 1800s, additional natural resources including fish and gold were exported from the state (Thompson, 1996). These industries widened the reach of colonial impacts on Alaska Native peoples. Concurrent with intensive resource extraction came the introduction of new ideologies (e.g., Christian missionaries and prescribed education) and lifestyles (e.g., modernization). The 1900s brought the completion of a railway from Seward to Fairbanks, a surge in United States military due to World War II, statehood in 1959, continued prospectors, petroleum discovery in the North Slope Region, and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act[1] (Thompson, 1996). These events resulted in far reaching adverse impacts of colonization on indigenous populations throughout the state as Western worldviews and resource management systems were superimposed on indigenous populations traditional belief systems and subsistence lifestyle. The result is that Alaska Native populations have woven together localized colonization realities and related impacts, which fit their regional experience (Langdon, 2002). Today, Alaska defines six major indigenous populations: Unangan/Aleut, Sugpiaq/Alutiiq (Pacific Eskimos), Yupiit (plural of Yup'ik, Bering Sea Eskimos), Inupiat (Northern Eskimos), Athabaskans (Interior Indians), and Tlingit and Haida (Southeast Costal Indians) (Langdon).

---

[1] In 1971, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) compensated indigenous populations byway of $962.5 million and 44 million acres (Thompson, 1996). ANCSA created one dozen regional and 226 village corporations (Hensley, 2009; Roderick, 2008).

This study took place among Yup'ik Eskimos of the Lower Yukon River near the coast of the Bering Sea in the Central Yupiit region. Bering Sea Eskimos are comprised of six distinct indigenous groups including Siberian Yup'ik, Cup'ik, Yukon Yup'ik, Delta Yup'ik, Kuskokwim Yup'ik, and Bristol Bay Yup'ik (Langdon, 2002). Four distinctive dialects are found within the Yup'ik language. Many elders within Yupiit populations are monolingual Yup'ik speakers.

Comparatively, contact between Russians and Central Yupiit populations occurred later than contact with other Alaska Native populations, for it was not until the nineteenth century when 'outsiders' embarked on colonializing Central Yupiit peoples. Americans made minimal contact within the region. It is suggested that the later contact is due to the lack of rich developmental resources such as gold and minerals (Langdon, 2002).

Napoleon (1996) offers a historical timeline specific to the Yup'ik Eskimo experience colonial starting with 1900 when 60% of Eskimos died due to disease. Napoleon calls the massive loss, *The Great Death*. The Great Death led to a generation of orphans (Napoleon, 1996). Napoleon suggests that survivors of the epidemic discarded their traditional culture. Thus, the Great Death marks the death of *old culture*. Napoleon asserts that survivors were in shock, and the devastation of the Great Death has shaped modern Yup'ik culture, which is *without anchor*.

Following the Great Death, Napoleon frames Christian missionaries' attempt to save the Yup'ik people from their devilish ways (e.g., traditional feasts, dances, songs, masks) and the introduction of boarding schools to 'educate' the children as *cultural*

genocide (Napoleon, 1996). After Alaska statehood, legislation was implemented that

limited hunting and fishing rights. Devastation, grief, and loss of traditional lifestyle led

to an *illness of the soul* for the Yup'ik people, which led to alcohol abuse, criminal

behaviors, and suicide (Napoleon).

Colonization has impacted Yup'ik populations. Napoleon (1996) emphasizes that

the *illness of the soul* is of contemporary concern as youth today have inherited

generational pains or historical traumas. In addition to containing past hurts, Kawagley

(2006) asserts that youth are exposed to Western ideals through media and school

portraying an unrealistic picture of Western society and a distorted view of indigenous

cultures. This skewed conceptualization "leads to a great deal of confusion for students

over who they are and where they fit into the world," which results in feelings of

depression (Kawagley, p. 48). An elder from the Central Yup'ik region shared his

perceptions concerning the pronounced schism between elders and youth; he explained

that contemporary social changes have impacted the role of elders in the community as

teachers due to the institutionalized education system (D. Sheldon, personal

communication, May 16, 2012).

Wallis (2002) captures this dynamic interface of historical trauma and modern,

Western influenced ideals. Her coming of age story depicts the plague of domestic

violence due to alcohol abuse and fractured parent-child relationships. Wallis highlights

a common characteristic of the time around discussing pains and talking about alcohol

abuse she states, "My mother usually did not allow us to ask questions. It made life

easier if questions did not have to be answered. But on that day she may have needed to

talk to someone, for she could not do so with my father" (p. 115). Wallis is alluding to a common characteristic around not talking about pain and alcohol abuse. However, a noticeable change regarding the stigma of talking about alcohol can be seen in the People Awakening Project. This project explored adult life history narratives where Alaska Natives willingly discussed hardships and hope around substance use, substance abuse, and pathways to sobriety (Rasmus, Atuk, Orr, & Mohatt, 2004). These early conversations opened future possibilities for continued respectful research and programming.

Ecological Frameworks: Development and Resilience

Reviewing historical and contextual aspects among Alaska Native populations sets the framework for understanding contemporary realities. The historical backdrop is a complementary component to ecological theories. A more localized Yup'ik theory of development reinforces an ecological viewpoint. In addition, theories of development and resilience offer ecological perspectives. The following sections review developmental and resilience theories that are rooted in environmental influences.

Yup'ik development.

Conceptualizing development through a localized perspective offers a holistic view of development. The forthcoming terms and concepts establish the framework for Yup'ik human development. Yup'ik human development is understood as a non-linear process and includes a sense of *agefulness* (Barker, 1994). Cross (1997) explains that the linear framework is rooted in Western European and American pedagogy, and tribal cultures' non-linear framework is best understood as a *relational worldview*. That is, a

non-linear, relational worldview conceptualizes development through continual efforts to obtain balance between relationships among and between four primary areas including *context, mind*, *body*, and *spirit* (Cross, 1997). *Content* refers to variables such as the environment, peers, family, and school. *Mind* captures cognitions, and *body* references the overall health of the person including how much sleep an individual receives, genetics, and the physical role the individual has in the family and community. Finally, *spiritual* influences capture the belief that there are influences beyond our own making. Individuals strive to stay in harmony with spiritual influences through various means such as prayer or ceremonies. As an individual fluxes among states of balance he or she creates a repeated state of *agefulness*.

Yup'ik development is intricately linked with the concept *ella,* referring to an increased mastery of the senses. *Ellangun* is the active term of mastering one's senses. Barker explains the non-linear nature of development, *agefulness*, and *ella*:

> To *ellangun* the first time is a rebirth, the child emerging from the house just as he had emerged from the womb. The fact that the term can be used in subsequent situations suggests that life is, metaphorically, a series of births and, since birth and death are mirror images, both youth and age reside in any given stage or transition (p. 85).

In the above quote Barker is describing various emerging states. A child emerges from the womb once he or she masters multiple vital functioning such as breathing and fighting of germs. Development is understood through processes of *growing out* and is shaped by *ella*. For example, a child *growing out* of the house has mastered an awareness

of visual senses in the area of knowing kin and non-kin. *Growing out* of the house describes the time when a child is allowed to play outside of the yard and be among the community with less parental supervision. Mastery of senses involves an increase in awareness and marks continual *ellangun* through the life span. For example, a sophisticated ability to sense temperature changes (i.e., an awareness) allows for increased discernment to properly protect oneself from the elements. This process involves "relationships with people and with other elements of the universe" (p. 74). The story *Taṅgaurluq Nakacuut Ayautellrat* parallels these concepts of development from a Yup'ik pedagogy of mastery of senses, increased awareness, and nurturing relationships with others and universe.

Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of development places emphasis on dynamic processes of self and environment as influential components of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Feldman, 2006; Rogoff, 2003). The theory emphasizes the components of the individual's environment, and in particular, those elements of the person's social ecology that influence development. Bronfenbrenner's theory describes five nested ecological systems that shape human development across the life span: *microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, macrosystems* and *chronosystems* (Bronfenbrenner). The innermost system is the *microsystem*. It is comprised of influences most proximal to the individual including the nuclear family, home environment, school setting, peer relations, frequented neighborhood play area, and/or church/activity groups (Bronfenbrenner).

Mesosystems can be understood as interactions between two or more influential elements within the *microsystem*. For instance, an individual socializing with friends within the intimate setting of the person's home while among his nuclear family constitutes a *mesosystem*. The *mesosystem* also contains interactions between the *microsystem* and *exosystem*. An example of this might include the individual attending a family reunion. Here the nuclear family is part of the *microsystem*. Extended family, which includes members of family whose links to the individual are more indirect, is composed of people who are instead more directly linked to others in the person's ecological system. These extended family members, who have less frequent contact and are less familiar to the individual, are part of the individual's *exosystem*. However in tightknit family structures, extended family may be better understood as part of the *microsystem*.

Another example of the *exosystem* is mass media. The *exosystem* is defined through indirect links that connect to the individual between different ecological settings. Nonetheless, these indirect links have causal effects on the development of the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Santrock (2010) offered an example of the causal impact of these linkages by describing a couple in which one partner is in graduate school. The graduate student's involvement in writing a thesis can have direct impact on the other partner's experience at home. Here the university system is indirectly linked, with causal effects, to the individual through this individual's partner. Additional examples of *exosystem* influences include such influences as mass media, social welfare services, local government, and neighbors.

Also influencing these systems are the behavioral patterns, cultural attitudes, and belief systems passed down from generation to generation. This system of influences encircles the individual's inner nested systems of *microsystems, mesosystems,* and *exosystems*. This outer system is the *macrosystem* (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Finally, the *chronosystem* exerts historical influences upon the individual. The *chronosystem* accounts both for developmental influences in regards to sociohistorical factors (e.g., children raised during the Great Depression or Alaskan survivors of the Great Death), and marked influential events in the individual's personal life history, such as the divorce of one's parents or death of a loved one (Santrock, 2010).

Critics of ecological theory note a lack of attention to cognitive and biological influences on human development (Bronfenbrenner, 2004). In partial response to these critiques, Bronfenbrenner attempted to expand his theory to include biological aspects of human development. His later theory (Bronfenbrenner) places the individual with nested ecological systems and additionally highlights biological influences such as general health, sexual characteristics, and maturation associated with age. Bronfenbrenner's later work acknowledges genetic loading for cognitive or behavioral abilities. However, Bronfenbrenner asserts the person-process-context formula best captures the dynamics of human development (Tudge, Gray, & Hogan, 1996). Bronfenbrenner's resulting bioecological theory of development attempts to be comprehensive in its consideration of both nature and nurture. Bronfenbrenner's later model captures the direct and indirect aspects of human development.

Social ecology of resilience.

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory, which accounts for dynamic biological, environmental, and historical influences on human development, has guided theory development for resilience. Ungar (2011b) asserts that limited focus has been afforded to the *exosystem* and its influences on resilience. Thus, he offers a social ecology conceptualization for resilience research, theory, and interventions. Ungar states that, "… our understanding of resilience is shifting … to a broader focus on processes in complex environments that interact to foster good developmental outcomes (i.e., biological, psychological, and social) of relevance to culturally diverse communities" (p. 3-4). The social ecology of resilience theory includes four principles: *decentrality, complexity, atypicality,* and *cultural relativity*.

The principle of *decentrality* argues that resilience is framed first from the child's social and physical environments, second through the processes of interactions between the child and environments, and then through abilities specific to the child (Ungar, 2011b). Ungar explains, "… that in higher risk environments, resilience is more dependent on the availability and accessibility of culturally relevant resources than individual factors" (p. 6). Therefore, he reinforces the need to include ecological influences in resilience research, theory, and interventions. *Decentrality* urges a broad ecological view on resilience.

The principle of *complexity* asserts that resilience is unstable (Ungar, 2011b; Werner & Smith, 2001). That is resilience, a positive outcome in the face of chronic or acute adversity, is related to a specific time and setting. A fixed outcome is not expected

across contexts or over time. Longitudinal studies support the principle of *complexity*,

and the current study aims to explore the principle of *complexity* in a Yup'ik context.

Likewise, the principles of *atypicality* and *cultural relativity* are based in specificity.

Atypicality captures seemingly deviant behaviors and frames the behaviors within the

context. Taking the context into account the principle of *atypicality* states that the

behaviors are examples of resourcefulness opposed to maladaptive functioning. Ungar

illustrates this principle with Wang and Ho's (as cited in Ungar, 2011b) study of Chinese

female adolescents who displayed violence among intimate partner relations. The

violence was framed as a functional coping strategy to navigate their urban setting where

young women experienced gender bias and were disempowered within relationships.

Atypicality requires a review of the context to understand the underlying meaning of

deviant behavior patterns. The context creates the base for the *cultural relativity*

principle. In regards to *cultural relativity* Ungar explains, "The more resilience is

conceptualized as a process that reflects the influence of culture on the naming of

protective processes, the more likely it is that the study of resilience will contribute to

understanding positive development amid adversity as a process that is culturally

embedded" (p. 10). Social programming and interventions need to be culturally relevant

to foster positive, culturally defined outcomes. Thus, the four principles of the social

ecological model for resilience guide this study.

Ungar's social ecological model for resilience offers a framework for

conceptualizing resilience as it relates to time and context. Javier and Camacho-

Gingerich (2004) provide an example of a culturally based coping strategy within a

Latino community. They explained that *ataque* is a cathartic emotional release to deal

with stress that may involve throwing oneself on the floor, screaming, and increased heart

rate, which results in a loss of consciousness. An *ataque* does not harm the individual.

Exploring this behavior through a social ecological framework provides richness to

understanding the behavior as a strategy for resilience. Experiencing an *ataque* in the

rural Yup'ik community where this study took place would not have the same meaning.

Within this new Yup'ik cultural context, both actor and observer do not share the cultural

frame and meaning structure it has in the Latino culture of the community Javier and

Camacho-Gingerich describe; this particular cultural frame and meaning structure allows

the behavior to communicate a resource for navigating challenges. Resilience is linked to

a specific time and context, which shapes the interpretation of the protective resources.

Review of Resilience Research

Earlier research in the area of resilience informed Ungar's social ecology model.

Figure 1, adapted from Australian Institute of Family Studies (2013), illustrates this

progression.

1974
"invulnerable children … those children who, despite genetic, psychological, and environmental disadvantage, continue to adapt and perform competently." (Garmezy, 1974, p. 65, as cited in Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2013)

1989
"… *Resilience* of children, that is, their *capacity to cope effectively with the internal stresses of their vulnerabilities* (such as labile patterns of autonomic reactivity, developmental imbalances, unusual sensitivities) and *external stresses* (such as illness, major losses, and dissolution of the family). Even through the most stressful experiences in the most terrible homes, some individuals appear to emerge unscathed and to develop a stable, healthy personality." (Werner & Smith, 1989, p. 4, as cited in Australian Institute of Family Studies , 2013)

2001
'[Resilience includes] individual characteristics or environmental conditions that help children and youth resist or otherwise counteract the stress to which they were exposed" (Richman & Fraser, 2001, p. 4)

2006
"[A development in resilience research] … was the recognition that positive adaptation despite adversity is never permanent; rather, there is a developmental progression, with new vulnerabilities and strengths emerging with changing life circumstances …" (Luthar, 2006, p. 741, as cited in Australian Institute of Family Studies , 2013)

2007
"… resilience is not static, it is not a trait, and it is not a construct that can be directly measured. Resilience is a 'superordinate' construct that is indirectly inferred from two component constructs subsumed under its definition: risk exposure and 'good' adaptation." (Kim-Cohen, 2007, p. 272, as cited in Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2013)

2010
"Resilience is not something an individual 'has' - it is a multiply determined developmental process that is not fixed or immutable." (Cicchetti, 2010, p. 146, as cited in Australian Institute of Family Studies , 2013)

Figure 1. Evolution of Resilience (adapted from Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2013)

Stripped down resilience includes two elements: exposure to a traumatic event or hardship (i.e., adversity) and positive achievement around development (i.e., adapting; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). Melendez and Tomlinson-Clarke (2004) state, "Resilience is simply defined as "beating the odds" (p. 314). Early resilience research

focused on individual traits to overcome adversity. Later research expanded from describing traits to exploring 'the how' aspects or process of resilience. Recent resilience research asserts the need for a cultural framework. Parallel to Ungar's ecological model of resilience, Clauss-Ehlers (2004) coins her model of culturally responsive resilience framework as *culturally-focused resilient adaptation* (CRA) where adaptations involve interactions between the individual and their environment.

Through the progression of research in positive psychology in the area of resilience salient findings have shaped the theory, interventions, and research. Three predominate patterns of resilience are found within the literature. These patterns are coined the standard triad of characteristics and resource utilization which include: internal or dispositional attributes of the individual such as social competence, familial attributes such as the warmth and closeness of affection ties and level of active emotional support within the family network, and external support, or community and contextual factors (Garmezy, 1987; Werner, 1989). Werner and Smith's (2001) seminal study introduced resilience concepts such as protective factors and set the stage for future resilience research. Their study followed a cohort of individuals, living on Kauai from 1955 to 1999 (i.e., birth to 40 years old), exploring contextual risk and protective factors through development. Stressful life events such as delinquency and substance use negatively correlated with adult adaptation at 40 years old. On the other hand, protective factors, which ameliorated stressful life events, were identified and included maternal competence, health status, sources of emotional support, and self-efficacy.

Henley (2010) offers that not only are individual protective factors important to

resilience, but that adaptation occurs through resilient actions. Resilient actions are knowing where to access help, accessing family for support, seeking new knowledge to improve, and engaging with the community through resilient attitudes including confidence, flexibility in adjusting to circumstances, motivated by faith, and using humor to cope and stay calm. Henley describes resilience as a blending of traits and processes. Moreover, an ecological framework explains resilience through the context that gives rise to traits and process. An ecological perspective includes community factors, which are most effective when they are *coordinated* among various resources in the community, are *continuous* or sustainable over time, and are *co-located* in such ways as to foster accessibility of resources (e.g., teen health center in schools and at the clinic; Ungar, 2011b). Luthar et al. (2000) assert that resilience is the relationship between *risk* (i.e., adversities experienced by the collective), *vulnerability* (i.e., individual challenges from a person's life history), and *protection* (i.e, referencing the resources that buffer individuals from negative outcomes around exposure to risks and vulnerabilities). Risks for this Yup'ik community are rooted around the devastating effects of loss linked to colonization.

Masten and Tellegen (2012) assert that youth that demonstrate the ability to utilize protective resources in the face of adversity in childhood correlates with utilization of protective resources in adulthood. However, youth that do not utilize protective resources in childhood does not determine their utilization of protective resources in adulthood. That is maturation influences resilience. The emergence of positive outcomes has been found during transition into adulthood.

Turning attention to the adversity component of resilience, Arrington and Wilson

(2000) explain that all youth experience stressful events during their development. However, risk increases with greater number of exposures to environmental vulnerability (e.g., low socioeconomic status and lack in resources). This current study took place in a rural, Yup'ik community that experiences low socioeconomic status, limited employment opportunities, overcrowding at the school, exposure to loss via accidental death, suicide and outward migration, and exposure to substance abuse.

Indigenous resilience.

Lavallee and Poole (2010) assert that mental health and recovery among Canadian Indigenous populations are tied to history, identity, policies, language, colonization, and dislocation. Clinically, a *holistic* approach refers to integrating mind, body, and spirit into treatment/recovery. Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, and Williamson (2011) offer their holistic conceptualization of resilience:

> We approach resilience as a dynamic process of social and psychological adaptation and transformation. As such, resilience can be a characteristic of individuals, families, communities, or larger social groups and is manifested as positive outcomes in the face of historical and current stresses (p. 85).

Kirmayer, Sehdev, Whitley, Dandeneau, and Isaac (2009) assert that resilience occurs on an ecological level that they term community resilience, and they identify historical and contemporary sources of adversity on the community level. Among indigenous populations, this includes colonization, rapid social change, and environmental impacts (e.g., community displacement due to climate change related coastal erosion) and adaptations through positive community level change encompassing ecological elements

of resilience. The community where this current study took place has been impacted by colonization including forced boarding school, loss of language and disruption of traditional lifestyle. Furthermore, the community experienced years of emotional devastation due to the presence of waves of suicide. Collaboration with the University of Alaska Fairbanks, elders, and community members led to the implementation of a culturally based intervention program (Allen, et al., 2011). This example of revitalizing traditional lifestyle in a contemporary rural community illustrates cultural resilience. Cultural resilience is the capacity of a cultural system to retain key elements of structure and identity, preserving cultural distinctiveness (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008). This community level process led the community to redefine itself through the strengthening of traditional ways of living among contemporary realities. Kirmayer et al.'s (2009) indigenous model of resilience and wellbeing suggests resilience research (and intervention) consider the following community level processes as resilience strategies: strengthening social capital, networks, and support revitalization of language, enhancing cultural identity and spirituality, supporting families and parents to insure healthy child development, enhancing local control and collective efficacy, building infrastructure (material, human and informational), increasing economic opportunity and diversification, and respecting human diversity. Youth narratives such as those produced in the current research provide opportunities to observe these processes as they are enacted in the lives of youth.

Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood Project

The Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood (CIPA) project was a collaborative study working with university researchers and communities from five circumpolar sites. In addition to the diversity of locations including Alaska, Siberia, Norway, and Nunavut, the collaborative university research team was comprised of diverse disciplines including cultural psychology, clinical-community psychology, medical anthropology, socio-cultural anthropology, public health, and education (Ulturgasheva & CIPA Team, 2013). The aims were to identify resilience processes and compare local findings across sites among youth ages 11 to 18 years old (20 youth per site).

A principal investigator collaborated with a rural community and with cross-site researchers. The same semi-structured interview protocol was used at each site. Nevertheless, data collection varied based on local steering committee recommendations. For example at one site the local steering committee suggested a community member be the interviewer, while at other sites university researchers and graduate students conducted the interviews and at other sites the interviewer was indigenous to the region and a university researcher. The interview protocol covered broad content areas including life history narratives, stressors, and resources to handle changes, school, future, and culture. All interviews were transcribed, and in non-English speaking communities, transcripts were translated into English. Each site developed a local codebook, which were used as the bases for a cross-site codebook. Through qualitative methods,

university researchers per site analyzed data generating a localized perspective of resilience processes.

Ulturgasheva and CIPA Team summarize cross-site findings of resilience processing among indigenous youth living in rural circumpolar communities:

The accounts of youth resilience from five sites across the circumpolar north demonstrate youth's conscious awareness of the importance of family activities and communal practices such as potlatch (Eskimo Dance) among Yup'ik, hunting rituals of sharing among Eveny, *wedding parties for* Sámi and giving back among Inupiat, or working together for a common good among Inuit. These are culturally-integrated mechanisms which youth perceive as contributing to their acquisition of resilience in the midst of challenge, threat or loss (p. 30, 2013).

Cross-site challenges included boredom, bullying, challenges with school, and strained parent-child relations. Youth across sites utilized relational resources including grandparents, kinship/peer supports, and the practice of sharing in addition to traditional practices and being on the land. For an in-depth review of cross-site findings see Ulturgasheva and CIPA Team (2013).

Conclusion

Trimble and Dickson (2005) caution against overgeneralizing or *ethnic glossing* in research with ethno-cultural populations. That is, it would be misleading to assert that American Indian and Alaska Native populations can be painted with the same brush, for there are vast differences among histories and lifestyles among indigenous populations in the Americas. Nevertheless, there are similarities in themes around loss and acts of

'reformation' associated with colonialism, but these similar experiences have had unique impacts for each tribe (Langdon, 2002).

Napoleon (1996) offers a community member's perspective of a larger collective process as he recounts experiences and impacts among the Yup'ik people related to colonization. He describes a recent history of loss of loved ones due to a series of infectious disease epidemics, "The Great Death," and loss of culture due to missionaries, government, and interruption in traditional values/lifestyle. The survivors were left with grief, which shaped into an understanding "…that they would not talk about it. It was too painful and the implications were too great" (Napoleon, p. 12), and not talking about problems or unpleasant feelings was taught to following generations. Bronfenbrenner's (2004) bioecological theory of human development most encompassing level of influence for this historical experience of colonial displacement and trauma is the *chronosystem*, which would account for the histories of the Yup'ik. It should be noted that Napoleon's ideas remain controversial to this day, and are contested by other community members whose concerns are that these ideas themselves overgeneralize regarding all Yup'ik.

Bioecological theory on its most basic levels also accounts for biological determinates of human development such as puberty. Santrock (2010) articulates the interplay of biological and environmental influences on development in contemporary industrial and postindustrial societies:

It has been said that adolescence begins in biology and ends in culture. That is,

the transition from childhood to adolescence begins with the onset of pubertal

maturation, whereas the transition from adolescence to adulthood is determined

by cultural standards and experiences (p. 19).

Adolescence in these contexts is a transitional stage preparing youth to become adults

(Rogoff, 2003). Ungar (2013) states resilience,

is a meta-construct for processes of positive development that take place when

individuals, families, or communities are affected by the cumulative disadvantage

of multiple interrelated challenges. Resilience refers to the processes that we

observe that contribute to successful adaptation. One cannot describe an

individual as resilient as individual aspects of resilience are temporal and

contextual (p. 139).

This current study is a logical follow-up study to the CIPA study to investigate culturally

defined stressors and strategies for navigating challenges as time and context has changed

for participants from the CIPA study. In addition, this study offers a rich opportunity to

discover localized ways in which young people's resilience strategies are shaped by

larger social and institutional influences as youth are growing up in a rural Yup'ik

community. The aim of this study is to explore how resilience processes in a rural

Yup'ik community change over a three-year period as youth develop.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

This study is of qualitative, longitudinal design. It is a follow-up investigation, recruiting participants from the Circumpolar Pathways to Adulthood (CIPA) project (Rasmus et al., 2013). Individual, face-to-face interviews were conducted with participants in December 2012. A semi-structured interview protocol focusing on stressors and resilience strategies since the CIPA interview in January 2010 was used in this study. In addition, participants completed a demographic questionnaire prior to being interviewed. Interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed, and analyzed via qualitative methods. Grounded theory was used to generate hypotheses around developmental resilience among Yup'ik youth and young adults.

Rationale for Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research methods are utilized throughout the social sciences (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) offer a basic definition of qualitative research as *interpretive, naturalistic analysis,* which focuses on contextual meanings of data such as photographs, recording, interviews, or field notes. For the current study, qualitative methods were selected given the small population size of youth in the community, the exploratory nature of this study, and the degree to which qualitative methods are culturally congruent with the preferences of indigenous populations that have retained oral traditions (Mohatt et al., 2004). Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) report saturation of data can occur at 12 interviews, and at six interviews construction of metathemes is possible for nonprobabilistic research.

Fixico (2003) articulates the significance of oral traditions among American Indian populations:

> To the American Indian, history is better explained as the importance of "experience." People recall an experience in greater detail because of the emotions involved, vivid colors, familiar sounds described, and the people and/or beings involved. When retold, the experience comes alive again recreating the experience by evoking the emotions of the listeners, transcending past-present-future. Time does not imprison the story. The vehicle for transmitting this same reality of past and present is the oral tradition, which differs from oral history. Oral tradition is the process; oral history is an event told orally. Orality is the way of American Indian mind (p. 22).

Participants displayed a degree of comfort in the current study with the approach of telling their story. In contrast, youth were typically unsure of the meanings embedded in Likert scales when they completed the demographic questionnaire. Participants would often discuss the question with the interviewer prior to committing to a Likert scale response, while other participants chose not to circle a scaled number and opted to write a short answer in the margins.

Qualitative Approaches: Grounded Theory

Within this study, one can identify reflections of multiple qualitative approaches. For example, the context/setting and cultural values of participants are described due to the significant relevance around the experience of growing-up in rural Alaska. Describing the setting and cultural values are simply scratching the surface of

ethnography, which can provide a more comprehensive approach to providing descriptive data on social life, social customs, and everyday practices of a people. The scope of the current study is on the realities of developmental resilience strategies among youth over a three-year period. The primary investigator traveled to the rural community and allowed observations to inform understanding of life on the Lower Yukon River. Collecting observational data aligns with field research methods or participant observation approaches. Observations alone do not capture the depth and internal processes sought after in this study. Participants' subjective experiences and how they understand their world is foundational to this study as in a true phenomenological approach. Phenomenology is the starting point for a grounded theory approach. Charmaz (2004) explains, "Grounded theory methods provide a set of strategies for conducting rigorous qualitative research" (p. 496). Rationale for using grounded theory is that grounded theory maintains the integrity of localized experiences while generating testable theories for future research and informed intervention and policy development (Charmaz, 2004).

Grounded theory methods, first presented by Glaser and Strauss (1967), asserted that theory can emerge from research data as a bottom-up approach opposed to hypotheses driven top-down research methods. Grounded theory is a process that systematically groups data into analytical categories including codes, concepts, and themes (Charmaz, 2006). Grounded theory analysis involves an iterative process (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Coding helps identify what is happening in the data and make meaning out of the data (Charmaz). Coding progressively moves analysis towards theory through stages of greater abstraction. The first stage in coding is line-by-line or

open coding (Charmaz). Open coding involves surveying and taking inventory of all the data. It informs what data needs to be collected next (i.e., are new questions emerging) and lays the foundation for the next level of coding. Open codes are the grounding codes that root participants' experiences.

The next level of coding is focused coding, also known as selective coding. Focused codes are discrete and conceptual in nature to answer specific research questions (Charmaz, 2006). Focus codes inform categories which explain the emerging theoretical framework (Charmaz). These categories are the building blocks for theory development, and they are the furthest removed analytical stage from participants' words or raw data. However, these emergent theories are grounded to participants' experiences by way of tracing back categories to focused codes and focused codes to open codes. In the end of the analysis, grounded theory offers a systematic approach to linking data to theory.

Archival Data

In this longitudinal design, the current study investigated the developmental influence on resilience strategies utilizing both archival data and new data. The archival data is from the CIPA study. The CIPA study was a community based participatory research (CBPR) project (Ford et al., 2012). Thus, a local steering committee (LSC), comprised of community leaders, community members, Elders, and youth, was developed to contribute to the research study. For example, collaboration between researchers and the LSC informed the research design (i.e., questions to be explored), data collection (e.g., how data would be collected), data interpretation (e.g., member-checking meetings), and dissemination activities (e.g., how sharing the findings could be

meaningful to the community). Aims of the CIPA project included (1) a description of stressors and resources that shape culturally patterned resilience strategies of indigenous youth among four stratified categories specific to age group (11-14 and 15-18 years old) and gender; (2) a comparison of stressors and resilience strategies across five Circumpolar Indigenous including Alaska Yup'ik, Alaska Inupiat, Canadian Inuit, Siberian Eveny, and Norwegian Sami groups; and (3) a description of educational and social policies cross-nationally that impact stressors and resilience strategies. Grounded theory methods and narrative analysis were used to analyze data. Each site worked independently on coding and created localized codebooks.

Codebook development for the Alaska Yup'ik site involved two coders independently coding the same transcript at the line-by-line level. Consistency of coding was evaluated, and focused codes were defined. Once coding consistency, with the developed focused codes, was established through coding a second transcript, the two coders randomly selected two transcripts to establish reliability in coding (MacQueen, McLellan, Kay, & Milstein, 1998). The frequency that coders coded the same text selection with the same codes was analyzed by computing percent agreement. Coding agreement was found for 82% of the coded segments in these two interviews. Two additional transcripts were coded by both coders midway through coding, to decrease drift in coding.

CIPA data collection research team.

The LSC requested individuals from outside of the community to conduct the interviews for the CIPA study at the Yup'ik site. The reason for this request was to

address concerns regarding confidentiality for research participants in this rural, tightknit

community. In addition, the LSC believed youth participants would be more likely to

speak candidly to a person who was not someone with whom their parents had grown up

together, as would likely be the case if a local interviewer was used. Two faculty

investigators (one male, one female) led the CIPA study. Three graduate students (one

male, two female) assisted in interviewing youth participants. The author of this

dissertation (female) completed eight interviews (three male, five female) during the

original data collection. In addition, she participated in meetings, data collection,

analysis, review of the findings via focus groups with youth in the community, and

dissemination activities prior to conducting interviews for the follow-up study.

Researcher's Identity

Involvement in the original study drew my interest to continued collaboration

with this rural community and led to this dissertation work. Furthermore, I grew-up in

the Midwestern U.S., where I had the opportunity to spend some of my childhood

summers in a rural setting with my grandparents of indigenous heritage. My great-

grandfather made Choctaw stickball sets and sang in his native tongue. My grandmother

and great-grandmother cooked, while hunting and fishing were dominant conversations

among the men. The pace and way of life was noticeably different than it was in the

small town, agriculture community that I was raised in. In the rural community where

this dissertation work took place grandparents play a critical role in the upbringing of

children. Their daily activities teach youth about living with the land and honoring

traditions. This parallels values that were shared with me in my childhood.

I have lived in Alaska for 15 years. I have noticed, throughout the communities I have lived in Alaska, a blending or layering of this dichotomous pace of life between traditional rural lifestyles and contemporary values, which I discovered in my childhood. Describing this way of being is much like describing the taste of salt. It is challenging and ends in something to the effect of you simply have to experience or taste it to know what I am talking about. This awareness has intrigued and fueled my work, and it has taught me to walk softly, as there are subtleties worthy of attention.

Research Setting

The current study took place in a rural community in Southwest Alaska. The community is located near the Bering Sea, on the Lower Yukon River, in the Yukon Delta National Wildlife Refuge. The close proximity to the coast offers a subsistence lifestyle based largely around marine fishing including salmon, seal, and whale. Residents rely on subsistence hunting and fishing for their livelihood. Wild berries flourish, fowl nest, and moose graze in the tundra surrounding the community. Year round accessibility to the community is via small airplanes. There are no roads connecting the community to others communities in the area. However, during winter months, an ice road allows for snow-machine travel between communities along the Yukon River. When the Yukon River thaws, the community is accessible by boat.

In 1946, a post office was established in community, and the city incorporated in 1969 as a class-two city (Retrieved 2011, State of Alaska). Communities in this region vary in population from approximately 500 to 1000 with over 90% residents of Alaska Native descent. Thirty-two percent of the population is under that age of 18 years old

United States Census Bureau, 2010). The community where this dissertation took place has active church groups, a traditional dance group, and annual basketball tournaments.

Sample

Participants in the CIPA study (*N*=25) were recruited to be re-interviewed for this follow-up study. Fifteen youth/young adults (*n*=7 females; *n*=8 males) agreed to participate. Participants were between the ages of 14 and 20 years old. Some CIPA participants were no longer living in the community. One interview was conducted via telephone and another interview took place in an urban city where the participant was staying. Additional findings on participant attrition are presented in the results section. Participants were compensated forty dollars for participating.

Procedures

Gaining access.

University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) researchers have an established long-term, working relationship with the community. The primary investigator for the current study worked on the CIPA study as an assistant and traveled to the Yup'ik community a handful of times throughout the last four years. Respectable reputation of UAF researchers and the community's sincere commitment to healthy youth set the pathway for making this project is possible. The local community, UAF Institutional Review Board (see Appendix A), and Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation human studies board (see Appendix B) approved the current study.

Instruments.

This study utilized a section of the CIPA interview protocol focusing on identifying resilience strategies (see Appendix C) and the CIPA demographic questionnaire (see Appendix D).

Interview protocol.

The interview protocol included six questions from the CIPA study, two of which had five probes that were used to elicit additional information. Questions focused on participants' current challenges and strategies for navigating hard times. For example, "Tell me about [another problem/challenge]. What helped you get through this?" and probing questions such as, "Did your thoughts or specific ways of thinking help you get through this challenge?" Questions explored participants' current resilience strategies by inquiring about the resources, relationships, and coping mechanisms participants used to manage life challenges.

Demographic questionnaire.

The demographic questionnaire contained 13 questions covering three broad domains including demographics, living context, and behavioral involvement. Demographic questions consisted of age, sex, ethnicity, and grade level/not attending school/graduated from school. Household environment questions included listing other individuals who were residing with the participant and their parents' marital status. Behavioral involvement questions asked about participant's experiences with alcohol, drugs, church, and other extracurricular activities.

Research protocol.

Participants gave consent and assent to be involved in this dissertation (see Appendix E). Parental consent and youth assent were obtained for participants under 18 years old. Participants 18 years old and over consented to participation. Participants were informed of the dissertation aims. Research procedures were explained including consenting/assenting to access to archival CIPA data. Known risks and benefits were outlined for the participants and their guardians. Participants and guardians were asked during the consent/assent process if I could address any questions they had about the study or offer clarity.

Interviews took place in available spaces including: offices at the community school, a Tribal Council building in an office, a quiet corner at an urban city airport, and over the telephone. After the consent and assent forms were completed, participants filled out the paper-pencil, demographic questionnaire. All participants consented to be digitally recorded. This ensured accuracy of the interviews and enabled both interviewer and interviewee to focus on the conversation. The consent/assent, questionnaire, and interview process took approximately 35 to 50 minutes to complete. Participants were able to discontinue their involvement with the interview or questionnaire at any time with no penalty or reduction in compensation. The CIPA participants' identification codes were used to de-identify responses. Audio from the interviews was transcribed verbatim for data analysis. Data was stored on a secure, password-protected computer. Moreover, data from this study was archived with the CIPA data and followed the same ethical and community oversight as the CIPA data. To share the findings with the community, a

pubic presentation in the rural community is planned.

Data Analysis

A co-researcher, who earned her doctorate in clinical-community psychology with a qualitative component to her dissertation, was recruited solely as a coder to establish inter-rater reliability. The primary researcher and a co-researcher independently line-by-line coded one interview, compared coding, and discussed code structure. In addition, we compared codes to the CIPA codebook. Resilience processes that did not thematically fit with the CIPA codes were developed into new codes, thus creating the working codebook for this analysis (see Appendix F). With the new codebook, an additional interview was jointly coded with the primary researcher and co-researcher. The codebook was refined during the joint coding. Transcripts of the interviews were imported into the ATLAS.ti software package. ATLAS.ti was used to organize and analyze data. Moreover, the CIPA study utilized ATLAS.ti; thus, using ATLAS.ti for this continuation study facilitated cross-study comparison.

First order agreement coefficient (AC1) was computed to determine the level of agreement between the two raters (Gwet, 2012). AC1 was developed in response to questions emerging in the literature regarding the accuracy of Cohen's weighted *Kappa* statistic in the case of sparse data that includes a large number of unscored codes in one or more transcripts. AC1 is proposed as an alternative to *Kappa* as a means to adjust for chance agreement and deal more adequately with cases of zero codes in coding categories. Cohen's *Kappa* was an improvement over percent agreement as it accounts for agreement by change or random agreement. However, this study uses AC1 as a more robust

assessment of inter-rater reliability addressing agreement by chance and cases of zero codes. The primary researcher and co-researcher independently coded two randomly selected interviews to assess inter-rater agreement. Through the iterative process of coding, computing AC1, and revising the codebook, forty percent of the interviews were dually coded. An AC1 of .83 was obtained.

Changes in vulnerabilities over time and developmental protective resources were evaluated by analyzing new codes, stable codes, and unused codes from January 2010 to December 2012. Co-occurring tables highlighting changes in coding was conducted in ATLAS.ti. These were explored carefully as potentially representative of change over time regarding the development of more mature resilience strategies. Finally, participants introduced new challenges and protective strategies that they did not discuss in their earlier narratives but which appeared in the narratives of older participants in the original CIPA study; this development will be explored as potentially representative as change over time as well.

Chapter 4: Results

The current study is a follow-up study to the study conducted at the Yup'ik site as part of the larger Circumpolar Indigenous Pathways to Adulthood (CIPA) study. Thus, CIPA participants from the Yup'ik site were recruited to be re-interviewed at 35 months following their initial interview. Fifteen Yup'ik youth (8 males, 7 females) between the ages of 14 years old and 20 years old could be located and agreed to participate in a semi structured follow-up interview exploring challenges they faced over the past three years and strategies they used for working through reported hard times (i.e., resilience processes).

Many of the youth and young adult participants noted in their follow-up interviews that a lot had changed over the past three years and they had grown up. A male participant reflected on the amount of change he experienced since the original CIPA interview:

> That's a pretty long time but I just had to go through and just had to live through it. Yes a lot happened in three years, in those three years because I was only seventeen when you first did this interview. I was still a minor. My grandparents still watched over me when I was that old but after I turned eighteen, I was on my own. I'm still living with them though. Still living with them. They're pretty old. They're over seventy.

Attrition

Sixty percent (*n*=15) of the original CIPA participants could be located and consented for an interview in the current study. Attempts were made to locate updated

contact information for all of the participants. Table 1 reports on attrition. Nine original

CIPA participants could not be located to participate in this study. One participant was

contacted, but elected to not participate.

Table 1. CIPA Three-Year Follow-up Study: Reasons for Attrition by Gender (*n = 10)*

	Male	Female
Moved out of community to another community in the region or to an urban area*	2	1
Attending school out of community*		1
Residing in community*	1	1
Out of community in state custody*		1
Out of community in residential treatment (unable to participate)	1	1
Living in the community, contacted for interview, and did not participate	1	
Totals	5	5

* Current contact information not available

Table 2 reports on participant gender and location of participant interviews.

Table 2. CIPA Three-Year Follow-up Study: Participant Gender by Interview Location

(*n = 15*)

	Male	Female
Interviewed residing in community	8	5
Interviewed residing outside of community		2
Totals	8	7

Participant population was more homogeneous during the CIPA interviews than for the

current study. For example during the CIPA interviews 24 participants were attending

school in the community while only one participant had graduated. All CIPA participants

were living in the rural community. For the follow-up study, four participants were

attending school in the community, one was attending a boarding school within the state,

four had graduated from high school, and six had not graduated but were not currently

attending school.

Table 3 reports on participation by original age cohort in the CIPA study design

(youth now are 3 years older).

Table 3. CIPA Three-Year Follow-up Study: Participant Gender by Original CIPA Study

Age Cohort (n = 15)

	Male	Female
11-14 years old	2	3
15-18 years old	6	4
Totals	8	7

The older age cohort was more accessible for the follow-up interviews compared to the

younger aged cohort. The entire original CIPA older male cohort was contacted and

participated in the follow-up interview. Two of the original CIPA older female cohort

could not be contacted for the follow-up study.

Changes in the Community Setting over Time

Changes in the community were observed over the past three years, which may

have impacted participants' context since their first interview. New school

administration including a new principal, vice principal, counselor, and a majority of the

teachers. While at the school, a new school employee stated that he hoped the school

atmosphere appeared more orderly in comparison to three years ago. In addition, tribal

administration changed since the CIPA study; these changes included a new tribal

administrator. Also, there was now a community police vehicle; during the CIPA study,

the village public safety officer used his own personal four-wheeler. Moreover, a small

pizza and hamburger restaurant opened in the community (the only restaurant in the

community) and a new school was under construction. The new school would be twice

the size of the overcrowded current school. In addition, a new longer airstrip was opened

in the community a short distance out of town at a new location form the old airstrip.

Reporting Procedures

The focus of this study was an exploration of how resilience processes identified

in the CIPA study change among youth that were interviewed three years ago in response

to their developmental transition and maturation. Data from this follow-up study are

compared and contrasted with the original CIPA data and findings around stressors and

resilience processes.

Findings are presented around vulnerabilities and protective resources. New

quotes and local terms representing developmental change over time are reported. An

ATLAS. ti software generated network is presented. In line with the exploratory scope of

this study, the network depicts a cluster analysis for capturing the relational nature of

resilience processes among these Yup'ik youth. The network provides the bases for

future research that can inform clinical and preventative interventions.

Confidentiality Protections

This study reports on data from a small remote rural Alaska Native community

where everyone grew up together, and knows each person in their age cohort intimately,

and where most community members know of most personal events in the community.

Because of these basic facts, there is the distinct potential for any direct quote, if included

in this results section, to be identifiable to someone in the community, even if

pseudonyms were used. Therefore, great care has been taken in presentation of this data

in order to protect the confidentiality of participants from this small rural community. As

a precaution against participant identification, the following quotations are composites

derived from multiple interview sources. Demographic details and details of the

descriptions of context and events were altered in ways that safeguard the identity and

confidentiality of the youth participants, as well as other community members often

portrayed in life histories, while still maintaining the integrity of meaning and core

description of the quotations. Pseudonyms were also used in quotations.

Life is Hard: Vulnerabilities

   Follow-up data on vulnerabilities.

   A 19-year-old male participant, whom we will call Andy, explained in his follow-

up interview that accepting the reality that life is hard and relying on self-capacity and

instincts has been a useful strategy worth sharing with others:

   Tara: What advice would you give someone?

   Andy: Life is hard. That's it. Life is hard. No matter how you approach it or

   whatever you do, there's always going to be some way that it's going to be able to

   knock you down, but you just got to get back up.

   Tara: How do you get back up? What would you tell someone to do to get back

   up?

   PAUSE

   Andy: I don't know. Just go with your gut.

Andy was defining resilience from a Yup'ik perspective. That is, he explained that life is

a series of exposures to challenges which create vulnerabilities – *life is hard* and a need to *get back up* via *going with your gut* as an individual resource of self-competence (i.e., protection) during hard times. This ability to conceptualize hard times and a resource to overcome challenges is a dynamic acceptance of community realities. Acceptance of community realities is a theme that was discussed in multiple interviews. Furthermore, a 16-year-old female participant whom we will call Becky reported challenges, which is the start to an operational localized description of *life is hard*.

> Tara: Since the last time you were interviewed what are some challenges you
> have experienced?
>
> Becky: Girls wanting to fight me, my grandma passing, drinking, and parents
> drinking

A new vulnerability emerging in young people's lives during late adolescence, early adulthood was around strain of being an adult. These strains included becoming aware of financial needs including finding employment, maintaining a job, and concern around parents working. Furthermore, there was a contemporary expectation for individuals in the community that are 18 years old. Once youth turned 18, they reported that they were deemed in the community as *on my own*. Transitioning to adulthood in a contemporary Yup'ik context warrants future exploration. Andy reported additional hard times:

> Tara: Since the last time you were interviewed back in the winter of 2010, what
> are some of the challenges or struggles that you've had to face?

Andy: After that it was okay, but near 2011 it started turning around and this year

it's a little bit worse than last year. Hard times are mostly winters. My parents go

only through part time jobs. So I'm struggling right now, just lost my job not too

long ago. So I'm having problems at home and right now. I'm still trying to get

over a loved one who passed away.

A major life change reported in the follow-up interviews was parenthood.

Females were the only participants that discussed being a parent. Becky talked about

being a parent as a challenge namely around relationship strain.

Their daddy used to leave me all the time whenever he drank and after I had our

baby, it's harder to keep track of their dad. I can't just leave and go out and look

for him. So I just stay home and get ready and go out, go somewhere else.

Review of indicators of challenges in this rural, Yup'ik community reported by

the youth found that some indicators were: 1) the same in the original CIPA and follow-

up interviews, 2) indicators were qualitatively different between interview time periods,

and 3) new indicators were reported in the follow-up interviews (as shown in Figure 2).

Indicators of challenges are categories of people, feelings, or events that make up the

vulnerability component of resilience as identified by youth in their narratives. There

were indicators that were discussed by youth in both the CIPA and follow-up interviews

including feelings of being stuck and *girl drama*. Moreover, there were similar indicators

from both interview time periods that were qualitatively different in the follow-up

interviews. That is, youth mentioned work in the original CIPA interviews as an activity

they were engaged in; however, in the follow-up interviews youth elaborated on the topic

52

and enriched the original theme of work by way of noting family strain around parents
not having work, traveling outside of the community to become gainfully employed, and
desires to obtain skilled training in hopes of employment opportunities. Finally, new
indicators of challenges were reported in the follow-up interviews. Females talked about
challenges associated with parenthood and males discussed the demands of being an adult.
These new indicators are associated with maturation.

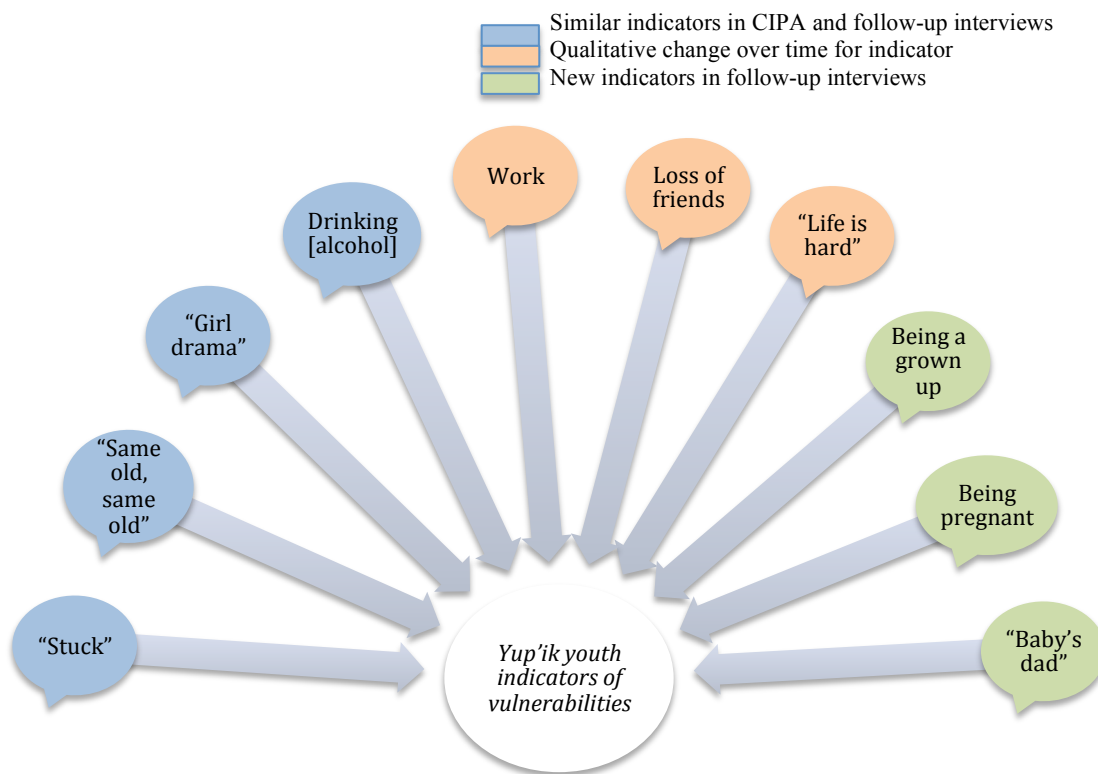Figure 2. Yup'ik Youth Indicators of Vulnerabilities: Change Over Time

Developmental change: Comparison of follow-up data with CIPA data of

vulnerabilities.

Youth and young adults continued to experience many of the same vulnerabilities

that were identified during the CIPA interviews, including loss of loved ones, bullying, and substance use. Across both interviews, youth breaking curfew and community vandalism were reported as vulnerabilities in the community. This type of deviant behavior is referred to as "mischief" within the community.

Discipline is a code that emerged in the original CIPA narratives, referencing vulnerability around being in trouble at school such as in-school suspensions. In the follow-up interviews, discussion of discipline changed from school based discipline procedures to being incarcerated, which is a developmental progression within urban and non-Native populations as well. Moreover, a strong emphasis emerged in the follow-up data around stage of life stress demands, particularly around becoming and being adults.

> I feel like I kind of tough it out, trying to ignore the bad influences. I had kind of a tough time and it brought me to jail and made more people hate me, but all I had to do was just change that problem because it was all me and after growing up and being an adult, it's a lot harder than just being a minor because there's somebody looking after you when you're a minor but not if you're on your own over eighteen, it is like nobody cares about you but still they do but they just don't look after you because they know that I'm old enough to take care of myself and learning what the steps are for being an adult. It's kind of tough being an adult.

A consistent challenge and source of vulnerability over time for females was around bullying. The younger females in the original CIPA study did not report bullying. Now that they are older, they reported bullying or the local term "girl drama" as an area of vulnerability. However, four of the narratives of older female participants that

reported *girl drama* in the original CIPA interviews did not report female drama in their follow-up interview. As they matured and utilized protective resources girl drama diminished over time.

> Tara: Have there been any hard things that you've had to face over the past three years?
>
> Becky: Like only girls, like girl drama and stuff. Girls picking on me. They would always try to fight me so I quit going to school and I just ignored them. They always still give me these dirty looks but I always just ignore them. After you guys left [from CIPA interview], I just went to school and walked with my friends and after those girls tried to fight me, I know it would be – every day would be the same old. I do the same thing every day and I think a year ago this spring, those girls tried to fight me and then I quit going to school, I just stayed home. Went to a different village, went to go stay in a bigger community for a month and then came back to that other village and just stayed there for three months and I just came home a few weeks ago.

Furthermore, a number of participants during the follow-up interviews talked about not going to school. Some noted parenthood as a reason for not going and expressed plans to return to school. One participant talked about dropping out of school as a strategy to avoid *girl drama*.

During the original CIPA interviews, Yup'ik youth living in the rural community used terms such as "Nothing to do," "Can't go no where," "Losing my culture" (or losing love, or friends, or life), "Drinking people" (parents, family members, friends, self), and

"Going to school /school is hard" to describe local sources of challenges and vulnerabilities.
Youth had similar localized terms to describe vulnerabilities across both interview time
points. Youth talked about boredom, not being able to go anywhere, and loss. Furthermore,
new phrases were found in the follow-up data around parenthood and being adults. These
new indicators were emergent challenges that related to developmental changes found in the
follow-up interviews.

Vulnerabilities that were found stable over the past three years included loss,
drinking/drug use, love problems, and boredom. Parents' drinking was reported in the
follow-up data (e.g. the codes drinking/drugs, parents, and life is hard co-occurred).
However, it appeared less frequently compared to CIPA findings. New vulnerabilities
were reported around adulthood and being a parent.

Stay Strong: Protective Resources

Follow-up data on protective resources.

Youth and young adults described resources that helped buffer them from
vulnerabilities. Becky offered a resource of inspirational thinking to not give up hope:

Tara: If you gave any advice to get through hard times, what advice would you

give?

Becky: Maybe … I don't know… stay strong.

In addition to positive thinking, girlfriends played a critical role around males choosing to
stay out of *mischief*. Andy expands on positive thinking and explained his girlfriend's
role:

Intoxicated people do anything when they're drunk. There's been a lot of suicides,

a lot of fights, a lot of problems with family and friends. It ruins everything. It ruins a lot but I was able to get myself out of it. I didn't want a miserable life like that so I decided to take it easy on it and just try to think about what my girlfriend wants me to do. So I say she's a better influence than my friends are. We've been doing a lot better since I quit, since I slowed down [drinking].

Becky utilized a number of resources to navigate her stress around girls fighting her, for she distanced herself from the conflict through a variety of scaled responses including ignoring them, walking with friends, staying home, quitting school, and traveling to other communities. In addition, Becky offered advice to other girls struggling with girl drama.

Tara: Do you have any advice you'd give anybody that was being picked on by girls?

Becky: Yes like I would tell them to just be cool and I say like you should just say sorry to when you guys were friends

Becky is suggesting that girls think back to when they were younger, when they were getting along. She continued and talked about being a parent as a vulnerability and protective resource.

Tara: What helped you get through the birth of your daughter?

Becky: Their dad, my parents, and learning to grow up fast

Tara: Did your community help you get through any of the challenges?

Becky: When I would go to clinic checkups, they would really support me to do right for my baby and when I'd go to the store, they'd be so nice and jolly.

Tara: Did you do anything that helped you get through being pregnant?

Becky: Yes. Just thought positive and I didn't try to think negative even if

there was negative things going around, I'd think of something other than

the negative and try to make it into a positive thing so I'd feel better.

Tara: What helps you when you're arguing with you baby's daddy?

Becky: After we get done arguing, I'm still mad at him but I'm not mad at

my baby. She's smiling; she's playing. It always makes me feel better.

So after we get done arguing, I just take my baby and go in the room, play

with her and when their dad comes in, I tell him just go out there and stop

talking.

Becky figured out resources to get through her challenges. She added:

Tara: If you described in a few words how you normally get through hard times,

how would you say it?

Becky: Crying, take long fresh air walk, being with the ones I love. Or I probably

just sit back and be quiet and think how I could fix things and do something better.

And I don't bug with other people's business so they probably won't bug in mine.

Figure 3 illustrates a relational network of codes described by youth in the follow-

up interviews as protective resources. Codes that clustered, that is co-occurred, in youth

interviews shaped the relational associations for the codes, which provided the bases for

the cluster network. The follow-up interview data found that *strategies for being well

and strong* was established by participants who displayed a belief in oneself, access to

movement within the community and outside of the community, engaged in subsistence

activities, having and wanting to be a role model, plans for the future, protective home, and supportive friends and family. The network illustrates that protective resources are more than a list of items. From the interviews, co-occurring resources facilitated access to associated resources. For example, the strategy of staying home to avoid bullying was protective in the short-term. Moreover, staying home was associated to additional resources including parents and family, which are associated with resources of grandparents, helping others, subsistence, and talking it out, which co-occurred with Elders and mentors. These interlinking protective resources create a net of options for youth to utilize when exposed to hard times. Resources were associated with other resources to help support being well and strong in this Yup'ik community
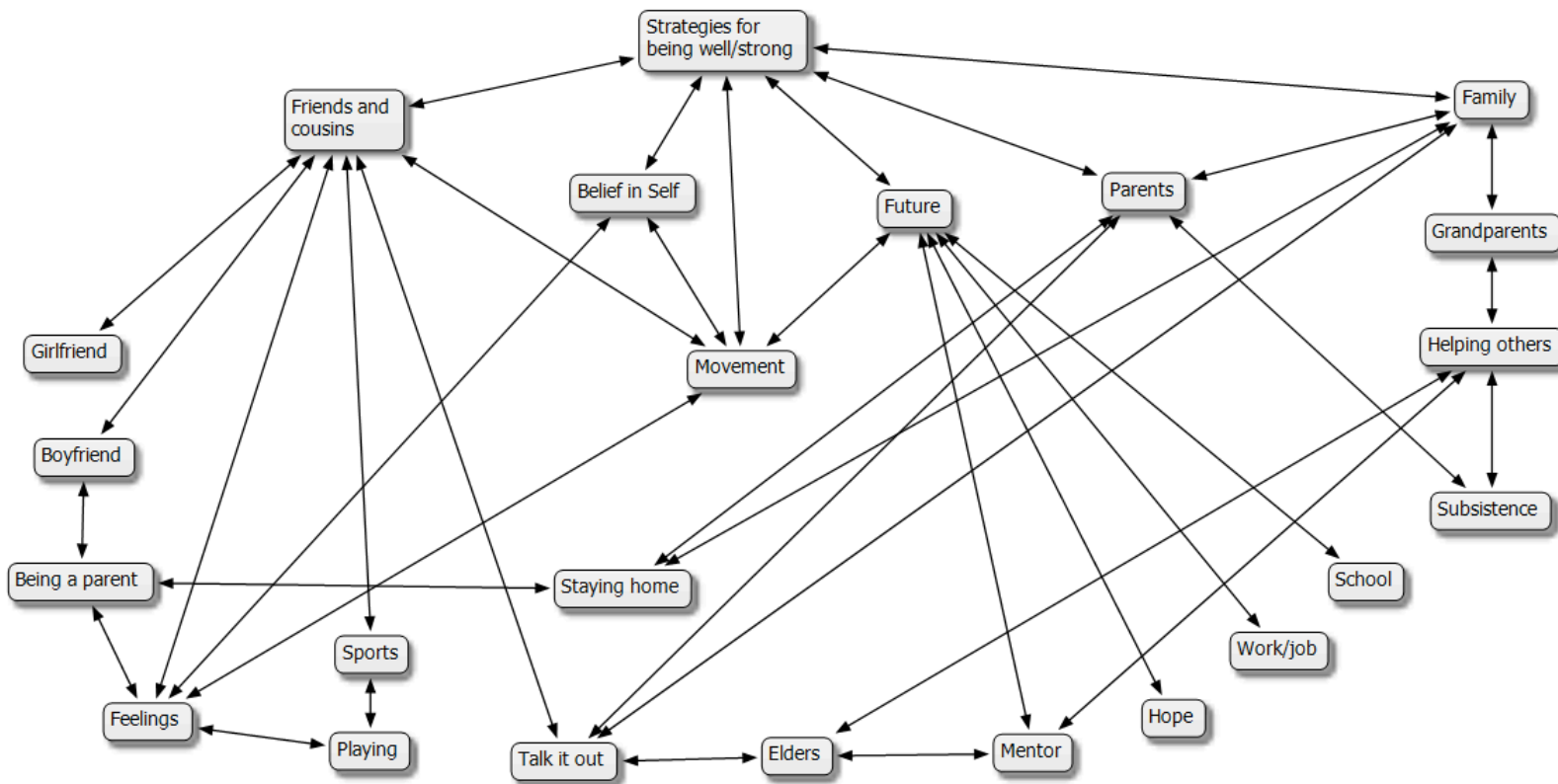
Figure 3. Yup'ik Strategies for Being Well Three-Year Follow-up: Relational Model of Protective Resources

Developmental change: Comparison of follow-up data with CIPA data of protective resources.

Similarities were found between data sets among the resources used for being well including: subsistence activities, listening to music, going for a walk, talking to someone, and family. However, participants in the follow-up interviews expressed more confidence in themselves and their abilities to navigate hard times. This displays a developmental change over time. In addition, participants talked about work as a resource that allowed them to keep busy. Discussion around work and future training for work surfaced in follow-up interviews. This is a change from the original CIPA findings and fits the stage of life for participants interviewed in the follow-up study.

Family was discussed as both an area of vulnerability and a resource to manage challenges. This paralleled CIPA findings regarding family. Becky reported that her parents helped her stay out of trouble.

Well if I get into trouble I would get into trouble with my parents, they're like cops. So that helps me straighten up. They're parenting cops. So if I get into trouble they help me get through.

Andy expands on family and how they are a resource for working through challenges:

Tara: You said your family helps you through challenges, how do they help you out?

Andy: We always get together lots, go to my grandparents. Or I travel to see my family. Yes seeing my family outside of the village, other family, other relatives. That helped me, it worked because staying in the village doing nothing was

stressing. You don't know what to do. It's best if you just think positive instead of negative and keep your mind to something, try to think about something, just do it.

Andy talked about traveling to visit family. Discussion of movement (i.e., travel or going from one place in the community to another) was a prominent theme in the follow-up data. Movement and travel was present in the CIPA data namely around traveling for sports and discipline regarding not being able to travel due to getting in trouble at school. Review of both data sets found that traveling and movement is a vital resource for navigating hard times. Participants in the follow-up study had more control over their travel and utilized traveling as a resource to nurture kinship relationships in other communities and to take a break from vulnerabilities in the community.

Moreover, Andy reported that after leaving high school due to compounded vulnerabilities high school became a resource to help him stay out of trouble.

Tara: What else helped you get through it, the challenges?

Andy: Back when I was drinking just trying to do my best in school. I'm so glad I went back in school. When I have negative thoughts, just forget about it.

Tara: So if you came up with a few words to describe how you normally deal with problems, what would you say?

Andy: Take a walk or talk to one of my friends. I usually calm down to where I could think clearly and that's just about it. Just give it a little bit of time and it usually helps.

Becky also used social resources. She reported talking it out was helpful, and she offered additional suggestions around navigating challenges including:

Tara: What helped you get through hard times?

Becky: Talked it out with my friends or auntie.

Tara: It sounds like the loss of your grandma is really hard and it seems like you –

Becky: I still think of her often. And it has been hard losing other family members.

Tara: What do you do when you have those thoughts?

Becky: Just…….Just be out. Just hang out, be with friends and not just try and not be at home. Well, to help with the loss of my family members, I just keep going and I ask my mom and dad. Try not to think about it all the time.

Love problems or relationship strain between girlfriends and boyfriends were reported in both the initial and follow-up interviews. However, an important gender difference emerged. In the current data male participants talked about girlfriends as a protective resource for staying out of trouble. In contrast, most females discussed boyfriends as an area of vulnerability. However, there were a few exceptions where females reported that her boyfriend was a protective resource of a supportive person for them to talk with about hard times.

Localized terms were found to describe protective resources. Figure 4 depicts a comparison of indicators between the CIPA and follow-up interviews regarding protective resources. Indicators from the CIPA interviews including "Being out" hunting, berry picking, or camping paralleled the indicator "Going out hunting" from the follow-up data. Similarly, "Helping my family" including parents, siblings, grandparents, and

friends from the CIPA interviews complemented "Helping others" as talked about in the follow-up interviews.

The theme "Move out of here" was qualitatively different in the follow-up narratives. Youth talked about the desire to 'move out of here' and elaborated their discussions to include personal plans and hopes for their future. Participants in the follow-up interviews were more mobile and utilized travel as a protective process to the feeling of being "stuck" and wanting to move. Likewise the theme of work was qualitatively differently in the follow-up interviews for it was described as a protective resource. The CIPA indicator of "Belief in myself" regarding an internal protective resource was talked about in new ways in the current data including the positive belief in oneself and one's ability such as "Stay strong," and "go with your gut" and a mature understanding that *hard times* are temporary as noted by "It just comes and goes," "Ignore them," and "Just be cool."
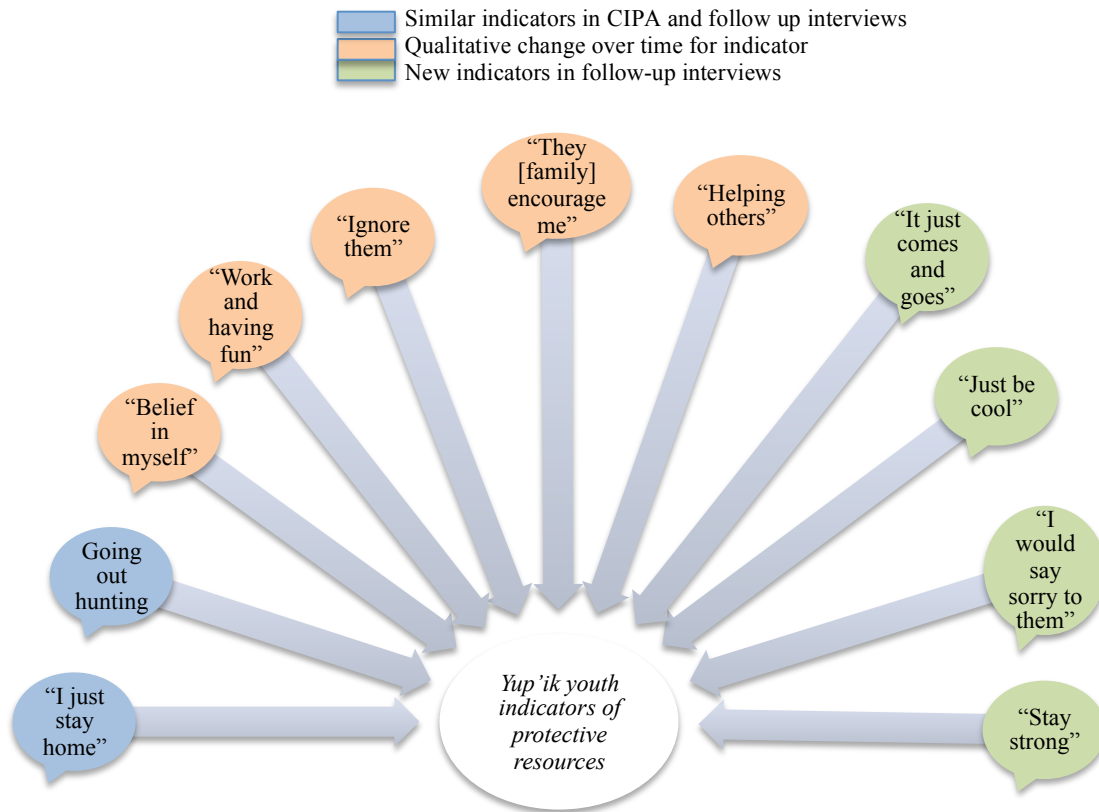
Figure 4. Yup'ik Youth Indicators of Protective Resources: Change Over Time

School themed indicators were highlighted in CIPA findings as vulnerabilities and protective resources. Likewise, school was discussed in the follow-up narratives. However, school was not the focal point. School was a dominant part of CIPA participants' narratives as the majority of youth were attending school at the time of the CIPA interviews. A salient school themed indicator used in the follow-up interviews was "Job Corps." Young adults talked about hope and goals for their future around planning for training from Job Corps. This is a developmental shift regarding seeking out vocational employment for the future. Finally regarding school themed phrases,

discussion of teachers was not found as a resource for being well in the follow-up data compared to the CIPA findings.

Subsistence activities, grandparents, having fun, and friends were found in both sets of interview data. Participants in the CIPA study offered preventative strategies such as being happy/excited, which can be seen in the follow-up data around positive thinking and maintenance strategies such as feeling good. Maintenance strategies are found in the follow-up data as well including crying, talking to someone, or going for a walk.

Gender differences among the follow-up interview data were less notable than findings from the CIPA interviews. Nevertheless, there were a few clear gender differences found in the current data. Similar to the CIPA findings males, more frequently than females, discussed subsistence activities as a strategy to being well.

Females were the only participants that discussed being a parent. CIPA findings reported that females discussed boyfriends while males did not discuss girlfriends. In the current follow-up interviews, both males (25%) and females (43%) discussed girlfriends and boyfriends respectfully. This is a developmental change around maturing into committed relationships. Girlfriends were described as a strategy for being well, while boyfriends carried a dual role around being a source of vulnerability and a resource. This dual role was found among multiple resources in both data sets including parents, grandparents, work, and school. An indicator from the follow-up data captures a mature conceptualization of the dual function: "it just comes and goes."

Summary Findings

Comparing data sets revealed a number of new sources of challenges as bases of vulnerability such as parenthood, work stress, and strain of being an adult. However, a number of the same stressors re-appeared across interviews, suggesting they continued as sources of vulnerability over the past three years. Some challenges expanded as concerns in the follow-up data, as evidenced by youth and young adults discussing challenges through their development including *girl drama*, love problems, and struggling with loss. Likewise there were similarities, expansions, and differences among protective resources. Protective resources varied from practical resources including crying, talking with someone, or going for a walk, to dynamic resources such as linking into the larger community by helping others and having fun with family or friends. Finally a participant who explained that "Catholic Church" theology taught by his grandparents offered a type of hope was an emergent existential resource. This resource displayed a rich holistic way to frame challenges and tools to work through hard times.

A striking finding from the follow-up data was that participants and their families saw the interview process as a resource to synthesize challenges and reflect on protective resources that help move them through challenges.

My grandmother says interviews like these really help. She said you know what's the problems inside you, they don't really see it outside of you. You have private talk like this, it's best to let everything out, let your problems out and tell about your hard times in life.

Finally, data from the follow-up study illuminated that youth and young adults were hopeful for their future. One participant explained that they have dreams for their future:

Tara: What are your dreams?

Andy: Being a hard worker and earning money, helping others, being a good role model. That's my dream

Chapter 5: Discussion

CIPA findings assert that Yup'ik youth resilience processes are rooted in social and cultural connectedness (Rasmus et al., 2013). Three years later, youth and young adults continued to report navigating vulnerabilities by accessing social and cultural resources. These resources served as a protection or buffer from risks and vulnerabilities. However, clear developmental changes emerged in the follow-up data around specific vulnerabilities associated with transitioning to adulthood in a rural Yup'ik community. The use by youth of protective resources in more complex ways suggests increasing sophistication related to development.

The following sections will discuss developmental changes associated with Yup'ik transitions to adulthood and young people's understanding of community resources. Relationship changes and changes in social structures during the transition to adulthood will also be described. The protective strategy of traveling and movement out of the community at key times will be described as well as emergent protective factors around spirituality. Finally, limitations and implications of this study will be discussed.

Transitioning to Adulthood in a Yup'ik Context

A prevalent finding in the follow-up interviews was the significant discussion among the youth around growing up. Barker (1994) described Yup'ik development as a series of non-linear experiences that begin with being a novice and progress to mastery of senses in progressive contexts. As an individual masters one context, he or she *grows out* into other experiences where he or she starts off again as if an infant. The individual learns and grows within the new experience until reaching mastery. The Western

education system ideally parallels this principle. For example youth advance to the next grade/context after a set of skills are mastered, as opposed to advancing on their birthday as a chronological determinate. Furthermore, kindergarteners similar to freshmen in high school start out with limited familiarity to the new context with mentors available to lead them as they gain in mastery. This admittedly simplistic example may edge on being somewhat linear itself. Nevertheless, within the arguably circular framework presented in the example of western schooling, non-linear relational, community, and cultural phenomena are present.

This same dynamic of beginning anew, and working toward mastery around subsistence knowledge or social activities in a Yup'ik setting customizes development to each contextual variant in a non-linear fashion, perhaps better understood as multiple episodes of embryonic growth. This non-linear pattern of development continues throughout the lifespan. Thus, development from a traditional Yup'ik perspective is not linked to chronological age, but instead it is linked to mastery of senses in a series of experiences that become available only through advances in personal development. The repeating cycle involves being new to mastery. Allen et al. (2011) report that development is linked to "those with understanding" and "those who have not yet achieved understanding" (p. 339). The Yup'ik term for this is *ellangneq* (English translation: to wake up). As youth develop and engage in the process of becoming adults, they awaken to connections between self and others, and self and elements of the landscape and animal life, as well as the impact of their behavior in these reciprocal relationships. This is congruent with the observed elevated social status afforded

successful male hunters; their development recognized as linked to a mastery of senses in

relation to the environment of hunting. In more contemporary times, however, there have

been introduced competing notions of development as a more linear process, loosely

linked to schooling. This was rooted in the academic structure of school and its notions

of levels and grades. Youth would dropout and return as it fit their particular needs.

In the follow-up interviews youth described mixing traditional Yup'ik (e.g., non-

linear) with contemporary Western (e.g., linear) development. For example, female

participants whom reported they were parents (*n*=4; 57% of female participants re-

interviewed) displayed a broader perspective on family byway of taking on the parent

role. They *grew out* into the new context of parenthood as novices. They would continue

to gain in mastery as they work toward *growing out* into grandparents later in life. A

contemporary view on development emerged when female participants who had not

completed high school talked about dropping back into school. They expressed hope in

still being able to complete the linear structure of school. These interviewees also

discussed kinship support to assist them as they complete school while being a parent.

Male participants reported a sense of distress around transitioning into adulthood.

They described clear linear thinking about adulthood regarding turning 18 years old. In

the Western context, being 18 years old is the legal age of majority. Certain rights are

granted 18 year olds, such as voting. Likewise, additional punitive consequences can be

and often are applied to individuals 18 years old and over; discipline for mischief once a

person turns 18 could result in potentially serious consequences, such as being

incarcerated. One participant reported that he did not want to go back to jail. They were

actively engaging the protective resources of fostering kinship relationships to help them avoid mischief.

Exploring one participant's remark around being "on my own" when he turned 18 years old through traditional Yup'ik non-linear frameworks could suggest that the participant felt as a newborn baby out of the womb. He goes on to say that he was still residing with family, but that his family did not watch over him anymore. His family may have sensed that he had successfully mastered a set of skills or senses, and he was ready to *grow out*. Having opportunities for young adults to *grow out* into new roles in this rural community may help alleviate strain around transitioning into adulthood.

Defining Community Resources among Yup'ik Youth and Young Adults

An interesting finding from the follow-up data was participants' varied conceptualizations around the concept of community. The process of *growing out* involves nurturing relationships from nuclear family to extended family, neighbors to peer relations, being on the land to subsistence hunting and gathering, finding a partner to having a family and so forth. During the semi-structured follow-up interview, prompts asked about individual, family, and community resources.

Youth and young adults in this rural Alaska Yup'ik sample conceptualize community resources as embedded within relationships with others and the land. Participants provided examples of individual and family resources relatively easily. However, when asked to provide examples of community resources they made use of, these same participants a typical response was to ask, "Like what?," or to tie their

response to a relationship; when one female participant was pregnant, she noted that the *people* at the clinic and store were helpful and nice.

Ungar (2011b) stated, "… individual qualities associated with coping under adversity are activated to the extent there is capacity in the child's social and physical ecologies to facilitate processes that protect against risk and promote positive development" (p. 4). Ungar is suggesting that individuals need to be exposed to opportunities within their environment to be able to utilize protective resources. This seems to justify funding for programming and services among at-risk populations. However, if programming is not linked to relationships and people, then it seems as if it will have limited utility within a Yup'ik context.

Furthermore, Ungar (2007) asserts that:

… resilience as partly the outcome of a child's ability to navigate her way to health resources. The resources a child needs includes:

· Access to material resources like food and clothing

· Relationships with those who are important to her

· An identity as powerful and respected

· Experiences of control over the parts of her life which she should have some say over

· A sense of her culture, and respect shown by others for what that culture says about her

· Experiences of social justice, meaning that she experiences no prejudice based on her gender, race, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation or class

·   Social cohesion, the feeling that she is a part of something bigger (p. 6)

When exploring community resources during the follow-up interviews through directed follow-up probes, the majority of participants restated the value of kinship bonds. They saw the above health resources tied to family relationships. Similar to the CIPA findings, grandparents and parents were vital resources for youth and young adults. In addition, one participant explained that a community resource was to go talk to an Elder. This suggests one potentially effective strategy for community level resource development could be to support protective factors identified in these interviews, such as access to grandparents and Elders. Some participants also noted that family could be a source of hardship. Therefore, having opportunities for mentoring through visiting and shared activities with grandparents and Elders outside of family in the community may foster a protective resource experience by establishing an important relationship and nurturing a bigger picture perspective for youth and young adults. An example of bigger picture perspective is for youth to foster supportive relationships with broader kinship networks so when youth feel challenged as reported in the interviews by family hardships youth can utilize their broader support network. A young adult participant describes these concepts:

I've been going only around the surrounding villages, seeing my other relatives

that I've never seen for a long time. I knew that would make me feel a lot better.

So I get some better information off them instead of my friends that are somewhat

bad influences.

Exploring Relationships through Time in a Yup'ik Context

An overarching finding from the current study was the key role of relationship vulnerabilities and protections. Interpersonal relationship difficulty was discussed in three distinct contexts: antagonist "girl drama," family discord, and partner relations conflicts. Female participants reported emotional and physical bullying by peers and conflict between intimate partners more than male participants. Moreover, males referenced physical fighting when they talked about *mischief* rather than linking fighting to bullying. Condon (1988) reported on peer relations among Inuit Youth and stated,

> Just as puberty contributes to physical and behavioral differences between adolescent males and females, it also alters the nature of each sex's friendships and peer relations. Female groups become smaller and more cliquish while male groups tend to become larger and less intimate (p. 117).

This social structure offers insight into the finding that males describe their peer conflicts as *mischief* their relationship structure is a large group involving sports and horsing around activities. In contrast, females form smaller, more intimate cliques, where gossiping and bullying the other girls or the out-group may strengthen the clique.

The following sections explore *girls being mean* by way of highlighting what *girl drama* looks like in this rural community, how girls respond to antagonists, strategies to change the situation, and findings around intimate partner relationships.

"Girl drama."

The CIPA study found that girls described bullying as *girl drama* (Rasmus et al., 2013). From the CIPA and follow-up interviews, females talked about *girl drama* as

bullying often by texting, that included name-calling, derogatory remarks about individuals' choices such as being with a partner, gossiping, as well as in-person confrontations. For example, follow-up interviewees reported that bullying was girls *wanting to fight me* and girls giving *ugly looks* to intimidate other girls. Females talked about *girl drama* being associated with school, walking around town, and electronic mediums. It seemed pervasive in their lives and was frequently reported as a source of vulnerability.

       Coping with and preventing *girl drama.*

       Females reported in the follow-up interviews that they *ignored girl drama.* Thus, their coping strategy in the face of the bullying was avoidance, to not pay attention to the harassment. *Ignoring girl drama* may include spending time with friends from the opposite sex. In addition to coping, females reported protective strategies to overcome challenges of *girl drama.* Girls talked about avoiding bullies by dropping out of school, transferring to a boarding school, or moving out of the community. Female participants talked about *staying home,* helping family, and planning to attend school in the upcoming semester. In the follow-up interviews, youth describe use of the strategy of movement. Youth went to stay with extended family in a different community within the region where they attended school. Some girls had applied and were waiting to attend a boarding school, or they were currently attending a boarding school. Furthermore, females also reported something that might be described as virtual movement, including changing their phone numbers frequently to avoid *girl drama*. It is not surprising given this extensive use of movement and changing of phone numbers that recruiting the

original CIPA participants, and in particular recruiting females, was not a straightforward task.

Among other strategies used to stop the bullying dynamics was apology, which involved directly approaching the girl to *say sorry*. In addition, some girls described reminding bullying girls of times when they were younger and when they were friends. Nostalgia associated with childhood memories of friendship may counteract the bullying. However, it may not re-bond old relationship ties due to varying developmental needs. Condon (1988) noted that among Inuit youth, childhood playmates were associated to proximity and accessibility, while adolescent peer relationships were based on a person's ability to support emotional and intimate needs.

There are developmental influences affecting bullying in the community. One change over time surfaced in how older female participants talked about *girl drama* during their original CIPA interview but did not report that *girl drama* was a challenge during the follow-up interview. On the other hand, some of younger female participants in the CIPA study did not discuss *girl drama* as a challenge, but during their follow-up interview, they highlighted *girl drama* as a challenge resulting in a source of vulnerability. In this sample, the window of peak *girl drama* was between the ages of 13 years old to 17 years old.

Role of girlfriends and boyfriends.

Findings from these interviews capture both the protective nature and vulnerabilities associated with the distressing impacts of intimate relationships in the lives of youth in this rural Yup'ik community. The tightknit cliques of females as

opposed to the larger less intimate social structures of males may lead to greater exposure to gossip and bullying for females, while at the same time can also provide a protective resource that males are lacking. Through bullying, females are exposed to rejection, criticism, and judgment. They retreat and regroup by accessing resources of personal strengths of believing in self, selective friends and family for support, and movement. In addition, the coping literature describes these strategies as examples of active or problem-focused coping, and the mainstream psychological research has demonstrated their effectiveness in managing life problems (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Females became well practiced and resourceful when seeking out and utilizing these tools and resources as protective factors. Females transferred these resources to navigating challenges experienced in intimate partner relationships.

Females described boyfriends as both a vulnerability and protective resource. A challenge related to being in a romantic relationship included boyfriends being out drinking alcohol, while a support offered by the relationship included having someone to talk with and help them. A younger female participant expressed that she did not have troubles with boyfriends because she is choosing to not have a boyfriend until after high school.

On the other hand, during the follow-up interviews males that talked about girlfriends described the relationship as a protective resource only. Kral (2012) noted that among Canadian Inuit communities, suicides are highest among young males and are associated with romantic relationships. Males move developmentally from kinship-based relationships, to a large social group, into intimate romantic relationships. Compared to

females, who have extensive experience with tight, intimate cliques growing up, males have more limited experience with intimate relationships outside of the family. Follow-up interviews found that intimate relationships played a vital role in males' choices around drinking alcohol and being in *mischief.* For example, males explained that they decided to stop or slowdown their alcohol consumption because of their girlfriends. Male participants did not describe girlfriends as a source of vulnerability. However, when asked what happened when the romantic relationship ruptured, a male participant reported that he started drinking again. This male participant described an intense response to challenges in intimate partner relationships.

Males in this sample appeared to narrow their protective resources and became dependent on their romantic relationship for many of their emotional and support needs. If they are unable to regain access to their prior individual, family, and community resources when the relationship ends, then they may begin to believe that their feelings of hopelessness or despair associated with the loss of the romantic relationship is inescapable, intolerable, and interminable. This type of distorted thinking influences development of suicidal ideation (Meyer & Deitsch, 1996). Male participants who reported multiple protective resources including romantic relationship, family, being on the land, and self awareness of interconnections with others and the land referenced a wider age range of social supports.

During the CIPA interviews, males did not discuss romantic relationships to the extent that they were discussed in the follow-up interviews. CIPA participants were asked directly in the CIPA interviews who they talked to if they had relationship troubles.

Males (three from the older cohort, two from the younger cohort) reported either they did

not have a girlfriend or they have had lots of girlfriends. CIPA male participants talked

about breaking up with girlfriends. Male participants may have conceptualized

girlfriends as still exploratory and had not committed to one primary relationship.

Therefore, they did not fold girlfriends into their narratives as a supportive resource as

described in the follow-up interviews. This is a developmental change among male

social structures from the CIPA study.

Going and Coming as Protective Resources

The theme of 'movement' was further elaborated in the follow-up interviews and

given shape as a vital protective resource. For example, a male participant talked about

visiting extended family as a protective resource. His extended family lived throughout

the region. Therefore, he traveled to be with family. He explained that he had to work to

earn the money to travel throughout the region to visit family. He valued the knowledge

he gained from visiting family. The theme of movement was prominent and protective in

the follow-up interviews. Another participant talked about traveling out of the

community for work and looking forward to being back in the community to go return to

his familiar way of being. He spoke as if when he was away from the community his cup

went dry, and with return to the community, he was seeking to refill his cup with his rural

Yup'ik lifestyle.

Other participants talked about movement as protective strategy as going to

another place in the community (e.g., a grandparent's house or boyfriend's parent's

house) or being out hunting. Feeling stuck was a reported vulnerability. When youth

talked about feeling stuck they had limited access to travel outside of the community. Future research could explore if youth that report feeling stuck or experiencing difficulties also have limited access to being on the land, to subsistence hunting and gathering, and to limited places to go to in the community. If the possibility of movement is not tangible to youth and young adults, it may negatively impact adaptive functioning.

Finally, movement was discussed in both male and female follow-up interviews around hope for the future. Male participants talked about attending vocational training or being in an urban setting. Females expressed plans around traveling to attend a boarding school or being in another community to stay with family to avoid *girl drama.* At the time of follow-up interviews, none of the original participants had traveled for post-secondary education. Discussion of movement whether it be travel across the state, across the region, or across the community nurtured individual control over a part of participants' lives and a feeling of being part of something bigger. When youth traveled to visit with family they talked about learning more about their heritage. They felt more connected to their family and their culture.

Emergent Spiritual Protective Resources

In the follow-up interview data, one participant referenced the Catholic Church, as it was being taught and valued by his grandparents, as a source of knowledge and hope. The role of spirituality was discussed in longitudinal findings among Siberian Eveny youth regarding Eveny belief system of foreshadowing the future (Ulturgasheva, 2012). She found that when Eveny youth described their future they were projecting themselves

into the future via a spiritual pathway that links past, present, and future. Her follow-up

interviews with the Eveny young adults found that they indeed followed their projected

pathway established in their youth. Future research can explore the role of spirituality

among Yup'ik young adults.

Implications and Linking Back to the Literature

  Community resilience.

  Kirmayer et al. (2009) focus on community resilience, which "looks at how

people overcome stress, trauma, and other life challenges by drawing from the social and

cultural networks and practices that constitute communities" (p. 63, 2009). In both the

CIPA and follow-up interviews, social and cultural networks were reported as *strategies*

for being well, and constitute protective factors. Primary among these networks and

practices reported was engagement in subsistence activities. Subsistence activities had

deep cultural meaning, and further allowed participants to be on the land, to connect with

other important people in their lives who they were subsistence hunting or gathering

together who then became resources to them, and to gain in personal awareness

(*ellangneq*) and skills, through which they could then contribute back to their family and

community. A noticeable difference between the CIPA interviews and the follow-up

interviews involved the end of institutional support role from the school as reported in the

follow-up interviews with older youth. School and teachers had prominent roles in the

CIPA youth narratives, both as sources of challenge and protection. In the follow-up

interviews, teachers were not mentioned at all, and school was peripheral if at all as in the

case of a youth who talked about being the object of bullying at school and becoming a

parent, leading her to drop out of school. The bullying was a significant life challenge, and the youth participant did not feel safe at school. Youth in the follow-up interviews talked about a desire to return to school as a personal goal; school was no longer described as functioning as a protective resource.

Social ecological theory.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory of development posits the idea of development occurring within nested systems that encircle the individual and impact his or her development. Rogoff (2003) states, "Bronfenbrenner stressed the interactions of a changing organism in a changing environment" (p.44). The current findings emphasize the ecological impact on development. For example, youth no longer in school reported less impact from teachers and greater impact from economic system demands (e.g., work, bills, maintaining their own residence). Bronfenbrenner's *microsystems* are direct influences on an individual. School directly impacted youth when they were in attendance. During the follow-up study, employment directly impacted youth. Moreover, the youth that discussed jail as a consequence for his actions was interfacing with a new system due to his chronological age. This occurs across the nation when youth turn 18 years old and are deemed legally responsible. This example illustrates the interconnected nature of Bronfenbrenner's nesting systems. Within the *macrosystem,* a dominant belief in the United States is that adulthood starts at 18 years old. This interfaced with the young man's choices and *exosystem* influences of the legal system and local government, which resulted in the young man being incarcerated. The *chronosystem* captures sociohistorical events. Graduating from school, employment, parenthood, and losing a

loved one are all examples from this study of environmental events that impacted youth development.

These examples align with Ungar's (2011b) ecological theory of how resilience is influenced by environment:

> By decentering the child, it becomes much clearer that, when growing up under adversity, the locus of change does not reside in either the child or the environment alone, but in the processes by which environments provide resources for use by the child (p. 5-6).

He offers four principles for interpreting resilience: *decentrality, complexity, atypicality*, and *cultural relativity*. The *strategies for being well/strong* network presented in this study illustrates the dynamic process of resilience (i.e., *decentrality*). For example, the network links opportunities, reported by youth as protective resources, to additional resources provided in their context such as family being linked to talking it out and grandparents, grandparents being linked to helping others and subsistence.

Self-reported protective resources are not unilaterally "protective."

Ungar (2011b) frames resilience through the interactions between an individual and his or her environment, and availability of resources within a given environment impacts resilience processes. Ungar (2011b) cautions against defining behaviors associated with protective processes as 'good' or 'bad' as the context will determine the usefulness of the behavior (i.e., *atypicality*). During the follow-up interviews, dropping out of school was reported as adaptive in response to bullying and parenthood. Ungar

(2011b) states, "Long term, one would hope that changes to the environment would help children use other, more socially acceptable, ways of coping" (p.8).

In this study, youth self-reported challenges and protective resources. Adaptive resources reported by youth were defined as helpful by the youth at the time of the follow-up interview (i.e., *complexity*). Their reported resilience processes can change over time, as seen from the CIPA interviews and the follow-up interviews in regards to teachers, for youth in the follow-up study did not report teachers as a protective resource or source of challenge as found in the original CIPA interviews. This illustrates that resilience is unstable (Ungar, 2011b). Furthermore, youth stated that some resources such as parenthood and boyfriends are not unilaterally protective. Youth highlighted a challenge around arguing with a boyfriend and a protective resource of talking over hard times with a boyfriend. Teen pregnancy and bullying led to youth 'staying home.' Staying home was protective, as reported by the youth at a specific point in time. A few years down the road, youth may define "staying home" as helpful in the moment and at the same time, resulted in challenges of being behind in academic pursuits. Further research could explore this notion of *atypicality* as being adaptive but at what future cost.

Contributions.

This study contributes to the literature byway of offering a Yup'ik youth perspective on resilience processes. Ungar (2011b) explains that resilience is embedded in the context and described this characteristic of resilience as *cultural relativity*. Youth talked about family and peer networks, belief in self, movement, and future as opening access to additional resources. There is an interconnected network that youth described

as pathways for their resilience processes. Increasing protective factors among youth is not a guarantee for positive outcomes. Rather, despite exposure to vulnerabilities the aim is to create buffers to provide youth with additional resources to navigate hard times. This study complements aspects of multiple resilience models. It encourages a movement away from generating lists of protective resources toward an interconnected web of individual traits, community supports, and contextual influences on resilience.

Impacts of Researcher's Identity

Hunt (2008) states, "In carrying out qualitative research, it is impossible to remain 'outside' our subject matter; our presence, in whatever form, will have some kind of effect" (p. 184). In the community where this dissertation took place, community members' perceptions of me were impacted by my white skin and being female. Early in my involvement with the community, youth and community members alike asked if I was a teacher. Then their next guess was a State employee. In some regards they were correct with their second guess as I was representing the state university. Individuals in the community are familiar with the revolving-door-effect of 'outsiders' in their home community. That is, individuals from outside the community come in, work a few years, and leave. Their investment in nurturing a relationship with me was reserved, rightly so.

Through making myself present, attending community functions such as Eskimo dance and basketball games, and being genuine with my intentions youth participants were willing to engage in the process of being interviewed with their parents' approval. The follow-up study offered another opportunity to be entirely present with the youth while they reported on challenges and strategies for dealing with hard times. There was a

familiarity to the process of being interviewed; however, some youth noted that they did not recall their first interview very well, while other participants recalled clearly the first interview.

Community based participatory research (CBPR) methods allow for researchers' biases and agendas to be held in check with community desires and interpretations informing the process. This study, being a follow-up study, started with powerful influences from the previous work. That is the research questions, participants, and codebook structure where shaped by previous researchers, community input, and the larger international collaboration with the CIPA study. Once the community associated me with the larger movement of wellness in the community, my identity for them seemed to be of reserved hope that I could join them on their journey to capturing and maintaining healthy lifestyles.

Despite the buffering of CBPR, rapport and acceptance are negotiated on a person-by-person basis and are influenced by similarities and differences (Duneier, 2000). Being a White skinned, female impacted how comfortable or uncomfortable individuals in the community felt around me. Moreover, my identity impacted youth participants' level of disclosure of how much information they wanted me to know about them.

Limitations

An important change between the original CIPA interviews and the follow-up interviews was that in contrast to the team approach in CIPA, in this study of follow-up interviews one female interviewer conducted all interviews. During the CIPA study, five interviewers (two males, three females) conducted interviews. Furthermore, over the

three years between interviews participants had opportunities to interact with the interviewer for the current study during dissemination activities for the CIPA study. Thus, participants may have felt more comfortable with the interviewer. This could have resulted in expanded discussion of topics.

Moreover, the comparative analysis between interview time points included a number of limitations around the scope of inquiry, which was narrower in the follow-up interview protocol. The CIPA interview protocol asked about multiple facets of life including life history, social supports, school, and culture in addition to challenges and how the youth worked through hard times. However, in practice challenges were reported throughout the CIPA interviews. That is, when asked about culture, a challenge could be reported, such as 'losing my culture,' which was not reported in the section that asked directly about challenges. The follow-up interview utilized only the one section from the CIPA interview protocol that focused on challenges and resources. Essentially the comparative process involved something akin to comparing apples to an apple orchard.

Attrition may have impacted these findings in ways that are hard to assess. Due the attrition, 40% of the original CIPA participants were not re-interviewed. Thus, the narratives of resilience processes of these original participants were not captured in the follow-up interviews. The younger cohort in the original CIPA sample had the greatest attrition and was less represented in the follow-up interviews. There is also reason to believe attrition was non-random; given movement was a typical strategy to deal with life challenges, important data and narrative perspective may be underrepresented in the

sample as selection bias may have removed people of a particular set of circumstances and strategies.

Qualitative work is generalizable only to the sample specific to the study. The scope of generalizability is restricted to the specific contextual setting of one Alaska Native Yup'ik rural community along the Lower Yukon River. Furthermore, this study looked at resilience processes in developmental perspective and was exploratory by nature. The processes presented as resilience are those reported as effective and useful by youth. A significant limitation in this study is that there were no outcome measures of health and adaptation to establish these strategies and processes were associated with health and adaptive outcomes. Because of this, it is not possible to conclusively establish which trajectories of resilience processes reported here are in fact adaptive in adolescence and early adulthood. The resilience processes identified in this study are best described as hypothetical. Youth have self-identified these resources and strategies as helpful. Future research is needed in several areas. Basic research to develop valid outcomes measures for this population for resilience research is needed. Longitudinal work exploring lives into adulthood is necessary. In addition, further work is necessary to better understand the developmental sequences of Yup'ik youth, as well as the nature of the vulnerabilities, protective strategies, and resources, and the current sociocultural context of these young people.

Recommendations

A strength of this study is connected to its adoption of a community based participatory research perspective, which are foundational to the original CIPA study.

Any serviceable, applied intervention or activity needs to be approved, adapted, and implemented by community support. A local dissemination trip is planned to share findings with the community. Specifically, an oral presentation of protective resources and vulnerabilities will be discussed with youth, community leaders, and community members. The community is actively engaged in prevention programming. One intended application of the study findings is to offer recommendations that target salient vulnerabilities, such as bullying in particular, and to reinforce protective resources that are working to promote resilience on multiple levels, such as access to Elders and grandparents. Nationally bullying among females is on the rise, and anti-bullying programming has canvased the country to counter various forms of bullying including physical, verbal, relational, and cyber-bullying (National Center for Mental Health Promotion and Youth Violence Prevention, 2011). Collaboration between the school and community leaders could culturally adapt a bullying program such as Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (Clemson University, 2013) to meet the needs of this community, or could develop a locally generated solution of their own.

Young males are at greatest risk for death by suicide. Prevention activities can be tailored to address challenges of intimate partner relationship rejection. Moreover, targeted programming could be developed with collaboration between the community and ongoing prevention programming in the region to help support males around defining their cultural role of manhood and fatherhood. These findings can inform active community prevention programming including modules specific to avenues for increased

employment opportunities and workshops on healthy relationships that fit the needs within the rural Alaska community.

Part of dissemination and next steps for this work could be to create a local youth task force in the community to discuss these findings and ask the logical next question, "What would be a useful way to apply these findings to help mitigate challenges and reinforce protective resources?"

Hypotheses Generated from this Study and Future Research

Hamilton and Ventura (2012) state, "Fewer babies were born to teenagers in 2010 than in any year since 1946" (p. 1). Thus, nationally teenage pregnancy has declined over the years. However, over the three-year time period of this study, 27% of the female sample for which data was available became teenage mothers. Is there a relationship between increased female bullying and teen pregnancies? That is, are females seeking out affection and acceptance among intimate partner relationships if their intimate female peer group rejects them and engages in bullying? This longitudinal study found that there is a peak in girl bullying between the ages of 13 and 17 years old. Older females reported being less concerned and affected by *girl drama*. In this community, what social resources are available to females during the peak bullying years outside of family? Thinking about the impact of these pregnancies on males, it is striking that males in this study did not discuss being fathers. What role, if any, does fatherhood play among male suicides? Social network modeling could explore the hypotheses of females being in more intimate tightknit peer groups, while males are in more fluid, loose relationship groups.

Mentors were reported as protective resources. Participants talked about wanting to be a mentor to help others and as having a role model that provided guidance. However, a clear picture of an influential mentor was not found from this data. There seems to be additional information that could be provided by youth in this community about what areas they are seeking mentorship in and the traits that make a good mentor. Hypotheses are that mentors will be linked to guidance around vocational skills, subsistence lifestyle, or family knowledge (e.g., heritage) helping youth define how they fit into this world and what they can contribute.

A participant noted in the follow-up study that the interview process itself was a useful tool to process challenges. It would be valuable to specifically inquire about the particular usefulness of being involved with this study. From the original CIPA study, the local steering committee requested that individuals from outside of the community conduct interviews. Having someone outside of their relational net to express themselves in a safe environment may be a serviceable resource. It would be informative to re-interview CIPA participants in five years.

Summary

It is important to be mindful of specificity and atypicality in understanding positive adaptations in the face of vulnerabilities (Ungar, 2011b; Luthar et al., 2000). This is particularly important for work in culturally distinct communities. In one context, a set of behaviors and even an outcome may be defined as adaptive, while the same outcome in a different context may be viewed differently, and in extreme examples, as maladaptive. Moreover, "Resilience is not an individual quality. It is a condition of the

community, the school, the family, as much as a quality of the child" (Ungar, 2007, p. 4).

Honoring the youth, young adults, and community that participated in the CIPA and

follow-up interviews includes the recognition that they *are* navigating vulnerabilities and

accessing contextual protective factors as they grow up in rural Alaska. While resilience

as an academic construct, it is for these youth part of their lived experience. As Andy

described it, *life is hard… you just got to get back up*. This captures the developmentally

robust acceptance and endurance to navigate vulnerabilities by utilizing protective

resources linked to relationships, positive thinking, and movement. Becky concluded her

interview by reflecting on her growth:

> Tara: Well is there anything that you'd like to talk about or add that has been
>
> different for you from three years ago?
>
> Becky: Just that I grew up.

Youth are transitioning into young adults. They are growing into the leaders and parents

for the next generation in this rural Alaskan community.

References

Allen, J., Mohatt, G. V., Rasmus, S. M., Two Dogs, R., Ford, T., Two Dogs, E. I. C., & Moves Camp, R. (2011). Cultural interventions for American Indian and Alaska Native youth: The Elluam Tungiinun and Nagi Kicipi programs. In M. C. Sarche, P. Spicer, P. Farrell, & H. E. Fitzgerald (Eds.), *American Indian and Alaska Native children and mental health* (pp. 337-364). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Arrington, E. G., & Wilson, M.N. (2000). A re-examination of risk and resilience during adolescence: Incorporating culture and diversity. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 9*(2), 221-230. doi: 1062-1024/00/0600-0221$18.00/0

ATLAS. ti. (Version 7.0) [Computer software]. Berlin, Germany: Scientific Software Development.

Auerbach, C. F., & Silverstein, L. B. (2003). *Qualitative data: An introduction to coding and analysis.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

Australian Institute of Family Studies (2013, May 31). Is resilience still a useful concept when working with children and young people? Retrieved from http://www.aifs.gov.au/cfca/pubs/papers/a141718/03.html

Barker, R. (1994). *A right mind to think with: Yup'ik theory of human development.* University of Alaska Fairbanks, Fairbanks, Alaska.

Barras, B. (2004). Life projects: Development our way. In M. Blaser, Feit, H.A., & McRae, G. (Eds.), *In the way of development: Indigenous peoples, life projects, and globalization* (pp. 47-51). Retrieved from

http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=0UwtqpeBtvQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq=indigenous+human+development&ots=F2CtKd4fnJ&sig=-o8NoaAt3SmDqsC6GhJvq6x2AEs#v=onepage&q=indigenous%20human%20development&f=false

Bjerregaard, P. (2001). Rapid socio-cultural change and health in the arctic. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health 60*(2), 102-111.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (2004). *Making human beings human*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chance, N. A. (1990). *The Inupiat and the Arctic: An ethnography of development.* Chicago, IL: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis. *Introducing qualitative methods series: Vol. 1.* Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?id=w2sDdv-S7PgC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Charmaz, K. (2004). Grounded theory. In S.N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Approaches to qualitative research: A reader on theory and practice* (pp. 496-521). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Clauss-Ehlers, C. S. (2004). Re-inventing resilience a model of "culturally-focused

resilient adaptation." In Clauss-Ehleers, C. S. & Weist, M. D. (Eds.), *Community planning to foster resilience in children* (pp. 27-41). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Clemson University. (June 2013). *Olweus bullying prevention program*. Institute on Family and Neighborhood Life. Retrieved from: http://www.clemson.edu/olweus/

Condon, R. G. (1988). *Inuit youth: Growth and change in the Canadian Arctic.* New Brunswick, Canada: Rutgers University Press.

Cross, T. L. (1997). Understanding the relational worldview of Indian families. *Pathways Practice Digest, 12*(4), Retrieved from http://www.nicwa.org/services/techassist/worldview/worldview.htm

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Duneier, M. (2000). Race and peeing on Sixth Avenue. In F. W. Twine & J. W. Warren (Eds.), *Racing research, researching race: Methodological dilemmas in critical race studies* (pp. 215-226). New York, NY: University Press.

Duran, E., & Duran, B. (1995). *Native American postcolonial psychology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Feldman, R. S. (2006). *Development across the life span* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Fernyhough, C. (1997). Vygotsky's sociocultural approach: Theoretical issues and

98

implications for current research. In S. Hala (Ed.), *The development of social cognition* (pp. 65-88). East Sussex, UK: Psychology Press Ltd.

Fienup-Riordan, A. (Ed.). (2003). *Qulirat qanemcit-llu kinguvarcimalriit stories for future generations: The oratory of Yup'ik Eskimo Elder Paul John.* Bethel, AK: Calista Elders Council.

Fixico, D. L. (2003). *The American Indian mind in a linear world: American Indian studies & traditional knowledge*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Fleming, J., & Ledogar, R.J. (2008). Resilience, an evolving concept: A review of literature relevant to aboriginal research. *Pimatisiwin, 6*(2), 7-23.

Ford, T., Rasmus, S., & Allen, J. (2012). Being useful: Achieving indigenous youth involvement in a community-based participatory research project in Alaska. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health, 71*: 18413 – http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/ijch.v71i0.18413

Garmezy, N. (1987). Stress, competence, and development: Continuities in the study of schizophrenic adults, children vulnerable to psychopathology, and the search for stress-resistant children. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 57*, 159-174.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=rtiNK68Xt08C&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=glaser+and+strauss+1967&ots=UUwWZkYFWP&sig=fK11XtXMOTo8-XddXzz9Q4H8ojc#v=onepage&q=Grounded%20theory&f=

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment

with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods, 18*(1), 59-82. doi:
10.1177/1525822X05279903

Gwet, K. (2012) *Handbook of inter-rater reliability: The definitive guide to measuring the extent of agreement among multiple raters* (3rd ed.). Gaithersburg, MD: Advanced Analytics, LLC.

Hamilton, B. E., & Ventura, S. J. (2012 April). Birth rates for U.S. teenagers reach historic lows for all age and ethnic groups. Center for Disease Control and Prevention. Retrieved from: http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db89.htm

Henley, R. (2010). Resilience enhancing psychosocial programmes for youth in different cultural contexts: Evaluation and research. *Progress in Development Studies, 10*(4), 295-307. doi: 10.1177/146499340901000403

Hensley, W. L. I. (2009). *Fifty miles from tomorrow: A memoir of Alaska and the real people*. New York, NY: Picador.

Hunt, S. D. (2008). Reflexivity. In R. Thorpe & R. Holt (Eds.), *The sage dictionary of qualitative management research* (pp.183-185). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication Inc. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?id=W9apR0bExCoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=Reflexivity&f=false

Javier, R. A., & Camacho-Gingerich, A. (2004). Risk and resilience in Latino youth. In C. S. Clauss-Ehleers & M. D. Weist (Eds.), *Community planning to foster resilience in children* (pp. 65-82). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

100

Kawagley, A. O. (2006). *A Yupiaq worldview: A pathway to ecology and spirit* (2nd ed.).

Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Kirmayer, L., Fletcher, C., & Boothroyd, L.J. (1998). Suicide among Inuit of Canada. In

A. A. Leenaars, S. Wenckstern, I. Sakinofsky, R. J. Dyck, M. J. Kral, & R. C.

Bland (Eds.), *Suicide in Canada* (pp. 187-211). Toronto, Canada: University of

Toronto.

Kirmayer, L. J., Sehdev, M., Whitley, R., Dandeneau, F. S., & Isaac, C. (2009).

Community resilience: Models, metaphors and measures. *Journal of Aboriginal

Health*, *5*(1), 62-117.

Kirmayer, L. J., Dandeneau, S., Marshall, E., Phillips, M. K., & Williamson, K. J. (2011).

Rethinking resilience from indigenous perspectives. *Canadian Journal of

Psychiatry*, *56*(2), 84-91.

Kral, M. J. (2012). Postcolonial suicide among Inuit in Arctic Canada. *Culture, Medicine,

and Psychiatry, 36*(2), 306-325. doi 10.1007/s11013-012-9253-3

Langdon, S. J. (2002). *The native people of Alaska: Traditional living in a northern

land* (4th ed.). Anchorage, AK: Greatland Graphics.

Lavallee, L. F., & Poole, J. M. (2010). Beyond recovery: Colonization, health and healing

for Indigenous people in Canada. *International Journal of Mental Health and

Addiction*, *8*(2), 271-281.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York, NY:

Springer Publishing Company.

Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The construct of resilience: A critical

evaluation and guidelines for future work. *Child Development, 71*(3), 543-562.

MacQueen, K. M., McLellan, E., Kay, K., & Milstein, B. (1998). Codebook development for team-based qualitative analysis. *Cultural Anthropology Methods, 10*(2), 31-36.

Masten, A. S., & Tellegen, A. (2012). Resilience in developmental psychopathology: Contributions of the project competence longitudinal study. *Development and Psychopathology, 24*, 34-361. doi: 10.1017/S0954579412000003X

Melendez, M. C., & Tomlinson-Clarke, S. (2004). Home, school, and community: Catalysts to resilience. In C. S. Clauss-Ehlers & M. D. Weist (Eds.), *Community planning to foster resilience in children* (pp. 311-325). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Meyer, R. G. & Deistch, S. E. (1996). *The clinician's handbook: Integrated diagnostics, assessment, and intervention in adult and adolescent psychopathology.* Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Mohatt, G. V., Hazel, K. L., Allen, J. Stachelrodt, M., Hensel, C., & Fath, R. (2004). Unheard Alaska: Culturally anchored participatory action research on sobriety with Alaska Natives. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 33*(3/4), 263-273.

Napoleon, H. (1996). *Yuuyaraq: The way of the human being.* E. Madsen (Ed.). Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Knowledge Network.

National Center for Mental Health Promotion and Youth Violence Prevention. (2011). Girls bullying and violence. Retrieved from: http://www.promoteprevent.org/publications/prevention-briefs/girls-bullying-and-violence

Rasmus, S. M., Allen, J., Ford, T., Charles, B. A., & Lindley, S. (2013). *"Where I have to learn the ways how to live:" Yup'ik youth resilience in Alaska.* Manuscript submitted for publication.

Rasmus, S. M., Atuk, A., Orr, E., & Mohatt, G.V. (2004). *People awakening: Stories of hope and courage in sobriety and substance abuse.* Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Fairbanks, Department of Psychology.

Richman, J. M., & Fraser, M.W. (2001). Resilience in childhood: Role of risk and protection. In J. M. Richman, & M. W. Fraser (Eds.), *The context of youth violence: Resilience, risk, and protection* (pp. 1-11). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Roderick, L. (Ed.). (2008). *Do Alaska Native people get free medical care? And other frequently asked questions about Alaska Native issues and cultures.* Anchorage, AK: University of Alaska Anchorage and Alaska Pacific University.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=3D403RTZIicC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=indigenous+human+development&ots=aMfusB64ei&sig=3egir6GAip5F3IRMZuj14KhfLms#v=onepage&q=indigenous%20human%20development&f=false

Santrock, J. W. (2010). *Adolescence* (13th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

State of Alaska. (2010). *Statewide suicide prevention council annual report.* Retrieved from http://dhss.alaska.gov/SuicidePrevention/Pages/statistics.aspx

State of Alaska Community and Regional Affairs. (n.d.) Community database online. Retrieved from http://commerce.alaska.gov/cra/DCRAExternal

Sternberg, R. J., & Grigorenko, E. L. (2004). Why we need to explore development in its

cultural context. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *50*(3), 369-386.

SSPC Annual Report FY2011-2012. (May 2012). State of Alaska. Alaska Statewide

Suicide Prevention Council. Retrieved from

http://dhss.alaska.gov/SuicidePrevention/Documents/pdfs_sspc/2011-

12SSPCAnnualReport.pdf

Thompson, K. (1996). *Alaska*. Austin, TX: Steck-Vaughn Company.

Trimble, J. E., & Dickson, R. (2005). Ethnic gloss. *Encyclopedia of Applied

Developmental Science*, *1*, 412-415.

Tudge, J., Gray, J. T., & Hogan, D. H. (1996). Ecological perspectives in human

development: A comparison of Gibson and Bronfenbrenner. In J. Tudge, M. J.,

Shanahan, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *Comparisons in human development* (pp. 72-106).

Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from

http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511720345.004

Ulturgasheva, O., Wexler, L., Kral, M., Allen, J, Mohatt, G.V., Nystad, K., & CIPA

Team (2011). Navigating international, community-based participatory health

research: Indigenous culture, social change, and negotiating pathways to

adulthood in five circumpolar communities. *Journal of Community Engagement

and Scholarship, 4,* 50-59.

Ulturgasheva, O. (2012). *Narrating the future in Siberia: Childhood, adolescence and

autobiography among the Eveny*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Ulturgasheva, O. & CIPA Team (2013). *Making the circle stronger: Comparative

analysis of youth experience and resilience strategies across five Arctic

indigenous communities. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Ungar, M. (2007). The beginnings of resilience: A view across cultures. *Education*

Canada-Toronto, 47(3), 28-38.

Ungar, M. (2011a). Community resilience for youth and families: Facilitative physical

and social capital in contexts of adversity. *Children and Youth Services Review,*

33, 1742-1748. doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.04.027

Ungar, M. (2011b). The social ecology of resilience: Addressing contextual and cultural

ambiguity of a nascent construct. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 81,* 1-17.

doi: 10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01067.x

Ungar, M. (2013). Family resilience and at-risk youth. In D. Becvar (Ed.), *Handbook of*

family resilience (pp. 137-152). doi: 10.10007/978-1-4614-3917-2_9

United States Census Bureau (2010). *Community facts*. United States Department of

Commerce. Retrieved from

http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

Vernon, R.F. (2004). A brief history of resilience from early beginnings to current

constructions. In C. Clauss-Ehlers & M. Weist (Eds.), *Community planning to*

foster resilience in children (13-26). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic

Publishers.

Wallis, V. (2002). *Raising ourselves: A Gwich'in coming of age story from the Yukon*

River. Kenmore, WA: Epicenter Press.

Werner, E. E. (1989). High-risk children in young adulthood: A longitudinal study from birth to

32 years. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 59*, 72-81.

Werner, E. E., & Smith, R.S. (2001). *Journeys from childhood to midlife: Risk, resilience, and recovery*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University

Appendices

Appendix A: IRB Approval

IRBNet Board Action

Gretchen Hundertmark <no-reply@irbnet.org>
Reply-To: Gretchen Hundertmark <ghundertmark@alaska.edu>
To: Stacy Rasmus <smrasmus@alaska.edu>, Jim Allen <jrallen@alaska.edu>,
Tara Ford <tjford@alaska.edu>,
Michelle Dondanville <madondanville@alaska.edu>
Please note that University of Alaska Fairbanks IRB has taken the following
action on IRBNet:

Project Title: [171354-6] Negotiating Pathways to Adulthood: Social Change and
Indigenous Culture in Four Circumpolar Communities
Principal Investigator: Stacy Rasmus, PhD

Submission Type: Amendment/Modification
Date Submitted: September 28, 2012

Action: APPROVED
Effective Date: October 9, 2012
Review Type: Expedited Review

Should you have any questions you may contact Gretchen Hundertmark at
 ghundertmark@alaska.edu.

Thank you,
The IRBNet Support Team

www.irbnet.org

Appendix B: Regional Approval

YUKON-KUSKOKWIM HEALTH CORPORATION
"Working Together to Achieve Excellent Health"

October 19, 2012

Stacy Rasmus, PhD

CANHR

University of Alaska Fairbanks

Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7000

Dear Dr. Rasmus:

This letter is to inform you on October 18, 2012; the Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation Executive Board of Directors approved **Negotiating Pathways to Adulthood: Social Change and Indigenous Culture in Five Circumpolar Communities** for another year. For YKHC tracking purposes it is numbered **08.08.05.** Please refer to this number in all correspondence with my office regarding this protocol.

As a note since you are involved in many research projects here on the YK Delta, when submitting updates for approval, please complete the YKHC annual update info sheet (attached to email copy of this letter) and submit electronically as well.

As a note, when submitting manuscripts for approval or study modification, please provide:

1. An electronic copy of the full manuscript or protocol modification (email to joe_klejka@ykhc.org and julia_street@ykhc.org.)
2. Complete the YKHC manuscript or protocol info sheet (attached to email copy of this letter) and submit electronically as well.
3. Provide designated fee to offset costs incurred by YKHC in review process

To assist in timely approval, please plan on providing YKHC at least a two-month window to review and approve any such manuscripts or modifications. The YKHC Executive Board meets every other month and depending on time of submission, approval could take even longer since time must be allowed for the YKHC Human Studies Committee to review the manuscript and then recommend it to the YKHC Board for approval. For best results we would suggest beginning communications with my office as early as possible to help coordinate timing of submittal for review so as to assist in a quick approval process.

YKHC supports the work you are doing in increasing the knowledge of best health practices for our population through your research. YKHC would appreciate if you could send us a glossy reprint if possible at time of publication.

Once again, YKHC sincerely appreciates your work, enthusiasm, and effort, and looks forward to your continued success.

 Sincerely,

Joseph Klejka, MD

YKHC Corporate Medical Director

907-543-6028 or 6027

Fax 907-543-6091 or 6006

Cc: Michelle Dondanvill

Appendix C: Interview Protocol

Section 4 from CANHR Protocol
Modification from original protocol in RED
<u>**4. CHALLENGES / PROBLEMS & HOW THEY ARE OVERCOME**</u>
4a. Since the last time you were interviewed (back in Winter 2010), what are some challenges or problems you have faced?
4b. The interviewer will pick one of these problems or challenges and ask: **What helped you get through this?**
Please follow up with the following questions **if the participant does not talk about them**:
1) Did your **thoughts or specific ways of thinking** help you get through this challenge? If so, how?
2) Did you **do anything** that helped you get through this challenge? If so, what?
3) Did any **relationships - family or friends** - help you get through this challenge?
    If so, how?
4) Did your **community** help you get through this challenge? If so, how?
5) **Did any other things help you or make it harder for you to get through this**
    challenge? Please explain.
4c. Ask about another challenge or problem: **Tell me about [another problem/challenge]. What helped you get through this?**
Please follow up with the following questions **if the participant does not talk about them**:
1) Did your **thoughts or specific ways of thinking** help you get through this challenge? If so, how?
2) Did you **do anything** that helped you get through this challenge? If so, what?
3) Did any **relationships - family or friends** - help you get through this challenge?
    If so, how?
4) Did your **community** help you get through this challenge? If so, how?
5) **Did any other things help you or make it harder for you to get through this**
    challenge? Please explain.
Continue asking these questions until you have covered the problems identified, and MOST IMPORTANT-HOW THEY HAVE GOTTEN THROUGH THEM.
4d. What have you had to deal with lately-it could be big or small, but something that has happened in the last few weeks? How did you handle that?
4e. If you had to come up with a few words to describe how you normally deal with problems, what would you say?

4f. We've asked you a lot about your problems or challenges, and I wonder: What do you think are the biggest problems for youth in the community?

Appendix D: Demographics Questionnaire

Address: _____

Postal:_____

Email: _____

1. Age: _____

2. Gender: Sex
☐ Male   ☐ Female

3. Grade: Grade
☐ 6th
☐ 7th   ☐ 8th   ☐ 9th   ☐ 10th   ☐ 11th   ☐ 12th
☐ Not attending   ☐ Graduated high
school anymore   school

4. Ethnicity
☐ Yup'ik
☐ Other Alaskan Native
☐ White
☐ African American
☐ Other

5. Who are the older adults living in your house?
☐ Mom   ☐ Dad   ☐ Grandparent   ☐ Others: List who, how many:
☐ sisters   ages: ____   ☐ brothers   ages: ____

6. Are your parents:
☐ Married/living together   ☐ Single
☐ Separated
                                    ☐ Divorced

☐ Deceased

7. Did you ever drink alcohol?   ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, how old were you when you first tried drinking? _____years old
If yes, where did you first do it? ☐ home ☐ friend's home ☐ Other: _____

8. Have you ever used marijuana?   ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, how old were you when you first used marijuana? _____years old
If yes, where did you first do it? ☐ home ☐ friend's home ☐ Other: _____

8. Have you ever used other drugs?   ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, how old were you when you first used other drugs? _____years old
If yes, where did you first do it? ☐ home ☐ friend's home ☐ Other: _____

10. How important is church in your life?   (circle a number that best matches)

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important		Somewhat Important		Very Important

11. How often do you go to church?

☐ Less than once a year   ☐ 1 or 2 times a week   ☐ at least once a week

☐ 1 or 2 times a year   ☐ 3 or 4 times a week

12. Are you a member of a youth group?
☐ yes   ☐ no

If yes, which one(s)? _____

13. Are you a member of other community groups or organizations?
☐ yes   ☐ no

If yes, which one(s)? _____

Appendix E: Adult Consent and Guardian Consent/Youth Assent Forms

Center for Alaska Native Health Research
Consent for Medical Research
Dr. Stacy Rasmus, Principal Investigator
Tara Ford, Graduate Student   Date of Birth: _____

University of Alaska Fairbanks
Institute of Arctic Biology (IAB)
IRB #

ORAL ADULT CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
Pathways to Adulthood Research Project: Follow up Dissertation

Introduction: Quyana for coming today and showing interest in joining our project. Today I'd like to explain the whole project to you and what you will do if you choose to participate. I will also answer any questions you may have about the project. At the end of our visit, you will have the chance to decide if you want to join in the project. Participating in this research project is totally voluntary. We will explain the project and your part in it piece by piece. I will check to see if you have any questions and that you fully understand before we move on to the next part. It's okay to stop me at any time to ask questions or for more information. Even if we have moved on and we need to go back, that's okay. I just want to make sure that you fully understand what we are asking you to do and that you freely get to choose to be involved. It will take us about 15 minutes to go over this information.

Purpose: The first thing we will talk about is why this project is being done. All youth your age go through things in their everyday life that cause stress and are uncomfortable. Things like school, friends, getting along with others at home or maybe in the community, to name just a few. For many youth, they usually figure out how to deal with these things. You were invited to participate because of your involvement with the project three years ago. Figuring out how to handle things that stress you is important because no matter what age you are, you will always have things that you will need to deal with. I plan to talk privately with 25 youth (ages 14 – 21 years) about what their everyday life has been like. I will ask youth what are the good things, what are the challenging, uncomfortable things (the stressors), and what they do to deal with them. From these follow up stories, I expect to find stressors that most all Yup'ik youth experience and the ways that they go about dealing with them. Being apart of this project, you are allowing me to looking at your interview from three years ago and with the information that you share this time, I will see how things have changed from the last time we talked with youth in your community. This project is part of my school training. I will be working on my skills as a scientist to be able to graduate. I will have the help of a group of teachers/researchers/mentors.

Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?
  • **Do you understand the purpose of this project?**

Affirmed by adult	

Procedure: If you choose to join, I will do all I can to keep what you say private. All information you share will be identified with an ID number instead of your name. You will tell a bit of your life story in a private interview with Tara Ford. This will take place in a comfortable, quiet room where others will not hear what you say. You will be asked a set of questions that invites you to talk freely about things like:

- what you're like now
- what you think, feel, and do when you are happy and satisfied with life
- what it's like at home in your family and also in your community
- what important life events or life changes you have gone through as you move into adulthood
- what part Spirituality and religion play in your life
- what challenges or stressors you face in your life and how you deal with them
- and finally some personal questions like when you were born, different places you've lived, different schools you've gone to, how often you go to church if you do, etc.

The interview will be recorded so that we can talk in a normal way and get your story in your own words. If you do not want your interview to be recorded, you can still be involved in the study. For example, I can take notes while we are talking or if you are not available in person or over the phone we can email each other. Since it is a follow up and not all the questions that were asked last time will be asked, your story will take about half an hour to tell. Your recorded interview will be sent to Fairbanks to be printed exactly as you said it. You will receive a gift of $40.00 at the end of the last meeting.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand how the interview will take place, what kinds of questions you will be asked, how many times you will meet with us, and how much your gift will be?**

Affirmed by adult	

Benefits: As you answer the questions you will not only point out the hard times but also the people and the things inside you and around you that help you deal with them. Knowing what the things that help are can help you feel good. It may give you more belief in yourself that you can handle whatever life throws at you. Looking at the all information, I plan to see a picture of the normal stressors and people and things they count on to deal with these stressors. With this information, I can inform others who may build programs that will help youth learn how to handle these hard times and have a healthier, more enjoyable life.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand how sharing your life story may help you know and appreciate yourself more?**
- **Do you understand how what we learn from you and the other participants can be used to teach others how to deal with their challenges?**

Affirmed by adult	

Risks or Discomforts: I don't expect that sharing will cause you trouble, but sometimes talking about some past or present stress may cause you to feel yucky. I will be on the lookout for any signs of discomfort. Please let me know if this happens to you and we can take a break. Remember, you can choose not to answer a question(s), or you can stop doing the interview at anytime without getting in trouble. I will have someone for you to talk to if you keep feeling uncomfortable.

Please know that if you share with me that you are being physically or sexually abused, being neglected, or planning to harm or kill yourself or others, I must report this to the proper people.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand that you probably won't have any problems participating in this research project, but that if you did feel uncomfortable you can choose to take a break, skip answering a question or stop participating all together?**

Affirmed by adult	

Confidentiality: Your interview answers will be kept private. Your information will be stored at UAF, on a private computer using an ID number instead of your name. I have a list of the interview questions here that you can look at now if it will help you make you decision. Any sharing of the information will not list your name or your community, without written approval.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand that although we have trained your community members listed above about the importance of respecting your privacy and that they have promised to do so, we cannot guarantee that they will do so?**

Affirmed by adult	

Voluntary Participation and Contacts: Being a part of this project is totally voluntary. It's up to you if you want to join and you can choose to quit at anytime without negative consequences to you. Your information will be removed from our computers. This project is the second of a group of projects we are planning to do to help Yup'ik youth be healthy and strong. We want to keep and use your information for as long as it has value to these future projects. Your information will only be used for what we have talked about here. If we find it is useful in other ways, we will contact you about your interest in continuing in this project or another project.

If you wish to quit or have any questions about this project, you can talk to Tara Ford or you may call Dr. Stacy Rasmus. Stacy can be reached at 907-474-5528, or you can e-mail her at smrasmus@alaska.edu. You may also reach her by calling 1-877-474-5969 toll free. If you have questions or concerns about being a part of this project you may contact Dr. Joseph Klejka. He is from YKHC. You can call him at 907-543-6027 or email him at joe_klejka@ykhc.org. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Research Coordinator in the UAF Office of Research Integrity. They can be reached at (907) 474-7800 (Fairbanks area), or 1-866-876-7800 (outside the Fairbanks area), or by e-mail at fyirb@uaf.edu.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand that it is always your choice to be a part of this project and that you can choose to stop being a part of it at any time and have your interview information destroyed?**

Affirmed by adult	

AGREEMENT TO JOIN:

Now that we have talked about the project together, do you have any final questions or anything you would like me to explain more clearly?

Do you _____ agree to participate in this research project?
         Print participant's name

_____   _____
    Signature of Witness to participant's agreement   *Date*

_____   _____
    Signature of Person Presenting the Oral Consent   *Date*

_____
    Signature of Translator (if applicable)

_____ A signed and dated copy of this agreement has been offered to the participant for their records. *(initial)*

Center for Alaska Native Health Research Project ID # _____

Consent for Medical Research
Dr. Stacy Rasmus, Principal Investigator   Date of Birth: _____
Tara Ford, Graduate Student

University of Alaska Fairbanks
Institute of Arctic Biology (IAB)
IRB #

ORAL ASSENT/PARENTAL CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
Pathways to Adulthood Research Project: Follow up Dissertation

Introduction: Quyana for coming today and showing interest in joining our project. Today I'd like to explain the whole project to you and your parent and what you will do if you choose to participate. I will also answer any questions you may have about the project. At the end of our visit, you will have the chance to decide if you want to join in the project and if your parent agrees to allow you to be a part of the project. Participating in this project is totally voluntary. We will explain the project and your part in it piece by piece. I will check to see if you or your parent have any questions and that you fully understand before we move on to the next part. It's okay to stop me at any time to ask questions or for more information. Even if we have moved on and we need to go back, that's okay. I just want to make sure that you fully understand what we are asking you to do and that you freely get to choose to be involved. It will take us about 15 minutes to go over this information.

Purpose: The first thing we will talk about is why this project is being done. All youth your age go through things in their everyday life that cause stress and are uncomfortable. Things like school, friends, getting along with others at home or maybe in the community, to name just a few. For many youth, they usually figure out how to deal with these things. You were invited to participate because of your involvement with the project three years ago. Figuring out how to handle things that stress you is important because no matter what age you are, you will always have things that you will need to deal with. I plan to talk privately with 25 youth (ages 14 – 21 years) about what their everyday life has been like. I will ask youth what are the good things, what are the challenging, uncomfortable things (the stressors), and what they do to deal with them. From these follow up stories, I expect to find stressors that most all Yup'ik youth experience and the ways that they go about dealing with them. Being apart of this project, you are allowing me to looking at your interview from three years ago and with the information that you share this time, I will see how things have changed from the last time we talked with youth in your community. This project is part of my school training. I will be working on my skills as a scientist to be able to graduate. I will have the help of a group of teachers/researchers/mentors.

Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?
   • **Do you understand the purpose of this project?**

Affirmed by youth		Affirmed by parent	

Procedure: If you choose to join, I will do all I can to keep what you say private. All information you share will be identified with an ID number instead of your name. You will tell a bit of your life story in a private interview with Tara Ford. This will take place in a comfortable, quiet room where others will not hear what you say. You will be asked a set of questions that invites you to talk freely about things like:
• what you're like now
• what you think, feel, and do when you are happy and satisfied with life
• what it's like at home in your family and also in your community
• what important life events or life changes you have gone through as you move into adulthood
• what part Spirituality and religion play in your life

- what challenges or stressors you face in your life and how you deal with them
- and finally some personal questions like when you were born, different places you've lived, different schools you've gone to, how often you go to church if you do, etc.

The interview will be recorded so that we can talk in a normal way and get your story in your own words. If you do not want your interview to be recorded, you can still be involved in the study. For example, I can take notes while we are talking or if you are not available in person or over the phone we can email each other. Since it is a follow up and not all the questions that were asked last time will be asked, your story will take about half an hour to tell. Your recorded interview will be sent to Fairbanks to be printed exactly as you said it. You will receive a gift of $40.00 at the end of the last meeting.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand how the interview will take place, what kinds of questions you will be asked, how many times you will meet with us, and how much your gift will be?**

Affirmed by youth		Affirmed by parent	

Benefits: As you answer the questions you will not only point out the hard times but also the people and the things inside you and around you that help you deal with them. Knowing what the things that help are can help you feel good. It may give you more belief in yourself that you can handle whatever life throws at you. Looking at the all information, I plan to see a picture of the normal stressors and people and things they count on to deal with these stressors. With this information, I can inform others who may build programs that will help youth learn how to handle these hard times and have a healthier, more enjoyable life.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand how sharing your life story may help you know and appreciate yourself more?**
- **Do you understand how what we learn from you and the other participants can be used to teach others how to deal with their challenges?**

Affirmed by youth		Affirmed by parent	

Risks or Discomforts: I don't expect that sharing will cause you trouble, but sometimes talking about some past or present stress may cause you to feel yucky. I will be on the lookout for any signs of discomfort. Please let me know if this happens to you and we can take a break. Remember, you can choose not to answer a question(s), or you can stop doing the interview at anytime without getting in trouble. I will have someone for you to talk to if you keep feeling uncomfortable.
Please know that if you share with me that you are being physically or sexually abused, being neglected, or planning to harm or kill yourself or others, I must report this to the proper people.
Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?

- **Do you understand that you probably won't have any problems participating in this research project, but that if you did feel uncomfortable you can choose to take a break, skip answering a question or stop participating all together?**

Affirmed by youth		Affirmed by parent	

Confidentiality: Your interview answers will be kept private. Your information will be stored at UAF, on a private computer using an ID number instead of your name. I have a list of the interview questions here that you can look at now if it will help you make you decision. Any sharing of the information will not list your name or your community, without written approval.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand that although we have trained your community members listed above about the importance of respecting your privacy and that they have promised to do so, we cannot guarantee that they will do so?**

Affirmed by youth		Affirmed by parent	

Voluntary Participation and Contacts: Being a part of this project is totally voluntary. It's up to you if you want to join and you can choose to quit at anytime without negative consequences to you. Your information will be removed from our computers. This project is the second of a group of projects we are planning to do to help Yup'ik youth be healthy and strong. We want to keep and use your information for as long as it has value to these future projects. Your information will only be used for what we have talked about here. If we find it is useful in other ways, we will contact you about your interest in continuing in this project or another project.

If you wish to quit or have any questions about this project, you can talk to Tara Ford or you may call Dr. Stacy Rasmus. Stacy can be reached at 907-474-5528, or you can e-mail her at smrasmus@alaska.edu. You may also reach her by calling 1-877-474-5969 toll free. If you have questions or concerns about being a part of this project you may contact Dr. Joseph Klejka. He is from YKHC. You can call him at 907-543-6027 or email him at joe_klejka@ykhc.org. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Research Coordinator in the UAF Office of Research Integrity. They can be reached at (907) 474-7800 (Fairbanks area), or 1-866-876-7800 (outside the Fairbanks area), or by e-mail at fyirb@uaf.edu.

- **Do you have any questions or is there anything you would like me to explain more clearly?**
- **Do you understand that it is always your choice to be a part of this project and that you can choose to stop being a part of it at any time and have your interview information destroyed?**

Affirmed by youth		Affirmed by parent	

AGREEMENT TO JOIN:

Now that we have talked about the whole project together, do you have any final questions or anything you would like me to explain more clearly?

Do you _____ agree to participate in this research
project?
                   Print participant's name

_____   _____
    Signature of Witness to participant's agreement   *Date*

Do you _____ give your permission for your child to
      Print parent/guardian's name and relationship   participate in this research
project?

_____   _____
   Signature of Witness to parent/guardian's permission   *Date*

_____   _____
   Signature of Person Presenting the Oral Assent/Consent   *Date*

_____
   Signature of Translator (if applicable)

_____ A signed and dated copy of this agreement has been offered to the parent for their
records.
  (Initial)

Appendix F: Codebook

Focused Codes	Definition	Selective Codes	Example
Life is hard *Merged with Local Stressors*	General code capturing challenges. References to the har times or the challeng the participant has experienced or that o young people experie in the community.	other girls, drama, rumors, texting, break-ups, sibling rivalry, being left alone, parents drinking, friends drinking, parents fighting, boredom, teachers, not having a dad, friends trying to "let me" drink (peer pressure), school, teasing	
Feeling	Youth identifies the way they felt or feeling at a certain time. Includes associations between activities and "feeling-states" that are associated with the activity. References to "having fun" involve "feeling good" and can be coded with "Feeling". This code is used references to positive and negative feelings.	mad, happy, good, excited, scared, lonesome, bothered, sad, having fun	M: I mean yes and last year it might be with this B. River thing. I mean last year it was my first time… I mean I always wanted to see the high power rifle and last year it was just my very first time shooting high power rifle and I was really excited about that because… yes… since I start knowing about rifles, I've been wanting to shoot. Just shoot a single shell and see how it feels and yes I got to do that last year when I went out mukluk hunting. Yes. I was really excited about that. 36: 15
Boredom	Any reference to "passing time", "killing time" or waiting around for things to happen Includes positive and negative discussion around boredom	"killing time," watching TV, eat, go to bed, go to practice, go "check around", go to Eskimo dance, Same old, same old	"Yesterday I woke up and wasn't too sure what I did. I sat down and I watched TV. I got up and I ate and I watched TV some more and waiting for the day to end. So I was waiting for the day to end because we were having natural helper dance and the first time I tried and sponsor or get a dance to go so it was kind of fun." (44: 1)

			helper dance and the first time I tried and sponsor or get a dance to go so it was kind of fun." (44: 1)
Being parents	References to being pregnant, parenting, and impacts around raising a child/children	Being pregnant, childcare, loss of friends	"After I got pregnant, they changed and quit calling me and barely talking to me" (15:4)
Rumors and gossip/Bullying/Girl Drama	Any reference to challenges with peers. Includes discussion around 'facing girl drama'	"girls picking on me," "girl drama," "fighting me," "I would say sorry to them," "I don't know how"	"… some girls always be like hard headed or like they always can't move on." (15:4)
Drinking/Drugs *Includes:* *When kids drink/When I drink (self, friends) and When parents drink*	References to what happens when the participant drinks or tries alcohol. References to parental alcohol use. Descriptions of what would happen when a youth's parents would drink.	black out, threaten to commit suicide, steal snowmachine, get in accident, get injured, go to PD, go to hospital,	When I was drinking one day and when my dad was beating on me I think, scolding me or hollering at me, he was drinking I think, and I went out and somebody offered me to drink and I said yes and after we were done drinking I went home and I hot wired my snow machine and I went to go take a ride and I stopped by my friend's and I blacked out talking to them. They told me that I wanted to go commit suicide or something and they were holding me back from getting bumped but there was a couple of people holding me like that and somehow I jerked back they said and when I jerked back there was somebody cruising, her name was A_____, she was carrying a passenger and when I jerked back, they bumped me and they said I flew about maybe five feet and I don't remember getting bumped but I got back up. (44:20)
Loss			

Love problems			
Boyfriend		Baby's dad, Boyfriend	
Girlfriend		Girlfriend	
Strategies for being well/strong *Includes: Getting through things/Resilience Strategies, Dealing with feelings, and Not making it worse*	References to overcoming obstacles, "getting through it", or coping with challenges. Includes references to difficult times and the ways these were overcome. Includes seemingly positive and negative actions; code as a strategy for being well if the participant is describing as a useful tool	"getting over it," moving away, not doubting oneself, having good friends, cousins, talking to mom, going to my grandparents, talking to friends, feeling loved by a lot of people, "I just stay home" leave them alone "Ignore them" "just be cool"	I got through it because I don't think I had any doubts in myself. When my mom said we were going to this, we're going to do that, I didn't have any doubt in myself. So I think that's what made me get through it. (44:13)

I had met a boy from there and we used to always hang out like every day when I moved to ___High School. My favorite subject in ___(school) was ___. It was a program for…. I'm not too sure for what, but it was like the military. It was something different that I liked and I think that's where me and ___(name) had met, but then he was like next door from our house. There was another house and there was another house so he used to stay there. I used to hang out with him. One day I wanted to go home and we cried for each other that whole day. It was just horrible for us, but then I got over it . (44:9) |
Movement	Reference to traveling, wanting to be or go someplace else. Includes discussion of 'other places'	"Traveling"	I: Did you like being in N? W: It was okay. I didn't have to worry about the other girls. (15:1)
Markers	Reference to events in life that participants describe as being impactful resulting in changes for their future.	"I got pregnant again," "quit going to school"(15:1)	
"When I was younger"	References to earlier times in the	No drama, liked school, dad would	When I was younger I used to like K___(place) because

	young person's life. Youth talks about individual, family or social changes they have witnessed in their own lifetime.	read to us, played out, would drink brew, had dogs, got detention, had attitude, "stay out forever" "just say sorry to when you guys were friends and they got good.."	I used to know everybody and we didn't have no drama with each other and growing up slowly that like one person would hate me for that and the other person would hate me because I did that to that one person and I just didn't like it. I used to go to school there, but I didn't like it at all. It was too much for me to handle. (44: 6)
Subsistence life	References to activities done out on the land including hunting, fishing, berry picking, as well as activities in the village to prepare for going out on the land (making spears, knives, cleaning guns, fixing snowmachines) and activities involving processing of food and other items acquired on land.	Hunting seal, fishing, checking net, riding snowmachine, making spears, getting wood, chopping wood, cutting fish, going to camp, etc. Berry picking, moose hunting	
Sports	References to involvement in local organized sports activities.	traveling to games, tournaments, basketball, volleyball, etc. Kickball, playing on bikes	Example: M: I mean my first time traveling was across country. I traveled to H__ I could have taken first but I took second and that was in fourth grade. That was one of my fun sports. One of my only fun sports or the only fun sport I ever joined. The rest I couldn't or I joined but I couldn't travel because I was having too much problems in school and with my reactions. 36: 8
Mentor		Wanting to be a role model	
Elders			
Future		"Move out of here"	
Hope			
Community			

Family			
Aunts and Uncles	References to the youth participant's aunts and/or uncles. Includes references to the role of aunts or uncles in the youth's life.	Being friends with my Auntie	
Cousins and friends			
Grandparents	Includes all references to grandparents and the role of grandparents in the youth's life.	Helping	
Parents	Includes references to the positive or valued role of parents in the youth's life. Include references to parents that contribute to the strengths or resiliency.	talking to,	
Discipline (law, school & parents)	References to behaviors being acknowledged, controlled and/or evaluated by others or by the youth themselves. Involves discipline, social control and punishment.	getting in trouble, being grounded, having parents get angry, being sent home from school, suspension, detention, etc. Don't want to go back to juvie	M: I started again after fourth grade. I wasn't in fifth grade, I got dropped back to third grade and then that was when I started taking them again and took them until eighth grade and that's when I really quit. They tried to put me back on but since they tried to do that, I quit school and last year I dropped out, this year before they tried to put me back on them but I told them I don't need then anymore. They asked me if I could control myself, I said yes. So they kept me off them and after that haven't taken them again and I'm doing much better in school. 36: 4
School	Reference to positive and	"quit going to school," applying to attend	

	negative discussion around attending, quitting, or wanting to go back to school. Include talk about the school or school workers as a resource for obtaining goals.	school somewhere else	
Self	References to what the youth thinks about things. Includes self evaluation, evaluation of others, of activities as good, fun, boring, frustrating, etc. Includes positive and negative self reflection/evaluation	I don't bully people around, I had really a lot of fun, it was good, I don't really like it, etc.	M: Yes I haven't caught my first mukluk yet and it's been one whole year I've been going out to the coast where we could hunt and last year was my very first time going to __ and it's a place where people have camps over there. I mean there's a bunch of camps over there and yes, I had really lot of fun. I mean the first day I when there, we hunt mukluk for six hours. We didn't catch anything but the second day we went over and we came home with two of them, but the people that are bringing me out hunting, they're still bringing me out so I could try and catch my first big animal. I mean I only been catching birds since I started hunting. 36: 13

Red font indicates data that has been added for the follow up study. Highlighted text represents repeat selective codes from CIPA study to current study.

Appendix G: Regional Approval for Publication

YUKON-KUSKOKWIM HEALTH CORPORATION
"Working Together to Achieve Excellent Health"

April 18, 2013

Tara Ford, MS
Psychology Department
University of Alaska Fairbanks
Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7000

Dear Ms. Ford;

This letter is to inform you on April 18, 2013 the Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation's Full Board of Directors approved your thesis manuscript **"Becoming Adults in a Rural Yup'ik Community: A Longitudinal Qualitative Study Exploring Resilience."** for publication. For YKHC tracking purposes it was numbered **13.04.03.** Please refer to this number in all correspondence with my office regarding this manuscript.

As a note since you are involved in many research projects here on the YK Delta, when submitting manuscripts/abstract for approval, please provide:

1. An electronic copy of the full manuscript (email to joe_klejka@ykhc.org and julia_street@ykhc.org.)
2. Complete the YKHC manuscript info sheet (attached to email copy of this letter) and submit electronically as well.
3. Provide designated fee to offset costs incurred by YKHC in review process

Additionally, could you please give us notice prior to going to the village to disseminate the results. I am personally interested in how you plan to disseminate these findings.

To assist in timely approval, please plan on providing YKHC at least a two-month window to review and approve any such manuscripts. The YKHC Executive Board meets every other month and depending on time of submission, approval could take even longer since time must be allowed for the YKHC Human Studies Committee to review the manuscript and then recommend it to the YKHC Board for approval. For best results we would suggest beginning communications with my office as early as possible to help coordinate timing of submittal for review so as to assist in a quick approval process.

YKHC supports the work you are doing in increasing the knowledge of best health practices for our population through your research. YKHC would appreciate if you could send us a glossy reprint if possible at time of publication.

Once again, YKHC sincerely appreciates your work, enthusiasm, and effort, and looks forward to your continued success.

Sincerely,

Joseph Klejka, MD
YKHC Corporate Medical Director
907-543-6028 or 6027
Fax 907-543-6091 or 6006
joe_klejka@ykhc.org

Cc: Michelle Dondanville