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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Identity, Relationships, and Community as Antidotes for Historic and Race-Based Trauma: Lessons from Sikh and Indigenous Communities

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Abstract
Using two case studies, from a Midwestern Sikh immigrant community and from a Pacific Northwest Indigenous community, this paper argues that positive cultural and religious identities, relationships with immediate and extended family members, connections with elderly in the community, and relationships with land, ancestors, nature, and spiritual elements are antidotes for historic and race-based trauma. Historic trauma passed on to subsequent generations is known as intergenerational trauma or secondary trauma. Compounded with racial discrimination and the perpetual stressors of alienation and disadvantage, intergenerational trauma has negative implications for the psychological and physical wellbeing of Indigenous and Sikh communities. Culturally appropriate prevention and intervention programs can build resilience in youth from underrepresented communities by fostering positive intersecting ethno-cultural identities, supporting family and community interactions, promoting civic engagement, revitalizing cultural ceremonies, and celebrating the religious and spiritual heritage of children and youth. This paper expands the work on historic and race-based trauma and their antidotes with these two underrepresented cultural and religious communities by examining additional protective factors beyond the existing models of resilience.

Keywords Historic trauma · Race-based trauma · Ethno-religious identity · Sikh immigrants · Indigenous peoples · Resilience

In this paper, "Indigenous" refers to Indigenous peoples of the United States. Other utilized references in literature include Indigenous American, American Indian, Indigenous and/or tribal affiliation.

The concepts of historic trauma and race-based trauma call upon us to reach beyond personal experiences and examine the "complex, collective, cumulative, and intergenerational psychosocial impacts" of events and experiences on societies and communities (Gone, 2013; p. 683). Historic trauma compounded with racial discrimination and the perpetual stressors of alienation and disadvantage has negative implications for the psychological and physical wellbeing of Sikh and Indigenous communities (Adams et al., 2017; Doucet & Rovers, 2010).

Meanwhile, studies show that the revitalization of cultural ceremonies and active engagement in religious and spiritual practices are important factors in the survival of many Indigenous and immigrant communities (Adams et al., 2017; Barker et al., 2017; Kubiliene et al., 2015). Therefore, this paper addresses the research question: What are the antidotes to historic and race-based trauma from the perspectives of Indigenous and Sikh communities? The paper begins with the foundational understanding of historic and race-based trauma and the ways they relate to: (1) the Midwestern Sikh people's ongoing struggle for identity against the atrocities perpetrated toward their religious group throughout the history of Sikhism (Basra, 1996) and (2) the intergenerational transmission of colonialism and genocide facing Indigenous peoples in the Pacific Northwest (Gone, 2013). Utilizing the resilience framework (Werner & Smith, 1992), we use the term antidotes to identify the protective factors in both communities in building resilience. This paper presents two case studies: Resilience in the Sikh Community and K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw: Indigenous Resilience, both derived from the authors' independent research projects.

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Historic Trauma

Historic trauma, often utilized in discussions on intergenerational trauma or unresolved historic grief, occurs from an overwhelmingly traumatic event on an individual or a shared group, which can be transmitted to subsequent generations in multiple ways. A burgeoning focus on epigenetic research demonstrates that trauma triggers long-lasting changes in our genome and that our genes are expressed or turned off in accordance with our exposure to certain environments (Weinhold, 2006). These altered genetic markers are transmitted to subsequent generations, who are hence susceptible to secondary trauma. Additionally, studies have shown that psychological transference of trauma across generations can manifest in their children (Doucet & Rovers, 2010; Fast & Collin-Vezina, 2010). Some studies have found that the next generation shows symptoms of secondary traumatic stress disorder (STSD) that are similar to the post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms evident in the generation that suffered the trauma (Carter, 2007).

Traumatic experiences may affect the social system of care and protection, thus precluding individuals from grieving or processing the traumatic experience by seeking support from within or outside of the family system (Bar-On et al., 1998). Studies have found that, often, generations that have undergone trauma do not share the experience with the next generation. Nevertheless, the trauma is passed on to their offspring, and possibly to the third or fourth generations, both genetically and environmentally (e.g., see Bar-On et al., 1998 for Holocaust Survivors in Jewish communities; see Lajimodiere, 2014 for Boarding School survivors in Indigenous communities; see Talbot & Singh, 2009 for India-Pakistan partition's Sikh survivors). Often, the grief embedded in these unspoken traumatic experiences, compounded with social and political expectations, is repressed and affects our brains, minds, and bodies (see Braveheart, 2003 for Lakota Peoples' intergenerational trauma). Hence, it is deemed critical to talk about, evoke, and remember trauma and facilitate healing through sharing (Lara-Cooper & Lara, 2019; Lev-Weisel, 2007).

Race-Based Trauma

Studies have found that race-based discrimination, racism, and racial harassment (e.g., racial profiling, harassment in the workplace and discrimination in housing) give rise to PTSD-like symptoms and other health concerns (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Carter, 2007; Carter & Forsyth, 2009; Carter et al., 2013, 2019; Paradies et al., 2015). Other studies have found that people of color often have unexplained symptoms of PTSD and that stress related to racial discrimination is a strong predictor of PTSD (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005). Using the Race-Based Traumatic Stress Symptom Scale (RBTSSS), Carter and colleagues (2013) assessed the emotional and psychological reactions of adults of various races to racism and racial discrimination. Anger, depression, avoidance, low self-esteem, bodily reactions, intrusion, and hypervigilance/arousal were commonly found symptoms. Studies have found that women of color, who face racial discrimination, are more likely to have preterm or at-risk births (Davis, 2019).

Racist beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors directed at particular racial or ethnic groups are manifested in stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination (Slaughter-Defoe et al. 2009). The denigration and subordination of individuals from certain racial groups through individual, cultural, and institutional racism also involves the exertion of power by a racial group that considers itself superior to other racial groups (Jones & Carter, 1996). Prejudice and biases, when recognized as such by children and adolescents, can complicate their psychological and emotional lives (Jones & Galliher, 2007). Discrimination is negatively related to public regard (i.e., social mirroring) of one's ethnic group and thus creates dissonance between private and public perspectives (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). Adolescents' awareness of racism and discrimination is associated with a decrease in self-esteem and an increase in depressive symptoms (Seaton, 2009). However, encounters with discrimination may amplify ethnic-racial identity and moderate the relationship between identity development and adjustment in adolescents (Quintana, 2007). Minority children become aware of social, economic, and racial disparities as early as 5 or 6 years of age and can express strategies for coping with these situations (Johnson, 1994). Once children develop social perspective-taking abilities (McKown, 2004), they can recognize the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of racism and can experience it as perceiver, target, or both. Suarez-Orozco (2000) described the phenomenon of "negative social mirroring" as how, in the presence of cultural dissonance and negative social mirroring, it becomes difficult for children to develop "a flexible sense of worth" (p. 204).

Historic and Race-Based Trauma in Sikh Community

Sikhs have faced prejudice and discrimination in the U.S. since their arrival. In the early 1900s, Sikhs, who migrated to the Pacific Northwest as railroad workers and farm laborers during the Gold Rush era (i.e., first wave

of Sikhs), were chased across the Canadian border by European workers who were afraid of losing their jobs (Takaki, 1989). The second wave came as a result of the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act, which allowed the expansion of the immigrant quota for non-Europeans, for higher education and family reunification. The third wave came after 1984 riots in India, which will be described later in this section. Regardless of the time of immigration, Sikhs faced prejudice and discrimination (Ahluwalia & Pellettiere, 2010; Takaki, 1989).

The fact that Sikh men and boys often wear their religious symbols (i.e., turban) makes them an easy target for discrimination and harassment (Verma, 2005). September 11 attacks on the twin towers by a group of people identified as Muslims had created backlash for many Sikhs and Muslims living in the U.S. Both communities alike became victims of bigotry and violent crimes, which affected their physical and mental health (Ahluwalia & Pellettiere, 2010). The event had a particularly powerful impact on children and youth (Author citation; Verma, 2005).

The struggles for the quest of Sikh identity go back to the time since Sikhism was founded in India in the 1500 s and continued for many centuries. These included (1) the challenges to distinguish their unique identities from other religious groups; (2) the invasion of Muslim rulers in India that ensued the atrocities toward Sikhs (i.e., kidnap of children, sexual violence toward women, persecution); (3) the India-Pakistan partition after the British left India in 1947 that led to massacre, displacement, loss of farmland, and religious and spiritual sites of Sikhs to Pakistan; (4) biased policies of Indian government during the partition time that alienated Sikhs, who had already lost their lands and homes to Pakistan; (5) the military attack on the Golden Temple to combat a group of militia hiding in the temple, which led to the killing of innocent pilgrims and the sacrilege of Sikh scriptures, an attack on the religiocultural heritage of Sikhs in India (see Crossette, 2004; Gupta, 2007 for Operation Blue Star); and (6) following the attack on the temple, the Prime Minister at that time was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards, which sparked 1984 Hindu-Sikh riots.

As a result of backlash against the Sikh community, thousands of Sikhs were killed in Punjab and New Delhi. It led to enhanced religiocultural identities among Sikhs around the world (O'Connell, 2000). However, it also resulted in the negation of external Sikh identity for those who feared persecution. Many Sikhs sought asylum in different countries during this time (Mann, 2006). According to the Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF, 2021), a Sikh advocacy organization, there are approximately 700,000 Sikhs in the U.S. Sikhism is the fifth-largest religion in the world.

Historic and Race-Based Trauma in an Indigenous Community of the Pacific Northwest

There are 574 federally recognized tribes in the USA with a total population of 6.79 million. The State of California has the highest Indigenous population of 757, 628, and 109 federally recognized tribes (US Census Bureau, 2019). Among those tribes are the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk peoples of northwestern California. Each tribe with their own language, histories, homelands, connections to the natural environment, relationships to the spiritual elements of the world, and rituals have guided them since time immemorial (Norton, 2006). From a scientific perspective, these peoples have stewarded these lands for thousands of years. The sacred fire pits of the Hupa, for example, were carbon-dated to have existed at the village of Takimildin for 12,000 years (Nelson, 1978). Hupa history, however, contends that Hupa people "came into creation" at Takimildin, their "center of the world," and they have been there since the beginning of time. Likewise, Yurok and Karuk peoples have histories of emerging from their own "centers of the world" in their homelands. Prior to European contact, these tribes (and others) of northwest California were grounded by their relationship to the natural and spiritual elements of the world. They had their own epistemologies and pedagogies to child rearing, ecological knowledge to stewarding the lands, protocols in maintaining healthy community relationships, and ancient teachings to guide them in prayer for earth healing and renewing.

However, during the Gold Rush Era, this way of life was violently disrupted by thousands of miners and settlers, the destruction of the natural environment, the government's extermination policy, slavery, mass genocide, forced removal, and colonial education. For many tribes in northwest California, first contact with non-Indigenous peoples did not occur until the mid-nineteenth century. In 1852, two years after California became a state, Governor Peter Burnett stated in his annual message, "A war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct" (Forbes, 1968). Likewise, despite treaties that guaranteed Indigenous safety and protection, in one year, the State of California paid a million dollars in bounties for Indigenous heads, scalps, or evidence of their kill. Further, "hunters" were reimbursed for their expenses. This message encouraged militia expeditions by local settlers that resulted in massacres and genocidal acts throughout the region. Although an 1855 law forbade Indigenous peoples to possess guns, for the next 50 years, this attempted extermination continued. Even more, between 1860 and 1863, nearly 10,000 Indigenous Californians were indentured or sold as slaves

(Heizer, 1974; Heizer & Almquist, 1971; Nelson, 1978; Norton, 1979). In 1864, Indigenous men, women, children and elders, who had survived attempted extermination and slavery, were violently stripped from their homelands and herded on foot to be "domesticated" on one of the four reservations established through the California Indian Reservation Act. Some did not survive the hundred or more mile journey or the harsh treatment upon arrival. Then in 1879, Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt theorized that Indigenous peoples could become civilized by becoming "assimilated" through education. So, Indigenous children were kidnapped from their homes and taken to boarding schools up to a thousand miles from their families. They were explicitly stripped of their family, home, language, regalia, culture, name, and ultimately, their identity. Pratt stated, "Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit" (Smith, 2007, p.4). Forty-percent of children died in boarding school from homesickness, malnourishment, abuse, and disease, while surviving children were introduced to physical, sexual, and emotional abuse and neglect. Boarding schools continued into the early to mid-twentieth century and had long-lasting impacts on Indigenous communities of today. Ultimately, through attempted extermination, domestication, and assimilation, the Indigenous population of California dwindled by 98% by the year 1900 (Norton, 1979). However, Indigenous peoples of California still exist today. Furthermore, they are reconnected to their homelands, speak their languages, maintain relationships with the natural environment, and continue to pray for earth healing and renewing.

Yet, despite this celebration of survival and resilience, Indigenous peoples suffer alarming social indicators. Alcoholism rates are 5 times higher than the general population; diabetes incidences are 1.7 times higher; tuberculosis incidences are 5 times higher; Native teen suicide rate is 10 times higher; and violence accounts for 75% of deaths for Native youth ages 12–20 (Aspen Institute, 2018; Indian Health Services, 2011). According to the Indian Health Services, Indigenous peoples have the highest death rate of heart disease, cancer, stroke, liver disease, kidney disease, and influenza. Indigenous youth have death rates two to five times the rate of Euro-American youth in the same age group, and high school dropouts are double the national average and 50% higher than any other ethnic group in the State of California (Lara-Cooper, 2014). Nationally, Indigenous peoples reported higher rates of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) of any other racial/ethnic group (Richards et al., 2021). These statistics correlate with research on historic and race-based trauma and its behavioral and biological effects on individuals and their offspring. Further, the statistics highlight the need for this discussion on antidotes for building resilience.

Antidotes (Protective Factors) for Building Resilience

In this paper, drawing data from two independent research projects, we examine the antidotes (i.e., positive identity, family, and community) to historic and race-based trauma from the perspectives of the Midwestern Sikh community and an Indigenous community in the Pacific Northwest. Resilience is defined as "the capacity of a system to adapt successfully to challenges that threaten the functioning, survival, or future development of the system" (Masten & Barnes, 2018, p. 98). It can hence be regarded as a systems concept, a complex dynamic response to challenges or threats rather than an individual personality construct (Kalisch et al., 2019; Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020). Systems are cohesive groups of interrelated and interdependent parts of the human and natural environment that are bound by space, time, structure, purpose, and function (see Bertalanffy, 1972 for General Systems theory). The challenges or threats to these systems might include various types of trauma, Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), poverty, neglect, war, and natural disasters. According to the ACEs research, resilience is the ability to recover from stressors that result from a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors as well as predisposing biological susceptibility (Kimberg & Wheeler, 2019).

Resilience can be promoted by means of neurobiological, behavioral, familial and relational, community, cultural, and societal support (Masten & Barnes, 2018). Culture is rather a newly added dimension to the resilience theory, but spirituality and religiosity still remain to be explored. Studies on the role of religion and spirituality in Sikh and Indigenous communities are sparse. Moreover, there are limitations to the degree to which these constructs can build resilience. Studies conducted with Christian Protestant groups have shown that religion and spirituality influence the course of identity development during adolescence by providing hope, ideals, moral beliefs, behavioral norms, worldviews, and role models, through collective community rituals and practices (Roeser et al., 2008). Communities that have structured cultural, historical, and religious traditions give youth a sense of social belonging and boost self-esteem and understanding (Ho & Ho, 2007; Shaw et al., 2005). Strong cultural identity is related to resilience in underrepresented communities (Williams et al., 2018).

Identity development is a lifelong and dynamic process, involving multiple dimensions integrated in a holistic self, which are shaped by developmental stages and contexts. Beyond phenotypic characteristics, there is some degree of choice, influenced by social, political, and financial factors, in ways individuals incorporate various dimensions

into self (Weaver, 2001). For the purpose of this paper, we describe positive identity as cultural and religious centrality of Indigenous and Sikh identity (i.e., the extent to which a person defines themselves with regard to their cultural and religious group over time and across situations, Sellers et al., 1998, p. 25), positive feelings regarding their affiliation (i.e., pride and closeness), closeness with families and communities, the negotiations of the negative public regard with community support (i.e. in forms of stereotypes, racism, discrimination), and connections with ancestors and non-human and spiritual realms. In both communities, identity development is not a linear process. The components of the identity described above are multidimensional, multicontextual, and often are interwoven in the human experience in a dynamic manner.

Cultural identity development involves lifelong cultural awareness and understanding and often intensifies with age (Weaver, 2001). In many cultural and ethno-religious groups, in addition to self-identification, identity is associated with a sense of community and peoplehood, connected through sacred traditions and rituals, homelands, and shared histories (Weaver, 2001). Some aspects of identity are shaped by the interactions of cultural and religious groups with outside groups. External markers, according to Weaver (2001), include how federal agencies describe the group and individual Indigenous identities, which in most cases do not align with the ways the individuals/communities define themselves. Existing scholarship offers many Eurocentric frameworks on identity development and resilience, which may not fit with many cultural and religious communities (Bhatia, 2020).

Whereas the original theories of resilience examine familial and non-familial human relationships (Masten & Barnes, 2018; Werner & Smith, 1992), relationships in cultural communities can extend beyond the human realm. For example, in Indigenous communities, these relationships might be with nature, ancestors, and the spiritual elements (Lara-Cooper, 2009), while in Sikhism, they might be with the spiritual ancestors, *Gurus*, and with the holy book, *Guru Granth Sahib*. The traditional risk and resilience framework calls upon the examination of risk and protective factors (antidotes) at three levels: individual, relationships, and community resources (Werner & Smith, 1992). This paper expands the theory by including the non-human realm (i.e., ancestors, spirituality, nature, homeland, religiosity) that transcends each level of the resilience theory and by demonstrating the curvilinear nature of each of these layers. Additionally, we examine positive identity at individual-level (for youth and adults) as a protective factor situated in the contexts of families, communities, and non-human relationships in building resilience. In both communities, Sikh and Indigenous, spirituality, and religiosity are integral parts of the lives of their people.

Resilience is understudied in immigrant ethno-religious communities (Mann, 2006; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018). Helping children build a positive multidimensional identity, with appropriate support from families and communities, may serve as an antidote to racism and negative social mirroring. The vicious cycle of historic and race-based trauma could be broken by building resilience at different levels of systems (Kirmayer et al., 2003). The assessment of neurobiological manifestations of historic and race-based trauma are beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it is an important rationale to study trauma in these communities and call for future research. The participants in both studies were parents and community members; the Sikh study also interviewed youth under age 18. This paper examines the role of positive identity (among youth and adults), families (immediate and extended), non-human relationships, and communities in building resilience in children and youth.

Methodology

The data for this paper is drawn from the authors' independent research studies. This section will describe the methodology used in each study followed by the processes of analyzing data for the construction of this paper.

The Sikh Study

Ethnographic data for this study was gathered in a Midwestern town, where a small Sikh community was established in the early 2000s. Most participants moved from New York after their initial migration from India in the 1980s. The overarching research questions of the study were as follows: How do Sikh immigrant parents socialize their boys to foster positive ethno-religious identity? How do families and communities support the parent socialization roles? For this paper, the data were examined to identify the antidotes in the form of positive ethno-religious identity, role of immediate and extended families, the importance of ethno-religious Sikh community, and non-human relationships in building resilience. The contexts of stressors/risk factors included Islamophobia, mistaken identities (i.e., Sikhs are often confused with Muslims), hate crimes, and historic trauma that have beset Sikhs.

The data for the broader study was collected by using three focus group discussions (with community gatekeepers, grandparents, and girls) and 36 interviews (with 12 fathers, 11 mothers, one adult daughter as proxy for mother, and 12 boys), using convenience sampling (i.e., the initial participants were the community gatekeepers who agreed to participate in the study), criterion sampling (i.e., two-parents family with at least one son between ages 10–18 years), and snowball sampling (i.e., asking interviewing families to

connect with other participants in their network who fulfill the same criteria). Participant observation was used to triangulate the data.

The research protocol was approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University. Adult participants in the study provided consent for their interviews. The youth provided assent following parental approval. Pseudonyms were used to protect the confidentiality of the study participants. The researcher, a native Hindi speaker, who identifies herself as a Hindu, immersed herself in the community *Gurdwara* (Sikh temple), to gain access in the community. She spent every Sunday for 10 months attending services, community lunches (known as *langar*), festivals, and community events. The researcher engaged herself in various service activities (known as *sewa*, one of the values of Sikhism) in the *Gurdwara* including running a playgroup during the prayers, helping women in the community kitchen, and tutoring young children in the community. The native origin of the researcher and the participants in India with existing linguistic ties facilitated communication in this study. All but two parent interviews were conducted in Hindi and Punjabi. The interviews with the youth were conducted in English. About 30% of the transcripts were checked by a native Punjabi speaker against the audio recording to validate the authenticity of the transcription and translation.

The K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw Study

The K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw study is an Indigenous research project that foregrounds the voices of Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribal members who reside on the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation (HVIR), located in northwest California. This study broadens the definition of giftedness, supports the development of transformative knowledge, and validates Indigenous epistemologies (Lara-Cooper, 2009). This research is deeply rooted in Indigenous knowledge and situated from an Indigenous researcher perspective. The researcher is a member of the Indigenous community and an enrolled tribal member. The study was approved by both the Hoopa Valley Tribe and the Institutional Review Board. This qualitative and quantitative study included 258 participants utilizing Seidman's (2013) interviewing technique and Indigenous methodology informed by the work of many Indigenous scholars such as Brayboy and Dehyle (2000), Grande (2008), and Smith (2005). The quantitative data was collected using 230 surveys. NVIVO 8.0 software was used to analyze the open-ended questions of the survey to determine the most frequently occurring responses to the question "What are the five most important things to teach to your children?" This preliminary analysis (frequencies of each response in the survey) helped design the interview questions of the study. The qualitative interviews and analysis were influenced by the work of Seidman's (2013) three-part interviewing technique. Phenomenological interviews were conducted with 23 participants, ages 18–95 years, in three stages: (1) focused life history, interview questions addressed early cultural teachings such as What was your first cultural teaching? Who was instrumental in your early learning experiences? (2) Details of experiences: participants were asked to concentrate on details of present experiences related to their earliest cultural teachings. Interview questions included: How have your earliest cultural teachings influenced your present experiences? (3) Reflection of meaning: Interview questions included: Given what you have said about your earliest cultural teachings and how they have influenced your present experiences, what HVIR concepts do you feel are characteristic of giftedness? Each interview was transcribed, reviewed by the interviewee for accuracy, and then coded for emerging themes. Reporting of data utilized pseudonyms to protect participant identity. The research concluded with a review by a focus group to assess accuracy of the researcher's coding methods. Through this process of data collection and analysis, a space was nurtured for community members to look deeply and locally at the characteristics, qualities,and endeavors that are valuable within a community context.

Data Analysis: the Sikh Study and the K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw Study

For this paper, the data from the Sikh Study and the K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw study were analyzed using deductive-inductive thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Crabtree & Miller, 1999; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). We identified the patterns of risk and protective factors (i.e., antidotes) using the resilience model as the guiding framework for deductive analysis and then identifying the content to code into predetermined categories (Werner & Smith, 1992). In the deductive thematic analysis, we used a prior template of codes that we applied as a means of organizing interview data for interpretations. We identified the antidotes in the lives of Sikh and Indigenous youth and adults at multiple levels. Following the deductive analysis, both researchers independently reviewed their respective data to expand the predetermined codes. For example, we expected parallels between the roles of positive identity in both communities as an important antidote, but what a positive identity meant in both communities might look different. After independent inductive coding, both authors met six times and discussed the findings on the antidotes in each of the following categories: identity, family, and community (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Additionally, we found data on non-human relationships which have been added as a fourth heading in the findings.

Based on our discussion, we draw parallels and differences between the two groups.

Findings

Resilience in Sikh Community

Findings from the Sikh study identified the antidotes or resilience tools at four levels: (1) ethno-religious identity; (2) families, immediate, and extended; (3) immigrant Sikh community; and (4) non-human relationships. The non-human relationships transcended the first three levels, seen as essential to build resilience among Sikh youth and community in face of historic and race-based trauma (see Fig. 1). Data pertaining to historic trauma affecting the Sikh community in India is limited. Nevertheless, it is important to understand how historical contexts, compounded by the current state of racial discrimination in the U.S., have made it crucial for the immigrant Sikh families and community to foster positive ethno-religious identity among Sikh youth. Differentiating between religion and ethnicity is irrelevant for most Sikh immigrants, whose day-to-day life is influenced by their religion. Therefore, the two variables were addressed as the single construct, ethno-religious identity (Stout, 1975).

Sikh Ethno-Religious Identity

The ethno-religious identity of Sikh youth, as described by the youth, their parents, and the community, is a complex, dynamic, multidimensional embodiment of extrinsic and intrinsic values of culture and religion. Intrinsic values of Sikhism include equality, politeness, forgiveness, generosity, honesty, fighting for justice, and service. Extrinsic values include understanding and honoring the outward identity markers of Sikhism (the 5 Ks) and behaving as per the moral code laid out by the religion (e.g., avoidance of drugs and alcohol use). Extrinsic values also include respecting the elderly in the community and staying close to the ethno-religious community. As one of the youth, Lovejeet, shared, "I feel that I am a good Sikh. I love my grandparents. They share stories of Sikhism with me. I learn about the history of our *Gurus* and their sacrifices, so that I can stand with my head high."

Both youth and parents reported the ongoing harassment of Sikh youth in schools and racial profiling of adult Sikh men, especially after the 9/11 attacks. Various forms of bullying that the parents articulated around Sikh children's turban that they were aware of either through media, personal experiences, or anecdotes from community members were young boys being teased as girls and older boys being confused with Muslims. Three youths reported direct bullying based on their appearance. "I have been called a terrorist many times," said Ranbeer Singh. Additionally, the awareness of bullying and teasing through the media made parents and the community protective of their children.

Most fathers talked about post-9/11 discrimination in form of different incidences such as "someone calling them Arabs," "people asking about their religion and nationality," "people confusing them with Muslims," "increased racial profiling at airports," and "White colleague getting

Fig. 1 Resilience in Sikh community

promotion whereas they were due." Most of the time, they attributed those incidents to people's ignorance and the "otherness" caused by their immigration status. Two fathers reported about internalizing this treatment. Harjeet Singh, the father of three sons, said, "I don't like it [discrimination] but when it comes to the safety of 100 passengers on the plane, I give in to these targeted, which they call random, security checks." Another father, Kartar Singh, a physiotherapist, said, "I have come to realize that if my name does not sound like [U.S. last names], no matter how hard I work, I can never be the head of the division." These experiences of adults led to ethno-religious identity negotiations, for themselves and their sons, around the decision to keep or relinquish the outward identity markers. Many youth in the study relinquished the external identity markers due to a different public regard of their identities outside of their ethno-religious community. Jasmer, one of the youth shared, "I think about what makes a good Sikh. You do not need to wear a turban or a bracelet. As long as I respect my religion, my family, and my elders, I consider myself a good Sikh." Most youth in the study visited *Gurdwara* every Sunday and participated in prayers, *langar*, and interacted with other community members.

Family Relationships

The parents in the study socialized their children to foster positive ethno-religious identities by engaging them in religious routines and ceremonies at home and in the community, modeling behaviors, and sharing the history of religion including the hardships that Sikhs went through to maintain their identities. They also reported using community peers as models. Kartar Singh, a father, said, "Sikhism teaches that they (my children) should stand up for what is wrong. Important value to teach them—don't degrade anybody and don't get degraded by anyone." The history of religion and the sacrifices made by the Sikh *Gurus* were central to the parents' socialization messages. One of the fathers, Prabhjeet Singh, shared, "my children should know the history of Sikhism. Who were our *Gurus*? What did they do for us? What lessons can we learn from their lives?" The specific tools to deal with discrimination and harassment that parents reported sharing with their children ranged from lessons like "be proud of who you are and ignore the bullying" to "stand up for your rights." A few parents advocated for their children in schools. The fathers in the study shared that they would want their children to grow up with minimum or no discrimination.

Of the twelve families, four families decided to keep turbans for their sons. Jasleen Kaur, a mother shared, "There are 5–6 kids in the school who wear patka (a small turban) in school. When asked, my son tells everyone proudly, 'this is part of our culture. I wear it. My brother wears it. My grandfather wears it'." Three parents did not choose to grow their children's hair into a turban. Chann Kaur, a mother, said, "With long hair, they face bullying in school. Media says that Sikhs are free and turbans are okay. But I don't believe it. Racism still occurs. Why put your children at risk? Our kids should not feel embarrassed for being different."

Five of the twelve parents in the study made a decision for their boys to cut their hair, either due to the older sibling's school experience or by hearing about a community member's experience. As Sarabjeet Kaur, a mother, shared, "My oldest son had long hair. Kids teased him 'you are a girl; you can't use boys' restrooms'. He was excluded from the girls' group. Then we got his hair cut. We didn't want to go and fight." Many parents emphasized the importance of learning intrinsic values of the religion over keeping the outward markers. They reported "safety" and "importance of children fitting in with their peers" as some of the reasons for relinquishing the outward identity markers. None of the participants except two parents, a mother and a father from different families, shared their emotional responses regarding the relinquishment of their son's turban. Praveen Kaur said:

> *Of course, it broke my heart when my son decided to let it go. When Shobhanjeet, a community leader's son, got rid of his age at age 18, everyone in the community was shocked. I also thought that many young kids looked up to him. His parents were upset, but then you think about their safety. And the truth is that when they grow older, they have their own mind too.*

Many parents and community members shared that lack of education and language barriers prevent many of them from advocating for their community children in schools. When it came to taking action toward the bullying, harassment, and discrimination, many of them negotiated the identities at internal level.

Immigrant Sikh Community

When asked why they migrated from New York to this Midwestern town, many fathers said that in addition to changing their professions from being taxi drivers to owning their own convenience stores, they wanted to create a small ethno-religious community to raise their children with close monitoring and ethno-religious socialization opportunities. Amanveer Singh shared, "We have a strong community. It's a small place. You can easily find if your kids do something wrong. Someone will come and tell you that 'your child was doing so and so'. Many kids go to the same school." Many elderly people, grandparents to children in the study, took leadership roles in the community and in the *Gurdwara*. They traveled to India more often than their adult children and brought back cultural artifacts and religious books in the Punjabi and English languages for the *Gurdwara* library.

Many elderly community members were involved in *Gurdwara* management, including purchasing groceries for Sunday's *langar,* and taking care of billing and accounting. Additionally, they would guide children and youth toward *sewa* (service), one of the values of religion, by delegating them responsibilities in the *Gurdwara*. Grandparents and extended family members also supported and reinforced the parent socialization goals toward ethno-religious identity formation of youth.

Non-human Relationships

These relationships included connection with *Gurdwara*, practices, rituals, and festivals and values of Sikhism, Sikh *Gurus* (i.e., spiritual ancestors), *Gurbani* (religious hymns), and *Guru Granth Sahib* (the Holy Book). The community *Gurdwara* was a place for worship, cultural activities, and socialization; *Langar*, the community lunch, helped instill the values of harmony, equality, and community cohesion. Deepinder Singh, a father, said, "In our *langar*, anyone can come. Sikhism doesn't differentiate people for their color, race, caste, and religion. I want my children to learn equality—love human beings irrespective of who they are. They can also learn service and gratitude." Hukum Singh added, "We want to raise our community children, 'nasha mukt' (drug free). *Gurdwara* plays an important role in engaging them positively." Sikhs pay respect to their Holy Book, the *Guru Granth Sahib*, which holds the teachings of Sikh *Gurus*, by treating the book as a royalty—alive. Singing praises of the *Gurus* and their teachings during the service was part of Sunday services. Alongside, the lyrics of the songs would be displayed on a screen with English translations. In the *Gurdwara*, the children learned about their social culture, positive engagement, and religious behaviors. Some parents reported that their adolescent children, after listening to the Holy Scriptures at the *Gurdwara*, explored the relevant literature on the internet. The community also held yearly Sikh parades in their town, where many Sikh communities from across the Midwest would join to celebrate the annual festival of *Baisakhi* (the harvest festival). This parade included ethnocultural activities with the goals to socialize the Sikh community children and educate non-Sikh residents of the town.

K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw: Indigenous Resilience

In the K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw study, more than 250 Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribal members in northwest California identified the most important skills to teach to their children including the concept of K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw ("the human way"), meaning to live in balance and harmony with the world by having honor and respect for community members, the environment, self, ancestors, and creation. In the process, the concepts of resilience and healing emerged. For example, a participant shared:

> *When I have children, I want them to learn how to fish and how to hunt; how to make drums and eel baskets; how to paddle a canoe; and how to sing. I want them to learn these things because it's like therapy. If you have problems—start making a gill net. It's like a medicine. It helps alleviate stress and, for me, it helps me to think clearly. That is what I want my children to learn, so they always have a tool or a medicine to guide them.*

From the perspective of this research, antidotes to historic, race-based, and on-going trauma are guided by language and culture and are characterized by cultural skills, values, and relationships with the human, natural, and spiritual realms of the world (Lara-Cooper, 2014). Of the 230 surveys, relationships and related terms appeared 2,019 times. In response to the question "what is important to teach to your children?" responses included "care for and love our people," "understand your connection and responsibility to this place and each other," "harmony with nature," "you are a representation of all the people that ever left footprints here," and "we walk in the footsteps of our ancestors." Fig. 2 illustrates the resilience tools identified in this study and divides them into categories of overarching themes of relationships, cultural skills, and values. These themes will be further assessed in this paper at four levels: (1) Indigenous identity, (2) family relationships, (3) community relationships, and (4) non-human relationships.

Indigenous Identity

A child's self-understanding and identity are primarily developed in stages from infancy to adolescence. As the child progresses through development, she will begin to incorporate psychological attributes, such as attitude or emotion. From the influences of parent–child relationships and communal environmental factors, she will begin to develop a set of values, qualities, characteristics, and beliefs. This self-concept or private regard is how she views herself and her space in society (Lara-Cooper, 2014). A strong sense of identity nurtures an individual's understanding of her purpose, value, and contribution to the world (Underwood & Rosen, 2011). Likewise findings from this current study characterize a solid Indigenous identity as an antidote to historic and race-based trauma.

Language, history, culture, and spirituality are integral components of Indigenous thought, perception, and application of knowledge (Cajete, 2000; Kawagley, 1995; Manuelito, 2006). In Fig. 2, all of the characteristics

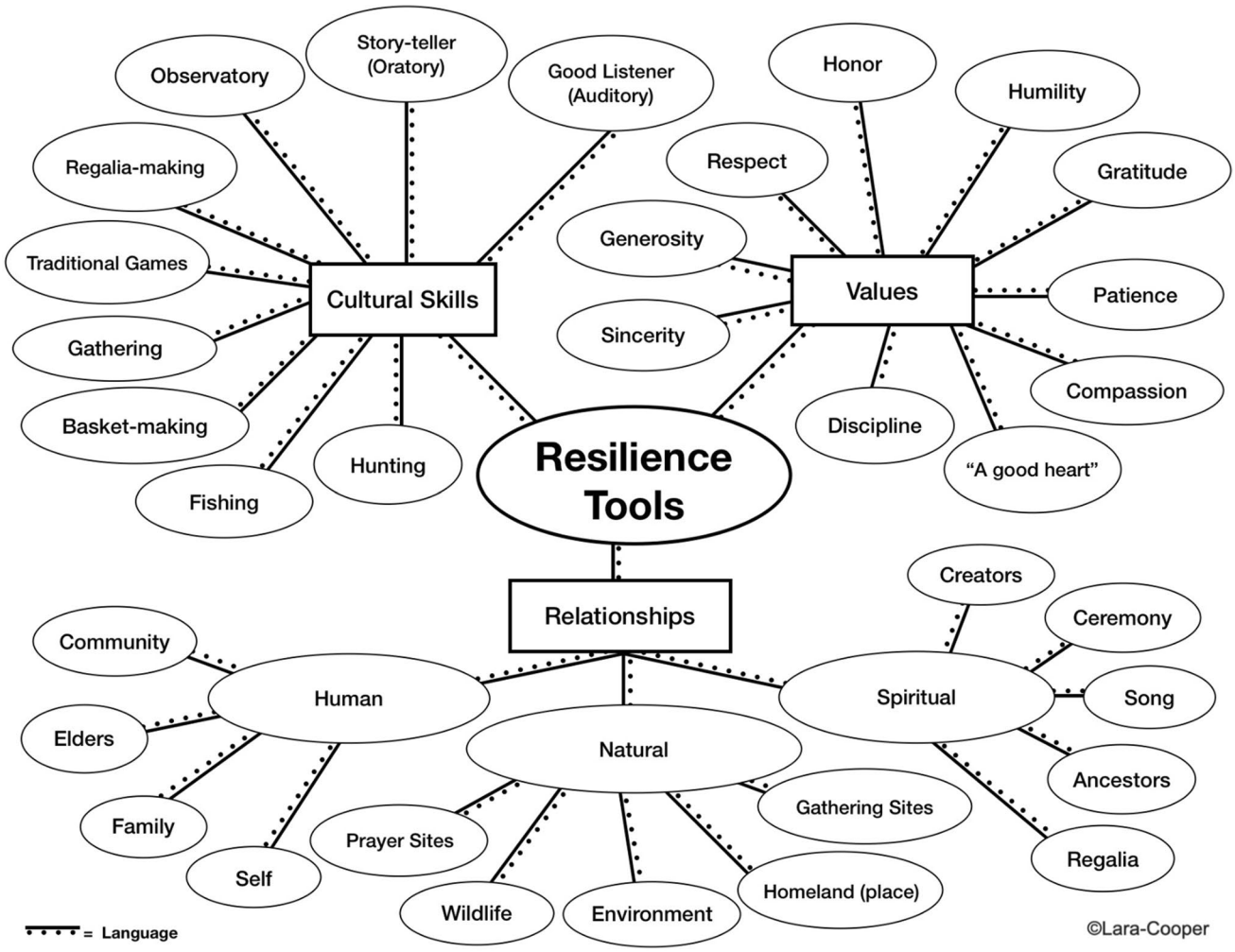

Fig. 2 Resilience tools in [the K'winya'nya:n- ma'awhiniw Study]

identified are woven together with language as indicated by the dotted line. Language appeared 886 times on the 230 community surveys. During the period of colonial education or boarding schools, children were punished for speaking their heritage languages and were forced to speak English. Testimonies of physical abuse and neglect, such as stabbing needles through the tongue, breaking fingers, and confining children to dark basements for extended periods, were common practices in boarding schools. Yet, many children continued to speak their languages to themselves as a coping mechanism. For that reason, Indigenous languages are still spoken, and although threatened, they are significant to Indigenous worldviews and epistemologies. As such, the study participants characterized resilience as knowledge of history and speaking, learning, teaching, and preserving language as essential to maintaining Indigenous identity. A study participant shared:

> *Our religion, beliefs and way that we interact at ceremonies are in the language. I want my child to connect with this place, her people and our creation in the same manner as her ancestors. To truly understand oral histories, ritual, religion and spiritual connections, you have to understand the formula that our ancestors left for us in language. That is why people say that language guides and connects us.*

Culture and cultural skills were also identified as essential to Indigenous identity and appeared 3,541 times in 230 surveys. The significance of culture was clearly demonstrated by its average of 15 appearances per survey. Demmert and Towner (2003) stated that "culture is viewed as the beliefs, behaviors, and characteristics of a particular social, ethnic, or racial group, and includes application of both traditional and contemporary mores and understandings as influenced by individuals and groups" (p. 5). Likewise, a participant

defined culture as "the way we achieve our goal to be right with the world." She stated:

> *To me, culture is the traditions, beliefs, ceremonies, rituals, geographic area, language and probably social behaviors that define or identify us as a people. Cultural skills are tools that guide me from the time that I am born into the world until the time I am born out.*

Study participants identified cultural skills such as observatory skills, oratory skills (story-telling), auditory skills, fishing, basket-making, hunting, traditional games, gathering, and regalia-making as expressions of worldview and tools to maintain balance and a healthy sense of identity.

Family Relationships

Study participants vocalized the significance of building and maintaining relationships with family, extended or spiritual family, community members, elders, grandparents, and self. Awareness of family lineage and connection to extended family is critical to Indigenous identity. A participant commented:

> *It is important for our children to introduce themselves to others by acknowledging their great-grandparents and grandparents on both sides, their parents, and the villages that they come from. When you know who you are and where you come, you have the strength of your ancestors behind you. You will also know that our choices, behaviors, and contributions not only represent our ancestors but they impact our children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren for years to come.*

Additionally, spiritual families and support systems are nurtured. In coming-of-age ceremonies, for example, spiritual relationships are introduced that the adolescent will carry with her throughout life. Through her ceremony, she will gain spiritual aunties, grandparents, and family who may not be biologically related but have committed themselves to her. Likewise, a participant shared a lesson that she learned through her coming-of-age ceremony:

> *To this day, my strength comes from my flower dance ceremony. I felt my ancestors during that time and I know that they are always with me, protecting me. From this ceremony, I also gained a spiritual family that helped to raise me.*

Therefore, findings from this research indicate that a strong connection to ancestors, family, extended family, and non-biological family can provide a support network as well as a sense of strength, responsibility, and purpose.

Community Relationships

Community relationships can be defined by kinship, locality, or mind. Values such as respect, honor, humility, and discipline and characteristics such as being compassionate, understanding, and having a "good heart" are resilience tools that help to maintain community relationships. Specific social protocols such as a "settle up" system in case of disagreements; the first salmon ceremony where villages wait for the first salmon to travel up the river to ensure that everyone has access to fish; fasting, running, and isolation for ceremonial preparation; seasonal gathering; and burial practices and rituals provide discipline and guidance that nurture relationships with the community, the environment, and surrounding energies. Relationships with elders in the community were also highlighted as protective factors; participants shared, "He taught me how to behave at ceremony…it was the first time I was ever gifted knowledge from an elder," "I listened to my grandfather because everybody listened to him," "I loved hearing her talk, how wise she was, I remember thinking that this is how I want to be when I grow up," and "relationships with our elders is important, the objective is that when you walk away from them, your interaction with them made *them* feel beautiful."

Non-Human Relationships

Spiritual relationships with ancestors, creation, regalia, song, and ceremony support a foundation that strengthens resilience. These entities have their own spiritual life and purpose. Songs, for example, are treated with reverence and respect. Songs are utilized for the purpose of healing, world renewal, transcendence, and continuity. They are a tool used to provide strength, hope, and perseverance. It is a common belief that songs come to those individuals who are spiritually connected. A study participant described a spiritual connection to song by saying, "The ways of our people grow in our heart. And that which grows in the heart, is difficult to express in words." Other student participant added, "At a time that I was at my weakest, I relied on song." Another participant spoke of the significance of song, prayer, and ceremony to healing; she stated:

> *My grandma told me that when she was growing up, one of our spiritual leaders told her, "when you are having a tough time, look toward the dances and they will take you the right way." So, whenever I am struggling, I will sing a song, say a prayer, or think about our dances.*

Similarly, regalia has its own spiritual life. Not only is being in the presence of regalia healing, but also engaging in the creation of the spiritual life of regalia is a therapy of its

own. Participants commented, "When I look at regalia, every piece, every feather, every color, every item has a purpose or teaching to help us maintain balance," "the most spiritual connection is when you are making regalia or a prayer item and it becomes its own life," and "making regalia is therapy to my soul."

In addition, relationships with the natural environment including prayer sites, wildlife, environment, homeland (place), gathering sites, and ceremonial sites instill a sense of belonging and responsibility to sustaining the health of the water, salmon, burial sites, and ecosystem. Participants share, "I know the land and the land knows me," "We are responsible for healing the world and caring for the environment," "the health of the environment is a reflection of the health of the people," and "the choices that we make today will affect the plants, animals, trees, and river for generations to come."

In sum, a strong sense of Indigenous identity guides an individual through discovering life's purpose; a foundational understanding of family lineage and relationships instills an awareness of internal strength, support, and accountability; and a connection to community whether based on location, like minded beliefs, or tribal affiliation provides opportunities to learn protocols that build character and instill tools to live a healthy, balanced life.

Conclusion and Discussion

Despite being unique in their history, geography, linguistic, cultural and religious traditions, both communities experienced trauma either due to colonialism and genocide, such as the Indigenous community (Gone, 2013) or due to ongoing atrocities perpetrated against Sikhs throughout the history of their religion (Mann, 2006). They both continue to survive amidst ongoing oppression and discrimination, hate crimes, and institutional racism embedded in the form of unjust and dated policies (Slaughter-Defoe et al. 2009). The communities deemed it critical to not only talk about the cultural and religious heritage with their children, but also the historic trauma and the stories of survival to facilitate healing through sharing (Lara-Cooper, 2019; Lev-Weisel, 2007). The knowledge of human and cultural losses (e.g., genocide of ancestors and spiritual leaders and the sacrilege of cultural and ceremonial sites) and the unjust and oppressive contemporary contexts, combined with messages of survival and resilience were common in both communities. The Sikh and the Indigenous communities utilized several antidotes in building resilience, including positive ethno-religious and cultural identities among youth and adults; relationships with immediate and extended family members; relationships with ancestors, nature, and spiritual elements; learning cultural skills and values; revitalizing cultural ceremonies and language; and connections with elderly people in the community. Although many values were unique to each group, both groups offered similar cultural and spiritual values that were important to Sikh and Indigenous identity such as respect, generosity, and humility. Participation in cultural and religious ceremonies is important to learn about the history, cultural, and religious values and nurturing familial and extra familial relationships. Both communities value relationships beyond the human realms as means of building resilience, For example, in the Indigenous community, relationships with nature, ancestors, and the spiritual elements of the world (Author Citation), while in the Sikh community, these relationships include connections with the spiritual *gurus*, *Guru Granth Sahib*, and other spiritual elements of Sikhism.

Identity development in both communities was described beyond self-identification. The values and characteristics that the community deemed important to teach to their children were important considerations (Weaver, 2001). The contexts such as history of genocide, colonialism, Islamophobia, mistaken identities, and continued oppression shaped the parental and community socialization; the adults' experiences and identity shaped their parenting goals including the negotiations of identities for their children (i.e., building a healthy private and public regard; Sellers et al., 1998). The resources that the community collectively provided were important to Sikh and Indigenous identities. Findings from both communities offered similar yet unique tools to build resilience in children and families.

The Sikh immigrant community in this study purposefully chose a geographical location for their settlement to offer/find support in forms of community monitoring of their children, socializing them with the ethno-religious community, and establishing a communal place for worship and socialization (e.g., *Gurdwara*). The *Gurdwara* offered space and opportunities for children to practice the virtues of service, equality, and respect for community members and to learn the history and teachings of Sikhism. The elderly members of the community took leadership roles in guiding parents and children in practicing Sikhism, organizing cultural activities to educate mainstream Americans about their religious and cultural practices, and protecting community youth from substance use. Based on their personal or second hand experiences of discrimination, many parents in the study negotiated the elements of identity. Religiosity and spirituality were integral parts of positive ethno-religious identity, familial socialization, and community building in the Sikh community, which helped the community cope with stressors related to discrimination and bullying.

The Indigenous community utilized many tools in building resilience including language, cultural skills and values, and relationships, which are essential to Indigenous identity from a Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk perspective. Ancestral

language guides the deep rooted meanings of the cultural ceremonies and the values that are instilled through the relationships with family, non-familial community members, ancestors, nature, and spiritual elements (Lara-Cooper, 2014). Despite the violent history of genocide, slavery, and colonialism, the Northwestern California's Indigenous communities have shown and continue to build resilience by teaching cultural skills to children and youth, including regalia and basket making, traditional games, hunting, fishing, and gathering; emphasizing various cultural values such as generosity, respect, gratitude, humility, and honor; strengthening relationships with self, family, elderly, and community; connecting with various prayer and gathering sites, wildlife, and environment; and building spiritual connections with ancestors, creators, and cultural ceremonies.

The history of both communities, the nature of trauma, the geographical location, and the immigration have set them apart from each other. Ogbu and Simons (1998) examined that various minority groups face discriminatory treatment at various levels: (1) instrumental (e.g., economic, political, and policies); (2) relational (e.g. subordination and assimilation), and (3) symbolic/expressive levels (e.g., intellectual, cultural, and linguistic denigration and stereotyping). Yet some cope better than others. One possible explanation lies in the voluntary and involuntary status of minorities. Immigrants are considered voluntary minorities, who choose to move to a different geographical location for better opportunities (i.e., immigrant optimism), whereas Indigenous peoples and African Americans are considered involuntary minorities, who were forced to become minorities due to colonialism and have a longer history of contact, genocide, slavery, and assimilation. Sikhs in this study, however, can be placed somewhere in between as they left India due to fear of political persecution (involuntary), but they moved to specific places in the U.S. due to already existing networks (voluntary).

Both communities continue to face exclusion, racism, and alienation based on their religious and cultural beliefs. Studies show that race-based discrimination, racism, and racial harassment can cause PTSD-like symptoms (Carter et al., 2013). Additionally, racism has adverse psychological and social implications, such as low self-esteem, dissonance in private and public regard, depression, and avoidance (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Sellers et al., 1998). With new advancements in epigenetics and trauma-informed science, we are aware that trauma and stress can alter the neurological, endocrine, immune, metabolic, and genetic regulatory health of subsequent generations (Perry & Szalavitz, 2017). Intergenerational trauma compounded with stress caused by racial discrimination can create allostatic load (e.g., higher levels of stress hormones) in bodies that make individuals susceptible to lowered immunity, metabolic disorders, and early death.

Positive relationships with families and communities are influential in addressing chronic dysregulation in neuro health. When a child experiences trauma, shrinkages of the white matter in the brain alter emotional regulation, attention span, or memory. The brain is malleable and can heal through stimulation. According to Yellowbird, stimulation transpires when an Indigenous person is engaged in regalia-making, basket-making, singing, and ceremony. Furthermore, although behavioral and biological functions including chromosomes can be altered by adversities and potentially increase health risks, telomeres on each end of a chromosome protect genetic data from deterioration and prevent illness. As cells divide or with the interruption of toxic stress, telomeres get shorter and put the individual at a greater health risk and shorter life span. However, the most recent research suggests that activities that reduce stress can actually lengthen telomeres (Bhushan et al., 2020). Further from an Indigenous perspective, activities such as dancing, singing, regalia-making, fasting, gathering materials, and running can promote healing and be antidotes for historic and race-based trauma. Likewise, in Sikh communities, communal prayers at *Gurdwara*, *langar*, *sewa*, regular interactions with extended family members, celebrating festivals with elderly and community can serve as preventative measures and buffers for the historic and race-based trauma. Both communities offer structured cultural, historical, and religious traditions to youth, which ultimately promotes a sense of social belonging and high self-esteem (Ho & Ho, 2007; Shaw et al., 2005). Strong cultural and ethno-religious identity promote resilience in underrepresented communities (Williams et al., 2018).

Both case studies present their limitations. The Sikh community in the study was from a Midwestern town with most families related to each other. The community members also migrated to the USA more or less around the same time due to the fear of political persecution post 1984 Hindu-Sikh riots in India, which provides a unique context of establishing their ethno-religious identities. Even though these unique characteristics offer richness of participants' experiences, the diversity in responses was limited, hence the generalizability of the study. Due to lack of education, language barriers, and limited Sikh professionals in the area, the community members found it difficult to advocate for their children in schools. The advocacy might look different in other Sikh communities in the U.S., which ultimately affects the choices around their ethno-religious identities. Similarly, the K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw study is based on the Indigenous communities of the Pacific Northwest with a robust number of participants from three different tribes. The history of contact and genocide is relatively recent in this geographic location compared to other parts of the country (approximately 350 years later), which offers a unique setting, with newer historic trauma compared to other

Indigenous peoples in North America. The study offers rich data on Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest. We recommend further research in the field of intergenerational transmission of trauma in these groups. More studies using epigenetics and neuroscience research will also help understand the ways that healing and resilience are demonstrated in these communities in terms of physical and mental health.

This paper expands on the theory of resilience by examining the role of positive identity, familial and community relationships, and non-human relationships in the two underrepresented minority groups. Culture, religiosity, and spirituality are integral to individual, familial, and community lives and offer opportunities to build resilience. The study describes identity and resilience from the perspectives of the two communities in the study, offering more decolonized frameworks for future research in these areas (Bhatia, 2020). The findings call upon for more culturally appropriate prevention and intervention programs in building resilience in youth from underrepresented groups. The findings advocate for systems thinking among professionals in supporting the individual in educational and therapeutic settings— it is important to learn about intersecting cultural or ethno-religious identity, supports familial and non-familial members can offer, the role of culture, religion, and cultural/spiritual community in their day-to day life. It is important to acknowledge and respect the religious and spiritual heritage of children and youth and to make teaching relevant to the experiences of children in school classrooms. Professionals' cultural humility, demonstrated by understanding of the strengths that the youth from minority cultural and ethno-religious groups bring to the classroom, promote a sense of belonging and inclusivity to the mainstream educational settings.

Declarations

Conflict of Interest The authors declare no competing interests.

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