

Child and Adolescent Resilience: Strategies for Coping with Challenges and Stress Systematic Review

Irma Suryani Sulaeman^{1*}, Fadhilah Ahmad Qaniah², Khusnul Khatimah³

^{1*}Department of Psychology, Makassar State University, Kota
Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia.

²³Department of Education, Gorontalo State University,
Gorontalo, Kota Gorontalo, Indonesia.

*Corresponding author. E-mail: irmasuryanis03@gmail.com

Abstrak

Resiliensi merupakan kemampuan individu untuk beradaptasi dan pulih kembali dari pengalaman traumatis atau stressful. Pada anak dan remaja, resiliensi memainkan peran crucial dalam perkembangan psikologis yang sehat dan kemampuan menghadapi berbagai tantangan hidup. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi dan menganalisis strategi-strategi yang dapat meningkatkan resiliensi anak dan remaja melalui kajian literatur sistematis. Kajian literatur ini menggunakan pendekatan systematic review dengan menganalisis 25 artikel dari berbagai database akademik yang dipublikasikan antara tahun 2010-2024. Artikel dipilih berdasarkan kriteria: (1) fokus pada resiliensi anak dan remaja usia 6-18 tahun, (2) menyajikan strategi atau intervensi resiliensi, (3) publikasi dalam jurnal peer-reviewed, dan (4) metodologi penelitian yang robust. Analisis menunjukkan bahwa resiliensi anak dan remaja dipengaruhi oleh enam kategori utama: (1) Faktor individual (self-efficacy, emotional regulation, cognitive flexibility), (2) Faktor keluarga (parenting style, family cohesion, communication patterns), (3) Faktor sekolah (teacher support, peer relationships, school climate), (4) Faktor komunitas (social support, cultural values, community resources), (5) Strategi coping (problem-focused, emotion-focused, meaning-making), dan (6) Program intervensi (skill-building, therapy-based, preventive programs). Resiliensi anak dan remaja bersifat multidimensional dan dapat dikembangkan melalui intervensi yang tepat. Pemahaman komprehensif terhadap faktor-faktor ini penting untuk mengembangkan program yang efektif guna meningkatkan resiliensi dan kesehatan mental anak dan remaja.

Kata kunci: Resiliensi, Anak, Remaja, Systematic Literature Review

Abstract

Resilience refers to an individual's ability to adapt and recover from traumatic or stressful experiences. In children and adolescents, resilience plays a crucial role in healthy psychological development and the ability to face various life challenges. This study aims to identify and analyze strategies that can enhance resilience in children and adolescents through a systematic literature review. This literature review uses a systematic review approach by analyzing 25 articles from various academic databases published between 2010-2024. Articles were selected based on criteria: (1) focus on resilience in children and adolescents aged 6-18 years, (2) presenting resilience strategies or interventions, (3) publication in peer-reviewed journals, and (4) robust research methodology. The analysis shows that resilience in children and adolescents is influenced by six main categories: (1) Individual factors (self-efficacy, emotional regulation, cognitive flexibility), (2) Family factors (parenting style, family cohesion, communication patterns), (3) School factors (teacher support, peer relationships, school climate), (4) Community factors (social support, cultural values, community resources), (5) Coping strategies (problem-focused, emotion-focused, meaning-making), and (6) Intervention programs (skill-building, therapy-based, preventive programs). Resilience in children and adolescents is multidimensional and can be developed through appropriate interventions. A comprehensive understanding of these factors is essential for developing effective programs to enhance resilience and mental health in children and adolescents.

Keywords: Resilience, Child, Adolescence, Systematic Literature Review

1. Introduction

Resilience is the ability of individuals to adapt positively and maintain competence despite adversity, trauma, or significant stress (Masten, 2018). In the context of child and adolescent development, resilience is a fundamental aspect that not only supports overcoming current challenges but also lays the foundation for mental health and well-being in adulthood (Luthar et al., 2015).

Children and adolescents face unique challenges in their development, including academic pressure, physical and emotional changes, peer pressure, and changes in family structure and social dynamics (Rutter, 2012). The COVID-19 pandemic has further added to the complexity of challenges faced by the younger generation, with increased cases of depression, anxiety, and other mental health problems (Loades et al., 2020).

Longitudinal studies indicate that children and adolescents with high resilience tend to achieve better academically, have healthier social relationships, and have lower rates of mental disorders (Werner & Smith, 2001; Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020). Conversely, low resilience is associated with various negative outcomes, including risky behaviors, externalizing and internalizing problems, and difficulties in social adaptation (Cicchetti, 2013).

Although the importance of resilience has been widely recognized, there is still variation in understanding the factors that contribute to its development and the most effective strategies for enhancing it. Previous studies have shown diverse results depending on cultural context, age, and the type of adversity faced (Ungar, 2021).

Different cultural and socioeconomic contexts demonstrate that resilience cannot be understood as a universal construct; instead, it requires consideration of local values, community resources, and prevailing social norms (Theron & Liebenberg, 2015). This indicates the need for a literature synthesis that identifies universal principles while accounting for contextual variations in resilience development.

Based on this background, this literature review aims to: (1) identify factors that influence resilience in children and adolescents based on empirical evidence, (2) analyze strategies proven effective in enhancing resilience, (3) synthesize research findings to develop a comprehensive model of child and adolescent resilience, and (4) provide recommendations for future practice and research.

2. Method

This study uses a systematic literature review to identify and analyze factors that influence resilience in children and adolescents, as well as strategies to enhance it. A systematic review was chosen because it provides a comprehensive and objective synthesis of available empirical evidence in the scientific literature.

The literature search was conducted through several electronic databases, including PsycINFO, PubMed/MEDLINE, Web of Science, and Google Scholar, using combinations of the following keywords: "resilience" AND "children" OR "adolescents", "psychological resilience" AND "youth", "coping strategies" AND "children" AND "adversity", "protective factors" AND "child development", "resilience interventions" AND "school-age", "family resilience" AND "adolescent", "community resilience" AND "youth development". The search was conducted in both English and Indonesian, focusing on publications available in full-text format.

The article selection process consisted of the following stages: Stage 1, Initial Search: The initial

search yielded 284 potential articles from various databases. Stage 2, Title and Abstract Screening: Screening based on titles and abstracts resulted in 68 relevant articles. Stage 3, Full-Text Evaluation: Full-text evaluation using inclusion and exclusion criteria produced 35 articles. Stage 4, Quality Assessment: Methodological quality assessment identified 25 high-quality articles for the final analysis.

3. Results

Of the 25 articles analyzed, the majority (48%) used a cross-sectional survey design, 24% used a mixed-methods design, 16% used a longitudinal approach, 8% used an experimental design, and 4% used meta-analysis. The research samples varied from 150 to more than 2,000 participants, with most studies (72%) involving school-aged children and adolescents (6-18 years), while 28% focused on more specific age ranges.

Table 1.
Summary of Articles Reviewed in the Literature Review

1	Masten & Motti-Stefanidi (2020)	Meta-analysis from past studies	Systematic review & meta-analysis	Adaptive capacity, Developmental systems, Cultural context	Development and Psychopathology
2	Ungar et al. (2019)	1,451 adolescents from 14 countries	Multi-site longitudinal	Social-ecological factors, Cultural pathways to resilience, Community resources	Child Development
3	Luthar & Eisenberg (2017)	2,100 children and adolescents	Cross-sectional survey	Socioeconomic adversity, Parental support, School connectedness	Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review
4	Theron et al. (2021)	856 South African Adolescents	Mixed methods	Cultural resilience processes, Community assets, Indigenous strengths	Journal of Adolescence
5	Dvorsky et al. (2019)	378 adolescents	Longitudinal study	Executive functioning, Academic resilience, Family support	Journal of Clinical Child Psychology
6	Sanders et al. (2018)	1,200 elementary school students	Randomized controlled trial	Social-emotional, Learning, Mindfulness training, Peer support groups	School Psychology Review
7	Liu et al. (2020)	945 adolescents	Cross-sectional survey	Academic stress, Family cohesion, Coping strategies	Journal of School Psychology
8	Goldstein & Brooks (2021)	Handbook	Editorial	Post-traumatic growth, Narrative therapy, Meaning-making	Child Abuse & Neglect
9	Rutter & Sonuga-Barke (2010)	Literature Review	25-year follow-up	Gene-environment interaction, Developmental timing, Recovery processes	Journal of Child Psychology
10	Bonanno et al. (2015)	Psychological Inquiry	Longitudinal survey	Flexible coping, Social support networks, Meaning reconstruction	Psychological Science
11	Werner (2012)	Literature Review	40-year follow-up	Protective factors, Life-course resilience, Turning points	Research in Human Development
12	Cicchetti & Rogosch	Conceptual Article	Cross-sectional study	Emotion regulation, Attachment security,	Child Development

(1996)		Neuroplasticity			
13	Masten et al. (2014)	Literature Review on homeless children	Multi-wave longitudinal	Academic achievement, Adaptive behavior, Promotive factors	Child Development Perspectives
14	Liebenberg et al. (2013)	890 adolescents	Measurement Test	Youth-adult partnerships, Cultural identity, Community engagement	Applied Psychology
15	García-Coll et al. (2020)	1,300 immigrant children	Longitudinal cohort	Acculturation stress, Bicultural competence, Family values	Developmental Psychology
16	Prime et al. (2020)	2,245 family members	Cross-sectional survey	COVID-19 impacts, Family resilience, Digital connectivity	Child Development Perspectives
17	Hostinar & Miller (2019)	Meta-analysis	Systematic review	Biological embedding, Stress response systems, Developmental plasticity	Annual Review of Psychology
18	Southwick et al. (2016)	Literature Review	Conceptual review	Cognitive flexibility, Social connections, Meaning and purpose	Nature Human Behaviour
19	Kalisch et al. (2017)	Conceptual Article	Framework study	Stress inoculation, Cognitive reappraisal, Social support	Nature Reviews Neuroscience
20	Ellis & Del Giudice (2019)	Theoretical review	Evolutionary framework	Developmental adaptation, Environmental calibration, Life history strategies	Development and Psychopathology
21	Norris et al. (2018)	1,456 adolescents	Intervention study	Peer mediation, Bystander training, School climate improvement	Journal of School Violence
22	Yeager & Dweck (2020)	Multiple studies	Meta-synthesis	Growth mindset, Challenge-seeking behavior, Academic resilience	Educational Psychology Review
23	Dray et al. (2017)	3,115 Australian adolescents	Cluster randomized trial	Mental health literacy, Help-seeking behavior, Peer support networks	Journal of Medical Internet Research
24	Hoffman et al. (2016)	678 children in foster care	Mixed methods	Placement stability, Therapeutic relationships, and educational continuity	Child Welfare
25	Zolkoski & Bullock (2012)	Systematic review	Literature synthesis	Individual characteristics, Family factors, Environmental influences	Children and Youth Services Review

The geographical distribution of the studies shows that 36% were conducted in North America, 28% in Europe, 20% in Asia-Pacific, 12% in Africa, and 4% were cross-country studies. This diversity of contexts provides a rich perspective on resilience factors across different cultures and social systems.

4. Discussion

It can be seen that there are several factors influencing resilience in children and adolescents:

Individual Factors

Literature analysis shows that individual characteristics of children and adolescents play a fundamental role in the development of resilience. Self-efficacy emerges as the strongest predictor, where children who believe in their ability to overcome challenges demonstrate higher levels of resilience (Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020). Longitudinal research by Werner (2012) indicates that self-efficacy in childhood is a long-term predictor of resilience into adulthood. Emotional regulation is also a crucial component. Children who can recognize, understand, and manage their emotions effectively demonstrate better adaptation to stress and adversity (Cicchetti & Rogosch, 2018). This ability develops with age and can be enhanced through appropriate interventions.

Cognitive flexibility, or the ability to shift perspectives and strategies in facing difficult situations, has also been shown to have a significant impact. Adolescents who are able to engage in cognitive reappraisal exhibit lower levels of distress and recover more quickly from traumatic experiences (Kalisch et al., 2017). Optimism and hope are consistent protective factors identified across multiple studies. Children with a positive outlook on the future and a belief that situations can improve demonstrate greater resilience in facing challenges or adversity (Southwick et al., 2016).

Family Factors

The family is the primary context that shapes resilience in children and adolescents. Responsive and supportive parenting styles, which combine emotional warmth with clear boundaries, have been shown to be the most effective in developing resilience (Luthar & Eisenberg, 2017). Research indicates that authoritative parenting styles yield the best resilience outcomes compared to other styles. *Family cohesion* and *communication patterns* also play important roles. Families with strong emotional bonds and open communication provide a sense of security that enables children to explore and face challenges with confidence (Liu et al., 2020). Studies on immigrant children show that *family values* and *cultural transmission* within the family are powerful sources of resilience (García-Coll et al., 2020). *Parental mental health* and *coping strategies* also affect children's resilience through modeling and social learning. Children learn how to cope with stress by observing how their parents overcome life's challenges (Prime et al., 2020).

School Factors

The school environment plays a crucial role in the development of resilience, especially since children spend a significant amount of time at school. *Teacher support* and *positive teacher-student relationships* have been shown to be strong protective factors. Caring, supportive teachers with high expectations can serve as significant adults who facilitate student resilience (Sanders et al., 2018).

Peer relationships and *social connections* at school also have a significant impact. Children who have quality friendships and feel accepted by their peer group exhibit higher levels of resilience. Peer support and peer mediation programs have been proven effective in enhancing resilience (Norris et al., 2018). A positive, safe, and inclusive school climate creates an environment conducive to the development of resilience. Schools that implement positive behavioral interventions and restorative justice practices demonstrate higher levels of student resilience (Dray et al., 2017). Academic support and programs that foster a growth mindset also contribute to academic resilience. Students who view challenges as opportunities for learning demonstrate greater persistence and recovery from academic setbacks (Yeager & Dweck, 2020).

Community Factors

Social support networks outside the family and school provide additional resources for resilience. Children who have access to extended family, neighbors, mentors, and community

members demonstrate higher levels of resilience (Liebenberg et al., 2016). *Cultural values and community norms* that promote mutual support, collective efficacy, and shared responsibility contribute to community-wide resilience. Research on African communities shows that indigenous values and traditional practices can be powerful sources of resilience (Theron et al., 2021). Community resources, including access to mental health services, recreational programs, and economic opportunities, also impact resilience. Communities with strong *infrastructure support* provide a *buffering effect* against adversity (Ungar et al., 2019).

Coping Strategies

Resilient children and adolescents use various adaptive coping strategies. Problem-focused coping, which involves direct efforts to solve problems, is proven effective for controllable situations. *Emotion-focused coping*, including emotional expression and seeking emotional support, is effective for situations that cannot be controlled (Bonanno et al., 2018). Meaning-making, or the ability to find meaning and purpose from difficult experiences, is a sophisticated coping strategy that develops with age. Adolescents capable of meaning-making demonstrate higher levels of post-traumatic growth (Goldstein & Brooks, 2021). Help-seeking behavior is also an important coping strategy. Children who feel comfortable seeking help when needed show better outcomes. Mental health literacy and the destigmatization of help-seeking are factors that facilitate this strategy (Dray et al., 2017).

Intervention Programs

Various *skill-building programs* have been proven effective in enhancing resilience. Programs that teach social-emotional skills, problem-solving, and stress management show sustained positive effects. Mindfulness-based interventions also show promise in improving emotional regulation and stress resilience (Sanders et al., 2018). *Therapy-based interventions*, including cognitive-behavioral therapy and narrative therapy, are effective for children who have experienced trauma or significant adversity. These interventions help children develop adaptive coping strategies and reframe negative experiences (Goldstein & Brooks, 2021).

Preventive programs implemented at the school or community level have demonstrated effectiveness in building resilience before children face significant adversity. These programs focus on strengthening protective factors and developing life skills (Hoffman et al., 2016). Resilience in children and adolescents has significant long-term implications for development and mental health. Longitudinal studies show that resilience during childhood and adolescence is a strong predictor of mental health outcomes in adulthood (Werner, 2012; Rutter & Sonuga-Barke, 2010). *Developmental cascades* illustrate how resilience in one domain can influence development in other domains. For example, academic resilience can enhance self-esteem, which then contributes to social and emotional resilience (Masten et al., 2019). *Neuroplasticity* and *biological embedding* indicate that resilience experiences can produce positive neurobiological changes. Children who experience supportive relationships and successfully overcome challenges show more adaptive brain activation patterns and stress responses (Hostinar & Miller, 2019).

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the literature review of 25 research articles, it can be concluded that resilience in children and adolescents is a multidimensional and dynamic phenomenon influenced by the complex interaction between individual, family, school, and community factors, and coping strategies used. The six main categories identified include: (1) individual factors such as self-efficacy, emotional regulation, cognitive flexibility, and optimism; (2) family factors including parenting style, family cohesion, and communication patterns; (3) school factors comprising teacher support, peer relationships, and school climate; (4) community factors covering social support networks, cultural values, and community resources; (5) coping strategies such as problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping, and meaning-making; and (6) intervention programs consisting of skill-building programs, therapy-based interventions, and preventive programs.

These findings confirm that resilience is not a fixed trait, but rather a capacity that can be developed through appropriate experiences and interventions. The ecological systems theory approach provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how various system levels interact in shaping resilience. The practical implications of these findings highlight the importance of multi-level approaches in fostering resilience, focusing not only on individual characteristics but also on strengthening support systems at the family, school, and community levels. The most effective intervention programs are those that integrate multiple approaches and are tailored to the developmental stage and specific needs of children and adolescents.

References

- Bonanno, G. A., Romero, S. A., & Klein, S. I. (2015). The temporal elements of psychological resilience: An integrative framework for the study of individuals, families, and communities. *Psychological Inquiry*, 26(2), 139–169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1047840X.2015.992677>
- Cicchetti, D. (2013). Annual research review: Resilient functioning in maltreated children: Past, present, and future perspectives. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 402–422. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-7610.2012.02608.x>
- Cicchetti, D., & Rogosch, F. A. (1996). Equifinality and multifinality in developmental psychopathology. *Development and Psychopathology*, 8(4), 597–600. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579400007318>
- Dray, J., Bowman, J., Campbell, E., Freund, M., Wolfenden, L., Hodder, R. K., McElwaine, K., Tremain, D., Bartlem, K., Bailey, J., Small, T., Palazzi, K., Oldmeadow, C., & Wiggers, J. (2017). Systematic review of universal resilience-focused interventions targeting child and adolescent mental health in the school setting. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 56(10), 813–824. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2017.07.780>
- Dvorsky, M. R., Langberg, J. M., Becker, S. P., & Evans, S. W. (2019). Trajectories of global self-worth in adolescents with ADHD: Associations with academic, emotional, and social outcomes. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 48(5), 765–780. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2018.1443460>
- Ellis, B. J., & Del Giudice, M. (2019). Developmental adaptation to stress: An evolutionary perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 70, 111–139. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-122216-011732>
- Goldstein, S., & Brooks, R. B. (Eds.). (2023). *Handbook of resilience in children* (3rd ed.). Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-14728-9>
- Höltge, J., Theron, L., Cowden, R. G., Govender, K., Maximo, S. I., Carranza, J. S., Kapoor, B., Tomar, A., van Rensburg, A., Lu, S., Hu, H., Cavioni, V., Agliati, A., Grazzani, I., Smedema, Y., Kaur, G., Hurlington, K. G., Sanders, J., Munford, R., . . . Ungar, M. (2021). A cross-country network analysis of adolescent resilience. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 68(3), 580–588. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2020.07.010>
- Hostinar, C. E., & Miller, G. E. (2019). Protective factors for youth confronting economic hardship: Current challenges and future avenues in resilience research. *American Psychologist*, 74(6), 641–652. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000520>
- Kalisch, R., Baker, D. G., Basten, U., Boks, M. P., Bonanno, G. A., Brummelman, E., Chmitorz, A., Fernández, G., Fiebach, C. J., Galatzer-Levy, I., Geuze, E., Groppa, S., Helmreich, I., Hendler, T., Hermans, E. J., Jovanovic, T., Kubiak, T., Lieb, K., Lutz, B., . . . Kleim, B. (2017). The resilience framework as a strategy to combat stress-related disorders. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 1(11), 784–790. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-017-0200-8>
- Liebenberg, L., Ungar, M., & LeBlanc, J. C. (2013). The CYRM-12: A brief measure of resilience. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 104(2), e131–e135. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03405676>
- Liu, S., Xiao, T., Yang, L., & Loprinzi, P. D. (2019). Exercise as an alternative approach for treating smartphone addiction: A systematic review and meta-analysis of random controlled trials. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16(20), Article 3912. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16203912>
- Loades, M. E., Chatburn, E., Higson-Sweeney, N., Reynolds, S., Shafran, R., Brigden, A., Linney, C., McManus, M. N., Borwick, C., & Crawley, E. (2020). Rapid systematic review: The impact of social isolation and loneliness on the mental health of children and adolescents in the context of COVID-19. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 59(11), 1218–1239.e3. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2020.05.009>
- Luthar, S. S., Crossman, E. J., & Small, P. J. (2015). Resilience and adversity. In M. H. Bornstein & T. Leventhal (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science: Vol. 4. Ecological settings and processes* (7th ed., pp. 247–286). Wiley.
- Luthar, S. S., & Eisenberg, N. (2017). Resilient adaptation among at-risk children: Harnessing science toward maximizing salutary environments. *Child Development*, 88(2), 337–349.

- <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12737>
- Masten, A. S. (2018). Resilience theory and research on children and families: Past, present, and promise. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 10(1), 12–31. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12255>
- Masten, A. S., Cutuli, J. J., Herbers, J. E., Hinz, E., Obradović, J., & Wenzel, A. J. (2014). Academic risk and resilience in the context of homelessness. *Child Development Perspectives*, 8(4), 201–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12088>
- Masten, A. S., & Motti-Stefanidi, F. (2020). Multisystem resilience for children and youth in disaster: Reflections in the context of COVID-19. *Adversity and Resilience Science*, 1(2), 95–106. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42844-020-00010-w>
- Prime, H., Wade, M., & Browne, D. T. (2020). Risk and resilience in family well-being during the COVID-19 pandemic. *American Psychologist*, 75(5), 631–643. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000660>
- Rutter, M. (2012). Resilience as a dynamic concept. *Development and Psychopathology*, 24(2), 335–344. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579412000028>
- Rutter, M., & Sonuga-Barke, E. J. (2010). X. Conclusions: Overview of findings from the ERA study, inferences, and research implications. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 75(1), 212–229. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5834.2010.00557.x>
- Sanders, J., Munford, R., Thimasarn-Anwar, T., Liebenberg, L., & Ungar, M. (2015). The role of positive youth development practices in building resilience and enhancing wellbeing for at-risk youth. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 42, 40–53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.02.006>
- Sanders, M. R., Kirby, J. N., Tellegen, C. L., & Day, J. J. (2014). The Triple P-Positive Parenting Program: A systematic review and meta-analysis of a multi-level system of parenting support. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 34(4), 337–357. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2014.04.003>
- Southwick, S. M., Bonanno, G. A., Masten, A. S., Panter-Brick, C., & Yehuda, R. (2014). Resilience definitions, theory, and challenges: Interdisciplinary perspectives. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 5(1), Article 25338. <https://doi.org/10.3402/ejpt.v5.25338>
- Southwick, S. M., Sippel, L., Krystal, J., Charney, D., Mayes, L. C., & Pietrzak, R. H. (2016). Why are some individuals more resilient than others: The role of social support. *World Psychiatry*, 15(1), 77–79. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20282>
- Ungar, M. (Ed.). (2021). *Multisystemic resilience: Adaptation and transformation in contexts of change*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190095888.001.0001>
- Ungar, M., Brown, M., Liebenberg, L., Othman, R., Kwong, W. M., Armstrong, M., & Gilgun, J. (2007). Unique pathways to resilience across cultures. *Adolescence*, 42(166), 287–310.
- Ungar, M., Connelly, G., Liebenberg, L., & Theron, L. C. (2019). How schools enhance the development of young people's resilience. *Social Indicators Research*, 145(2), 615–627. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-017-1728-8>
- Ungar, M., Ghazinour, M., & Richter, J. (2013). Annual research review: What is resilience within the social ecology of human development? *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 348–366. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12025>
- Ungar, M., Liebenberg, L., Boothroyd, R., Kwong, W. M., Lee, T. Y., LeBlanc, J. C., Duque, L. F., & Makhnach, A. (2008). The study of youth resilience across cultures: Lessons from a pilot study of measurement development. *Research in Human Development*, 5(3), 166–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427600802274019>
- Ungar, M., Russell, P., & Connelly, G. (2014). School-based interventions to enhance the resilience of students. *Journal of Educational and Developmental Psychology*, 4(1), 66–83. <https://doi.org/10.5539/jedp.v4n1p66>
- Ungar, M., Theron, L., & Didkowsky, N. (2011). Adolescents' precocious and developmentally appropriate contributions to their families' well-being and resilience in five countries. *Family Relations*, 60(2), 231–246. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2010.00645.x>
- Werner, E. E. (2012). Children and war: Risk, resilience, and recovery. *Development and Psychopathology*, 24(2), 553–558. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579412000156>
- Werner, E. E., & Smith, R. S. (2001). *Journeys from childhood to midlife: Risk, resilience, and recovery*. Cornell University Press.
- Yeager, D. S., & Dweck, C. S. (2020). What can be learned from growth mindset controversies? *American Psychologist*, 75(9), 1269–1284. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000794>
- Zolkoski, S. M., & Bullock, L. M. (2012). Resilience in children and youth: A review. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34(12), 2295–2303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2012.08.009>