### ORIGINAL ARTICLE



# Social determinants of incidence, outcomes, and interventions of cardiovascular disease risk factors in American Indians and Alaska **Natives**

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#### Abstract

Cardiovascular disease (CVD) is the leading cause of death among American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs). Despite copious research on CVD incidence and outcome discrepancies, a social determinants of health (SDOH) focused framework on CVD risk factors and health outcomes in AIAN populations has not been undertaken. This paper presents the following: (1) a review of the literature on SDOH and CVD in AIAN populations, (2) a summary on intersectionality as it relates to SDOH and CVD, (3) a framework for conceptualizing CVD risks, interventions, structural determinants, and health equity, (4) a summary of potential interventions to address CVD in AIANs, and (5) a discussion about future work. Common SDOH themes across the CVD risk factors in AIANs are income-related obstacles, healthcare access, structural racism, discrimination, and failed colonial policies. Colonization of AIAN populations has resulted in social, political, and economic disadvantages, manifesting as systemic socioeconomic disadvantage and unequal access through elevated poverty rates, lower educational attainment, mental health challenges, and decreased healthcare access. These extensive social factors have a multifactorial effect across several CVD risk factors; all ultimately result in elevated CVD morbidity and mortality. Addressing SDOH

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diminishing disparities is essential to facilitating improved CVD outcomes for AIANs.

#### **KEYWORDS**

American Indians and Alaska Natives, cardiovascular disease, health disparities, ischemic heart disease, risk factors, socioeconomic determinants

#### **Highlights**

- Cardiovascular disease is the leading cause of death among American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs).
- Social determinants of health (SDOH) are a major contributor to cardiovascular disease in this population.
- Addressing SDOH and diminishing disparities is key to improving cardiovascular health for AIANs.

#### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Cardiovascular disease (CVD) is the leading cause of death among American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs) (Breathett et al., 2020). In the United States minority populations have both higher rates of CVD and worse health outcomes (Karnati et al., 2020; Virani et al., 2021). Historically, due to the very low incidence of CVD and slower epidemiological transition from infectious disease to chronic disease, it was incorrectly presumed that AIAN populations had inherent protection from CVD. However, recent rates of CVD among AIAN populations have been increasing in contrast to a decrease in rates among the general population, resulting in AIANs becoming disproportionally affected by CVD (Hutchinson & Shin, 2014; Virani et al., 2021). In addition to a higher incidence, AIAN populations have higher mortality rates from these same conditions than other groups (Veazie et al., 2014). The combination of increased morbidity and mortality makes CVD a serious threat to the health of AIAN populations.

Social determinants of health (SDOH) and structural racism have increasingly been recognized as essential factors in health disparities among racial/ethnic groups (Russo et al., 2021). Common SDOH including education, employment, income, family and social support, and community safety, account for up to 50% of health outcomes based on the length and quality of life (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2022). Unlike other racial/ethnic groups AIAN contemporary health disparities stem from colonization, and are associated with cultural losses, historical trauma, discrimination, and lateral oppression (Elm et al., 2019). Colonization created conditions of exclusion, racism, marginalization, oppression, discrimination, and loss of control among AIAN populations. Beginning in the early 1800s, the U.S. government forcibly removed AIs from their homes and land, punished AIs for speaking their language and practicing ceremonies, and forced them to abandon their traditional health food systems.

Multiple well-established risk factors of CVD include diet, physical activity (PA), obesity, diabetes mellitus, kidney disease, hyperlipidemia, hypertension, tobacco use, family history/genetic predispositions, mental health, and pollutants (Table 1). Higher rates of these CVD risk factors compared to other racial/ethnic groups place disproportional burden of CVD on AIANs (Galloway, 2005). In addition to the elevated isolated incidence of these risk factors, AIAN populations are more likely to have multiple risk factors (Struthers et al., 2006). Impacts of SDOH on CVD are notable, for example, deaths attributable to low education are comparable to deaths attributed to acute myocardial infarction (Galea et al., 2011). Many

hypotheses attempt to explain why risk factors differ among populations, often pointing to SDOH. One recent study explored SDOH and found greater social adversity was linked to increased CVD risk factors (Jilani et al., 2021). However, despite copious research on incidence and outcome discrepancies of CVD among minorities and the role of SDOH, a SDOH focused framework on CVD risk factors and health outcomes in AIAN populations has not been undertaken. A new SDOH framework that advocates for examining modifiable CVD risk factors in AIANs is presented here, along with how these risk factors affect health, and potential interventions to mitigate them. This paper is organized in sections: (1) a review of the literature on SDOH and CVD in AIAN populations, (2) a summary on intersectionality as it relates to SDOH and CVD, (3) a framework for conceptualizing CVD risks, interventions, structural determinants, and health equity, (4) a summary of potential interventions to address CVD in AIANs, and (5) a discussion about future work. A REVIEW OF CVD RISK FACTORS IN AIAN POPULATIONS

# AND THE SDOH

#### Diet

Diet is a complex risk factor of CVD with dietary components affecting CVD outcomes differently. Although much of the dietary focus in CVD research is on saturated and unsaturated fats, other dietary components affecting CV health include omega 3 fatty acids, glycemic index, whole grains, fiber, antioxidants, vitamins, phytochemicals, overnutrition, and alcohol (Compher, 2006; Hu, 2009). This variety highlights the complexity of analyzing diet as a CVD risk factor.

Research on AIAN diet is sparse. The Strong Heart Dietary Study showed most AIANs did not meet dietary guidelines for reduction of chronic disease, including total fat intake, saturated fat intake, total energy intake, cholesterol intake, sodium intake, and fiber intake (Zephier et al., 1997). One large U.S. southwest Al-based study revealed fruits and vegetables were consumed less than once per day per person while high fat and sugary beverages like fry bread, sausage, and soft drinks provided 41% of energy and 46% of macronutrients (Ballew et al., 1997). This population also had inadequate intake of key nutrients (Ballew et al., 1997). Although limited, the existing literature points to a poor-quality diet consisting of high-calorie processed food with a lack of traditional foods, fruits, and vegetables (Berg et al., 2012; Compher, 2006). However, the diets of AIANs living on reservations may not differ greatly from the general U.S. population (Stang et al., 2005). Thus, diet may play a role in elevated CVD risk within this population, but further research is necessary.

# Physical activity

Increased PA can prevent CVD and decrease risk, even without weight loss (Martinez-Gomez et al., 2019). This benefit has also been demonstrated in populations with concurrent CVD risk factors such as diabetes and kidney disease (Kang et al., 2019; Kodama et al., 2013). Minority populations have suboptimal PA and inactivity is a problem. AIAN adults do not meet the daily or weekly recommended amount of PA (Berg et al., 2012; Storti et al., 2009). Consistent with national trends, age and PA also have an inverse relationship in AlANs (Storti et al., 2009). The number of AlANs aged 65 or older is projected to grow faster than in the overall U.S. population (Administration for Community Living, 2020). This increase in size of the elderly population in combination with the inverse PA-age relationship

**TABLE 1** Cardiovascular disease (CVD) risk factors, prevalence, social determinants of health (SDOH) influence, and interventions

	American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs)		
CVD risk factor	prevalence	SDOH influence	AIAN interventions
Diet	AIANs do not meet dietary guidelines for reduction of CVD (Hayslett, 2001)	Poverty, food insecurity rural location, food deserts, lack of transportation, distance to food sources, limited refrigeration, higher food costs (Rao et al., 2013)	Navajo Nation local farming to improve fruit and vegetable intake, food sovereignty, access to traditional foods, economic incentives (Setala et al., 2011; Warne, 2007)
Physical activity	14.7% of AIANs meet recommended PA guidelines (Benjamin et al., 2019)	Education, urbanization, geographic isolation (Virani et al., 2021), walkability (Saelens et al., 2003), income (Kari et al., 2015), and occupation	Pathways Curriculum for youth and families, multilevel/component interventions increase PA in AIAN children (Davis et al., 2003; Grant et al., 2015)
Obesity	>82% of AIANs with overweight or obesity (Centers for Disease Control, 2022)	Multigenerational, chemical exposures (Schell & Gallo, 2012), food access, rural environments, education (Adams et al., 2019)	Pathways Study decreased body fat through PA, reduced fat content in school meals, and healthier diet practices at home and school (Davis et al., 2003)
Diabetes mellitus	23.5% of AIANs adults diagnosed with diabetes (Centers for Disease Control, 2022)	Internalized oppression, stigma, (West et al., 2012) limited healthcare (Walker et al., 2014), high uninsured rates, poverty, neighborhoods, limited access to quality food (Gary-Webb et al., 2011)	Discussion-based culturally influenced lifestyle intervention with diabetic women increased fruit and vegetable intake (Thompson et al., 2008), reduced diabetic risk factors
Kidney disease	33% of AIANs with chronic kidney disease (CKD) (Jolly et al., 2009)	Health care access, neighborhood (Jolly et al., 2009), lower socioeconomic status, (Hall, 2018) dietary restrictions, environmental exposures (Ozieh et al., 2021)	Home-based health interventions by community health representatives in Zuni Indians (Nelson et al., 2018)
Hyperlipidaemia	34.0% AIANs with high cholesterol (Centers for Disease Control, 2012) however AIANs have lower low-density lipoprotein (LDL) LDL cholesterol levels than Whites, (Breathett et al., 2020) and high-density lipoprotein	Social and genetic factors, limited opportunities for PA	National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute Family Heart Study reports that increased alcohol consumption and PA were associated with increased HDL levels while increased smoking was associated with

CVD risk factor	American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIANs) prevalence	SDOH influence	AIAN interventions
Hypertension (HTN)	(HDL) is dependent on obesity and diabetes 27.2% of AIANs diagnosed with HTN (Centers for Disease Control, 2022) versus 24.0% of NHW	Depression is linked to HTN in elderly (Fuchs & Whelton, 2020), age, gender, BMI, financial instability, mental health, and diet	decreased HDL (Ellison et al., 2004) REACH (Racial and Ethnic Approaches to Community Health) increased adherence to hypertension medications in AIANs (Ferdinand et al., 2012) through culture, history (Breathett et al., 2020)
Cigarette smoking	22.5% of AIANs current cigarette smokers (Centers for Disease Control, 2022) versus 15.5% of NHW Highest prevalence of adult and adolescent smoking in the U.S (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2018).	Linked to HTN, diabetes, hyperlipidaemia, cardiovascular morbid and morality, (Benowitz, 2003) income, education, gender SES, culture, legislation, and marketing (Azagba et al., 2020; Mowery et al., 2015; Stehr, 2005)	Good Health and Wellness in Indian Country projects decreases commercial smoking through multifactorial, holistic, culturally appropriate health marketing strategies (Bauer & Espey, 2019), nicotine replacement therapy and home smoking bans effective in AIANs (Comiford et al., 2018)
Pollution	Increased exposure to household air pollution (HAP), (Lowe et al., 2018) tobacco smoke, coal-fired power plants, diesel exhaust, and mining (Ward et al., 2011)	Low-income, rural	Wood stove interventions in AIAN communities lower HAP (Noonan et al., 2020)
Genetic factors	Single set of genes regulates LDL size and obesity, may explain increased risk of diabetes and CVD in AIANs (Voruganti et al., 2006)	Linked to CVD RF phenotypes of obesity, dyslipidaemia, hypertension, and diabetes (North, 2003), low income, rural location	The GOCADAN study (Genetics of Coronary Artery Disease in Alaska Natives) showed that sex, hypertension, diabetes mellitus, albuminuria, high LDL cholesterol, high apolipoprotein B, and low HDL were strong correlates of CVD (Howard et al., 2010)

is likely to exacerbate inadequate PA in the AIAN population. Geographic isolation and rural nature of communities may also play a role in decreased PA. PA is lower in rural versus urban communities (Virani et al., 2021). The proportion of AIANs living in rural areas is twice as high as the general population making them disproportionally affected (American Indians Remain Disproportionally Rural, 2014). Reservation communities are also often geographically isolated, decreasing outlets for PA which is a barrier in AIAN children (Thompson et al.). Dog attacks in some reservation communities are common, making outdoor PA nearly impossible (Jahns et al., 2014). Income correlates with PA directly in women but inversely in men (Kari et al., 2015). Low-income housing residents have higher rates of physical inactivity due to decreased feeling of safety or walkability (Saelens et al., 2003).

## Obesity

Overwhelming evidence supports the impact of obesity on the prevalence, pathogenesis, and progression of CVD (Lavie et al., 2009). Obesity not only has a direct influence on CVD but also indirectly by exacerbating other CVD risk factors including dyslipidemia, type 2 diabetes, hypertension, physical inactivity, and sleep disorders (Powell-Wiley et al., 2021). While overall rates of unhealthy weight in the US population are alarming, rates of overweight or obesity among AIANs are even higher at 82% (Adams et al., 2019). Most concerning is that AIAN children have the highest prevalence of obesity and until recently were the only group with increasing rates (Sharma, 2009). These trends not only highlight the severity of the current obesity problem but also foreshadow a grim future unless effective interventions are implemented. Specific to children, growing up in a rural area confers increased risk for obesity, potentially due to a variety of aforementioned factors such as diet, exercise, and education (Adams et al., 2019).

Multigenerational transmission of obesity is well described. Maternal overweight or obesity, birth weight, household, body mass index, and primary caregiver identification as AIAN have been associated with increased childhood obesity (Adams et al., 2019; Lindberg et al., 2012). However, the specific reasons for intergenerational transmission are unknown with some research pointing to epigenetic factors, social inheritance, perceived and chronic stress, or AIANs' acceptance of obesity as normal (Marley & Metzger, 2015; Schell & Gallo, 2012; White et al., 1997). Population correlative and laboratory causal research have implicated chemical exposure with increased obesity (Schell & Gallo, 2012). AIANs have increased exposure to both environmental and household agents (solid fuel by-products, petroleum products, and pesticides), primarily due to location of reservations, income, and education (Redwood et al., 2012; Schell & Gallo, 2012). High-fat and high-sugar diets cause increased rates of obesity (Kavey, 2010).

#### **Diabetes mellitus**

Diabetes mellitus is a well-established CVD risk factor. Epidemiological data demonstrate diabetes doubles CVD risk and further exacerbates that risk in the presence of other risk factors such as lipids, smoking, and hypertension (Kannel & McGee, 1979; Stamler et al., 1993). Diabetes is a worsening epidemic in AIAN populations with the rates of type 2 diabetes higher than all other racial/ethnic groups (Cobb et al., 2014). Additionally, AIANs have significantly lower HbA1c control and diabetes medication adherence rates than non-Hispanic Whites, highlighting a discrepancy in diabetes management (Schmittdiel et al., 2014). Many AIAN adults either have diabetes or multiple risk factors for development of diabetes; therefore, preventing diabetes is important to reduce CVD (Harwell et al., 2003). Increased diabetes prevalence is associated with lower socioeconomic status, obesity, mental health conditions, and diet (Jiang et al., 2007; Subica et al., 2017); increased HbA1c is associated with low health literacy, acculturation, race, mental health conditions, social isolation, health care access, and neighborhood characteristics (Kivimäki et al., 2018; Walker et al., 2014).

Obesity is the greatest risk factor for diabetes, and the two are highly correlated in AIANs (Subica et al., 2017). They have multiple overlapping risk factors with higher rates of both obesity and diabetes making these relationships key to addressing CVD in this population. Neighborhood poverty is associated with poorer health status of diabetics; however, this could be due to limiting PA opportunity, proximity to quality food, safety, education, and mental health (Gary-Webb et al., 2011). Neighborhood influence on diabetic health is not limited to acute factors but follows children and adolescents into adulthood increasing their risk of diabetes (Kivimäki et al., 2018).

Diabetes incidence is also significantly associated with mental health conditions in AIANs (Jiang et al., 2007). This population has a larger adult mental health burden than non-Hispanic Whites compounded by most youth exhibiting "various behavior and emotional problems" and one-fourth meeting criteria for at least one mental health diagnosis (Brave Heart et al., 2016; Dickerson & Johnson, 2012). This is a complex issue with many factors at play, including collective historical trauma experienced by AIANs, internalized oppression, stigma, and strained interactions with colonized systems (West et al., 2012).

### Health care

Difficulty obtaining healthcare and having no established source of care were associated with higher HbA1c in AIANs (Walker et al., 2014). Although members of federally recognized AIAN nations are eligible for Indian Health Service (IHS) care, AIANs have the highest uninsured rates among all racial/ethnic groups, two to three times that of non-Hispanic Whites (Johnson et al., 2010). IHS is not health insurance, does not meet Affordable Care Act requirements for healthcare coverage, and often provides inferior care due to underfunding, inaccessibility, limited services, and staffing shortages (Marley, 2019). Furthermore, more than 70% of AIANs live in urban and rural nonreservation areas and may be eligible for basic IHS services but not contract or specialty care (Breathett et al., 2020; Galloway, 2005). Many AIANs residing on reservations do not live near IHS facilities, further limiting their access. While the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act has expanded access to care through Medicaid for low-income AIANs, the barrier of access may remain as AIANs can view the use of Medicaid as an abrogation of treaty rights to health care through the IHS. Thus, quality healthcare access, both real and perceived, is a significant barrier for diabetes management for AIANs.

# Kidney disease

Kidney disease, regardless of the classification as chronic kidney disease (CKD), diabetic kidney disease, or end-stage renal disease, is associated with an increased risk of CVD and its complications (Fox et al., 2012; Go et al., 2004). Kidney disease as a risk factor is so important that individuals with CKD should be viewed as one of the most at-risk groups for CVD independent of other risk factors (Gansevoort et al., 2013). AIANs have triple the rate of CKD compared to Whites, with nearly one-third of AIAN having CKD (Jolly et al., 2009).

Lower socioeconomic status is associated with higher prevalence and incidence of CKD (Hall, 2018). In addition to prevalence, patients with low income have a 58% higher adjusted risk of death from CKD (Fedewa et al., 2014). The relationship between income and CKD may be bidirectional as poverty may lead to CKD through lack of healthcare access, dietary restrictions, environmental exposures, and poor CKD risk factor control, whereas CKD may lead to poverty via disability, unemployment, and health expenditures (Ozieh et al., 2021).

Given the high poverty rates of AIANs, income may be a significant factor in elevated CKD prevalence, incidence, and complications for this population.

## Hyperlipidemia

Both decreased high-density lipoprotein (HDL) and increased low-density lipoprotein (LDL) are associated with elevated CVD risk (Emerging Risk Factors et al., 2009). The risk of elevated LDL and the benefit of decreasing LDL on CVD risk is well established. CVD risk due to LDL increases with concentration and duration of exposure with childhood LDL and total cholesterol levels correlating with adult CVD risk burden (Duncan, Freiberg, et al., 2019). The risk of decreased HDL and increased CVD risk is also well established; however, the benefit of increasing HDL to decrease CVD risk remains unclear. Data on cholesterol in AIANs is sparse. AIANs have lower average LDL cholesterol levels than Whites thus this is not a significant risk factor for the general AIAN population (Breathett et al., 2020). However, for the diabetic AIAN population, LDL cholesterol is a strong independent predictor of coronary heart disease, whereas low HDL risk may depend on obesity and diabetes (Breathett et al., 2020; Howard et al., 2000). One study of SDs of cholesterol levels in AIANs found that total PA was significantly related to increased HDL levels (Yurgalevitch et al., 1998). Given that AIANs have lower rates of PA than other groups, this may be a significant SDOH. Increased alcohol consumption is associated with increased HDL levels and reduced incidence of CVD (Toma et al., 2017), although episodic heavy alcohol consumption is associated with an increased risk of acute myocardial infarction despite its HDL effect (Toma et al., 2017). Smoking was associated with decreased HDL (Ellison et al., 2004).

One issue with identifying SDs of cholesterol in AIANs is the role of genetic factors. Lower concentration of lipoprotein(a) has been correlated with AIAN heritage but when used as a predictor of CVD disease, requires input of other factors (Wang et al.). This demonstrates the interrelationship of social factors and genetic factors when analyzing cholesterol as a CVD risk factor.

# Hypertension

Hypertension (HTN) is among the best-documented risk factors for CVD, with the strongest evidence for causation and high prevalence of exposure (Fuchs & Whelton, 2020; Kjeldsen, 2018). AlANs have an increased prevalence of HTN compared to all other ethnic/racial groups (Galloway, 2005; Hutchinson & Shin, 2014). However, HTN in AlANs is relatively well controlled as they have higher proportions treated and lower degrees of HTN severity than the general population (Howard et al., 1996). Age is an important CVD risk factor due to the rapidly rising rate of elderly AlANs. This population increase combined with the elevated rate of elderly AlAN HTN suggests disproportionate burden of disease. A risk factor specific to AlAN elderly is the association between depression and HTN. Addressing the elderly AlAN population is important as the prevention of age-related blood pressure increases would reduce cardiovascular consequences and eliminate a large proportion of blood-pressure-related CVD (Fuchs & Whelton, 2020).

# Smoking

Smoking has a causal role in the development of CVD through increased risk of thrombosis and atherosclerosis, leading to 21% of U.S. CVD deaths being attributable to smoking (Burns, 2003; World Health Organization, 2012). Smoking has a direct effect on CVD risk

and acts synergistically and multiplicatively with other risk factors—HTN, diabetes, hyperlipidemia—to increase cardiovascular morbidity and mortality (Benowitz, 2003). Therefore, in this population with high rates of several CVD risk factors, smoking exponentially increases CVD risk. AIANs have the highest prevalence of adult cigarette smoking and adolescent smoking across all racial/ethnic groups (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2018). However, there is geographical variation across AIAN groups with the highest rates in the Northern Plains and Alaska and lower prevalence in the Southwest. Despite recent national public health efforts and legislation to decrease rates of smoking, AIANs have not had the same decline as other groups (Mowery et al., 2015). In addition to higher rates, AIANs disproportionally feel the burden of smoking's adverse effects as the proportion of excess mortality for all diseases—greatest in CVDs—caused by smoking is greater in AIANs than in Whites (Mowery et al., 2015).

Tobacco use is part of many AIAN cultures. It is used in ceremonies, prayer, and traditional medicine, and viewed as a sign of respect of elders (Unger et al., 2006). Researchers have attempted to differentiate "traditional" versus "commercial" tobacco. However, commercial cigarettes are often substituted for homegrown tobacco at ceremonies making this distinction impossible (Unger et al., 2006). Despite this cultural use of tobacco, from a health perspective, the use of tobacco in traditional ways is irrelevant to commercial/recreational tobacco use because use of tobacco for traditional purposes is the same in light versus heavy smokers (Nazir et al., 2014). Traditional use of tobacco may be advantageous as this use is correlated to greater cessation in AIAN smokers (Daley et al., 2011). Despite the literature focusing on traditional tobacco use as a factor in increased rates of AIAN smoking, other determinants may have greater effect. Perhaps the greatest influence on smoking rates is a combination of marketing and legislation. Tobacco companies target AIAN communities through promotions, sponsorships, advertising, and exploitation of traditional use (Lempert & Glantz, 2019). Legislation limiting deceptive advertising resulted in nation-wide decrease in cigarette use but tobacco companies are still targeting AIANs. In addition, because tribal lands are considered sovereign nations by the U.S. government, they are exempt from cigarette taxes. This "sin tax" is considered one of the strongest deterrents of cigarette use with estimates showing a doubling of cigarette consumption due to lack of this tax (Stehr, 2005). Therefore, the combination of tobacco company exploitation and lack of federal tax disincentive play a large role in high rates of smoking in AIANs.

Smoking cessation is associated with significantly lower CVD risk within 5 years relative to current smokers and ceases to be associated with elevated CVD risk after 10–15 years (Duncan, Vasan, et al., 2019). This means that smoking cessation in this population could have extreme cardiovascular health benefits.

#### **Pollution**

The association between air pollution and CVDs has been of increasing interest. Several environmental air pollutants, especially "fine particulate matter" (PM<sub>2.5</sub>), have been associated with increased CVD morbidity, severity, and mortality (Lee et al., 2014). Household air pollution (HAP) is one of the leading causes of health burden worldwide (Newell et al., 2019). Most research is focused on low/middle-income countries where income is the strongest determinant of high HAP exposure (Newell et al., 2019). AIAN reservations are similar to these low-income countries in that their population is rural with low income. Biomass (usually wood) combustion in deteriorating indoor stoves is the primary source of heat for 89% of families in one southwestern AIAN nation (Lowe et al., 2018). Because wood contains the same toxic agents as more general air pollution, burning wood for heat results in excess CVD risk (Huang et al., 2021). AIANs also have increased exposure to other air pollutants such as tobacco smoke, coal-fired power plants,

diesel exhaust, and mining dust (Ward et al., 2011). The increased air pollution exposure, both indoors and outdoors, may play a role in the elevated cardiovascular and respiratory disease rates in this population.

#### THE ROLE OF INTERSECTIONALITY

When analyzing risk factors for CVD, it is impossible to neglect the role of intersectionality. As demonstrated with smoking, HTN, diabetes, and hyperlipidemia, these risk factors are multiplicative in their effect on CVD risk. For many risk factors, there is intersectionality among determinants of the risk factors, the risk factors themselves, and diseases caused by risk factors. For example, given the strong associations between CKD and CVD, CKD and diabetes, and diabetes and CVD, these conditions' modifiable risk factors and social determinants are all interconnected. SDs of CKD include psychosocial factors, healthcare access, and neighborhood (Jolly et al., 2009). Diabetes is the main reason for the excessive CKD burden in AIANs (Narva, 2018). Given that AIANs have higher rates of diabetes than any other ethnic/racial group, all the aforementioned diabetic social determinants in AIANs are also applicable to CKD (Table 1). As another example, refined carbohydrates are associated with increased prevalence of CVD. obesity, and diabetes, which themselves are CVD risk factors. The intersectionality of both CVD and diabetic SDs include income, employment, education, food access, loss of culture, and historical trauma. The structural determinants of diabetic social determinants include public policies, social policies, governance systems, colonization, historical forces, social forces, culture and societal values, economy, the educational system, and capitalism. These examples show the interconnectedness of multiple social determinants and disease states for one aspect of a CVD risk factor (diabetes). This interconnectedness may be an asset: if one intervention can successfully address one social determinant or one CVD risk factor, it may have exponential benefit toward the health of AIANs. Based on this review, the authors propose a new framework for conceptualizing the SDOH and CVD risk factors (CVDRFs) in AIAN populations (Figure 1). Here, colonization is the structural determinant that drives unequal and inequitable access to conditions that would promote health and wellbeing. Intersections between SDOH, genetic, behavioral, and social factors, and CVDRFs must be considered within the context of colonization and inequities when developing interventions that address CVD in AIANs.

# POTENTIAL INTERVENTIONS TO ADDRESS DISPARITIES IN AIAN POPULATIONS

Interventions that address CVD risk factors and SDOH simultaneously have the most potential for impacting health and wellbeing. Specific interventions targeted towards the individual may not have the greatest effect on the population or addressing structural and institutional inequities but can have a profound effect on individuals or households. Individualized interventions are also more likely succeed because of their specificity, decreased cost, and simplicity.

# Air pollution

The most successful personalized intervention found in this review was the stove exchange. In this project, the identified issue was households using stoves not designed for indoor use that were old and inefficient. By simply exchanging old stoves for modern, well-designed stoves, investigators decreased CVD risk due to HAP (Narva, 2018). Although this

intervention did not address the overarching determinants of income constraints that forced the use of inadequate stoves, it could address a specific problem and reduce exposure to HAP.

## Physical inactivity

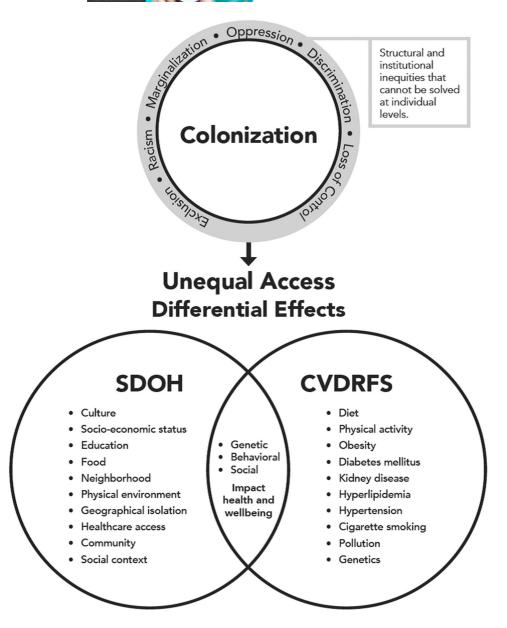
A common theme across many CVD risk factors is their relationship to physical inactivity. Specifically for exercise, lack of places for safe exercise both in adults and children was identified as a problem. Although the rural nature and poverty of reservations present challenges, existing community centers and chapter houses may offer a safe place to exercise. Focusing on exercises that can be done at home and with minimal equipment may further promote activity without the need to commute to a central location. Local solutions do not need to be limited to exercise; they could include educational topics such as healthier eating or increasing health literacy.

## Diabetes and kidney disease

Because much of the CKD burden is due to diabetes and the incidence of diabetes is elevated in AIANs, the IHS has aggressively implemented and monitored optimal care practices for people with diabetes at risk for progressive kidney disease (Narva, 2018). In 1989, the IHS established a dedicated kidney disease program to promote prevention and optimal care of CKD. Treatment strategies that slow or halt the progressive loss of kidney function may attenuate CVD risk (Gansevoort et al., 2013). These interventions may have been successful: despite a prevalence 2-3 times higher than Whites, ESRD due to diabetes among AIANs has declined by 53% since 2000, more than any other group (Burrows et al., 2020; Narva, 2018).

# Increasing access to quality health care

The most direct intervention to address CVD in AIANs is to increase the access to and quality of health care. IHS has long been underfunded and unable to provide quality primary care to AIAN populations (Marley, 2019). These are some potential solutions to elevate AIAN health care. First, it would be appropriate to include AIAN leaders and healthcare consumers in formal dialog about what solutions are acceptable and sustainable in their respective communities. Second, equitable distribution of health care spending to provide proper funding in support of AIAN health care has already shown great effectiveness in addressing chronic diseases and CVD risk factors like HTN in this population (Parker, 2019). Increasing funding to urban Indian health centers may dramatically increase healthcare access as these facilities often serve AIANs who use both tribal and urban health services. Third, greater support for AIANs who choose self-governance of their community health care systems from IHS may allow locally relevant and culture-specific care. Fourth, increasing the number and quality of healthcare facilities and infrastructure facilitating access to these facilities may alleviate problems in healthcare access in poor and rural communities. Fifth, universal or nationalized health insurance may help fill gaps remaining in IHS health services. Finally, increased training, recruitment, and retention of AIAN healthcare workforce will improve quality of care. AIAN providers are more likely to serve this population and patients often prefer care from providers of similar ethnic/racial backgrounds, both of which can improve health outcomes (Reshaping the Journey: American Indians and Alaska



**FIGURE 1** Structural determinants of cardiovascular disease (CVD) risk factors and social determinants of health (SDOH) in American Indians and Alaska Natives populations

Natives in Medicine, 2019). Universities must utilize a systematic approach to increasing the number of AIAN healthcare workers. Lessons from the University of New Mexico Indians Into Medicine program (IN-MED) from 2010 to 2014 identified two determinants of academic success: (1) early, diverse, and sustained exposure to role models, academic processes, math, and science, and (2) multilevel support where culture and language are reinforced, and environments are inclusive and supportive (Parker, 2019). Overall, with adequate resources, AIANs could have access to higher quality care to decrease CVD morbidity and improve the overall health of this population.

## Addressing the structural determinants of health

Structural and institutional inequities influence every dimension of health (Russo et al., 2021). CVD risk factors like obesity, diabetes, HTN, and physical inactivity are not the cause. These risk factors are a symptom of colonization and subsequent structural and institutional inequities in AIAN populations. Policies and systems change are needed to promote equity in all places, where people live, work, grow, learn, age, and die. The current social and community contexts are set up so that Whites have advantage and privilege. White populations can more easily access employment, affordable food and housing, education, and healthcare (Russo et al., 2021). One of the most glaring disparities influenced by structural determinants is lower educational attainment. AIAN students report the lowest graduation rate in the nation, across any racial or ethnic demographic, with only 74% graduating from high school (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). Increasing resources to support wellbeing throughout the life course, from conception to early childhood through tertiary education is critical. Federal assistance to AIAN populations seeking college degrees should be revamped with greater attention to SDOH. Most CVD interventions do not focus on educational attainment, income job skills, or social context-this is an injustice. In sum, CVD interventions must consider the interaction of structural determinants, genetics, behaviors, and social conditions that contribute to persistent disadvantage and unequal access in AIANs.

#### CONCLUSION

Common SDOH themes across the CVD risk factors in AIANs are income-related obstacles, cultural determinants, mental health, healthcare access, structural racism, discrimination, and failed policies. Taken together these factors resulted in political and economic disadvantages, manifesting as systemic socioeconomic disadvantage through elevated poverty rates, lower educational attainment, mental health challenges, and decreased healthcare access. These extensive social factors have a multifactorial effect across several CVD risk factors, ultimately leading to in elevated CVD morbidity and mortality.

Diminishing disparities is essential to facilitating a change in CVD for AIANs. However, attempts to do so face numerous obstacles such as rural isolation, colonial systems, discrimination, marginalization, diminishing returns and differential effects, lack of resources, and population heterogeneity making long-term benefits challenging (Assari, 2020). A new SDOH approach must consider the diversity of AIAN populations and their unique histories and culture, making an individualized assessment of challenges and resources essential to successful intervention. As exemplified by diet, CKD, and tobacco behaviors, interventions must take into consideration cultural and traditional influences and authentic community engagement when designing potential interventions. The multidisciplinary approach should include addressing social barriers such as lack of resources, inadequate education, and inferior healthcare while utilizing established programs, outreach activities, and communities to directly address both CVD risk and upstream determinants.

#### **AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS**

**Eric Leung**: Data curation; investigation; methodology; roles/writing - original draft; writing - review and editing. **Tassy Parker**: Methodology; formal analysis; validation; visualization; writing - review and editing. **Allyson Kelley**: Formal analysis; writing - review and editing. **James Blankenship**: Conceptualization; methodology; supervision; writing - review and editing.



#### **CONFLICT OF INTEREST**

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

#### **ETHICS STATEMENT**

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Tassy Parker, PhD, RN, is a citizen of the Seneca Nation, director of the University of New Mexico Health Sciences Center for Native American Health (CNAH), and founding director of CNAH's Public Health Institute for Indigenous Knowledge and Development. Dr. Parker is a professor with tenure in the Department of Family and Community Medicine, Professor in the Colleges of Nursing and Population Health, and UNM Health Sciences Associate Vice President for American Indian Health Research and Education. A community based participatory research practitioner, Dr. Parker is MPI on two NIH grants, including an R01, and co-l/site PI on seven additional NIH grants. Her current studies include examination of American Indian cognitive assessment tools, dementia screening in urban/rural American Indians and Alaska Natives, youth suicide prevention, hypertension and related conditions, diabetes, COVID vaccine uptake and vaccine equity, and social network analysis related to young adult opiate and other drug use. A significant body of Dr. Parker's previous research addressed American Indian pediatric obesity prevention, historical trauma, and depression (first to examine the use of Primary Care Evaluation of Mental Disorders (PRIME-MD) diagnostic tools in an Indian Health Service clinic) and other mental health conditions. Dr. Parker is President of the Board of Directors, First Nations Community Health Source, an urban Indian Health Service clinic/ FQHC serving American Indians and Alaska Natives and others in Albuquerque's most economically depressed quadrant, and serves on the Seneca Nation Health Board that oversees operations of a tribally operated health system. She currently serves on the NIH All of Us Research Program Advisory Panel, External Advisory Committee of the Wisconsin Alzheimer's Disease Research Center, Internal Advisory Committee of the UNM Alzheimer's Disease Research Center, and Scientific Advisory Board of the Alzheimer's Disease Neuroimaging Initiative, UC San Francisco.

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