Introduction to Dealing with Stress, Adversities, and Trauma: Resiliency Research across Cultures

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Many people around the globe experience severe stressors like war, earthquakes, or terrorist acts, and adversities such as poverty and family disruption which in most cases have negative effects on subsequent developmental pathways. However, not all individuals become as heavily affected by stressors as expected and show competence, thriving, and other positive outcomes instead of malfunction and problem behaviors. In the special section of this issue of the ISSBD Bulletin we were interested in identifying characteristics and mechanisms explaining resilient outcomes in children and adolescents. Years back, Emmy Werner demonstrated with her groundbreaking research on the children of Kauai, that resilience despite of risk is possible, even at long term. Many scientists followed her research tradition and today resilience research is a distinct discipline in human development research. In this issue, we present current models and new findings that aim at drawing implications for education, counseling, and practice in general to support positive development in youth facing adversities.

More specifically, this special section of this Bulletin includes four feature articles summarizing research on resilience from the US, the UK, Israel, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and South Africa. The authors are dealing with issues of coping with massive negative stressors like disasters (Masten), or war (Kimhi), or they refer to resilience in street children (Verma), or youth under conditions of economic pressure in the UK. These excellent empirical papers are discussed by two outstanding experts in the field of resilience research, namely Arnold Sameroff from the US, and Silvia Koller from Brazil. Related to the topic of the special section we present three lab reports in this bulletin which reflect on broadening the approach of resilience research to changes in economy and culture (Cameron), on ethical concerns in analyzing marginalized youth (Liebenberg and Ungar), and on new approaches to the study of thriving in young people (Boyden). We are hopeful that this special section will provide our readers with cultural snapshots and interesting insights related to resilience research. Furthermore, we have a workshop report by Christmas-Best et al. introducing findings of a workshop series on *Bereavement: Theory, Application and Training as part of Conflict Prevention in the South Caucasus Region* giving a nice example of how resiliency research can inform practice.

In addition, this issue of the Bulletin contains a report on the state of the art related to the disciplines of Human Development and Psychology in Kenya (Malanda). As we can learn from the Notes of the President from Wolfgang Schneider, the society has a growing number of members from Kenya; thus, we assumed that it may be of interest for members of the international society to learn more about this country scientifically. Further society-related publications in this issue are the notes from the second EC meeting at the ISSBD conference in Lusaka last year (by Katariina Salmela-Aro), and information on the ISSBD awards by Toni Antonucci. Finally, the news section includes an announcement by Marcel van Aken on Special Issues in IJBD, and an introduction of the New Early Career Scholar Representative (Jaap Dennisen).

As always, we are extremely thankful to all authors who contributed to this issue of the Bulletin for their time and engagement. In addition, we would like to thank Josafa Cunha for releasing the e-newsletter of ISSBD and thereby giving us the opportunity to announce the upcoming topics of the special section of the Bulletin. We have noticed a growing number of members of the society who respond to such announcements and discuss with us their possible inputs.

Disaster and Resilience in Children and Youth

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Disasters, natural and human-made, touch the lives of millions of children and youth every year. After a decade of highly publicized global disasters, including terrorist acts, hurricanes, tsunamis, earthquakes, disease outbreaks, industrial accidents, and fires, it is not surprising to observe growing attention to the effects of disasters and what might be done to prevent or mitigate the impact of diverse forms of disaster on human function and development (Bonanno, Brewin, Kaniasty, & La Greca, 2010; Comer & Kendall, 2007; Furr, Comer, Edmunds, & Kendall, 2010; Masten & Obradović, 2008; Masten & Osofsky, 2010; Norris, Steven, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008; Pine, Costello, & Masten, 2005). Increasingly, approaches to disaster—and its effects on children and youth in particular—has focused on resilience. This article delineates a framework for understanding and promoting resilience in the context of disaster for children and youth, highlighting the meaning, models, findings, and implications arising from this body of work. Further elaboration on ideas discussed here can be found in Masten & Osofsky (2010), Masten & Obradović (2008), and Masten (in press a, b).

Growing attention to mass-scale disasters, past or future, has mobilized efforts to integrate the concepts of resilience across disciplines and levels. The European Union sponsored a conference at the Hague in 2006, with delegates from 25 member states, on "Citizens and Resilience: The Balance between Awareness and Fear." The first major international conference on resilience was held in Stockholm in 2008, co-sponsored by the Resilience Alliance, the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, and the International Council for Science. The second is scheduled for 2011 in Arizona. The journal, *Ecology and Society*, published a special feature on resilience in complex systems focused on integrating sciences and responses for major disasters (see Longstaff, 2009; Masten & Obradović, 2008). In all these examples, the objective has been to bring together knowledge and experts from different disciplines to address the multiple systems involved in resilience in the face of disaster.

The concept of resilience is highly similar across different fields, most likely stemming from common roots in dynamic systems theory (Masten & Obradović, 2008). The following definition of resilience is intended to be scalable across levels of analysis and applicable across disciplines (Masten, in press a).

The capacity of a dynamic system to withstand or recover from significant challenges that threaten its stability, viability, or development

In developmental science centered on individuals, resilience usually refers to the study of pathways or processes leading to positive adaptation during or following significant threats or disturbances that have the potential to harm the individual or derail development. But one may also focus on family resilience or the resilience of an ecosystem. Disasters such as Hurricane Katrina threaten or overwhelm many systems simultaneously in addition to threats at the individual or family level, including ecosystems, regional emergency response systems, levee systems, transportation and food distribution systems, communication and computer systems, medical and many other community systems.

Models of Individual Response to Disasters

Resilience-based frameworks for conceptualizing disaster and response have been delineated over many years. Disasters could be described in terms of risks (threats) and promotive or protective influences, and the effects on multiple aspects of adaptive behavior, including mental health or wellbeing and competence (see Masten, in press a and b, for a full discussion of these models). Different patterns of response have been specified, including resistance and recovery patterns. In recent years, resilience scholars have illustrated the distinct pathways or patterns of response to disaster. An example is shown here in Figure 1, reprinted from Masten & Obradović (2008). Patterns can be drawn for acute disaster (as in this figure) or for chronic, overwhelming adversity (see Masten, in press b, for contrasting illustrations). Scholars disagree in some cases on how to label these various patterns but the patterns are often strikingly alike (see Bonanno, 2004). Common patterns include a "resistance" pattern, a "recovery" pattern, and various maladaptive patterns, including immediate or delayed breakdown patterns without recovery. Moreover, these hypothetical human response patterns for disaster resemble pathway examples from ecology concerned with very different kind of systems (see Tugel et al., 2005).
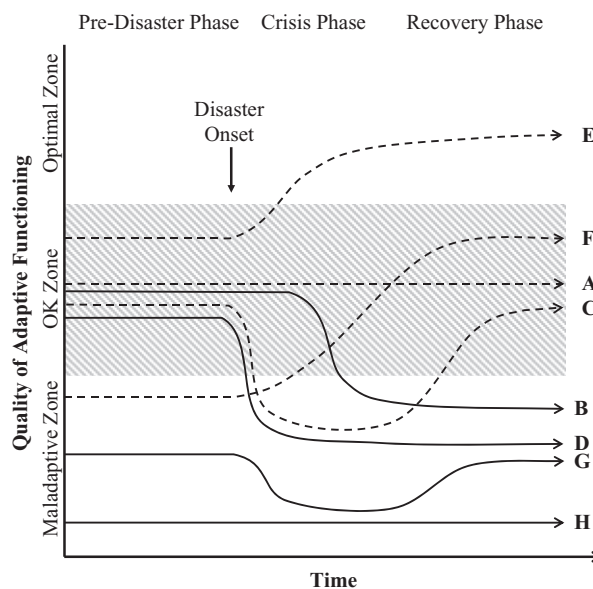

Figure 1. Examples of adaptive and maladaptive pathways in the context of an acute-onset disaster. All paths that end with resilience within the time frame of the figure are shown with dashed lines. A = resistance. B = delayed breakdown. C = breakdown with recovery, D = breakdown without recovery, E and F = positive transformation. G = persistent maladaptive path with disaster-related dip in functioning. H = unresponsive maladaptive pattern, possibly indicating a floor effect. Reprinted from Masten & Obradović, 2008.

It is difficult to study pathways in the face of disaster, for many reasons (see Bonanno et al., 2010; Masten & Osofsky, 2010). Rarely is pre-disaster data available and it is very challenging to collect data in the immediate aftermath of disaster, much less to collect the kind of repeated measures data needed for the analyses of growth curves and trajectories implied by these pathway models. As a result, these pathway models remain largely theoretical or anecdotal in the literature on children and youth.

Simpler models, however, that focus on examination of risks and protective factors in relation to adaptive behavior and outcomes have guided a growing literature on the effects of disaster on children and youth. These studies have focused on the assessment of disaster exposure and the individual or contextual variables that may account for different outcomes following disaster. Despite many flaws and limitations that could be criticized in this body of literature, the findings show clear consistencies, briefly highlighted below.

What Matters in Disaster Response of Children and Youth?

Significance of Exposure and Context of Disaster. Among the most widely reported findings in the disaster literature are *dose effects*. Dose effects take varying forms related to the physical and psychological degree of threat. Generally, children and youth who have experienced more severe adversities, or a higher cumulative frequency or number of threats, show more symptoms of trauma or distress, reflecting what has been termed a risk or dose-response gradient. Children who perceive greater threat (which can be exacerbated by harm to or separation from attachment figures, as discussed below) tend to show more negative responses. Moreover, the threat gradient may be physical or psychological. When severity of trauma experiences is related to physical proximity to the disaster epicenter (as in an earthquake), psychological response may vary on a physical proximity gradient. Yet, dose effects are sometimes surprisingly small in magnitude, with indications of great variability in post-disaster response. This variation is the focus of research on vulnerability and resilience. In addition, there may be circumstances so extreme that dose in and of itself is not associated with response or recovery; in effect, everyone has such high exposure that degree of adversity does not predict response or recovery. In the case of child soldiers studied by Klasen et al. (2010), the degree of exposure to horrifying and prolonged atrocities during captivity did not show dose effects for post-captivity adaptation, which instead was related to the level of adversities and supports in the recovery environment. Dose is often measured by aggregating indicators of exposure, for example by tallying up traumatic experiences. This kind of "packing" may increase the odds of finding a dose effect on psychological wellbeing or symptoms, but these kinds of cumulative risk measures may obscure the differential impact of specific experiences. In their recent article on youth in Bosnia exposed to war, Layne et al. (2010) have made a compelling case for "unpacking" dose or risk gradients in order to learn more about the processes of risk and protection involved in differential responses to war as a guide to theory and interventions. Other investigators have identified particularly

damaging experiences that have lasting and/or distinctive effects. Betancourt et al. (2010) describe such "toxic" experiences and their devastating effects on child soldiers forcibly raped or involved in killing others.

Timing Matters

The disaster literature also implicates several aspects of timing as critically important for understanding response and intervening effectively. *Developmental timing* of traumatic experiences could play many roles in the processes that will influence response and recovery. Development may influence many aspects of exposure and resources for response or recovery, including awareness or interpretation of events as well as the odds for exposure. Very young children are less likely to experience some atrocities or to perceive the full import of those they do observe than older children and youth. Resources, vulnerabilities, and protections for coping with disaster all change with development. Older youth may have greater exposure in a disaster as a result of their greater mobility, knowing more people who could be harmed, or because of their greater understanding of the situation and its implications, yet they also are likely to have more capabilities and broader support systems than a very young child. Disaster effects are multiply determined and many aspects of these determinants relate to development.

Frequency and duration of traumatic experiences, and age of onset are crucial to outcomes. Dose-response studies often assume that concentrated periods of adversity (many or repeated traumas in a short time window) will have worse effects because of the load on resources or adaptive capacity. Similarly, disaster occurring in a context of previous trauma or adversity (e.g., tsunami in the context of war) is expected to have greater effects and there is some evidence to corroborate this view (see Masten & Osofsky, 2010).

Adaptive Capacity Matters, in the Child and Relationships

In addition to age differences that reflect developmental timing as noted above, research has examined potential differences in adaptive capacity of children and youth faced with disaster, including individual attributes (e.g., problem-solving skills, self-regulation skills, faith or hope), proximity to attachment figures, close relationships (with family, friends, or others), and community-based resources. Many of the factors that have been noted to make a difference for individual children and youth in the disaster literature parallel findings from the broader literature on risk and resilience, and underscore the point that capacity for resistance or recovery from disaster depends on many of the same fundamental adaptive systems that promote and protect healthy development under more normal circumstances (see Masten & Obradović, 2008). Interest is growing, however, in the question of whether adaptive systems work differently at the boundaries of adaptive capacity and whether there are protections that have a role only in extreme situations. There also is growing interest in post-traumatic growth or the possibility that adversity itself can mobilize adaptive changes, alter adaptive capacity, or in

other ways lead to post-disaster functioning that is better than the person ever achieved prior to the traumatic experience (Masten & Osofsky, 2010). Unstable systems or major disturbances in a dynamic system may generate opportunities for re-organization and change that are poorly understood to date.

Gender differences in response to calamity have proven to be complex in the disaster literature. Girls, and especially adolescent girls, often report (or admit to) more distress or post-traumatic stress, but it is not usually clear if this difference is related to robust response differences, pre-existing differences, response bias, or differential exposure to trauma. Girls may experience rape more often than males in the context of political violence, for example, but the significance of rape will also differ by gender and culture (Betancourt et al., 2010).

Specific protective factors for specific situations also need to be given greater attention. Disaster response and recovery supports need to be tailored to the nature of exposure and cultural context, as well as to the individual and family differences in exposure, vulnerability or resources, and developmental differences. Community forgiveness may be more important for a returning child soldier than for an earthquake victim. Rape victims may have specific needs related to gender, development, and culture, as well as the emotional and physical effects of this traumatic experience. The fear vectors for terrorism may differ from those of natural disasters.

Significance of the Aftermath and Community Recovery Context

Beyond addressing basic survival needs (e.g., water, food, disease control) and the fundamental adaptive systems for human development (e.g., caregivers for children), broader aspects of context matter. Disasters vary widely in terms of the scope of damage to many levels of interdependent systems that support community, family, or individual life and health, and also in terms of financial, human, and social capital available for recovery. Norris et al. (2008) described community resilience in relation to four parameters: economic development, social capital, information and community, and community competence. Recovery was observably slow after Hurricane Katrina and the earthquake in Haiti, but likely for different reasons related to community and national contexts.

Cultural beliefs and practices, and community support can play a role. For returning child soldiers, the recovery context can vary in stigma, forgiveness, acceptance, and violence, all of which appear to matter (e.g., Betancourt et al., 2010; Klasen et al., 2010).

Restoring a sense of normalcy in a community appears to be a very important aspect of the recovery context. One of the most salient symbols of "normal life" for children is school. The importance of opening schools after disasters has been emphasized by humanitarian agencies that respond to disaster, as well as by scientists (Masten & Osofsky, 2010).

Resilience-Guided Frameworks for Planning or Practice

There are many gaps in the literature on disaster to date, yet disaster planning and response must proceed on the basis of what is known at the time. Research does provide some guidelines for those charged with promoting resilience in children and youth in the context of disasters of different kinds. Examples are listed below (see also Masten & Obradović, 2008; Masten & Osofsky, 2010; Norris et al., 2008).

- Focus on positive processes, strengths, recovery and resilience.
- Nurture adaptive systems for human development and community resilience before disaster and prioritize these systems afterwards.
- Protect and restore the secure base of attachment relationships and give a high priority to maintaining, reuniting, or restoring proximal attachment figures.
- Train first responders about the responses and needs of children and youth, and remember that first responders for children include parents, child care workers, and educators.
- Support normalizing routines and activities for children in the aftermath of disaster, including school and opportunities to play.
- Support community and cultural practices that support families.
- Reduce ongoing exposure to trauma and traumatic reminders, including media coverage and post-disaster violence.
- Include experts on human development in disaster response and preparation planning.

Where Do We Go from Here?

The progress in research on disaster is promising, but much work remains to be done. There is a great need for cooperative international research, with more systematic measures and methods to build a better data base of knowledge on disaster effects and what works to promote resilience. Building capacity—including researchers, measures, and funding streams—for research in diverse context and cultures is extremely important for this effort. More interaction between the scientific and humanitarian communities is vital, not only for advancing the translational agenda in disaster response, but also for improving the utility and quality of future science, as questions and methods of research are refined by field experience. International societies such as ISSBD can play a central role in the global agenda to build better science, policy and practice for disaster response.

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Resilience in Children Facing Poverty and Family Disadvantage: Evidence from the UK Millennium Cohort

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There is ample research evidence to suggest that serious harm to physical and mental health and wellbeing can be caused by the experience of poverty and adverse life events (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1997; Engle & Black, 2008; McLoyd, 1998). Adversities such as material hardship and family breakdown greatly increase the risk of developing adjustment problems later on, such as increased risk of educational failure, behavioral problems, psychological distress, or poor health. On the other hand, there is evidence that not everyone is affected in the same way, and that some show resilience in the face of adversity; i.e. they are able to 'beat the odds' and to do well despite deprivation (Luthar, 2003; Rutter, 2007; Werner & Smith, 1992). Relatively few studies, however, have focused on experiences in early childhood, when the effects of material hardship appear to be strongest (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997).

In this article we present results of our recent research examining factors and processes enabling children to do well despite poverty and family instability, based on data collected for the UK Millennium Cohort, a survey of 18,819 babies born between September 2000 and January 2002 into 18,553 families living in the UK. The first sweep of data collection was carried out during 2001 and 2002 when most babies were 9 months old, with follow-up studies at ages 3 and 5 years. The data were collected from parents via personal interviews and a self-completion questionnaire, as well as direct assessment of children's cognitive abilities at ages 3 and 5 (Hansen, Joshi, & Dex, 2010).

Poverty and Family Instability in the UK

The UK has been identified as a highly privileged country, according to the United Nations Human Development Index, measured in terms of longevity, knowledge, and income (UNDP, 2010). Nonetheless, about one million British children were living in poverty at the turn of the Millennium, and a recent report by the United Nations suggests that poverty rates for children in the UK are several times higher than those in most Western industrialized countries (UNICEF, 2010). Given the persistence of poverty even in highly developed countries, it is essential to learn more about the impact of material hardship on children's early development, and to identify factors that promote successful development in the face of adversity.

Using the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) definition of relative poverty based on equivalized household income (before housing costs) below 60 per cent of the median (Bradshaw & Holmes, 2010) we find that approximately one-tenth of families were income-poor at all three measurement points between the ages of 9 months and 5 years; about a quarter were poor in at least two surveys; about two-fifths were poor in at least one survey; and 61 per cent were never poor. Families were generally more likely poor if there was only one parent, a large number of children or no earners, suggesting an accumulation of risk factors. Poverty and family instability, for example, are closely interlinked, as poverty affects families economically and socially, as well as on an emotional level. Economic hardship, for example, has been associated with greater risk for relationship break-up (Conger & Elder, 1994; McLanahan, 2009). In analyzing the effects of poverty on children's development, one should thus take into account that children in low-income families are more likely to experience multiple risk factors, such as family and housing insecurity, overcrowding, and lack of amenities; in our models, we control for these interlinked risk effects. Consideration of multiple

risk factors generally has been recommended in order to gain a better understanding of the corrosive effects of family poverty on children's development (Gershoff, Aber, Raver, & Lennon, 2007).

Another issue to be considered here is that economic hardship and family instability have differential effects on specific child outcomes, with poverty generally showing stronger effects on cognitive development (Conger & Elder, 1994; Kiernan & Mensah, 2009; Schoon & Jones, 2008; Schoon, Cheng, & Jones, 2010), and family disruption being more salient for emotional/behavioral adjustment. Evidence from previous research on the relationship between poverty, family structure, and children's outcomes has produced conflicting findings, with some arguing that poverty may explain much of the effect of family structure on children's adjustment, while others have argued that family structure operates independently of family economic status in influencing children's outcomes (McLanahan, 2009). Differences in findings might be due to variations in the ages of the children studied, differences in assessments, or different operationalizations of family structure. In addition, most previous studies have focused on poverty and family structure as static and have not taken into account process and change in family circumstances. The lack of understanding of how the experience of poverty and family instability influences child development has greatly hampered the ability of policy-makers to design effective interventions to improve children's development and well-being. It is thus necessary to unpack how risks co-occur, to examine the role of their timing and duration, and to determine which risk factors prevail in representing high risk in order to gain a better leverage for prevention. Evidence from the UK longitudinal studies suggests that duration of risk exposure, early risk (indicating cumulative processes), and sensitive periods are all significant (Schoon, 2006; Schoon, Cheng et al., 2010).

Risk and Protection

Not all children respond to adversity in the same way, and some children show positive adjustment despite the exposure to family poverty and/or instability. Resilience is, however, not a personality characteristic, and the process of withstanding the negative effects of adversity is associated with multiple factors, including features of both the children and their parents, as well as the wider social context (Luthar, 1999; Masten, 2001; Rutter, 2006; Schoon, 2006). Previous research has identified a number of factors that might reduce the negative effects of adverse experiences, and investigators specified the mechanisms or processes that might underlie this modification of risk effects. A differentiation has been made between general promotive and distinct protective effects (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000), where general promotive factors have a beneficial effect in both high and low risk conditions, while protective factors modify the effects of a risk factor on the outcome; i.e. there is an interactive relationship between the protective factor, the risk exposure and the outcome (Rutter, 2006). Regression models are used to test whether or not the effect of the risk variable disappears once the postulated protective variable is put into the model. If the risk effect does not disappear the postulated protective

factor is deemed to be only one of several possible mechanisms reducing the negative risk effect.

In our studies we established the role of affectionate and close parent-child interactions as an important factor reducing the negative effects of family poverty on children's cognitive development, and in particular on their behavioral outcomes (Schoon, Cheng et al., 2010; Schoon, Hope, Ross, & Duckworth, 2010). Although cognitive stimulation (teaching a child the alphabet, numbers, songs) and reading to the child showed beneficial effects, such activities tend to reduce but not to eliminate the negative effects of family poverty, suggesting the need to explore alternative mediating processes.

We also established the role of maternal distress as a mediating factor linking family hardship to parenting behavior; the mother's distress influences the level of cognitive stimulation offered, which in turn influences children's development (Schoon, Cheng et al., 2010; Schoon, Hope et al., 2010). Maternal depression is generally considered a risk factor for children's poor socioemotional and cognitive development (Cummings & Davies, 1994), although the associations between maternal depression and child outcomes are complex (Downey & Coyne, 1990) and not all studies have found a relationship between maternal distress and impaired cognitive development (Kiernan & Huerta, 2008; Linver, Brooks-Gunn, & Kohen, 2002). Variations in severity, chronicity, and timing of depression (Campbell, Cohn, & Meyers, 1995), as well as heterogeneity in sampling, and the presence of other potential risk factors such as low social support, can contribute to differences in child outcomes (Sameroff, Seifer, Baldwin, & Baldwin, 1993). In our study we accounted for persistence of maternal distress between ages 9 months and 3 years, and found that mothers exposed to persistent hardship, with reduced access to economic resources, are also more likely to experience continued distress. Such anguish in turn is associated with reduced investment in their children (in terms of cognitive stimulation) as well as less involved parent-child interactions, with negative effects on their children's developmental outcomes (Schoon, Hope et al., 2010). These associations were significant even after we controlled for a number of background characteristics, such as mother's education, ethnicity, and marital status, as well as indicators of early biological risk, to ensure that the findings were not spurious. The findings suggest that family hardship has a direct influence on children's developmental outcomes and plays a role in shaping maternal mental health as well as parenting behaviors.

Within-Group Analysis

Moving beyond population-based analysis, we also used within-subgroup analysis to identify what makes a difference for a particular at-risk group, such as children growing up in single-parent families who were identified as poor at all three times of the assessments (at ages 9 months, 3 years, and 5 years). Based on previous evidence, we are particularly interested in the role of social relationships and social support (Bartley, Schoon, Mitchell, & Blane, 2010; Schoon & Bartley, 2008). Contact with others means that the parent has someone to talk to when feeling worried or low, someone to ask for practical help or help with money. Social

support has been shown to have a beneficial effect on behavioral outcomes in high-risk preschool children in that the social support received by parents confers benefits to their offspring, especially among families with fewer financial and educational resources (Keating, 2000; Runyan et al., 1998). Also, in the Millennium cohort we find evidence that social support facilitates behavioral adjustment among children growing up in persistent poverty.

Outlook

Future research will examine in more detail the protective factors and processes for specific subgroups of the population, such as single parent families, or families going through multiple transitions and reconstitutions. We are also interested in the effect of worklessness on the mental health of parents and their parenting behavior, along with the associated child outcomes. The current recession raises issues related to changes in household income and how this might affect the adjustment of children and their parents. As shown in the pioneering study by Glen Elder on Children of the Great Depression (Elder, 1974/1999) the efforts of the family to adapt to newly emerging forms of hardship, and children's own efforts to contribute to their family's adaptive resources can have a profound effect on child development. Children need to master living and learning strategies to meet the multiple demands of growing up in hard times. We plan to study factors that can enable children and their parents to develop initiative, self-confidence, self-regulation, and social competence, which in turn are crucial for negotiating unforeseen demands and challenges.

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The Half Full / Half Empty Cup: Vulnerability and Resiliency One Year after a War

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Hans Selye (1956) has said that stress results from the failure of an organism–human or animal–to respond appropriately to emotional or physical threats, whether actual or imagined. Some writers say the study of stress originated in the twentieth century, during which the short- and long-term impact of major life-threatening events (such as war, terror or natural disasters) has been studied extensively. Two major views of the impact of stress on human beings are: (a) the vulnerability perspective or the half-empty cup model (e.g., Ingram & Price, 2010), also referred to also as the diathesis-stress model (Butcher, Mineka, & Hooley, 2010); and (b) the resiliency perspective or the half-full cup model (e.g., Claussehler, 2008). The current paper contends that in most cases of human coping with traumatic events, it is possible to identify both resiliency and vulnerability (see Bonanno, 2004). In each situation, one of these models is more salient depending on the specific details of the case.

This paper is based on a large-scale research project that took place in the Israeli town of Kiryat Shemona, situated near the Lebanese border, one year after the Second Lebanon War (July 2006) (Kimhi, Eshel, Zysberg, & Hantman, 2010). The town was targeted and badly hit during the war by approximately 200 rockets. The vast majority of the inhabitants fled their homes during the war and, after the war, had to cope with the extensive destruction caused to their town. Moreover, they continued to live through continuous uncertainty after the war, fearing the resumption of hostilities. Two large groups were studied: (a) school students (n = 820) from one high school and one junior high school, ages 2 to 18 (Kimhi et al., 2010a); (b) adults (n = 870) representing the population of the city, ages 18 to 85 (Kimhi et al., 2010).

Analysis of our data indicated that one year after the end of the war both resiliency and vulnerability perspectives could be supported without mutual exclusivity. Each of the two perspectives represents a different interpretation of the same data. The forthcoming sections will present both the resiliency and the vulnerability perspectives.

Resiliency

Resilience is a positive trajectory of adaptation after a disturbance, stress, or adversity (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008), which constitutes "the capacity for successful adaptation, positive functioning or competence . . . despite high-risk status, chronic stress, or following prolonged or severe trauma" (Egeland, Carlson, & Stroufe, 1993, p. 517).

In our study we used Sense of Coherence (SOC) as a tool for measuring adult individual resiliency[1] (Antonovsky, 1979, 1987). As might be expected, SOC revealed a near normal distribution in our study. The half-empty cup view might emphasize the fact that about two percent of the adult population belonged to a highly vulnerable group and the half-full cup might emphasize the fact that a similar percent belonged to a highly resilient group (two standard deviations below or above the average). The majority of people demonstrated a medium level of individual resiliency. Results indicated that SOC was the best single predictor of level of stress symptoms. In other words, those with higher levels of SOC reported lower levels of stress symptoms one year after the end of the war (Kimhi, Eshel, Zysberg, Hantman, & Enosh, 2010b). In support of Antonovsky (1979, 1987), there were no gender and age differences among adults and both genders revealed the same level of individual resiliency.

Another potential indicator of resiliency is the level of return to normal daily life after a traumatic event (Kimhi, et al., 2010). We asked both teenagers and adults to compare their present situation with their pre-war situation in various domains: physical health, morale, social activity, school work/work place, interests and activities in hobbies or sports, emotional state, level of optimism, and hope for a better future. We termed this recuperation "posttraumatic recovery" (PTR). PTR revealed near normal distribution in our study.

However, comparison of adult and teenager levels of PTR showed interesting results. While most teenagers reported returning to the same level of functioning as before the war (62% reported the same level or better), about half of the adults reported that, one year after the war, their functioning was worse than before the war. Only 13% of the adult sample reported the same level or better. A closer look at the teenagers' data shows that the most positive changes were reported in the domains of social and interpersonal activity and hobbies or sport, whereas emotional state, optimism, and hope for a better future (or "internal" aspects of mental and emotional life) tended to deteriorate in comparison to pre-war times (see also Cole & Brown, 2002; Laufer & Solomon, 2006).

The resiliency perspective would emphasize the fact that teenagers have significantly better ability to achieve long-term recovery compared to adults, and the majority of teenagers fully recovered. At the same time, the

[1] For a variety of reasons we did not measure SOC among the teenage sample.

vulnerability perspective would focus on the fact that more than half of the adults and about one-third of the teenagers did not fully recover one year after the end of the war and their functioning was worse than their prewar functioning.

Vulnerability

A dictionary provides multiple definitions for vulnerability. One meaning is to be susceptible to something, such as disease or infection, or to be susceptible to being physically or emotionally injured (e.g., Ingram & Price, 2010). Stress symptoms one year after the end of the war were the main indicator for vulnerability in our study, using the short version of the Brief Symptom Inventory (Derogatis & Savitz, 2000). Other studies, all over the globe, have indicated that a substantial number of children and adults reported a wide range of symptoms long after experiencing a negative event. These symptoms include delayed emotional and behavioral problems (Dyregrov, Gjestad, & Raundalen, 2002; Kimhi et al., 2010), posttraumatic stress disorders (PTSD), depression, anxiety and grief (Hadi, Llabre, & Spitzer, 2006). In accordance with PTR results, teenagers in our study reported significantly lower levels of stress symptoms compared to adults.

Distribution of stress symptoms in our study indicated a right asymptotic distribution both for adults and teenagers. In other words, most people reported very little stress or a small number of stress symptoms (72% adults and 80% teenagers reported less than 2.5 on 1-5 scale). According to the resilience perspective, these results can be interpreted as an indicator of a high level of resiliency. However, a minority of both teenagers and adults reported a high level of stress: 6% of teenagers and 10% of adults reported 3.5 or more on a 1-5 scale one year after the war.

The vulnerability perspective would emphasize that those people with a high level of stress symptoms as a result of a potential traumatic event need some kind of trauma intervention aimed at reducing these emotional and behavioral problems. Because the population of Kiryat Shemona is about 20,000, this means that about 300 teenagers and about 1,000 adults might need trauma intervention (and this number does not include children, who were not investigated in our study). The vulnerability perspective would emphasize the fact that many potential traumatic events (such as war or natural disasters) create situations where the need for trauma interventions exceeds the actual interventions delivered, as shown in our study.

Additionally, based on analysis of our research data (using various statistical methods, such as regressions, multivariate analysis of variance, and structural equation modeling), we corroborated other study results regarding three factors affecting levels of coping with stress: gender, level of exposure to stress, and economic conditions (see Kimhi et al., 2010). The upcoming sections will present these three factors and their associations with stress in light of the resiliency and vulnerability perspectives.

Gender and Stress

One salient issue regarding level of coping with potential traumatic events is gender. Most studies investigating links between gender and distress (see literature review, Tamres,

Janicki, & Helgeson, 2002) have claimed that females tend to report higher levels of war-related stress (fear, anxiety, and somatic complaints), as well as more behavioral problems than do males (e.g., Kimhi & Shamai, 2006). Our study corroborated these results among both teenagers and adults (Kimhi, Eshel, Zysberg, & Hantman, 2009): Adult and teenage females reported higher levels of stress symptoms and lower levels of PTR. These results further support the contention that being female, across a wide range of ages, creates potential for higher vulnerability compared with males when coping with potentially traumatic events such as war. Furthermore, our results indicated that gender differences continue long after the end of the potentially traumatic event. More research is needed to substantiate these results, especially focusing on how to explain these gender differences.

How should we explain the fact that although adult females reported the same level of sense of coherence (individual resilience) as adult males, they also reported a higher level of symptoms and a lower level of PTR? One possible explanation is that SOC provides a potential for resiliency, while stress symptoms and PTR represent more behavioral perspectives of resiliency. In other words, SOC served as a better stress buffer for males than for females. Further research is needed to test this assumption.

The vulnerability perspective would emphasize that females are more vulnerable over the long term to potential traumatic events, while the resiliency perspective would emphasize the fact that both genders presented similar levels of individual resiliency (SOC) one year after the war.

Exposure to Stress

Research indicates that posttraumatic stress is contingent on direct as well as on indirect antecedent variables. The most direct of these antecedents and the most commonly used is probably the level of exposure to traumatic war events. It has been argued that postwar psychosocial damage depends on the magnitude of exposure to these events: the more extensive the adverse exposure, the higher the level of stress symptoms (e.g., Kuterovac-Jagodić, 2003; Shamai & Kimhi, 2007).

Our findings corroborated these results: level of exposure to stress significantly and positively predicted stress symptoms and significantly and negatively predicted PTR. In other words, the more adults and teenagers were exposed to negative events during the war, the more they reported stress symptoms and the less they reported recovering (PTR), one year after the end of the war.

The vulnerability perspective would emphasize that exposure to potentially traumatic events is an important factor that affects coping. However, based on our results according to which exposure to negative events explained only 8% of the variance of stress symptoms among teenagers and to a lesser extent among adults, the resiliency perspective would focus on the fact that many people who were exposed to negative events during the war coped well and returned to normal life without many stress symptoms.

Economic Conditions and Stress

Research on economic conditions and stress reactions indicates that economic level is associated directly (Galea et al.,

2004; Nordanger, 2007) or indirectly (Weissman et al., 2001) with vulnerability to stress. Economic uncertainty and difficulties are likely to become the major concern of communities recovering from the physical, social and occupational destructive effects of war. This concern may often result in distress as well as in a reduced sense of well-being, especially when these economic difficulties remain unsolved.

Our results supported the above contention, indicating that both teenagers and adults with lower levels of family economic conditions reported higher levels of stress symptoms one year after the end of the war. Adults, but not teenagers who reported a lower level of economic conditions, also reported a lower level of PTR. This was true for economic conditions by themselves as well as when they predicted outcomes of war distress together with gender, age and exposure to negative events. The vulnerability perspective would emphasize that economic conditions are an important factor in coping with stressful events. However, based on our results which showed that economic conditions explained only 9% of stress symptom variance among adults and to a lesser extent among teenagers, the resiliency perspective would emphasize that many people with low economic conditions coped well and returned to normal life without many stress symptoms.

Conclusions and Suggestions

The main conclusion of this paper is that people are both resilient and vulnerable at the same time, depending on the perspective of the viewer. In accordance with Bonanno (2004), our study supports the contention that examining a relevant population indicates that most people are resilient. It also suggests that this is even truer for teenagers than for adults. However, the number of people who might be called vulnerable and who suffer high levels of stress symptoms and low levels of resuming the life they enjoyed before the negative event is disturbing. We may assume that these people need some kind of assistance (which is probably quite expensive) even long after the potential traumatic event has ended. We may also assume that there are limited resources for all those who need assistance. The vulnerability perspective supports the view that large-scale man-made or natural disasters pose a great challenge for every society; if so, we might well ask ourselves what the best way is to assist those who are in need. This issue is beyond the scope of the current paper; however, some clues (Kimhi & Eshel, 2009) based on our earlier study indicate that strengthening community and social resilience (see also Norris et al., 2008) might be an efficient way to use the limited resources available to help people recover from potentially traumatic events. We suggest this line of research as an important one for the future.

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A Cross-Cultural View to the Study of Resilience among Street Children

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In this article we report findings from a cross-cultural study on pathways of risk and protection among street children in four developing countries. Within the child rights framework and a comparative theoretical model that is guided by theory and research on risk, protection, and resilience, the study examines the similarities and differences in the sociocultural contexts organizing street children's development.

Using both quantitative and qualitative data analyses, the study highlights the pathways of risk and protection among street and working children in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and South Africa. For the present article we limit our focus to the developmental experiences of resilience among street children using a mixed methods approach. However, in order to understand resilience, it is important to first understand the largely risky developmental contexts where street children grow, and this is being presented in the succeeding section.

Developmental Contexts of Risk for Street Children

One-half of the world's population lives in the Asia-Pacific region and 30% of the people in this region live in poverty. Of those who live in poverty, children and young people comprise 40% (West, 2003). It is likely that these are the children and the youth who have turned to living on the streets

in order to survive. UNICEF (2007) identified poverty as the main cause of child abandonment, child labor, and family separation. When these young people are unable to receive from their families the care and nurturance they need to survive, they are forced to work on the streets (ILO, 2004; Speak, 2005).

Work in the form of street trades, such as selling flowers, washing cars, and shining shoes, is the option available for viable sources of income for children at very young ages. Having to stay in the streets for survival and being exposed to the dangers of street life leave the young person vulnerable to numerous threats to his or her physical, mental, and sexual health (Verma, 1999). Thus, these are the lenses we can use to understand the phenomenon of child street life that continues to be a concern in the countries of India, Indonesia, the Philippines, and South Africa. In all these countries children live under similar conditions in the streets of urban areas. These countries are comparable in terms of the influx of children from rural to urban areas, the marked rural-urban differences, the social and economic inequalities within the population, the large youth population, and the increasing number of children working on the streets (Geldenhuys, 2001; Human Rights Watch Asia, 2000; Kabeer, 2001).

The rural-urban migration is only one of several factors that can account for the phenomenon of street children in these countries. As Hickson and Gaydon (1989) correctly pointed out, some cultures make it easy for children to become street children; others tend to make it difficult. In countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia, and in many Latin American countries, the demise of the extended family system, which used to play an important support role, is seen to be an important contributing factor to the increase of children on the streets (Lamberte, 2002). In South Africa, the political culture of apartheid is said to have facilitated the emergence of the phenomenon; this has been exacerbated by the large number of children who have been orphaned through HIV/AIDS because there is no formal system for the children to take over ownership of land when their parents die of the disease (Hickson & Gaydon, 1989; Speak 2005).

In India also, the reasons for children's self-migration (that is, seeking economic opportunities, especially among older children, by leaving home or running away), often revolve around difficulties with parents, extended family, or other members of the community. Domestic violence, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and exploitation all create conditions whereby children might decide to leave home. Problems of violence in families may stem from family histories and experiences, as well as from the consequences of poverty and other difficult life conditions. But domestic violence is not limited to poor families; the children of better-off families also sometimes choose to escape and leave home for the same reason. In addition, the caste system in India, although officially abolished, remains an important influence, and a key basis for discrimination. A high proportion of street children in India are reported to be of the *Dalit* or "untouchable" caste (Human Rights Watch Asia, 2000; Rane, 1994).

Thus, in situations such as those mentioned above, children are left alone or abandoned (UNICEF, 2007), or children do the "abandoning" by leaving home for the streets (de Benitez, 2003). On the streets, the child searches for

possible ways to survive either by working or engaging in illegal activities.

Developmental Contexts of Resilience for Street Children

Having addressed the challenges faced by children at-risk, it is important to address another important issue, namely, the coping strategies used by these children. Panter-Brick (2002) shifted the attention from a primary focus on the unhealthy environment for children to the children themselves. There is a need to ask not only what particular lifestyles put the children's health, both physical and psychological, at risk but also what processes enable children cope with adversity.

For the children growing up in risky circumstances, stress is likely to be a feature of their lives. But when that stress or trauma is a risk to one's psychological and physical health, greater resilience is needed. Resilience relates to an individual's ability to 'bounce back' or return to a normal state following adversity. Children are not impervious to continual risks; nevertheless, it seems that some are more resilient than others.

Protective factors are linked with the resiliency process. Masten (2001), who notes that resiliency is a product of basic adaptational systems, says that if these systems are impaired before or after an adversity, the risk for developmental problems is greater. Inferences regarding resilience can be made when children are faced with demonstrable risk. An investigation of the conditions and daily life transactions of children on the streets will provide us with an opportunity to make inferences about resilience, especially because adverse life situations are considered to be a reliable predictor of subsequent developmental problems.

Factors associated with resilience are: connections with competent and caring adults in the family and community, cognitive and self-regulatory skills, positive views of the self, and motivation to be effective in one's environment. Masten (2001) adds that resilience is influenced by cultural norms, such as salient developmental tasks, competence criteria, and cultural age expectations. The possession of competencies to meet societal and cultural goals and expectations allow the young person an opportunity to integrate with the social group and take advantage of resources, networks, and information available in society.

The Study

For the present study we adopted a child rights based model with children actively participating in tool development, data collection, and validation sessions. Using a multi-method approach, we studied a sample comprising 488 street children in the age group of 11-18 years (mean age: 15.04). Three categories of street children were included: *family based* (children working on the streets and living with their families), *street based* (children living on the streets with no family contact), and *shelter based* (children living in shelters or institutions).

Children were involved in a variety of street trades such as rag picking, begging, scavenging, parking cars, street singing, vending, shoe-shining, and car cleaning. A major proportion of children from India made their transition to the streets between the ages of 5-9 years, whereas the age for transition to the street for children from the other three countries was 10-14 years. Most children worked for 6-8 hours a day, seven days a week, with 10% spending 9-10 hours per day working. Reasons given by children for leaving home were: stressful home conditions, parental conflict, abuse, poverty, an abusive step-parent, and the desire to explore better avenues for work in the urban setting. Schooling status varied across the countries with 55% in South Africa, 33% in Philippines, 20% in Indonesia and 5% in India attending formal schooling. Forty-five percent to 60% of children had dropped out of school in the last year.

Information was also collected from parents (45), key informants (36, comprising government officials, NGO representatives, and shelter officials), and significant others (20, comprising street/peer educators, community leaders, and social workers). Data were collected from the capital cities of the four countries namely, New Delhi, Jakarta, Manila and Pretoria. A mixed method approach was used, and interviews, observations, case studies, and focus group discussions were conducted to collect both quantitative and qualitative data from the sample.

A Likert-type scale (1 = not at all true to 4 = absolutely true) was used to measure resiliency among children along with meta cards in the form of symbols to facilitate response. The *Resilience Scale* (Wagnild & Young, 1993) comprised 25 items and included statements such as: "*I am able to depend on myself more than anyone else,*" or "*my belief in myself gets me through hard times.*"

The resiliency scores suggested that the respondents, across the four countries, displayed high resiliency. However, within-category differences were reported and Multivariate Analysis of Variance (*MANOVA*) indicated significant main effects for the category of street children and country. Across all the countries, street-based children ($M = 2.88$, $SD = .49$) had the lowest scores on resiliency in comparison to family-based ($M = 3.12$, $SD = .52$) and shelter-based children ($M = 3.09$, $SD = .49$) (F = 5.71, p<.01). Further, among the four countries, India had the lowest scores ($M = 2.70$, $SD = .43$) on resiliency whereas South Africa ($M = 3.41$, $SD = .33$) (F = 26.04, p<.001) had the highest scores. The interaction effect on country x category (see Figure 1) was also significant.

Qualitative data analyses based on interviews, focus group discussions, narratives and the personal accounts of the children, along with data from the key informants,
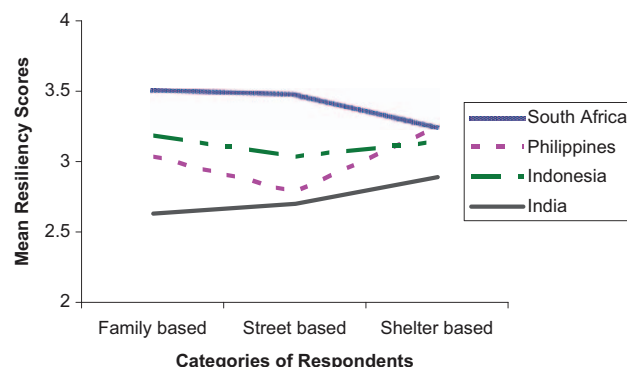
Figure 1. Resiliency scores of respondents

reveal the following typologies of *resilience-enhancing factors* across the four countries.

Support Networks

Across all the countries the most important source of support for the respondents was the peer group and the actual or fictive families formed while living on the streets. These support groups protected the child when the streets became dangerous. Regarding the shelters, the respondents were aware that a world where their needs were met could be found in the shelters. A Filipino community member, for example, reported that the community provided places to stay, often in squatter areas where the children and their families could conveniently find work and did not have to pay for electricity and water.

Children who lived either with their families or on their own in the streets contended that means of survival were available. One respondent from India shared, for example, how children on the streets created an environment that provided for their own needs. In Indonesia, children were able to identify which relationships were good for them, naming them as "good big brothers" or "sisters."

Hope for a Better Life and Access to Education

The sense of hope was articulated in instances when the child was aware that it was possible to emerge out of poverty through education. Getting into a life pathway away from the streets was possible for those street children who believed that life on the streets was not appropriate for them or other children like them. These children searched for possibilities of change from others around them in the community. One Filipino community member recounted: *"first of all, they see that their companions who have left the streets have changed their lives . . . they now have better lives. Perhaps they see that their lives will have no direction, they approach us, and we help them. They become better and have better lives."*

Among the street children in South Africa, hope was also strengthened through participation in religious activities. In the Philippines, the sense of hope was found to be an important ingredient for the child's motivation to leave the streets and enter the shelter. Further, in Indonesia and the Philippines, where the child's education is much valued, parents were supportive of the child's schooling and provided the child with the guidance he or she needed. By spending time in school, the child was protected from the dangers that prolonged stay on the streets can bring.

The shelters provided children with opportunities to be more productive through informal educational programs and vocational courses. Also, the children who had contact with their parents had a chance, more than any of the other street children groups, to attend school continuously.

Productive Work Engagement

Across the country sites, the opportunity to contribute to the family's survival through work was seen most positively by the street children. The family was important for the child and his or her contribution to meet the family's needs provided the child with a sense of personal worth.

Work also provided the respondents with the resources to survive. The child gained a sense of autonomy while on the streets through work and perhaps also established a positive sense of identity and integration with the rest of his or her social world. In the Philippines, the street children interviewed expressed their disgust about themselves when they hung out on the streets doing nothing and the pride that they felt when they showed others that they were capable of earning their living though work. Opportunities to engage in productive work and consequently being able to fend for themselves were also extolled by the street children in India and South Africa.

Personal attributes

Personal attributes such as self-belief, optimism, and religiosity were important indicators to understand why certain children were able to withstand the harm of being involved in drugs, crime, and substance abuse. The children's perception of their situation and the way they handled their problems influenced how well they adjusted to their circumstances. As mentioned by one street child in India to the interviewer, *"life is great older sister . . . at least I am not sick . . . everyone is plagued with difficulties . . . who does not have difficulties . . . but I am very sure that everything is going to be fine."*

Concluding Comments

While family-based and shelter-based respondents clearly reported comparatively better experiences, the street-based children also sought their own resources, external and internal, such as peer networks and the cultivation of personal strength in instances where family support was limited. With regard to the country-wise differences on resilience scores, where respondents from India had the lowest scores, we would like to consider the minimal school enrollment of the respondents from India as one of the possible reasons.

What changes do the street children aspire toward? Here are some of their voices from the various country sites: *"We want to study so that we can work when we grow up"*; *"We do not want to have enemies"*; *"finish school to be able to work and help our parents."*

We also see the importance ascribed to work by the street children, especially when work becomes an opportunity to feel part of the community and to be recognized by others.

Consistent with the literature on optimism, the street children in this study spoke of the need to leave the streets, noting that the streets would definitely not be the ideal place to live one's life. The street educators who were interviewed mentioned that the street children who were likely to get out of the streets were those who were convinced fully of how the streets could contribute to the development of risk patterns that hinder the person from having a life worth living. From the voices of the street children in this study, we hear the desire for change, but the streets draw them back in because it is where they find their identities and where they have, together with similar others, constructed their sources of security.

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Commentary
International Perspectives on Risk and Resilience

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Risk and resilience has become a catchphrase in the developmental literature over the past few decades. The phrase captures a number of positive features. First, it is interactional implying that developmental outcomes are not determined entirely by environmental or personal conditions but by their combination. Second, it is dynamic in that resilience connotes an active response of individuals to counter stress and adversity in their lives. Third, it is concerned with the negative side of social experience in accord with the prosocial stance of researchers trying to understand and ameliorate the many circumstances in life that impede the successful and happy life courses we wish for children. Last, risk and resilience is both adevelopmental and acultural. It is a process that can occur at any age in any society. However, once we move beyond the general phrase we must investigate how risk and resilience work in specific situations. The papers in this special section are devoted to such an effort. Considering different risks in different settings in different cultures with different age children and adults, helps illuminate the breadth of issues that must be understood to flesh out the construct of resilience.

Masten begins by delimiting the definition of resilience as a response to "significant challenges." Certainly in a world filled with disasters, wars, and extreme poverty a concern with these horrific conditions is justified but as these authors point out there is a question whether the adaptive responses to extraordinary conditions work differently than adaptive responses in general. Life is filled with ordinary challenges in the family and beyond. Dealing with the birth of a sibling, a new lesson in school, or a bully on the playground are experiences that most children deal with more or less successfully. Although cognitive and social emotional skills are generally considered to be in the category of competence rather than resilience, the difference may be one of degree rather than kind. There is a general level of functioning, an equilibrium between the individual and experience, that can be perturbed by some unusual event that requires some amount of individual change or adaptation to return to the prior state of balance with the environment.

This difference between responses to ordinary vs. extraordinary stress becomes important for promoting resilience. Should intervention be directed at promoting the general competence with which children respond to any challenge or at training specific responses to specific extraordinary experiences? Clearly, if a child has experienced war, disaster, or violence in the past, there should be some carryover to reoccurrence of these events. However, if the past response was adaptive failure, than prior experiences would worsen the response to the new occurrence as in PTSD (Breslau, Peterson, Poisson, Schultz, & Lucia, 2004). One suggestion is to provide a "vaccination" in terms of a smaller dose of the negative experience which would be much less of an adaptive challenge to the child and would be a template for greater resilience in the future when the full blown experience occurs (Rutter, 2006). But for extraordinary events such as earthquakes, floods, and wars what would be the appropriate vaccination?

Adaptive success or resilience at the level of the individual child generally requires adaptive responses from those in the social environment—members of the family or the community. This can take material form in terms of shielding the child from the catastrophe but more typically there

need to be changes to the child's understanding of the situation, a reframing from "this is such a horrible situation that there is no way of coping," to "others have been here before and survived," or perhaps more developmentally supportive "these are the skills we have that will get us through this situation." Israel may be considered an example through their nationwide training about what to do in case of an attack, or California in its training about what to do in case of an earthquake–events that are frequent enough to occur within the lifetime of their citizens. On Masten's list of frameworks for promoting resilience is the maintenance of normal routines in the family by continuing or reestablishing contact with attachment figures, returning to school and providing occasions for play where the child has the opportunity to experience some level of competence within the overall disastrous situation.

Some of these definitional issues are highlighted in Kimhi's paper both intentionally and unintentionally. The intended discussion tries to define the difference between vulnerability and resiliency leading to the conclusion that the vulnerable will have a harder time adapting to stress than the resilient. However, there is an undiscussed corollary that vulnerable people are different from resilient people. But are vulnerable individuals really different in kind from resilient ones or are they identified by arbitrary cut-offs on a single dimension? High vulnerability would be simply low resilience and vice versa. In fact, this is a version of Kimhi's conclusion that people are both vulnerable and resilient. Experiencing war can be horrendous and Kimhi confirms that the more stress a family experiences, the more symptomatic they become after the experience. There is both good and bad news in Kimhi's data about the importance of position in the life course. Children are more protected with 62% reporting a return to equal or better functioning than before the crisis. However, adults were much less resilient with only 13% doing the same or better. These data are similar to the results of the classic Elder (1986) studies of the effect of military service where pre-career teenagers went on to postwar success whereas more established older recruits had many more problems reintegrating into society.

How resilience plays out in different cultural settings is the core of Verma, Sta. Maria, and Morojele's discussion of the fate of street children. They succeed in mapping out the issues for a major problem in many countries around the world in their discussion of causes, settings, and pathways. The street becomes the solution for children in families that cannot support them, are violent or abusive, or not there at all as in the case of AIDS orphans. Situation becomes another important variable in the authors' contrast between street children who actually live in the street, and those who live in shelters or at home. Successful strategies involve the creation of new social networks with peers and shelter staff when faced with family dissolution. One of the characteristics of resilient children was a representation of a better future with hope for educational opportunities that would get them out of the street. Here as in Kimhi's Israeli study the good news is that some children are making it which leaves us with a result to explain. But also as in the Israeli study we cannot offer an explanation because we don't know the competence level of these children before life on the street or in war. Were they already more competent or resilient?

We get a better sense of what leads to resilience in Schoon, Cheng, Jones, and Maugham's longitudinal study in the United Kingdom. The primary risks here are the hardships that arise from living in poverty. Following children from nine months to five years, Schoon and colleagues were able to trace pathways leading to pre-school competence. Within an ecological model they focused their study on the negative effects of emotionally distressed mothers with low levels of social support. Such mothers were less likely to provide cognitive stimulation leading to reduced school readiness, and less likely to provide positive emotional involvement leading to more behavioral problems. But in this study the line between general cognitive and emotional competence and some special capacity for resilience is missing—which may be quite appropriate. Poverty, especially in the less developed parts of the world, is very common, leading to the question of whether we should consider it a normal or abnormal challenge. The strength of the Schoon, et al. study is in showing how a general stress becomes mediated by maternal distress, social support, and parenting behavior in its effects on young children. In the current global economic climate these may be much easier intervention targets than getting rid of poverty.

So what have we learned about risk and resilience in these papers? We have learned that across the globe many people are experiencing extraordinary risks that can be injurious to the healthy development of children. We have also learned that there are many children who survive these risks and presumably go on to successful life courses. It remains a challenge to fully understand how they do that. Do they have some special talent or are they just generally competent? Is it their social context rather than their personal abilities that buffers or shields them from the effects of these risks? And of most importance, what can we learn from successful children in the face of adversity that can inform intervention and prevention programs designed to increase the success of all children faced with similar stresses? There is still a need and opportunity for much conceptual clarity and continuing research to increase our understanding of both risk and resilience.

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Commentary
Resilience: Definitions, Measurements, and Conclusions

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For decades defining resilience has challenged humanities researchers. Those who work with human beings are aware of a feature, capacity, process, or phenomenon that indicates that people can overcome stressful events and continue their development cycle. This is more than or different from mere adaptation and is hard to identify or measure.

Though Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1995, 2001, 2004) never defined resilience, his perspective on science and theories demonstrates the importance of creating definitions and measurements in order to reach proper conclusions. As he wrote in his last book (2004, p. 43), he cited *Kurt Lewin*'s comment (1951, p. 169) that "there is nothing more *practical than a good theory.*" However, a good theory requires clearly defined variables. Definitions, measurements, and applications can produce better theories that may help to improve the quality of life. Bronfenbrenner (1995) noted that most of his doubts during his studies were about how to fit new knowledge about psychology into the broader scientific realm. He learned that scientists, psychologists included, must observe, measure, and conduct experiments. This text will comment on the four feature papers of this Bulletin, which challenge conventional definitions and applications. More than that, they underline issues about measuring and reaching conclusions regarding the construct of resilience.

Verma, Santa Maria, and Morojele describe resilience as "an individual's ability to 'bounce back' or return to a normal state following adversity." Schoon, Cheng, Jones, and Maughan mention that people "are able to 'beat the odds' and to do well despite deprivation," referring to Werner and Smith (1992). Kimhi, paraphrasing Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, and Pfefferbaum, R. (2008), defines resilience as a positive adaptation trajectory after disturbance, stress, or adversity.

Masten defines resilience as a "capacity of a dynamic system to withstand or recover from significant challenges that threaten its stability, viability, or development." The authors in this Bulletin agree that psychological resilience applies not just to individuals but also to groups and communities. All the papers point out the role of culture and the importance of considering cultural beliefs and values.

Many definitions of resilience exist, though it is not our aim to repeat them all here (see Masten & Garmezy, 1985; Rutter, 1985, 2007). However, a recent definition by Ungar (in press) combines the ideas from the four presented papers: "*In the context of exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that sustain their well-being and their capacity individually and collectively to negotiate for these resources to be provided in culturally meaningful ways.*" Based on Ungar's definition, Trzesniak, Libório, and Koller (in press) stress the importance of establishing the critical dimensions of the examined variable. To define resilience we must find its *sine qua non* conditions. To reach this point we must compare resilience with other constructs that present almost all of the characteristics of resilience but may or may not belong to the system (individual, peer group, family, community, culture) that we are examining. What aspects are unique to resilience as compared to rigidity, elasticity, plasticity, flexibility, or hysteresis? All six of these terms describe different material responses to an external force. However, human beings do not respond to stressful events in the

same ways materials do to forces. Examining these physics terms would provide insights into the resilience of objects but would not necessarily define psychological resilience. People learn from the past and do not return to the same point after experiencing stress. We aggregate knowledge and emotional experiences after exposure to a risk factor, and build a repertoire to deal with our vulnerability.

Trzesniak et al. (in press) aver that as a construct, resilience has six critical dimensions: (1) a system which, due to (2) a non-unique set of internal resources, is able to (3) function normally, although exposed to a (4) context of (5) significant (6) stress. As Rutter (2007) mentioned, since systems constantly change, categories like risk, protective factors, and vulnerability must be kept in mind. The more complete the information about these critical dimensions, the better the definition. Having discussed definitions, we will now analyze and review each paper by focusing on methods, findings, and conclusions.

Verma et al. present a cross-cultural study on pathways of risk and protection among street children in four developing countries: India, the Philippines, South Africa, and Indonesia. Through the framework of children's rights they examined the socio-cultural contexts of street children's development. They gathered data through interviews, observations, case studies, and focus group discussions. The triangulated information from parents, key informants (government officials, NGO representatives, and shelter officials), and significant others (street/peer educators, community leaders, and social workers) revealed the studied system's quantitative and qualitative properties. Verma and colleagues employed the *Resilience Scale* (Wagnild & Young, 1993) and concluded that the participants in all four countries displayed high resiliency. The qualitative data analyses showed four *resilience-enhancing factor* types: personal attributes; productive work engagement; hope for a better life and education; and support system. Their findings agreed with other studies on children's rights (Libório & Koller, 2010) in that "the streets would definitely not be the ideal place to live one's life." However, children do live on the streets, which is a social problem in many countries. This problem must be fought by all means available. Individuals and groups must take social and political responsibility to develop effective prevention and intervention projects to fight this social ill. Children on the streets are vulnerable to risk but they develop coping strategies that make them resilient. Though they behave like children when playing or interacting with their peers on the streets, they must act like adults to guarantee their subsistence and safety. Even in these circumstances, children are developing persons requiring health care, education, nurturing homes, safety, and human rights to grow with dignity and become adjusted and productive citizens (Morais, Raffaelli, & Koller, 2010; Raffaelli, Koller, & Morais, 2008).

Verma et al. state that the impact of child labor is variable. For some children, work allows them to contribute to the family's survival. By working they belong to the community and earn recognition. These possibilities can give them a sense of personal worth, a positive identity, and stronger self-esteem. Despite the differences in profile of street children and adolescents from country to country, this study's findings could be extrapolated to the development of social projects in additional countries as well. Work

can be both a risk and a protective factor (Libório et al., 2010; Trzesniak at al., in press).

Schoon et al. emphasize the importance of a strong and structured functional, social, and emotional support network to lighten family hardship in children's development. They remark on the influence of such networks in shaping maternal and mental health, not to mention parenting behaviors. They do not consider resilience to be a personality trait because withstanding adversity is more than a characteristic of the child; it is also influenced by parents and the social context. Schoon and colleagues define the social and emotional support network as a set of existing and perceived systems creating significant links. The emotional element was recently added, because of its importance in constructing and maintaining support. The ability to adaptively develop and provide resources protects children from illness, psycho-pathological symptoms, and feeling helpless even in adverse situations. Social and emotional support is related to the perception of a network that will help guide, find strategies, and establish ties (Brito & Koller, 1999). It is frequently more important to have an effective and active (functional) social and emotional support network than a numerous one (structure). There is also a significant difference between one's actual network and how one perceives it (Cecconello & Koller, 2000).

Based on data collected for the UK Millennium Cohort, Schoon et al. found evidence that poverty and adverse life events can cause serious harm to physical and mental health. While their findings match Kimhi's on the vulnerability perspective, their view is based on the harm of poverty and impoverishment (Luthar, 1999). For example, economic hardship is associated with a higher risk of relationship break-ups. Many studies have explored poverty as a potential risk factor in personal development. Living in poverty is in itself a risk factor that threatens well-being and limits development opportunities. Poverty affects personal development as well as relationships. It transforms marriages, increasing conflicts between parents, and disrupting child-parent relationships (Cecconello & Koller, 2000; Zimmermam & Arunkumar, 1994). On the other hand, adversity can build additional and stronger skills (Morais et al., 2010)

Many Latin American and African researchers have focused on how poverty/impoverishment and family instability influence child development. That knowledge has supported policy-makers to design more effect interventions and social policies to improve human development and well-being. These strategies can be used in other countries and cultures. As Schoon et al. opined, their findings can help unravel the occurrence, timing, severity, intensity, and duration of risks and help determine how to prevent them. Not all people respond to adversity in the same way and some may even adjust positively.

Adaptation is an important aspect of Kimhi's work. He evaluated the sense of coherence (SOC) and coping stress levels as measures of individual adult resilience. He conducted this work a year after the end of a war. He concluded that human beings can be perceived simultaneously as resilient and vulnerable; it just depends on our angle of view. Kimhi discusses three factors: gender, exposure to stress, and economic conditions. He employed an interesting approach for his data through the half full/half empty cup analogy. The vulnerability perspective showed that females are more vulnerable in the long term to potential traumatic events and that economic conditions are a significant factor in determining one's capacity to cope with stressful circumstances. His study further demonstrated an age effect on the results. One year after the war, most teenagers reported returning to the same level of functioning as before the war. They coped well and continued their normal lives without many stress symptoms.

With the view that large-scale challenges are a problem for every society, Masten focused on the resilience of children, youth, and families who experienced a natural or human-made disaster. Masten discussed dose effects as different gradient level threats that may produce physical and psychological outcomes. They are often measured through exposure, timing, epicenter proximity, frequency, and duration of traumatic experiences, as well as the onset and persistence of events. However, the resilience perspective presents the point of view that post-traumatic growth may mobilize or alter adaptive capacity. Masten wrote that post-disaster functioning may be better than before the traumatic experience, given that living through unbalanced systems and turbulence can generate positive outcomes. Masten formulated a set of disaster guidelines for promoting resilience in children and youth. It starts with a recommendation for planning before the event. Early evaluation and training of professionals, responders, and experts must be prioritized to prevent and treat stress symptoms. Most researchers assert that disasters do not begin with the event itself: precipitating factors (such as weak construction in an earthquake zone) were present long before (Coêlho, Adair, & Mocellin, 2004). Masten also underscored the idea that to return to normality and recover, it is important to focus on positive processes, strengths, recovery, resilience, and going back to routines.

Masten highlights the translational research agenda in disaster response. She mentions actions that could put into practice established scientific measures and methods. Applying these strategies would increase capacity and strengthen the interactions between scientists and humanitarian communities, as well as encourage international cooperation. We could then have better policies, and applied science for disaster response (Masten).

Large-scale human-made catastrophes, natural disasters, wars, and poverty pose a great challenge to all societies. All the papers call for intervention and assistance to those who are in need, with the goal of strengthening community and social resilience. Yet the four papers indicate that even intolerable living conditions can bring positive experiences. It seems that humans can endure extremely adverse situations (Verma et al.), war (Kimhi & Masten) or impoverishment (Schoon et al.) and later return successfully to more typical circumstances. This does not, of course, endorse such stressful conditions, but it does suggest that there is hope for people experiencing them. In addition to previous living conditions, resources, or cultural traditions and beliefs, resilience depends on what value the family and community ascribe to the stressful events. Community values influence personal characteristics and the perceived social-ecological cohesion (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and the network established before, during, and after the stressful events. For example, when work is respected and valued rather than stigmatized (Verma et al.) and when forgiveness occurs, coming back to the community is easier for soldiers (Masten).

Strictly speaking, we cannot conclude much about resilience because it seems to depend on the circumstances, the local culture, and the individual's subjective perception (Trzesniak et al., in press). Perhaps it is time to abandon resilience as a variable *per se* and, instead, either qualify it through adjectives or replace the term 'resilience' with more descriptive variables, so that the circumstances, culture, perceptions, and value assessments of the benefits and harm of stressful events can be described more precisely.

Resilience researchers like Ungar (2004) point out that individuals' interpretation of what will harm their own development will vary and may differ from the researcher's assumptions. Assessing risk or protective factors as fixed rather than dynamic variables may be a mistake. Researchers may be unaware of some of the factors associated with an outcome. The contrary is also possible: a condition may be considered a risk by researchers even if it is not negative, or is even positive (Trzesniak et al., in press); positive and negative examples may include children working, being at war, or experiencing poverty or disasters.

Measuring resilience is another problem. Many researchers employ scales, interviews, and other measures in order to gather data on well-being, life satisfaction, optimism, and other variables. They sometimes return to the construct of resilience to affirm whether or not their participants were resilient. Those variables contain just partial information and describe only the cutout of a much more dynamic and general process (Trzesniak et al., in press).

Researchers and policymakers in the field of human development need to respond to people's requests when designing their research and services (Kirby & Woodhead, 2003; Leonard, 2004). They must consider cultural diversity, different understandings of gender roles, identity development, responsibility, agency, and autonomy. Moreover, they have to identify the nuances of risk factors and stressful events (Cowan, Cowan, & Schulz, 1996; De Antoni, Barone, & Koller, 2007), and consider the presence of protective factors (Masten & Wright, 2010).

From a bio-ecological point of view as described by Bronfenbrenner (1979), intervention, dissemination, and advocacy must be a core outcome of all research activities. In this view, trained psychologists who work with people at risk, minorities, and culturally diverse groups face the challenge of appropriate intercession and it is thus time to seek new training methods and teaching strategies. Careful preparations must be made before going into the field. Researchers have to be very well trained in theoretical, methodological, and ethical issues. They must have a "good theory" to back up practical applications; definitions of the variables they will use; and base their projects on reliable research findings that pave their way. Research and intervention must be thoughtfully planned to guarantee the data's ecological validity and the rights of all.

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Reports from the Lab

"A Day in the Life": A New Methodology for Investigating Early Childhood Thriving and Youth Resilience around the Globe

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An international ecological study of early childhood

During a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada-funded Research Development Initiative workshop, a group of researchers (Cameron, Gillen, Pinto, and Tapanya[1]) engaged in envisioning a different way to investigate early-years thriving in a number of communities on several continents. Inspired by the multivocal approaches of Tobin, Davidson, and Wu in their investigation of '*Preschool in three cultures*' (1989), Cameron and Gillen developed a protocol that the group might follow, based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) call for a psycho-socially sensitive international ecological investigation of young children in their homes. The methodology was ambitious. We decided to film an entire '*day in the life*' of toddlers that might capture local realities of early thriving. The goal was not to generalize cross-culturally, but rather to document the many natural ways that children and their families enact daily exchanges, in addressing their material and social circumstances (cf. Cole, 2002; Sameroff, 2009, 2010; Rogoff, 2003).

As the plan grew, and other researchers joined in the project, seven toddler girls (an understudied population) and their families were located in Thailand, Canada, Italy, the UK, Peru, the US, and Turkey, and local research teams[1] in each community adhered to a procedure: 1) to inform the families of the extended nature of potential involvement, including the rather intrusive aspects of having their families videoed from dawn to dusk during one *day* when the target child was at home. In this introduction, parents were assured that this was a study of early thriving and not parenting: the focus was on the child's daily round, and the camera could be shut down upon request, but the entire day in the child's life was of interest and would be studied, analyzed and reported

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to social scientific audiences. 2) Participating families were then interviewed as to family demographics and approaches to childrearing, and given an opportunity to acclimatize to engagement by being pilot filmed for one hour in ordinary activities around the home. 3) The next step involved setting a mutually agreeable date and time for filming the '*day in the life*' of their child. Two researchers engaged in the data collection: one to film and the other to take detailed field notes and to map the locations of the activities in order to assist distant researchers in visualizing the context (a sample of these field records is supplied in the Appendix of Gillen & Cameron, 2010 and an extract is provided in Box A below).

At 9:40am Selin, just up, 'helps' her father prepare for work, handing him his papers and briefcase. Mother invites her to brush her own hair. The television is on and parents and children (one sibling) read picture books, clap to children's music on TV, play with toys, and make a paper airplane in the lounge. Dad leaves at 10; the children wave him off from their balcony. In a playpen on the terrace the children draw with felt-nib pens on writing boards, knees, and anything else handy till their day-nanny brings breakfast porridge, served up to them in high chairs in the lounge, TV still on. The children read more books, play piano, guitar, drums, xylophone, dance, spin around to music, draw, and entreat a visiting aunty to engage with them until a lunch of soup is served in high chairs at 12:30pm. Later, grapes are shared all around, in a playful game. Naptime with bottles, soothers, at 1:15. At 4:40 the children awaken and toddle to the terrace for a snack as their nanny reads to them. K'nex, marching to toy drum, humming, playing more musical toys, until nanny leaves at 6pm and dad returns at 6:20pm. They return to the terrace to play a car-logo-guessing game on a drawing easel with dad and more book reading with mom. A very lively game of bouncing on parents' bed with dad ensues, then water play 'cooking' with plastic containers on the kitchen floor. Dinner at 9 in front of the TV, Selin is 'dancing' in her seat to its music; and retires to bed at 9:30pm.

Box A: Thirty-month-old Selin in Izmir, Turkey.
Stills extracted from video footage are provided in Figure 1 to represent the children as observed in action.

4) The researchers then shared the day's footage with at least one distant team member, and after the footage had been independently viewed and nominations made as to potentially focal events, the researchers consulted one another in real time to determine consensually which clips from the footage would be used in creating a half-hour compilation video of approximately a half-dozen passages from the *day* to be shown to the family. 5) This compilation video was then viewed by the family with the researchers to

Figure 1. Seven toddlers in action: Still grabbed clips from Day in the Life footage: arising in the morning (US), playing with tops on table (Thailand), dancing on bed with balloon (Peru), playing musical toy on couch (Turkey), helping mother plan building a birdhouse (Canada), reading with grandmother (UK), and drawing with felt pen (Italy).

obtain family perceptions with respect to the '*day*' and further reflections on the promotion of healthy early-childhood development. 6) Then the entire team, having inspected the full footage and field notes, the compilations and interview responses from the seven families, collaborated in small subgroup teams, depending on their interests and expertise, in exploring emergent themes. 7) International conference symposium presentations and working meetings at conference locations facilitated development of collaborative team initiatives and paper preparations. 8) Dissemination followed in journals, book chapters, and ultimately an edited book.

A paper was published identifying in detail the methodology briefly described above and presented in the left column of Table 1 (Gillen et al., 2006). Toddler themes include: swinging, gentle pats and secure play spaces in emotional security (see Cameron, Tapanya, & Gillen, 2006 for the ubiquity of 'swings, hammocks and rocking chairs'); eating events as analogues to literacy events (Gillen & Hancock, 2006); musicality (Young & Gillen, 2007), notational system developments (both preliteracy activities (Cameron & Pinto, 2009) and other graphic representations (Pinto, Accorti Gamannossi, & Cameron, 2009); humor in navigating home territory (E.L Cameron, Kennedy & Cameron, 2008), and domestic play (Cameron, Pinto, Accorti Gamannossi, Hancock & Tapanya, in press). Gillen and Cameron (2010) edited the team's collaborative book, *International perspectives on early childhood: A 'day in the life'* that elaborates these themes and other developmental research matters in the context of visual methodology.

An extension of the methodology for resilient adolescents

Cameron and a new team of colleagues[2] modified the methodology to accommodate the additional maturity, independence and special circumstances of resilient early adolescents, that is, teenagers who are 'doing well' under adverse circumstances (Cameron, 2009; Cameron, Ungar, & Liebenberg, 2007; Ungar, Clark, Kwong, Makhnach & Cameron, 2005) in Thailand, China, South Africa, India, and four matched communities in Canada. We added additional visual methods such as photo elicitations, and extended the participatory engagement of the teenagers to capitalize on their reflective perspectives on our analyses, and we engaged teams of Community Advisors (CAs) who actively advocate for youth at risk. This new initiative is currently a work in progress. Table 1, right column, highlights the modifications made to the original toddler methodology to respect the increased responsibility youth take in their daily lives. In this method, the 16 youths (8 boys; 8 girls) in eight locations were told that not only were they the 'stars' of their filmed *days* but they were also the film 'directors' in that they had responsibility not only to take us on their daily rounds (one example of the field notes drawn from the day of the Thai girl is provided in Box B) but they were also invited to show us why they thought they had been selected as 'doing well' in their circumstances.

It is 7:25am Saturday and Nu Dang has just awoken. She showers, dresses, combs her hair, fills her book bag and feeds and waters her rabbit. She turns on the TV, takes out some paper and painstakingly sketches and paints a school assignment until noon when she rides on the back of her sister's motorbike to a stand where they purchase sticky rice and grilled pork and proceed (chatting all the way) to Dang's school to get some help with homework. With no help forthcoming (there was a change of school plans) she naps at her desk for an hour and a half. Awaking, she takes pictures at the school for her photo elicitation assignment; then at about 3pm shoots basketball hoops with some male classmates with whom she often plays. She arranges with a girlfriend to go to a community radio station to interview for a position there, so takes a bus to a destination where the friend picks her up on a motorbike and thence proceeds to the radio station at 5:15pm. The radio staff decides to do the 'job interview' on air and ask her why she has shown up

Table 1. Methodologies for international investigations of toddlers and teens

Toddlers	Teenagers
1. Researchers contact **parents** to explain research, invite agreement to participate	1a. Community advisors contact **youth and family** to explain the research inviting them to contact researchers if interested
	1b. Researchers visit home of **youth and family**, explain research in detail & invite engagement
2. Conduct *interview* with **family**; practice filming to acclimatize family; arrange a day to film	2. Conduct **teen** *interview*, trial youth acclimatization filming; arrange day to film; provide camera for *photo elicitation*
3. Film a *day in the life* largely at home	3. Film a *day in the life* at home and in community; take photo elicitation films to be developed
4. Create *compilation video* – local & distal team	4. Create *compilation video* – local & distal team
5. *Iterative turn* with **family** viewing video and reflections	5a. *Iterative turn* with **teen** viewing and reflecting on video and *photo elicitation*
	5b. **Teenager** reflects on video of overseas youth
6. Data shared with team, preliminary analyses grounded in the data	6. Data shared with team, preliminary analyses grounded in the data
7. Analyses and team collaborations, conference collaborative symposium presentations and team working meetings	7. Analyses and team collaborations, conference collaborations and working team meetings. Additional meetings with some youth
8. Dissemination: journal articles, book chapters, published book monograph	8. Dissemination: journal articles, book chapters

with her own *paparazzi* (our research team). She explains in some detail (on air) that she has been selected as a youth 'doing well' to have her own *day in the life* filmed and studied. Her expressed understanding of her own 'resilience' is profound. After her successful on-air interview she and her friend motorbike on and find a bus to a night market where they stroll, buy fish soup, and idly 'window shop' till returning home on her sister's bike and bedtime at 8pm.

Box B: Fifteen-year-old Dang in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

They were seen as co-creators of their visual narratives, which included increased care about consent, photo elicitations, and their own documented reflections on their personal, social, cultural, and material experiences as well as their contemplations on their partnered teens abroad. Two teens are seen in Figures 2 and 3 in collaborative activities in their communities and homes.

Teen themes to date include: the role of nurturance as it plays out in their 'passing it on' to others within their scope (Cameron, Lau, & Tapanya, 2009); their deft use of humor to enhance their navigation of sometimes delicate psychosocial terrain (E.L. Cameron et al., 2010), their cartooning to express in words and pictures their transitional experiences (Cameron & Theron, in press), traditional culture (Theron et al., , under review), identities as protective processes (Chen, Lau, Tapanya, & Cameron (under review), and the methodological issues arising (Cameron, Theron, Ungar, & Liebenberg, under review).

Challenges and Benefits of the Methodologies for a Deeper Understanding of Thriving

There are both risks and rewards in the application of these methodologies and many lessons/challenges in the investigation:

Figure 2. On the street in a South African township community children and youth spend hours riding a bicycle, that belongs to one of them but that becomes a shared possession for the course of the late afternoon's play. They take turns in riding it, teasing one another and cheering.

Figure 3. Mexican sisters work collaboratively to create an art project for an upcoming church talent show in Canada. Our participant takes a leadership role, showing her younger sister how to roll the (crepe) paper they are using. The girls spend a full two hours cooperatively working on the project.

First, the methodology is both *costly and time-consuming*: Training for all divergent sites with diverse languages and cultures, translations and interpretations, filming and sharing footage, local documentations, data analyses and exchanges, and collaborative analyses across the globe require time, mutual reflection, and coordination. Engaging in this sort of work is neither for the faint of heart nor for untenured researchers. The rewards are afforded in the depths of cultural understanding, and the international breadth achieved in true participatory collaborations across the globe.

These interdisciplinary, international, multimodal methodologies engage scholars with both qualitative and quantitative orientations who can elucidate *epistemological differences* and find parallels between divergent approaches to the data. This can result in similarities and differences in perceptions as to approaches to "what 'counts'" as data and whether or not to count it, can promote confidence in the extent of generalizations that might be made, and clarify issues of fidelity and reliability. It is not necessarily essential to ground an observation of a toddler's language in a calculated MLU in order to determine the child's developmental linguistic level.

Data ownership issues may arise when far-flung colleagues perceive information from one site to be disparate from their own data set and wish to include analysis or discussion of either similar or contrastive cases. The teams of course welcome these inclusions: interpretations can be challenged. It is our view that local investigators always be included in the construal of their own data so that locally specific and culturally appropriate interpretations are always presented. Large team authorship can also challenge collegiality.

Boundary blurring was a particular challenge when working with at-risk teenagers. We were intimate witnesses to their frequently somewhat vulnerable situations during their *days* and although we would have been obliged to report abusive or illegal activities, their environments were often risky and intervention from a socially powerful advocate (academic researcher) might have made a difference. Knowing how much to intervene in the youths' lives sometimes created dilemmas (e.g., food might be scarce in the home) for our research teams. In contrast to the toddlers, whom we declined to study if they were in neglectful situations, the CAs found that several of the adolescents were somewhat neglected.

It was either an explicitly stated or an implicit aspiration on the part of CAs in each research location that our research results achieve some success in *giving back* to participating at-risk youth in their charge. Although we went to some lengths to clarify the limits on our capacity to intervene on those or other youths' behalf, our experiences as discussed above left us in no doubt that such youth were underserved in their communities despite the presence of some able, proactive advocates for them. At-risk, albeit resilient, teenagers, and especially migrant teens, are not a high social programming priority in many communities. Their language challenges, financial status, and family mobility all militate against ready access to necessary integrative, assimilative resources. For example, in the west coast Canadian community in which I work, the majority of new residents are Asian, but our participants were Mexican immigrant and even refugee claimants. Spanish-speaking advocates are at a minimum for this group of less than 10% of migrant youths; our Negotiating Resilience team has resolved to return to their respective communities and seek to make available findings that will not violate participant confidentiality but could be used to enhance services. We will *advocate improved resources for integrating* such youth into the larger community (Berry, 2010).

An important desideratum of this methodology is establishing the stability of our findings. This can perhaps best be done through *longitudinal follow-through* investigations, despite the challenge of securing funding for such an international collaboration. In investigating these early teens the plan was to conduct a second round of observations before the youths exited adolescence. This is possible with some of the teens but it is also a challenge to retain contact with mobile and under-resourced youth. The asylum claim of one refugee youth and his family has been denied and they have returned to their homeland. Other teens have moved with no forwarding address. Another is seriously ill with a life-threatening disease.

All these considerations underline our insistence on the importance of seeing resilience as processual, interactional and subject to the vicissitudes of the life events of vulnerable participants whose needs we must understand to collaborate effectively in their support. Filming a *day in the life* of such young children and youths provides a window into the experiences that strengthen them.

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Ethical Concerns regarding Participation of Marginalized Youth in Research

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The focus of this report is on the challenge posed by conventional approaches to research ethics when conducting research that honors the communities and populations with which we work. In our experience, conventional approaches to meeting standards for ethical research have the potential to diminish the voices of those most marginalized. This report explores three challenges we have been confronted by in our own research with marginalized youth and solutions we have managed to successfully negotiate with our institution's ethics review board (REB). Specifically, we will focus on the recruitment process, obtaining consent, and maintaining anonymity within the research process. Three international research programs based at the Resilience Research Centre (RRC; www.resilienceresearch. org) focusing on youth resilience will be used to illustrate each point. All three programs focus on marginalized youth who are considered to be at risk for poor psychosocial developmental outcomes. Ensuring inclusion of their voices in research is essential to the advancement of public policy and subsequent service provision. Ethical standards based on a biomedical model can, unfortunately, become a barrier to youth participation limiting what we can learn regarding positive development in contexts of adversity (Alderson, 1995; Grover, 2003; Newman & Kaloupek, 2004). Findings from skewed samples of youth who are mainstream enough to participate (e.g., sufficiently well-cared for and resourced to be able to participate) often fail to contribute to social justice as it relates to youth. This problem of sample bias is of particular importance in a global context where models of intervention remain informed by dominant and privileged voices (Blackstock, 2007; Gray, Coates, & Hetherington, 2008).

REBs and their role in the research process have a rather brief history. Emerging in the mid- to late-twentieth century following the Nuremberg Code (1947), these bodies are located in attempts to provide protection to the public, in particular silenced or vulnerable groups, from especially harmful and inhumane bio-medical experimentation (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2007; Medical Research Council of Canada, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research of Canada, & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1998; National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, 1979). The establishment of REBs, however, was very much a Majority World (western nations with a Eurocentric history) response to Minority World atrocities such as the Nazi experiments (Lifton, 1986) and the Tuskegee syphilis experiments which ran from 1932 to 1972 studying the natural progression of untreated syphilis in 399 impoverished African-American sharecroppers (Katz et al., 2006). Similar events involving children, such as the Willowbrook State

Hospital Study, have also led to caution on the part of REBs who seek to avoid both the potential for harm and liability (Meaux & Bell, 2001). The implicit theoretical framework of most review bodies today is therefore located in Euro-American realities. Such frameworks may, however, exclude marginalized groups through the paternalism of protection, ignore the capacities of various populations to knowingly consent to accept the risks posed by research, and stand in direct opposition to many cultural practices that can conflict with REB decisions (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Mohanty, 2001; Smith, 1999).

The Resilience Research Centre

The Resilience Research Centre (RRC) aims to better understand the processes associated with achievement of positive psychosocial outcomes for youth facing significant adversity. The Centre's international focus facilitates theoretical development that moves away from an individualized understanding of resilience and a Minority World construction on the concept. Our work is informed by a poststructuralist framework centered on first-voice accounts of experience, generating a more localized understanding of resilience processes and outcomes.

Community ownership of the research is a central tenet of the RRC. Community ownership means conducting research that is both relevant and meaningful to participating communities, reflecting an emancipatory and transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2007). Research achieves this when it is carried out in ways that are appropriate to the local culture. In order to ensure relevance and appropriateness, communities participating in RRC research initiatives establish Advisory Committees (ACs). ACs comprise approximately four to six people who have something important to contribute to our understanding of youth in that specific context. These individuals may be youth or adults, may work with youth (such as teachers, social workers, religious leaders, and so forth), or may be seen as having successfully overcome adversity themselves. The role of ACs is to oversee the research process, advising on appropriate ways in which to move the process ahead. They also fulfill an essential role in identifying youth populations. In this way, work within

The South African AC of the Pathways to Resilience Research Program

communities remains ethically appropriate to local cultural norms. It is largely through interaction with ACs that challenges to REB approved research designs have emerged.

Three of the RRC's projects have required review of conventional REB requirements. The first is the International Resilience Project (Author(s), 2005; Author(s), in press b). Initiated in 2003, the study was located in 14 sites, in 11 countries on five continents. The aim of the study was to challenge existing understandings of resilience and to develop a measure of resilience in youth that would be appropriate for use across multiple contexts and cultures. The second is the Pathways to Resilience Research Program begun in 2007. This study, located in five countries, builds on the previous one, integrating an investigation of service provision and community resources into a study of the contextual and cultural factors associated with youth resilience. The Negotiating Resilience Project (Author(s), 2010; Author(s), in press a), also initiated in 2007, explores emic processes associated with resilience among 16 youth considered to be "doing well" despite exposure to significant adversity in eight communities undergoing social and economic transitions in five countries.

Recruitment

As previously mentioned, the Pathways to Resilience Research Program attempts to understand the impact of formal and informal resources on healthy outcomes in youth living in adversity. Multiple services using youth are purposefully sampled through a formal nomination process that involves service providers. Negotiations with our institution's REB resulted in a process that they believed would ensure participating youths' confidentiality and eliminate the possibility for coercion on the part of nominating staff. In the original design, frontline staff working directly with youth would nominate youth to the study without the youth's knowledge. Nominations would be passed to a neutral third party working within the organization, most likely an administrative staff member who would be known to youth using the service but would have no authority over the youth. This individual would then contact the youth, briefly describe the study, and obtain verbal permission to pass the youth's contact details on to the research team. A researcher would then contact the youth, meet with him or her, explain the study in more detail and continue with the consent procedure with those individuals who expressed an interest in participating.

When presenting this process to the AC and participating service providers, concern was raised that this process undermined the trusting relationships frontline staff had established with youth in their care, jeopardizing frontline work itself. In those organizations that agreed to the process, this concern was affirmed by youth expressing confusion and concern regarding their referral to the study. Why had they been selected? Who had this nomination come from? Why was their youth worker, therapist or teacher not discussing the nomination with them directly? On presenting this argument to our REB, a new model for nomination was approved: frontline staff now briefly explain the study directly to youth and provide the research team with the nomination forms of those young people who may be interested in participating. A member of the research team then

contacts the youth, emphasizing the voluntary nature of the study. Youth participation is not disclosed to the service provider who made the referral. In other words, a youth may agree to be nominated to the study, but then decline participation (or later withdraw) without the service provider who made the referral being contacted.

Consent

Accepted practice in Euro-American ethics protocols requires the signed consent of a parent or legal guardian should the research participant be below the age of majority. Such an approach can, however, be a barrier to participation, especially for marginalized youth who live independently of parents or legal guardians or who experience severe conflict with their caregivers. Research aimed specifically at understanding the lives of such youth cannot move forward when operating with the requirement of consent from a guardian. This requirement superimposes a model of research ethics onto contexts and cultures very different from those for which these models were originally developed. During the International Resilience Project, for example, the AC in sites such as South Africa and Tanzania pointed to the power inequities that could be exacerbated by asking youth attending school and therefore with some level of literacy to ask their mostly illiterate parents to sign a document they could not read for themselves. Concerns were also raised about the impact such a process would have on youth themselves: for youth leading very adult lives, caring for themselves and their families, it is undermining of that ability to reduce them to "child" status and imply they are incapable of making informed decisions concerning their own best interests. Perhaps most importantly, the AC in Colombia opposed the model as it required youth to carry legal-looking documents home from school to be signed by their parents. Doing so, it was argued, could seriously endanger their lives. Youth found with these documents on them would likely be shot by paramilitary or organized crime groups as their participation in research could be misunderstood as collusion with government authorities.

As a compromise the REB of the institution at which central funding for the research was held, agreed that consent of a parent or legal guardian could be waived in instances where youth 14 years and older had a valid concern with regard to their participation. Such concerns would be noted on the consent form and the consent process would occur in the presence of a third party witness who would also be required to sign the consent document. In practice, these third party witnesses were the youth's teachers, principals, or other community-based professionals, but not usually the person who referred the youth to the study. In part, we successfully argued for this concession by citing Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as well as UNICEF's (2002) research guidelines which assert that parental consent "is not an adequate standard in light of the rights of the child" (p. 5).

Personal ownership of the data and anonymity

The issue of identity and maintenance of anonymity is our third example. Experiences with youth participating in qualitative interviews of the International Resilience Project (IRP) were later reinforced in the Negotiating Resilience project that used predominantly visual methods. Youth participating in the first study expressed their objection to not having their own name attached to their data when used in publications. As experts on their own lives, they felt a strong sense of ownership to their opinions and experiences, and wanted that acknowledged. Their concerns were echoed during the Negotiating Resilience study.

That study makes use of both video and photographic data, supplemented by narrative interviews and observational notes. A request was made to the REB that participants be presented with the option of having their faces blurred when the data was presented to academic audiences during knowledge dissemination activities. We argued that:

Because the study's methodologies are participatory and reciprocal, a wonderful opportunity is presented to engage with youth participants in a way that is empowering for both the youth and the researchers. In past qualitative studies, we have heard that youth felt empowered by giving voice to their opinions and experiences, and proud that we thought they had something important to say. We believe the videotapes produced during this research may provide an excellent model for others wishing to engage with marginalized youth in a positive and empowering way.

Of the 16 participants in the study, not one has requested their identity be concealed.

South African Research Site

Colombian Research Site

Conclusion

These three examples demonstrate that researchers can obtain REB approval for research designs with 'vulnerable groups' that fall outside of mainstream models of ethical research. Furthermore, they demonstrate the value of arguments placed before REBs based on both previous research experience and the voice of individuals participating in the research. Developments such as those mentioned in this research note have helped us gain greater access to marginalized youth in ways that have centered on their silenced voices in the discourse that defines resilience (see for example Author(s), 2008; Author(s), 2007). Participation such as this is essential to the development of programming and policy that addresses the adversity populations such as these face.

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Why Resilience Research Needs to Take Account of Political Economy and Culture

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The concept of resilience has become a keen interest of scholars, aid and social sector professionals in the last several decades. In particular, empirical research into stress, adversities and trauma in developing countries has gathered an increased focus upon resilience, risk and protection. Much of this work has been concerned with populations affected by major societal catastrophes, such as armed conflict or famine, with growing attention also to interpersonal phenomena like family separation, child abandonment and orphaning. Researchers, policy analysts, and practitioners are eager to understand why it is that some people–especially children–seem to weather very difficult circumstances in more "positive" ways than others. A great deal of research has investigated a range of factors and outcomes in search of variables that make a difference in the long-term well-being of children facing significant adversities. Although resilience can be used as a helpful metaphor for empirical observation, some challenges remain for the concept as a theoretical framework and analytical tool, particularly in research conducted outside industrialized

countries. This raises questions concerning the use of the concept for policy and practice in developing countries.

One of the primary limitations of resilience research with children across cultures lies in Western notions of universal child development (Boyden, 2003, see also James & Prout, 1990). The dominant discourse has conceived of childhood as a universal, decontextualized life phase characterized by dependence, incompetence and vulnerability. The danger of such an understanding is that by and large it ignores the role of context in children's development and the social, economic and political contributions many children make to their families and communities. In other words, Western notions of child development and well-being have been superimposed on children in other contexts where such ideas do not always apply, and where they mask the significance of sociocultural values and political economic structures, as well as the relevance of children's competence and agency (Boyden, 2003; Boyden & Mann, 2005). These notions have now gained currency in much of the theoretical and empirical work concerning resilience in children affected by adversity. They can become particularly problematic when applied to developing country contexts.

Historically, resilience entered the health sciences, described as a person's ability to "bounce back" from surgeries or psychiatric traumas, much like a rubber ball. Later, the concept was picked up in psychology (see Masten & Reed, 2002; Masten, 1999), where it was used to indicate instances of (a) good outcomes despite high-risk status, (b) sustained competence under threat, and (c) recovery from trauma (Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990). Despite the years of testing and evaluating indicators of resilience in human beings, no full-fledged theory of resilience has been achieved (Boyden & Mann, 2005), though there have been some noteworthy developments (see Walsh, 1996, 2002; Patterson, 2002). What has emerged instead is a positivist and mechanistic emphasis on cause and effect, which has encouraged an enormous range of studies developed around a wide variety of potential risk and protective factors in various contexts. However, despite the proliferation of resilience research, academic debates have yet to produce clarity of definition, locus or determinants (Boyden & Cooper, 2007). In reality, resilience is more often only inferred from observations than actually tested or measured.

Specific disciplines in which the majority of resilience research has been based and developed also pose limitations on the concept and empirical research. Much of the literature has come from psychology, family studies and social work, which means that ideas about universal child development often ground observations of child resilience at the level of the individual child. While individual-level factors and experience are undoubtedly significant for children's positive adaptation and adjustment to adversity, limiting the unit of analysis to the individual child overlooks the enormous influence of collectives and structures that shape many of the adversities children experience (Boyden & Cooper, 2007). In so doing, such research depoliticizes and de-contextualizes the economic, social and political processes that shape adversity as well as contribute to potential expressions of "resilience".

Ecological models of resilience that draw on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) work attempt to overcome this limitation by conceptualizing the individual as 'nested

Ethiopia © Young Lives/Aida Ashenafi

in' and interacting with the environment, perceived as crucial to individual functioning and adaptation[1]. Yet research in this tradition remains very focused on the individual. Further, Ecological Systems Theory is most appropriately used as a framework that establishes contexts within which children develop, as the theory itself is not intended to explain social process. Hence processes that lead to significant group distinctions in risk and resilience cannot be accounted for through such a theoretical perspective.

In fact there are very pervasive structural causes of adversity that have extensive, often lifelong and intergenerational, consequences for certain socioeconomic groups. This is apparent from evidence collected by Young Lives[2], a study which is exploring causal processes in household poverty and hardship in Ethiopia, India (Andhra Pradesh), Peru and Vietnam with a view to understanding the outcomes for children. The project is tracking a total of approximately 12,000 children, roughly a third of whom were born in 1994/5 and the rest in 2001/2, over 15 years. It employs multiple research methods and a holistic conceptualization of children's development and well-being, incorporating the physical, cognitive and psychosocial domains, and pays close attention to children's perspectives. What the Young Lives data are beginning to show is that household vulnerability to poverty is greatly exacerbated by long and frequent bouts of serious illness (and, in Ethiopia, death); environmental hazards such as drought and flooding (especially in rural areas); and economic shocks, for example, job loss or dramatic price fluctuations. But most important of all, household poverty is closely linked to rural location and to social structural factors like minority ethnic and/or religious status.

Caste is an example of a structural configuration in India that permanently disadvantages more than 100 million people in the Scheduled Caste category. The lowly position of Scheduled Castes has been underpinned by a religiously sanctioned notion of pollution in which members have traditionally been confined to the most defiling occupations, such as those involving blood, the dead or human waste. The original inhabitants of India, Scheduled Tribes comprise another highly disadvantaged minority. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe status is determined

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[1] Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker (2000) summarize empirical works crafted around Ecological Systems Theory.

[2] See www.younglives.org.uk.

India. © *Young Lives/Farhatullah Beig*

at birth and cannot generally be changed even after death. Boys and girls from Scheduled Castes and especially Scheduled Tribes are heavily concentrated in the poorest households in the Young Lives sample in Andhra Pradesh. These households carry the heaviest burden of risk by far, in terms of both number and type of adversity, with environmental hazards, economic shocks, and family illness or death the most prevalent (Boyden & Crivello, 2011).

Younger children in these groups experience higher levels of stunting (indicating long-term malnutrition) than others (Galab, Reddy, &Himaz, 2008), while older children are more likely to drop out of school, be working long hours, have missed classes due to work, or have migrated for work during crises (Crivello, Vennam, & Komanduri, 2011). In other studies it has been established that structural inequalities of this nature are often further compounded if a child happens to be a girl (and thus suffers intra-household

Vietnam. © *Young Lives/Pham Viet Anh*

inequities) or has a disability (and therefore endures social stigma) (Boyden & Mann, 2005).

In many cultures, the group–whether the family, clan or another body–is of far greater consequence for human strength in adversity than the individual. In these contexts, individual functioning and adaptation tends to be geared more towards integration with and contribution to the group than self-sufficiency. Thus, for example, many Young Lives children in Ethiopia, Andhra Pradesh and rural Peru undertake productive and reproductive labor that is essential to both the domestic economy and their social integration (Boyden & Crivello, 2011; Crivello & Boyden, 2011). The moral and social learning of the young is predicated on interrelated ideas about the importance of their work contributions and the interdependence of generations. Accordingly, high moral value is attached to boys and girls learning life skills and pro-social values such as obedience, responsibility and empathy, while idleness in the young is disparaged.

Another feature of much resilience research is the tendency to require *a priori* definitions of risk in order to hypothesize a negative trajectory against which resilience can be contrasted as a counterfactual outcome. However, one of Brofenbrenner's most important–and often overlooked–assertions is that "what matters for behavior and development is the environment as it is *perceived* rather than as it may exist in 'objective' reality". (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 4, italics in original). This phenomenological viewpoint suggests the need for close attention to the social and cultural meanings that imbue risk, for these inform and motivate human engagement with adversity.

So, for example, children's work is very often condemned by international organizations as profoundly harmful to their development and well-being. This is because globalized policies on child labor are generally framed according to Western notions which envision the young as dependent on their families and households. However, Young Lives has found that children and adults are very often interdependent and that the work undertaken by boys and girls is thought to bring important advantages to both households and children. These include preventing and ameliorating household vulnerability to risk and facilitating a sense of pride and self-efficacy in the young so long as work does not undermine schooling or conflict with gendered roles and expectations (Boyden, 2009; Boyden & Crivello, 2011; Crivello & Boyden, 2011; Morrow & Vennam, 2009). Hence, children's work can assist adaptation and

A school in a rural site in Ethiopia. © *Alula Pankhurst*

Urban slum in Addis Ababa. © *Alula Pankhurst*

adjustment in the midst of difficulty, thus engendering resilience. By the same token, adults often express the view that boys and girls grow morally and socially and acquire crucial life skills by helping alleviate household hardship (Crivello & Boyden, 2011). In other words, moderate risk exposure is thought to have certain developmental benefits.

At present, such multifaceted and interdependent forces around risk, vulnerability and resilience in children have not been addressed, theoretically, or empirically. Consequently, the political-economic and/or social structural dynamics that cause inequalities, and therefore predispose the disadvantaged to significant adversities, remain neglected by both scholars of resilience and policy analysts and practitioners. Instead, the symptoms or effects of these wider processes, such as poor maternal education, or depression, are often picked up and treated in isolation. In this way, factors that either mediate or moderate children's resilience are often misappropriated as having a prime causal role when in reality they are secondary to more fundamental societal processes. Conclusions about resilience are thus constrained to a subset of constructions or phenomena. "Resilient" outcomes are restricted as a result of constrained analysis of risk or vulnerability. At the same time, a preference for universal, seemingly objective, measurable outcomes of risk denies the wide variation in patterns of resilience or coping that are associated with cultural beliefs, values and practices in given contexts. If we want to know how resilience is experienced or exhibited by people dealing with stress or adversity, these beliefs, values and practices must be a part of our analysis.

The limitations to the study of childhood resilience across cultures point to several areas where the field requires greater precision, conceptualization and theorization. A theoretical and empirical focus on the political economy in situations of adversity would provide more rigorous evidence of causal pathways, the materiality of risk and its locus in relation to specific social groups. Further theorization is also needed to explain how resilience is manifested, including through group functioning and the broader influence of culture, society and social process. Additionally, if more precise and sensitive methods and measures, including ethnographic and related qualitative methods, could be applied in various developing country contexts, we might get a more thorough idea of how robust the concept of resilience is across cultures. Despite the limitations, resilience remains an attractive notion as well as a potentially helpful construct for the study of people, and children in particular, who experience stress and adversity.

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Country Focus

Human Development and Psychology in Kenya

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Since independence in 1963, Kenya's education system has gone through restructuring, making it more accessible to a larger population. However, not enough research on human development has been done to enhance the positive outcomes that come with human wellbeing. Presently, Kenya aims at being "a middle-income country providing a high quality of life for its citizen by the year 2030." This strategy is being guided by a blueprint, namely the "Kenya Vision 2030" which places a lot of emphasis on science, technology and innovativeness. Though education is one of the components of this vision, research emphasis is also placed on improving food security, developing innovative ways of spurring the economy, enhancing the use of ICT, and interventions that would make Kenya a favorable business and tourism hub. On education, the vision addresses the integration of early childhood education into mainstream basic education, with the aim of enhancing special needs education and improving infrastructure in institutions of learning (NCST, 2009; GOK, 2008).

There is a fairly vast body of knowledge regarding human development and psychology in Kenya, although it is mainly in the form of projects carried out by postgraduate students as partial fulfillment of their educational courses. In Kenyan universities, two areas of specialization feature prominently in the area of behavioral development: educational psychology and counseling. Most such research is geared towards improving educational outcomes and enhancing or modifying positive behavior development, especially among the school-going population. The area of Early Childhood Education and Development research at the university level is scarcely a decade old. The majority of universities that offer this course of study have yet to introduce it at the postgraduate level. The same scenario is true for special needs education–another area that is of relevance to psychology. There is a limited range in the information base at our universities because many areas of human development–among them developmental psychology, experimental psychology, clinical psychology and health psychology–are not areas of focus and specialization in most Kenyan universities. Additionally, most of the research done is cross-sectional in nature due to the time frame that is placed on a program of study and also due to financial constraints. Therefore, the insight and trends that could be gained from longitudinal studies is lacking. In relation to the human lifespan, little attention has been given to studies on adulthood and old age. Research on youth is most popular while childhood studies are also featured though with less prominence compared to the youth stage.

Studies have also been done in the area of drug and substance abuse, primarily to establish their extent and impact, especially on youth behavior (Winga, 2005; Changwony, 2005; Obulutsa, 2007; Erambo, 2010).

The traditional Kenyan notion that psychology is most germane to classroom management and the improvement of learning outcomes has inspired a considerable body of research in such areas of interest as modes of discipline and their effect on learners' behavior, specifically with regard to guidance and counseling as an alternative to corporal punishment (Affulo, 2005; Oruko, 2009). The topic of school dropout behavior has also been addressed (Omolo, 1999; Mensch et al., 2005). Another challenge is student restlessness in learning institutions including universities which has evoked the need to establish the reasons behind such behavior and establish measures that can be used in conflict resolution (Matemba, 2009). The increase in career choices and the gradual change in the notion that some careers are best suited for a specific gender have also elicited the need for studies in this area (Mukonyi, 1987; Odiwuor, 1998). The effect of stress on attitude, behavior and performance has also been explored (Gatheru, 1987; Mutie, 1993; Chivile, 2010). Most studies in education focus on formal education at the primary and secondary level and to a lesser extent at the tertiary level. The areas of early childhood development and education and special needs education, though opening up, need more exploration (Ngaske, 2004; Maloti, 2005, Khalayi, 2006; Mumah, 2003).

Collaborative research at the interdisciplinary, national, regional and international levels, though evident (Tudge, Odero, Piccinini, Doucet, Sperb, & Lopes 2006; Lansford, Chang, Dodge, Malone, Oburu, Palmerus et al., 2005; Tudge & Odero, 2009), is underutilized, yet this is one way of gaining insight and enhancing synergy on issues of concern from varied researchers, cultures and regions within and outside the country's borders.

Though strides have been made in research in Kenya, there is still much to be desired in the area of systematizing the research, creating a central database and disseminating research findings to the end user. Encouraging the publication of findings is necessary because a wealth of knowledge that could be beneficial to improving various facets of human and national development is "gathering dust" on university shelves. Unfortunately, even at the postgraduate level, research is considered as a requirement to attaining certificates and not as a way of promoting an improved quality of life.

The National Council of Science and Technology (NCST) is the institution charged with the mandate to advise the Government on policies and matters relating to

the scientific and technological activities and research required for the proper development of the country. Additionally the NCST is required to authorize any research carried out, keep a research inventory and ensure that research gets to its end user. However, a considerable number of research projects completed, especially in universities, are not centrally documented and do not reach the end user.

In summary, there is a vast body of knowledge in Kenya in the area of human development which if put into practice can improve the quality of life in the country and can be emulated by other countries. The human resources in the area of human development and psychology are also growing steadily; however, there is a need to diversify the areas that are studied. There is a need to encourage collaboration among researchers and ensure that the information obtained is disseminated to contribute to the body of knowledge and practice and to benefit the end user.

Staff at Masinde Muliro University in a workshop to enhance learning outcomes.

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Notes from The President

As I write this, Past President Anne Petersen and I are working on a proposal for a new "Jacobs-ISSBD Mentored Fellowship Program for Early Career Scholars". As I already noted in my last report, Simon Sommer from Jacobs Foundation suggested that we arrange for a long-term support contract with the Foundation which secures funding for several of ISSBD's young scientist activities, including travel grants for ISSBD pre-conference workshops and their attendance at International Regional Workshops. One special element of the new Jacobs-ISSBD proposal is that we want to come up with two different Early Career Scholarship Programs, one open to applicants from all countries in the world, the second focusing on early career scholars from "currency restricted" countries. The aim is to recruit doctoral students in two "waves" or cohorts, the first probably starting in September 2011. If our proposal is successful, a total of 20 young scientists will be supported by the Jacobs-ISSBD program over a 6-year period. When working on the proposal, Anne and I were supported by several members of the EC and the new Committee on Research and Training of Young Scientists chaired by Ulman Lindenberger. We are very grateful for their valuable suggestions and ideas. Simon Sommer informed us that the Scientific Board of Jacobs Foundation will decide about our proposal by mid-April. So we will already know about the outcome of our efforts when this issue of the ISSBD Bulletin is published.

While we are still raving about fascinating impressions and insights from our biennial meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, last summer, we are already getting ready for the next ISSBD meeting. Nancy Galambos, Jeff Bisanz, and their team are working hard to prepare an excellent scientific program for the upcoming meeting in Edmonton, Canada, in the summer of 2012. Several organizing committees have been established, and potential keynote/invited speakers are being contacted at this moment. I am confident that we can look forward to an exciting and truly rewarding scientific meeting in Canada next year.

There is also good news from Suman Verma and Deepali Sharma who are in the process of organizing an ISSBD regional workshop on "Risk, Protection, and Resiliency among Children-at-risk: Research and Action Plans", which will be held at the Panjab University, Chandigarh, India, later this year. Although administrative problems (immense government formalities) impelled them to change the original date of March 2011 to October 2011, Suman and Deepali are making good progress with regard to the program development. Major topics will include the assessment of contexts and environments responsible for risky outcomes, successful coping and resilience, and ways of linking research with policy and practice. There are also plans to organize a web seminar which will be piloted before the workshop and then repeated during the event, comprising both online participants and those attending. Suman and Deepali are currently finalizing the announcements and setting up a website for the workshop.

The development of international membership has been a concern of most previous presidents and EC committees, and will remain a major issue during my presidentship. When I compared the ISSBD membership development between the years 2006 (when the last hard copy of the membership directory was printed) and the end of 2010, I noticed that we lost members in several countries, particularly in China, India, and the US. For instance, numbers in China went down from 179 to 114, those in India and the US went down from 121 to 58 and from 174 to 152, respectively. It appears that we have to further increase our efforts regarding membership recruitment in those countries in order to stop this negative trend. Although we also observe slight membership losses in Asia, Australia and Western Europe, these decreases are less pronounced. Regarding Eastern Europe, the situation still looks rather good in Lithuania (29 members) and Russia (41 members), probably due to the efforts of our Regional Coordinators Rita Zukauskiene (Lithuania) and Tatiana Ryabova (Russia). However, the number of members in Belarus, for example, dropped from 10 to 1, which is also the total number of our members in Estonia and Latvia. When I appointed Elena Grigorenko (Yale University, USA) as an EC member several months ago, my hope was that she might be able to change this situation given her connections to the Russian-speaking world. Elena has already started this mission, and is planning to organize a Regional Workshop in Russia or one of its neighbors which may be effective in increasing members in this part of the world.

Membership in the French-speaking European world has been very low for many years. I thus asked Valérie Camos, who just moved from the University of Bourgogne, France, to the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, to serve as a regional coordinator for France and Switzerland. I very much hope that Valérie's efforts regarding the recruitment of new members will be successful. There are first plans to organize a regional workshop in France in 2013.

On the positive side, we clearly increased the number of members in Africa. For instance, the number of members in Kenya went up from 3 to 54, and the increase in Nigeria was also dramatic (from 3 members in 2006 to 25 members in 2010). Apparently, the fact that we are building up a network of regional coordinators in various African countries contributes to this positive development. Probably due to the impact of our last biennial meeting, we now count 37 members in Zambia where we were not represented in 2006.

State-of-the art information concerning regional coordinators, ISSBD committees, etc. can be obtained from the ISSBD website. Just click the Executive Committee button. I am particularly grateful to Kerry Barner and her team from SAGE for her support in this matter.

As I indicated at the beginning of my presidentship, one of the issues that I want to explore in the near future concerns archiving historically important developments within our Society. This is not a new issue. We have known for some time that Jan de Wit, ISSBD's second president, was instrumental in establishing the ISSBD Archives within the Netherlands Academy of Sciences in Haarlem (see Hartup, 2001). Our Dutch member and IJBD editor Marcel van Aken recently located the archives in the Noord Holland Archief, where a separate branch for scientific archives has been established. He was told by the responsible person that ISSBD materials cover about 31 meters, and that nothing is categorized but still is kept in boxes. Apparently, the ISSBD materials located in this archive cover the period between 1975 and 2001. Marcel plans to visit the site and will ask (1) whether we can add more recent material, (2) how we should proceed when trying to have the material categorized or organized, and (3) whether the Noord Holland Archief can handle electronic archives. Depending on the answers to these questions, we will come up with a proposal for electronic archiving. As I noted before, it should be worthwhile having core documents illustrating the history of ISSBD and its structural development digitalized and electronically available to ISSBD members. For the EC members, particularly, it could be helpful to know about all actions and motions described in the EC Minutes. I already contacted several Past Presidents who all agreed that we should pursue this plan.

As I write these notes, it is early January, and a new year has started with many promises regarding economic and cultural

developments. People seem to be more optimistic than around the same time last year, and I share this positive view in many respects, not the least of which is the future development of our Society. I have had many pleasant and reinforcing experiences when communicating and exchanging opinions with the members of the Steering Committees, the EC members, and all the other people who keep our organization going. I am truly impressed with the good spirit shown by all, and hope that this will continue to be so in the future.

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Reference

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Minutes of the ISSBD Executive Committee Meeting II Zambia, Lusaka, July 22, 2010, 11.30-13.45

Katariina Salmela-Aro
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Members of the EC and regional officers present:

Wolfgang Schneider (President), Anne Petersen (Past President), Katariina Salmela-Aro (Secretary), Ingrid Schoon (Treasurer), Toni Antonucci (Member), Robert Serpell (Member), Suman Verma (Member), Ann Sanson (Member), Bame Nsamenang (Appointed Member), Arnold Sameroff (Outgoing Member), Josafa Cunha (e-newsletter), Kerry Barner (SAGE), Catherine Cooper (Committee), Silvia Koller (Appointed Member, from 12.30)

Other issues:
Julie Robinson (11.30-12.30),
Simon Sommer, Jacobs Foundation (13.30-13.45)

1. Opening

The President, Wolfgang Schneider, welcomed all members present to his first EC meeting in this role.

2. President welcomes new officers and other EC members

The President greeted and congratulated all new officers and EC members. He welcomed Robert Serpell and Suman Verma to the meeting, and reported that Brett Laursen and Jaap Denissen had sent their apologies. The President announced that Silvia Koller, Bame Nsamenang and Liqi Zhu were appointed as EC members, and that he would also ask Marcel van Aken to serve in this capacity. Furthermore, he informed the attending members that he would try to persuade Arnold Sameroff to serve as consultant to the EC in the future. In addition, the President expressed his intention to involve Ulman Lindenberger more strongly in ISSBD activities. Given that Ulman has had plenty of experience with international graduate student programs, he will be asked to serve as chair of a new Young Scientist committee.

3. Guest, Julie Robinson from Australia: African Book Project, Incubator Issue

a. Africa Book Project: Julie Robinson described her African Book Project. The core idea is the re-use/first use of recently superseded textbooks. The "Books for Africa" project began as a private initiative but was stalled due to cost problems. It was restarted with support from conference profits by the Local Organizing Committee of the 2006 ISSBD Congress in Melbourne, Australia. Julie has been collecting books, re-use/first use of recently superseded textbooks in collaboration with colleagues and publishing companies. Criteria for receiving institutions included the need for such materials in a low resource setting, and the potential effectiveness of such a measure in institutions providing tertiary education. Moreover, receiving institutions should currently offer or plan to introduce courses relevant to human development. Main criteria for the selection of books were that they had to be relevant for human development across the lifespan, were less than 10 years old, and still in excellent condition.

Cautions about the project. None of the texts are designed for use in the contexts to which they are being sent. Almost all were written for an audience in the USA or the UK. It is important to note that these books are not intended to foster a kind of cultural colonization. Julie thus sent a brief warning to potential recipients about some possible unhelpful consequences of the donations.

Current status. As a result of the ISSBD Asia-Pacific Workshop in 2009, which Ann Sanson and Julie Robinson co-convened, ISSBD had a little more than $4,000 to put forward toward the continuation of the African Book Project. So far, books have been sent to universities in Cameroon, Kenya, Nigeria, Southern Sudan, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

b. Virtual research incubator: A virtual research incubator is an apparatus for maintaining optimal conditions for growth and development. A research incubator attempts to provide optimal conditions for the development of research skills and research products. Potential participants are often early career researchers who are motivated to produce a specific research product, for instance a manuscript for publication or a grant application. The incubator process develops skills and knowledge relevant to the chosen "product" with the help of peers and commentators/mentors. The help may focus on presentation skills; providing links to resources or strategic partners; providing peer review of drafts; support for the development of a network of peers, etc. The goal is for each "incubate" to produce a viable example of the chosen research product. The ideal number of "incubates" in a single group appears to be between 4 and 6. Virtual incubators (also known as "incubators without walls") attempt to deliver assistance to "incubates" who are not at the same location. Most rely on interactive computer-based contact.

The relationship between the early career researchers and members of the incubator is for a fixed term (usually 6 months). Mentors are likely to agree to help because they are making a limited commitment. Researchers ("incubates") see the "urgency" of not getting distracted, and everyone (including the sponsor) is able to see the outcome fairly quickly.

Julia's suggestion was that ISSBD might be able to use this concept to support early career scholars in low resource settings. If ISSBD would like to pursue this possibility, it will be important to see whether the idea can work in practice, and whether existing models for research incubators need to be adjusted for the contexts and purposes of ISSBD. She reported that an attempt to gauge interest among potential participants was made at the 2009 ISSBD African Workshop in Kisumu. More than 80% of the early career scholars who attended the workshop signed up to be part of any African research incubator that is established.

Julie Robinson was thanked for her great effort and for presenting her truly interesting ideas.

4. Review of the plans for the year in each area of responsibility

The EC members agreed that Julia Robinson would need a role and a title as the ISSBD Book coordinator. It was suggested that she should be a member of the new Young scholar committee.

In a next step, existing ISSBD Committees were reviewed, and an attempt was made to identify chairs and members (see below). The President mentioned that one major idea behind this review process was to ensure that all EC members were actively involved in committee work.

Publication Committee. The role of the publication committee was discussed. Current members include Andy Collins (chair), Loreto Martinez, Jonathan Santo; ex officio: Marcel van Aken (IJBD), Karina Weichold, and Deepali Sharma (Bulletin), Kerry Barner (SAGE), Nadia Sorkhabi (Web Content), and Anne Petersen. The Publications Committee will oversee all ISSBD publications including the IJBD, the Bulletin, and web content. Its major task is to create a framework for communication and development, which seems badly needed given the speed with which the media world is changing. Members of the committee will include Marcel van Aken, Karina Weichold, Deepali Sharma, Brett Laursen, Jonathan Santo, Kerry Barner, and Wolfgang Schneider (ex officio). Nadia Sorkhabi (Web Content) should be replaced. The president will contact Andy Collins to check whether he is able and willing to continue as Chair (he has since confirmed). He also contacted Nancy Eisenberg who confirmed her decision to serve as a committee member.

The relatively high rate of refusal to serve on IJBD was briefly discussed, and it was suggested to also include Associate Editors and members of the editorial board from outside Europe and the US, for example, from South America.

Financial Committee. The members of this committee include Liz Susman (chair), Jaap Denissen, Brett Laursen, Susana Mendive (now replaced by Rasa Erentaite), plus Ingrid Schoon and Wolfgang Schneider, ex officio. This committee works with the Treasurer to review investments and develop investment policy; and provide advice on D&O insurance, US non-profit filings, and financial transactions and institutions. Liz Susman will be asked to continue as a chair (she has since confirmed). One of the major future tasks of the committee is to formulate a strategic financial plan.

Awards Committee: This committee invites nomination for ISSBD awards and decides about the final award winners. It also makes suggestions for changing the awards.

Toni Antonucci promised to continue as Chair. The other members are Avi Sagi, Jeanette Lawrence, and Kumiko Mukaide (student member). The Committee should be proactive, and start the nomination process as soon as possible to ensure that sufficient nominations will be received for both a Senior Scientist Award and a Young Scientist Award. It was agreed that Senior Scientist Award candidates should be ISSBD members. Decisions about award nominations should be completed by the beginning of 2012, and awardees informed immediately thereafter. The Chair will announce the call for nominations in the ISSBD Bulletin, May 2011 issue.

Membership Committee. Ann Sanson, Australia, will continue as Chair. Other members include Anne Petersen (ex officio), Wolfgang Schneider (ex officio), Xinyin Chen (ex officio), Margarita Azmitia, Charissa Cheah, Serdar Degirmencioglu, Carolina Lisboa, Paul Oburu, Astrid Poorthuis, and Olga Solomontos-Kountouri. It was decided that Kerry Barner will also become a member of this committee.

The fact that the 2007 world Bank ratings will be used for categorization of countries was mentioned, and it was agreed that the committee will take care of this task. The possibility of relating fees to income parameters was also discussed. The Membership Secretary will take the lead on a new campaign initiated to increase the number of members. Emails will be sent from SAGE, and personal e-mail contacts will also be made. Joint membership with other international Societies was considered to be an interesting option, ideally leading to decreased membership fees in each international Society. Then the possibility to organize local events in order to attract more members was also discussed.

It was suggested that Executive Committee members explore electronically the reasons why people do not continue their memberships. Personal emails should be sent out by the Membership Secretary and the President, and a short online questionnaire should be attached. It was noted that one possible reason for membership dropout may be retirement of members, given that ISSBD is an aging Society.

Developmental Country Fellowship Committee. Peter Smith will continue to be Chair. Other members include Catherine Cooper, Serdar Degirmencioglu, Silvia Koller, Anne Petersen, Suman Verma, and Martina Zinkeng. The possibility of doubling the number of fellowships was discussed. Fellowships should be evaluated after one year. Fellows should be allowed to re-apply, but the main purpose of the increase in fellowships is to attract new applicants. In future, there will be the option of six positions rather than three.

Preconference Workshop Committee. Suman Verma will chair this committee. Additional members include Toni Antonucci, Marcel van Aken, Nancy Galambos, and Anne Petersen. This committee could probably benefit from documents produced by previous committees, if available.

Nomination Committee. Past-President Anne Petersen will serve as Chair of this Standing Committee.

Regional Workshop Committee. It was decided that this committee should continue its work: Suman Verma and Catherine Cooper will serve as Chairs, and Anne Petersen and Wolfgang Schneider will be additional members. Bin-Bin Chen is the student representative on this committee.

Duties of the various committees for the next year were briefly discussed.

5 New activities for the EC to consider

The archiving issue was discussed. It seems important for the Society to digitalize core documents illustrating the history of ISSBD and its structural development and have them electronically available. Although older ISSBD materials stemming from the last millennium are stored in the Royal Archives of the Netherlands, no systematic archiving attempt has been made by ISSBD. The President mentioned the possibility of initiating an electronic ISSBD archive in Würzburg, Germany, where one of the few archives of the psychological sciences already exists. The President will contact the previous presidents concerning the selection of documents to be included in the archiving activities.

New committee:

Committee on Research and Training for Young Scientists. It was proposed that Ulman Lindenberger should serve as Chair, and that additional committee members include Toni Antonucci, Catherine Cooper, Jaap Denissen, Silvia Koller, Julie Robinson, Ann Sanson, Ingrid Schoon, and Robert Serpell. The possibility of collaborating with the Max Planck International Graduate Program LIFE and its fellows was discussed. In the LIFE program, the Max Planck Institute collaborates with the University of Michigan, the University of Virginia, and the University of Zurich.

6. Next Meetings in 2014 and 2016

According to Xinyin Chen, a group of developmental scientist is willing to organize the 2014 ISSBD meeting in Shanghai, China. In order to obtain further information, the President will contact Xinyin Chen who was unable to attend the Lusaka meeting.

A formal proposal for the 2014 meeting needs to be received before the next EC meeting at SRCD in Montreal, end of March 2011.

As to the meeting in 2016, a group in Oslo, Norway has shown interest.

7. Other Relevant Business

The President asked everyone to join the SRCD international reception in Montreal. He would like to see many people there.

The payment of officers was discussed. The current rule is that one additional night will be paid by ISSBD. Marcel van Aken has suggested that EC members not in the World Bank top category should have additional support. Although the issue of level of support was discussed, no final decision was made.

Action: EC members not in the top category should have some additional support to join the EC meetings. The level of support was left open (flexible, depending on the costs).

The next meeting will take place one day before the next SRCD conference in Montreal, Canada, March 30th, 2010 (location to be announced).

Simon Sommer from the Jacobs Foundation joined the meeting to present the foundation's strategy. The Jacobs Foundation has collaborated with ISSBD for about 20 years, and this collaboration has produced several great accomplishments. The Jacobs Foundation would possibly be willing to have long-term (5 year) support contracts with its key partners. The impact of the LIFE and Pathways programs on young scientists' career development was discussed, and it was concluded that such programs positively affect academic careers. It was agreed that the ISSBD Steering committee will submit a proposal describing a long-term, international Jacobs-ISSBD-Young Scientist support program. The proposal needs to be sent to JF before the end of 2010.

Workshop Report

Bereavement: Theory, Application and Training as part of Conflict Prevention in the South Caucasus Region

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Researchers in the USA (Becker-Blease, Turner, & Finkelhor, 2010), who studied the effects of human-caused harm and natural disasters on the psychosocial development of children found that those exposed to such events display higher levels of anxiety, depression and aggression than children who are not. Sadly, as can be seen from any review of world events over the past few decades, the incidents of events leading to the clinical traumatisation of children, young adults and their families are many and all too frequent. Indeed, disasters have been calculated to affect nearly 70 million children worldwide each year (Penrose & Takaki, 2006) and this is predicted to rise significantly over the coming decades due to population increases and people increasingly live in hazardous regions, such as flood planes and low-lying coastal areas, as well as to the growing prevalence of extreme weather-related catastrophes (Peek & Stough, 2010).

When disasters, such as tsunamis, earthquakes, and military conflict happen, people typically turn to psychologists for help. Many disasters, however, happen in countries where local infrastructures are not able to provide the level of support required, so that help from other countries is requested. This was the case following the 2008 Russian–Georgian armed conflict and the displacement and traumatisation of countless families, many of whom lost loved-ones, as well as their homes and means of existence. Georgian psychologists, finding themselves overwhelmed and ill prepared to cope with the level of need, issued an urgent request to psychologists world-wide to provide support for their work.

While an obvious reaction is to send in psychologists from other countries, a longer term approach is to provide resources to support local psychologists and to help strengthen local capacity for coping. The response of the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS), therefore, was to organise a series of workshops jointly funded by the Union and the German Academic Exchange Service's program, "Conflict Prevention in the South Caucasus Region." Given the post-conflict situation in Georgia, and taking the stance that bereavement - defined as the reaction to the loss of someone close - can be a major factor in psychosocial development of the victims, the overall aim of the workshop series was to focus on this aspect of post traumatic stress. In particular, we wanted to bring the newest insights on bereavement from research and application to academics from regions that, due to natural and man-made disasters (earthquakes, military conflict etc), had a heightened need. The focus was to be on the theory, application, and training of bereavement and to bring internationally renowned experts working in the field of bereavement together with psychologists of all levels of seniority from three countries in the South Caucasus region – Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Three elements of bereavement were to be the focal point of each of the workshops: first a workshop exploring bereavement events and approaches, followed by a workshop focusing on the conception and training of practical means to treat bereavement, and finally, a workshop concentrating on the implementation of advanced in-field training and curriculum development in the Caucasus region.

Workshop 1

The first workshop, 'Bereavement Research and Practice' was held in Jena, Germany in 2009 and focused on the topic of bereavement from a theoretical perspective (including models and theories on bereavement after normal lifespan-related loss of family and friends, after loss due to accidents and natural catastrophes, and after loss caused by armed conflicts). Twenty-one participants came from the three target countries, and in the main comprised young investigators and PhD students interested in clinical psychology and related fields, such as developmental and social psychology. The workshop was organised around the format of starting each day with a 45-minute presentation by an expert working in the field of bereavement as an academic researcher with practical experience in bereavement work. The presentations were followed by a question and answer session, which were in turn followed by group assignments that were set and facilitated by the faculty members. Faculty members for Workshop 1 were:

Professor Martin Hautzinger, Tübingen, Germany: Theories of bereavement

Professor Claudia Dalbert, Halle, Germany: Measurement and diagnostic issues

Professor Buxin Han, Beijing, China: Bereavement in the Chinese culture –example of the Wenchuan Earthquake

Professor Frank Neuner, Bielefeld, Germany: Bereavement and trauma in the context of poverty and war

Professor Thomas Elbert, Konstanz, Germany: Prolonged Grief and Potential Interventions

Professor Hansjörg Znoj, Bern, Switzerland: Intervention and Complicated Bereavement

Participants and Faculty on day 4 of the workshop.

Professor Rainer K. Silbereisen, Jena, Germany: Issues of professionalization of psychology

Professor Wolfgang Miltner, Jena, Germany: Education and training in clinical psychology

The workshop program also included times for participants to present and discuss their own work. These poster sessions proved to be very supportive of the main aim of the workshop in that the presentation and discussion of the posters resulted in a form of advisory support not previously experienced by the participants. In general, they learned about better ways to use data for testing propositions – and they had very interesting data indeed. Most problems seemed to lie with scientific training, and the strong role of such a workshop in supporting both the younger and the older generation of scientists became very clear.

In terms of substantive achievements, the faculty learned about the situation in the three Caucasus countries involved concerning the political situation and academic training. The participants learned about the concept of bereavement as loss of significant others, resulting in grief as affective response, and mourning as culture-typical manifestation. Information was provided on the natural course of bereavement and on complicated versions including maladjustment, antecedent conditions and long-term consequences. Examples referred to life-course events but also to natural catastrophes and armed conflicts. The discussion in break-out groups was very efficient at deepening the structure and applicability of the knowledge gained.

Workshop 2

The main focus of this second workshop was to present an applied perspective on bereavement and to include training related to its treatment, especially on handling cases of complicated bereavement. However, we also wanted to continue addressing bereavement from the theoretical level, which had been the main focus of Workshop 1. This dual approach was reflected in the format of Workshop 2: The first three days were training days, where faculty presentations containing practical advice and patient case studies were followed by exercises on how to deal with particular aspects of bereavement and associated complications, such as depression or PTSD. The theoretical level was the focus of the last two workshop days and comprised plenum presentations, discussions, and poster presentations by the participants.

As for Workshop 1, we wanted to secure faculty members of the highest calibre. To this end, and for the benefit of continuity, we invited three faculty members from the first workshop, as well as other internationally renowned experts working in the field of bereavement who would become part of the faculty supporting the non-training days of the workshop. For Workshop 2, the faculty comprised:

- Professor Frank Neuner, University of Bielefeld, Germany: Presenter and trainer on "Narrative exposure therapy in the treatment of victims of war, torture, and natural disasters"

Prof. Znoj and Prof. Silbereisen working with a group during an assignment.

- Professor Martin Hautzinger, University of Tübingen, Germany: Presenter and trainer on "Depressive disorders and their treatment"
- Professor Hansjörg Znoj, University of Bern, Switzerland: Presenter and trainer on "Psychotherapeutic methods in the case of complicated bereavement"
- Professor Marinus van IJzendoorn, University of Leiden, Netherlands: Presenter on "Attachment, loss, and trauma"
- Professor Gabriele Wilz, University of Jena, Germany: Presenter on "Bereavement and grief while a person is alive?"
- Professor Gerard Jacobs, University of South Dakota, USA: Presenter on "Grief and bereavement in the aftermath of disasters"
- Professor Pierre Ritchie, University of Ottawa, Canada: Presenter on "International networks of psychological science"

Each training day started with a 60-minute introduction to the topic of the day by the presenter and trainer. After a short break, participants were placed into groups of approximately 5 members based on a grouping exercise to ensure random membership. In these smaller working groups, participants worked on specific tasks, such as to evaluate a given clinical case or to practice specific therapy methods. All such sessions were followed by a plenary session for groups to report back, present their experiences and ask questions. The afternoon sessions on the training days mostly mirrored the course of the morning sessions with a short theoretical presentation, one to two smaller working group assignments, and a reporting back to the plenum with a discussion on the given tasks. During these training days, the participants learned about different models and concepts of complicated bereavement and disorders following traumatic events. They became acquainted with and experienced several methods and techniques of how to work with a client or patient in various stages of

bereavement. The small-group assignments were closely supervised by the faculty and were very effective at enabling participants to understand how the knowledge they had gained could be applied to different situations, as well as enabling them to practice the techniques discussed in the lectures.

For the two "non-training" workshop days, the format was for morning and afternoon sessions to begin with a presentation by a faculty member followed by questions and answers, and concluding with a general discussion. This was followed by a poster presentation session with each presenter being able to present their work and to discuss it with faculty members and fellow participants. All poster presentation sessions concluded with an open discussion plenary session. The presentation of the participants' posters and the in-depth discussion of their work was very well received by all involved and there was clear evidence of progress in all aspects of their work and presentation from the first workshop in 2009. Through these poster discussions, participants learned about better ways to use data for testing their propositions and hypotheses. Indeed, their interest in discussing such issues, especially how they could improve the quality and presentation of their work and thereby their chances of publication, was so lively that the ensuing discussions continued throughout the various comfort breaks and even on into dinner.

The workshop also addressed dealing with bereavement at the organizational level. This approach was mostly evident on the last workshop day when Professor Gerard Jacobs dealt with the broader perspective and logistics of support endeavours following natural disasters and catastrophes. Professor Pierre Ritchie discussed the topic of how to build and maintain an academic-professional organization of psychology. In the long term, this is aimed at increasing the impact of psychological research and subsequent new insights and approaches on the well-being of individuals and countries.

Workshop 3

The aim of this future workshop is to concentrate on the implementation of training, to develop curricular elements in the training of psychologists in the South Caucasus region, and to establish measures for institutionalizing such developments. At this stage in the planning process, it is expected the venue will be in Tbilisi, Georgia, where there has been a partnership since 1966 between the Tbilisi State University and the University of Jena, the initial approach for such an intervention having come from the Dimitri Uznadze Institute of Psychology in Georgia. Meanwhile, planning continues, even with ideas of expanding the series to cover a fourth workshop, probably somewhere else in the region in 2012.

Workshop Evaluation

Finally, it is important to note that all workshops have been subject to an evaluation process, both as a requirement of IUPsyS sponsored events, but primarily as a means to ascertain whether the workshops are delivering what is required by participants and to ensure the workshop aims are being met. To this end, before and after each workshop, a specially designed evaluation questionnaire that examined various aspects of the workshop experience was given to the participants.

With regard to the evaluation of the second workshop, pre-conference responses indicated the greatest expectations of the participants were, first, for a high level of quality regarding the presentations (e.g., "Instructors should display a thorough knowledge of the subject matter") and second, to be able to link the workshop topics to actual demands of professional work as psychologists (e.g., "Instructors should relate course materials to practical situations"). Taken together, all items were answered well above their scale mean and revealed high expectations.

Looking at the ratings of post-workshop evaluations, the workshop was very well received and in part even exceeded expectations. This applies especially to the quality of the presentations and presenters (e.g., "Instructor communicated his/her subject matter well" or "Instructors displayed a thorough knowledge of the subject matter"). Equally highly rated were the atmosphere of the workshop ("Instructors maintained an atmosphere that actively encouraged thinking and learning") and the accordance between their own expectations and the actual workshop ("My personal goals for attending the workshop have been fulfilled"). Taken together, the workshop was very well rated, which was also manifested in the high level of satisfaction concerning the workshop, its organization and the training days.

In an additional open-ended format, both the practical training in small groups and the poster presentation sessions were frequently named as highlights of the workshop. We will look to see how some further suggestions by the participants may be incorporated into the planning of the third workshop.

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News

Special Issues in the International Journal of Behavioral Development

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The International Journal of Behavioral Development often publishes special sections of related papers, edited by a guest editor. A year ago, for example (volume 34(2)), we had a special section on adolescent romantic relationships, edited by Inge Seiffge-Krenke and Jennifer Connolly. I am happy to inform you that we again have several special sections published or planned. In the May 2011 issue of IJBD (that you receive in combination with this bulletin), Alexandra Freund edited a special section on the role of gender in school-related transitions and beyond: four empirical papers, using longitudinal data-sets, offering an international perspective on various aspects of gender-related differences in educational and professional development. These four papers are accompanied by a fifth paper by Jacqueline Eccles on her model of achievement-related choices.

Later this year or in the beginning of next year, we will have special issues edited by Christiane Spiel, Christina Salmivalli, and Peter K. Smith on translational research, bringing together papers on the development and implementation of national strategies against aggression and victimization among children and youth in various countries, and an issue edited by Nathan Fox, Charles Nelson, and Charles Zeanah on the effects of early experience and stress.

Introducing the New Early Career Scholar Representative of ISSBD

Jaap Denissen
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My name is Jaap Denissen, I'm 32 years old and originally from Holland but now working in the domain of personality development at the Humboldt-University in Berlin, Germany. As you may know, I have been elected early career scholar representative for the coming two years. First of all, I want to thank the previous representative, Zena Mello, for her great work and dedication during her past term! She has been great in creating a vibrant infrastructure for early career scholars in ISSBD and is still providing me with useful advice and help on many issues. Second, I want to thank all members who have voted for me - I promise I will work hard to fulfill your expectations!

You may wonder why I have avoided the term "young scholar" so far. This is not because I consider myself old (just yet)! However, some members of ISSBD have raised concerns that referring to age to describe our group is not always accurate. After all, some "young" people may already have risen to full professorships, whereas others may not complete their PhD until they are 30 or 40 years old, due to various reasons (e.g., doing field work after graduation, family considerations, a later "calling" to science). Because of this, I am using the more accurate term "early career scholar" to refer to our group.

As an early career scholar representative, my task is to represent you in the executive committee of ISSBD. Regarding each issue, I am supposed to voice your concerns and take the special circumstances of early career scholars into account. Of course, I will try to exercise good judgment in doing so. But I also rely on direct input from early career scholars themselves. So if you have any ideas or suggestions that I should take into account, please let me know! My email address is jjadenissen@gmail.com

I must also note that I am not alone in representing early career scholars. In fact, ISSBD takes our concerns so seriously that it requires all committees to have at least one early career scholar as a member. Currently, the following wonderful individuals have volunteered to represent early career scholars. Thanks very much!

Last name	First name	Country	Committee
Bowker	Julie	USA	Facebook
Chen	Bin-Bin	China	Regional Workshop
Cunha	Josafá	Brazil	E-Newsletter
Gayles	Joche	USA	Young Scholars' Corner
Hoglund	Wendy	Canada	2012 Meeting
Chow	Angela	Canada	2012 Meeting
Rasa	Erentaite	Lithuania	Finance
Mukaida	Kumiko	Japan	Awards
Zinkeng	Martina	Cameroon	International Fellowship
Poorthuis	Astrid	Netherlands	Membership
Santo	Jonathan	Canada	Publications
Sharma	Deepali	India	Email Listserve
Solomontos-Kountouri	Olga	Cyprus	Membership
Ozdemir	Metin	Turkey	Web/Publications

During the coming year, I would like to reach the following goals:

1. Keep up the good work! ISSBD is already doing a lot for its early career scholars. This includes the organization of workshops, helping early career scholars to get travel funding, and giving early career scholars a say in important decisions.

2. Recruit new early career scholars as ISSBD members. This is very important: When we increase our numbers, our voice will be heard more. If you have any ideas on how to make our organization more attractive for new people, please let me know!

3. Start registration of members as "early career scholars". We are thinking about automatically including all members who have obtained their PhD less than 7 years ago (or who are still in the process of obtaining their PhD) as early career scholars in a mailing list. This way, ISSBD can communicate more directly with its early career members.

4. Create a special section on the ISSBD website that is devoted to early career scholars' needs. This section will include a list of resources regarding statistical analysis and tips for career development. Such a section could also include an interactive forum (social network community) to facilitate communication of early career scholars.

Please let me know if you think there are other goals that are very important!

MAJOR CONFERENCES OF INTEREST

2011 March 31–April 2
Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD)
Location: Montreal, Quebec, Canada
Website: www.srcd.org

2011 August 23–27
15th European Conference on Developmental Psychology (ECDP)
Location: Bergen, Norway
Website: www.ecdp2011.com

2011 July 4–8
12th European Congress of Psychology
Location: Istanbul, Turkey
Website: www.ecp2011.org