

OSLOMET

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Varieties of resilience in behavioral psychology

**Comparing different interpretations of resilience in child wellbeing
among Latin American youth**

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The purpose of this thesis is to explore the relationship between resilience and child wellbeing within a hyper-focused study of 6 research articles that studied multiple-generation Latino immigrant children within the United States. By comparing the various interpretations that researchers can make on what resilience is and how it can be applied within a study, this thesis argues that the manner which researchers define child wellbeing is altered. This thesis argues that the various interpretations of child wellbeing include and exclude a variety of factors that are vital to the overall positive development of the Latino youths within their respective studies. This thesis highlights the complicated nature of the use of resilience in research and urges for a broad and multi-faceted use of this complex concept.

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SYNOPSIS

I have set out to try and understand the vast phenomenon of the term resilience. Within the world of research, resilience functions as a very broad and over-encompassing term which can be applied and interpreted very differently depending on the context of the study that it is being used in. There turns out to be a gap in resilience literature in connection with child wellbeing as researchers have various interpretations for resilience which then alters how they define and assess child wellbeing. Both terms are very wide and open-ended, leading to a multitude of interpretations and connections. I will show how resilience is a proxy (or not) for child wellbeing within this thesis.

I have attempted to map out this terrain of research and set out with nearly 10,000 articles and ended with 6. Initially, the focus of this thesis was all second-generation immigrant, regardless of ethnic identity. However, because of how the screening process was performed, all of the 6 articles are studies from the United States that measure resilience amongst Latino American children and youths. Because of these very similar foci, the focus of my thesis changed, but I kept the initial keywords and central concepts that I had which were “resilience,” “child wellbeing,” and “immigrant.” It is important to note that although several articles discussed minorities and immigrants, these articles did not fit the type of immigrant that is included in this thesis; specifically, this thesis looks into second-generation immigrants which is defined as the children of immigrants (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.).

This thesis ultimately turned into an investigation into the use of resilience as a literature review. My intent is to understand how within the world of research, researchers’ different applications of the term resilience alter how child wellbeing is understood within my specific world of focus of Latino children and youth in the United States. Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to shine some light in understanding some of the uses for resilience and how these interpretations can affect how child wellbeing is considered in a study, both directly and indirectly.

The field of resilience is tremendously large and includes a vast array of interpretations and applications within studies. As an example, Werner’s (1995) definition, in the field of behavioral psychology, resilience encompasses the three following interpretations: “good developmental outcomes despite high-risk status; sustained competence under stress; and recovery from trauma” (as cited in Fleming and Ledogar, 2008, p. 2); all three of these interpretations represent different aspects of a study and therefore affect what the study

analyzes when being performed. As a result, resilience can differ extensively depending on the study it is being applied to.

Within any society, children form the basis for the next generation; the preservation of their health, both mentally and physically, is vital so that they “can fully assume its responsibilities within the community” (United Nations, 1989, p. 1). Within the United Nations (UN) *Convention on the Rights of the Child* in 1989, participant countries agreed to begin implementing safeguards within their societies to better the living conditions of their children. Although this treaty does not directly use the term “child wellbeing,” it began the wave of focus on the wellbeing of children and led to further research. Child wellbeing, put simply, can be understood as the positive development and growth of children.

With an understanding of the definitions of resilience, and resilience specifically in children, and child wellbeing, I compare how each study defines and applies resilience within their own terms. In doing so, I draw connections between the articles, indicating both similarities and differences in addition to the potential pros and cons.

The results illustrate how resilience and child wellbeing are often used interchangeably. Resilience is such a wide term that it ultimately cannot be compared to anything unless it is used in proxy. The word resilience says so little that it needs to be put in some sort of proxy so that you can start discussing it. As a proxy, you can have these kinds of categories that the researchers use. With this thesis, I have produced 1 type of result which reflects the data that is present within my unique pool of studies; this result reflects that within the world of resilience, differences and similarities among interpretations can exist even within very similar studies.

The hypothesis for this thesis is that the interpretations that researchers make regarding the definition of resilience can and often will affect their understandings of child wellbeing and what it, as an overall term, can mean. The results of this thesis prove the hypothesis to be true, as each study’s interpretation of resilience affected what they deemed as important factors in being able to measure resilience within these children and youths. The data that is represented within this thesis represents an extremely hyper-focused and minute percentage of what resilience encompasses; as a result, further research is required in the future in order to better understand how resilience can be connected to child wellbeing, both on a very focused scale such as that of this thesis and also on a wider scale.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The presence and development of mental health disorders has become an increasingly critical field of research as it has been deemed a public health challenge for many countries.

Specifically, the development of mental health disorders and the connection to immigrants and their offspring has become a crucial field of study. Interestingly, various immigrant populations develop better overall levels of wellbeing than others and many researchers are uncertain as to why; resilience is a field of research that can assist with understanding this.

Resilience serves as an important indicator to researchers of the mental health of immigrant youths. More specifically, it helps researchers follow the development overall wellbeing as they age and are integrated into society as adults. Resilience studies allow researchers to follow the positive and negative trends that these youths have, allowing them to understand why various percentages of their communities develop mental disorders while others develop more positively (Mood, Jonsson, & Låftman, 2016). While that be the case, I will argue that different understandings of resilience will yield different results across studies. These different understandings stem from the lack of a consensus regarding what resilience is, which then obscures understandings for child wellbeing in studies.

The initial goal of this thesis was to analyze resilience within all immigrant minorities with no specific geographical location or ethnic focus group in mind, as all individuals, regardless of their ethnic identity, possess the capability to be deemed resilient. Throughout the filtering process, articles were filtered out from various locations in Europe and Asia, but a high number of the articles were from the United States. Specifically, articles from countries, including Sweden, China, Japan, Ukraine, Belgium, and Canada were present in the initial data set but were later filtered out when performing key term searches and relevance evaluations within the articles. These articles, however, either did not directly use the term resilience actively throughout their study, or the immigrant groups that were studied focused primarily on first generation immigrants, rather than second or third. Both of the facts that a high amount of the research was performed within the United States and that a large amount of information studied first generation immigrants rather than second-generation are possible limitations to what my thesis can be applied to, as a large number of studies were excluded throughout the filtering process because of these factors. At the end of the screening process,

6 articles remained which studied resilience in Latino children and youths, therefore shifting the focus of this thesis specifically to Latino children, rather than all forms of second-generation immigrants; it is worth noting that this result is very strange as to how all 6 articles focus on the same topic even though there were thousands of other articles within the database. The screening process that I performed will be explained further into this thesis.

This thesis contributes to the world of resilience research by dissecting 6 resilience articles that discuss child wellbeing in proxy and drawing connections between how various interpretations of resilience can affect how child wellbeing is interpreted.

1.1 WHY STUDY LATINO YOUTHS?

When studying resilience in children, the included studies specifically selected the Latino ethnic group as their focus. The reason for this could be that the Latino ethnic group represents a significant portion of the United States at 18.5% of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Within such a large population, Caballero et al. (2016) explain that Latino children and youths are at a higher risk than other ethnic groups within the United States for negative behavioral and mental development; as a result, the Latino ethnic group. This is worth noting because it is not just this group that can be resilient. In order to best understand this, it can be broken down into different types of resilience studies, similar to that of the various studies included in this thesis.

One potential explanation as to why these researchers in the United States focused on Latino youths and children, from an academic perspective, is that “they have a long history of tragic underachievement far below White and Asian students (Vazquez-Torres, 2012, p. 1). In addition, Vazquez-Torres (2012) continues this explanation by stating that “Latinos continue to have low academic achievement, the highest drop-out rates across the nation, and low levels of college preparation enrollment and post-secondary attainment” (p. 18). Furthermore, even though the federal government within the United States has attempted to combat this by implementing educational programs such as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), there continues to be a visible academic inequality amongst Latino students and their white counterparts (Vazquez-Torres, 2012). These statements provide an insight as to why many researchers prioritize this ethnic group within resilience literature in the United States and attempt to study resilience within it; as a result, the wellbeing of these children is assessed and measured. However, these measurements differ because of the way these researchers interpret both terms which is what I will explore in this thesis.

Outside of academic resilience, researchers have also studied resilience in Latino youths in other aspects, for example behavioral resilience. In this sense, researchers such as Romero, White, Anguas, Curlee, and Rodas (2020) who are included in this thesis, study the behavioral habits of youths and examine to see if they abstain or indulge in detrimental and possibly harmful activities such as abusing drugs and/or alcohol. In their study, they state that “Latinx youth are disproportionately represented in socioeconomically and ethnically segregated neighborhoods” and explain further that “...it has been found that low-income Latinx neighborhoods may be associated with behavioral problems among Latinx youth” (Romero et al., 2020, p. 266); within their study, these authors use the term “Latinx” which is defined by the Cambridge Dictionary (2021) as “a person who lives in the US and who comes from, or whose family comes from, Latin America; used when you do not want to say that the person is a man or woman.”

However, it is important to note that resilience is not limited only to Latino youths or those of other ethnic minorities; white students, or students of families without a recent immigrant background, can also face adversity and either be deemed resilient or non-resilient depending on how they, as individuals, continue to develop following it. The reason for there being extensive research on Latino children and youth within the United States is because, as stated earlier, this population represents 18.5% of the total population of the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019), in addition to the fact that Latino children and youths are at a higher risk than other ethnic groups within the United States for negative behavioral and mental development (Caballero et al., 2016).

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE, QUESTION, AND SCOPE

In this thesis, I want to explore the concept of child wellbeing by looking at the use of resilience as a metonym or proxy for child wellbeing within the included studies on Latino immigrants.

Following what I have said so far, the research question of this thesis is how resilience is used in the literature and the implications for how the concept of child wellbeing is understood. The hypothesis for this thesis is that the interpretations that researchers make regarding the definition of resilience can and often will affect their understandings of child wellbeing and what it, as an overall term, can mean. To contrast, a null hypothesis for this thesis would be that the various definitions and interpretations of resilience have no effect on

how child wellbeing is understood across the 6 studies. This hypothesis will be tested through dissecting the articles that are included in this thesis, including variables, but not limited to, how these researchers conducted their studies, how they decided to define resilience, and how they decided when a participant was resilient or not.

1.3 RESILIENCE AND WELLBEING

1.3.1 THE RELEVANCE OF RESILIENCE

The presence of resilience in the included articles proves to be an important factor as it helps to identify how child wellbeing is measured and assessed; although many studies use the term resilience, it is more often than not mentioned in proxy rather than directly; the included studies, however, use resilience directly and actively, thereby displaying both similar and different understandings and influential factors. This creates a web of potentially comparable factors within the universe that my thesis analyzes. Regarding the connection between resilience and child wellbeing, because researchers utilize resilience differently, whether it be that they interpret the concept differently or use it directly versus in proxy, the connection to child wellbeing becomes obscured as there is no clear and generally applicable definition of resilience for it to be connected to. As a result, child wellbeing's interpretation can be skewed and understood differently in different studies.

Within the world of research, resilience functions as a very broad and over-encompassing term which can be applied and interpreted very differently depending on the context of the study that it is being used in. Resilience can be applied within various psychological and behavioral fields, in addition to physical fields. As a hypothetical example, if a researcher studies the physical resilience of a building during a hurricane, the researcher could claim that the building is resilient if it the building remains standing throughout the storm; to further this, an example of a protective factor could be if it was constructed over a strong foundation, and a risk factor could be that it was made with a weaker building material, such as stucco or drywall. With this example, it can be understood that resilience extends across many fields of study, making it difficult for researchers to find compatible interpretations. However, it is also positive that it can extend into so many fields of research, as it allows these other fields to be able to measure such a potentially crucial concept; examples of these fields include child development, criminology, biology, ecology, and social work, to name a few (Bourbeau, 2018, p. 19). Within this thesis specifically, I will look at how resilience proxies as a way to enlighten on how child wellbeing is understood in 6

included studies. I narrowed my world of research down to 6 articles through a screening process of nearly 10,000 articles by searching for articles that focused on resilience and child wellbeing within populations of immigrant children and youths. With these 6 articles, I will compare their interpretations of resilience and analyze how they affect the understanding and measuring of child wellbeing.

1.3.2 CHILD WELLBEING AND ITS RELEVANCE TO SOCIETY

Within any society, children form the basis for the next generation; the health, both mentally and physically, of these children is vital to take care of so that they “can fully assume its responsibilities within the community” (United Nations, 1989, p. 1). Within the United Nations (UN) *Convention on the Rights of the Child* in 1989, participant countries agreed to begin implementing safeguards within their societies to better the living conditions of their children. Although this treaty does not use the term “child wellbeing” directly, it began the wave of focus on the wellbeing of children, leading to further research. Child wellbeing can be understood simply as the positive development and growth of children.

In 2015, the UN General Assembly released *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Within this document, the third of the declared 17 Sustainable Development Goals is “Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages” (UN General Assembly, 2015, p. 14). With this statement, member states must continue to work at bettering the living conditions for the children that reside within their borders. One, among many, ways of doing this is through building resilience in children.

According to Stevens and Jarden (2019), wellbeing, simply put, is “a fundamental measure when it comes to learning and growing as a human being. Cognitive development or processing is not void of the social and cultural context in which it occurs, and therefore to be ‘well’ or what constitutes ‘wellbeing’ as a young person will inevitably vary depending on life experience” (p. 2). As a result, child wellbeing can generally be understood as having the same understanding as Stevens and Jarden but with a limiting age bracket depending on how the researchers define a child. This will be defined and explored more in detail later.

It can be argued that child wellbeing is a crucial field of research to society because children that develop in a healthy and positive environment have a greater chance to provide back more to society as adults than those who experienced difficult and unhealthy upbringings.

1.4 ACADEMIC AND PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTION

I chose to write about the wellbeing of children of immigrants, which includes and primarily focuses on second-and third-generation children in this thesis with an emphasis on resilience research. The importance of this topic can be linked to the future overall health of all adults within countries. Specifically, various immigrant populations develop better overall levels of wellbeing than others and many researchers are uncertain as to why. If their wellbeing is compromised as a child/youth, there is the chance for these individuals to develop mental health disorders at a later stage in life; this can be documented in both immigrant and non-immigrant populations that experience similar, if not the same, patterns of development (Herrman et al., 2011). As stated earlier, Latino immigrants and their families constitute the largest immigrant group within the United States at 18.5% of the total population of the country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). Latino children and youths are at a higher risk than other ethnic groups within the United States for negative behavioral and mental development (Caballero et al., 2016, p. 1). As a result, the connection between child wellbeing and resilience within this thesis works to depict how researchers' interpretations of resilience can and often will affect how they interpret child wellbeing.

This study is relevant due to the overall lack of research on child wellbeing and its connection to the definition of resilience. It can be argued that this is partly due to the ambiguity of both terms in research. This thesis contributes to the world of research through its comparison of the different interpretations of the terms "resilience" and "child wellbeing" when studying the mental health of Latino youth in the United States. However, because studies either do not use the term resilience directly, they use it in proxy, or they use varying definitions for resilience that include additional defining terms, it is often difficult for researchers to find any form of generally accepted answers or conclusions (Werner, 1995).

Overall, the contribution of this thesis is a discuss how resilience is understood in the literature as an integral part of child wellbeing. This thesis delves into the field of behavioral and mental health and examines the connections between researchers' interpretations of the term 'resilience' and how discrepancies in definitions impact how child wellbeing is understood and studied as a result. Through this, I showcase the Latino community in the United States in which researchers have used resilience as a means of assessing children's

wellbeing. This thesis opens the realm of discussion as to how these researchers conducted their studies and utilized resilience, therefore affecting how they interpreted child wellbeing.

1.5 DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

I will not be focusing in depth on the concepts of wellbeing and resilience in this subsection, as I deem them too considerable to deal with here. They will be handled in detail in the next chapter. However, I will briefly provide preliminary definitions of both resilience and wellbeing. Within this section, I will define smaller terms that are used within this thesis, specifically “Latino,” “immigrant,” and “machismo” as a means of providing clarity to what they specifically allude to when discussed further throughout this thesis.

Briefly, resilience can be understood through Werner’s (1995) explanation which states that resilience has generally three accepted uses: “good developmental outcomes despite high-risk status; sustained competence under stress; and recovery from trauma” (as cited in Fleming and Ledogar, 2008, p. 2). However, resilience, as an overall term, is much larger than this one definition and can be applied to a vast number of studies and focuses, requiring further explanation later in this thesis.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2018) state that “there is no consensus around a single definition of well-being, but there is a general agreement that at minimum, well-being includes the presence of positive emotions and moods (e.g., contentment, happiness), the absence of negative emotions (e.g., depression, anxiety), satisfaction with life, fulfillment and positive functioning.” With this definition in mind, child wellbeing is represented in this thesis as a “broad multidimensional construct that covers objective and subjective measures of physical and mental wellbeing, education and social outcomes (e.g., social skills and social inclusion), and subjective perceptions of quality of life” (Robitail et al., 2007; OECD, 2016). Both wellbeing and child wellbeing will also be further explored later in this thesis.

With of the focus of this thesis having shifted to specifically studying Latino children and youths within the United States as a result of the screening process, it is best to understand what ethnicities are included within such a term. Because the term “Latino” is a generally debated within the world of research regarding its included populations, this thesis uses the definition that a Latino is “a person who lives in the US and who comes from, or whose family comes from, Latin America” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021). Continuing, Latin

America is defined as “the areas of North South, and Central America where Spanish or Portuguese is spoken.” These definitions allow for a further understanding in the ethnic group of focus in this study which is Latino children and youths.

Stepping farther back and assessing more than just the Latino ethnicity, the term “immigrant” and its corresponding terms need to be clarified. As defined in the Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.), an immigrant is “a person who has come to a different country in order to live there permanently.” For example, if a child is born in Mexico and then moves with his or her family to the United States, he or she is a first-generation immigrant. If this child were born in the United States and their parents are both immigrants from Mexico, this child is a second-generation immigrant. Following this pattern, if that second-generation child has a child of their own in the United States, that child is then a third-generation immigrant, and so on. Of course, once a child is born and raised within a country, they can identify as that ethnicity and nationality, therefore making them not an “immigrant.” However, this thesis follows a multi-generational immigrant system in order to be able to better identify and follow these youths. As a result, these individuals, whom this study focuses on, can be labeled as both non-immigrant if analyzing it from a one-generational model and as a second-or third-generation immigrant when analyzing from the multi-generational model.

Delving further into the Latino culture, “machismo” is a term used; this term represents “male behaviour that is strong and forceful, and shows very traditional ideas about how men and women should behave” within the Latino community (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021). This term allows for a deeper understanding in the culture of the focus groups of these studies. Machismo is defined because it is used within this thesis and is often lacks a clear and general definition, therefore requiring further clarification. Generally, researchers can use this term when studying the Latino communities in the United States as a means of understanding behavioral differences and accepted cultural understandings that are otherwise not present within white culture in the United States. The role of machismo within the included studies is explored further into the thesis.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are a few limitations that should be mentioned with this thesis. First, this thesis does not provide a concrete definition for resilience that can be used widely. However, it can be argued that Werner's (1995) argument for resilience, which states that there are three kinds of phenomena- "good developmental outcomes despite high-risk status; sustained competence under stress; and recovery from trauma" lays a very general and widely applicable definition (as cited in Fleming and Ledogar, 2008, p. 2). The reason this thesis does not provide a concrete definition for resilience is because there are so many varieties of understandings and interpretations that selecting only one as the accepted one can neglect potentially important findings made using other interpretations.

The generalizability of the data sets that are incorporated in this study are limited to 6 data sets from the years 2012 to 2020 and solely study resilience within 2nd generation and further Latino youths between the ages of 5 and 18 as a result of the screening process that was performed with the database of articles. These variables create an extremely focused study that does not provide much assistance in understanding resilience with other racial or ethnic groups of youths, age groups, or time periods. As a result, the findings within this thesis, rather than being applicable to the initial focus of all immigrant children, regardless of ethnicity, reflect what can be understood from this hyper-focused universe of 6 articles.

It can be argued that the results of this data can be applied to other ethnicities; however, a multitude of factors can affect the participants and the results of the data. Because the focus of this thesis specifically analyzes Latino immigrants in the United States, its results are only reflective of one specific category of ethnic groups and the one country that they are performed in. In addition, because all of these studies were performed in the United States, it can be difficult to apply the data to similar studies performed in other countries because there are several unique factors that come from being performed in the United States. However, factors from this thesis that are comparable to other studies are the various definitions of resilience and the used definition for child wellbeing. With regards to resilience, these interpretations, specifically terms such as "academic resilience," "educational resilience," and simply "resilience" can be found in many other resilience studies that are performed across the world; this is because researchers can use school performance as an identifying factor for resilience regardless of where it is being conducted.

This thesis will create an understanding in the different interpretations of resilience and show how they affect understandings of child wellbeing. This will be done first by providing background information on the research process. Next, background and theory will be explored with regards to resilience and wellbeing in the research world. Following this, I will introduce the 6 articles and explain how they define resilience. Afterwards, these definitions are compared to one another and their impact on child wellbeing within these articles is analyzed.

2 METHODS AND SOURCES

Within this section, I will discuss the process that I performed, including both the case for research and what occurred throughout the screening process at the beginning of my research. This section delves into understanding how and why I filtered several thousand articles down to the 6 that are included within this thesis. Following this, I will briefly introduce all 6 of the included studies.

2.1 THE CASE FOR RESEARCH

The case for research is to identify how researchers' interpretations of resilience affect how child wellbeing is understood, specifically with second-generation Latino children, within their studies. Furthermore, this thesis focuses on literature that uses resilience as a means of assessing child wellbeing of immigrant children. Within this field of research and literature, researchers often directly and indirectly use resilience in order to show the developmental progress of these children. However, there often arise problems when comparing data from these researchers as their interpretations of resilience can differ.

The field of resilience is vast and has many overlapping and contrasting definitions and interpretations by researchers. This thesis views resilience from a general perspective in the world of research and narrows the sphere of focus extremely to one specific ethnic group. In this format, Latino children and youths are the point of focus and researchers' use of resilience within their studies is examined and then pulled apart in order to see how each interpretation affects the researchers' perception of child wellbeing.

As already mentioned, when this study began, the initial point of focus was child wellbeing and its connection to resilience within all ethnicities. However, through an extensive search and screening process, I was left with six articles that all happen to discuss the Mexican/Latino ethnic group in the United States. As a result, that is what the topic for this study shifted to. This can represent that there exists an overall lack of research in connecting resilience to child wellbeing.

2.2 DATA

Data sources from 2012 to 2020 are utilized, creating a more-relevant period of study with more recent results. This time period was selected for multiple reasons; firstly, it was selected as a means of restricting the amount of data that would be incorporated into the thesis; although this could be useful when conducting a longitudinal study in order to follow the development of the term resilience, this thesis focuses on the relation between resilience and researchers' understandings of child wellbeing. Secondly, this time period allows for more modern perspectives to be incorporated that reflect current data and interpretations.

2.3 PROCESS OF ELIMINATION OF ARTICLES

Initially, this study's intent was to discuss how resilience is applied within studies on the wellbeing of children of immigrants through the use of global data or Norwegian data, if applicable. Throughout the fall semester in 2019, I worked as a research assistant under Dawit Shawel Abebe in a systematic review study that he is a part of. This study focuses specifically on understanding the mental health of children of immigrants, but it analyzes a vast number of factors. My thesis is analyzing resilience and its connection to child wellbeing, which only includes a fraction of what is covered within Abebe's overall study. The articles that were analyzed and screened for this thesis were gathered for Abebe's study. The key word search was conducted by librarians Malene Wøhlk Gundersen and Elisabeth Karlsen at Oslo Metropolitan University within the database ORIA. The search that they performed was extensive and included multiple steps and a large number of key terms;¹ of these terms, some of the most significant are "adolescent," "child," "Ethnic Groups," "Emigrants and immigrants," "Child Health," and "Adolescent Health."

This search resulted in two databases created with one containing 5553 prospective, longitudinal, cohort studies and another containing 3724 cross sectional and observational studies. The overwhelming number of articles reflects a variety of factors; for example, it represents the immense size of the field of research on resilience, including a vast array of definitions and interpretations that have no correlation to one another all have the potential to be included within the database for using the same key term. This large article set included studies from countries across the world, including China, Australia, Sweden, South Africa

¹ The full search process and search words that were used by Malene Wøhlk Gundersen and Elisabeth Karlsen can be found in the appendix.

and, the United States, and so on. In total, there were between 15 and 20 different countries that were represented. In order to further the screening process, key words and concepts were analyzed within the studies, as can be seen within **Figure 1**, found in Tables and Figures, which depicts the overall screening process.

To begin the screening process, all of the studies were analyzed for whether or not they discussed ethnic minorities, specifically immigrant minorities, and discussed the overall concept of child wellbeing. This step in the screening process is important to explain further because a large number of the articles discussed minorities which is one of the key terms used in the initial search; however they focused much less on international minorities and instead heavily discussed minority groups such as African Americans in the United States, where although they are a form of minority, they did not fit into the definition of an “immigrant” as I am using it for this thesis. Within this thesis, an “immigrant,” as previously stated, is “a person who has come to a different country in order to live there permanently” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Based off of this definition, my focus when screening articles in this phase was to identify studies that had explicitly discussed recent-generation immigrants.

To further clarify, the majority of studies that included racial groups such as African Americans within the United States studied individuals whose familial roots traced back several generations within the same country, at the least, meaning that these individuals do not have the immigrant background that I am focusing on. Although this step was focused around analyzing articles for their inclusion of ethnic minority, the term “immigrant” is discussed heavily here. In literature, these two terms are often mentioned very often together, as they do have many overlapping traits. However, it is important to clarify that within this step of the screening process, there was no specific ethnic minority groups that were prioritized or sought after for this thesis. Initially, the main intention of this thesis was to analyze data on any and all immigrant groups. As a result, this step in the screening process resulted in roughly 60 longitudinal studies and 20 cross sectional studies.

Within this first step, the age range of the focus group for this thesis was determined to be between 5 and 18 years old. As a result, which analyzing for ethnic minority presence within studies, these ethnic minority groups were also analyzed for their age groups that were studied. Interestingly, a large number of the longitudinal studies followed individuals for a long period of time, often between 20 and 40 years, however the majority only placed importance on studying the mental health of the then-adults. Of course, they mentioned how the environment that children are exposed to can extremely affect them later in life both positively and negatively, but only briefly to where it would not have been of use to include

within my thesis, as I am focusing on the children specifically and their mental health, rather than their futures.

Following this, the content of ethnic minorities was further analyzed, as those that did not use the term “immigrant” directly or discuss the relevance of immigrant generation were excluded. It is important to clarify the significance of this step for the relevance of this thesis: where a person is born, with regards to his or her immigrant generation, can have a large impact on the data within a study (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). Within this thesis, I chose to specifically study children that are second-generation because they are then more likely to be born into and raised around potentially similar, if not the same, environment as other children born within the same country.

This functions as a control in the study and allows for a better comparison of data when working to understand resilience in these children because these children grow up and are exposed to the same general society through culture, education, language, and other factors. By focusing primarily on second-generation children and youths, they grow up around other ethnic groups that are also second-generation in the same environment which allows for researchers to be able to identify unique growth and behavioral patterns.

Lastly, the remaining articles were examined for if they actively use and define the term “resilience” directly. Specifically, articles were examined to see that they used the term “resilience” actively throughout their study and that it had a clear connection and role of importance, rather than using it in proxy or just stating it once or twice. The importance of this step is that it guarantees that the articles that remain all use resilience a definition and provide factors that enable researchers to physically measure it. Furthermore, the remaining articles had to provide some way to clearly measure their interpretation for resilience, whether it be through social behavior (family connections and friends within school and social activities), sense of self (perception/understanding of ethnic heritage), physical results (performance within school), and ability to cope and recover when facing adversity. Through this final step of the screening process, 5 articles remained.

Following this screening process, further searches were performed in Google Scholar using the key words “immigrant,” “resilience,” “child” and “Latino” in order to work to find more articles that could be added to this thesis. As a result, Vazquez-Torres (2012) was discovered and therefore added.

It is important to note that after completing the screening process, all recorded progress of the article screening was lost which is why there is no numerical value for the second step of the

screening process.² With this specific thesis, the loss of this data results in a loss of understanding for those reading and working to interpret my process of elimination in order to fully understand how and why I resulted with only 6 articles.

Through the reviewing and screening process performed after the initial keyword search, the Latino community within the United States emerged as the focus group for this thesis. Initially, the intended focus of this thesis was children in Europe or initially on a global scale, but due to the manner that the screening process was performed, these 6 articles that remained all investigated the same group.

This group of immigrants also constitutes a large variety of nationalities, including various South Americans, Caribbean islanders, and Middle Americans, although most of the data consists of Mexican-descent youths. They are also the largest group of recent immigrants historically, far surpassing immigrant populations from other regions of the world. This group is also the most heavily studied within the United States with regards to mental health, as they are a large population of immigrants, creating easily accessible and large amounts of potential sources of new data.

2.4 INTRODUCTION OF THE SIX INCLUDED ARTICLES

After performing the screening process, 6 articles remained that directly discussed resilience and its relevance to the wellbeing, both directly and indirectly, to child wellbeing amongst Latino youths within the United States. This was not the initial focus group, but rather emerged as the set of remaining articles after the screening process. With this, I will present how each study was performed (i.e. longitudinal or cross section), the method that they used to gather their data, and the various risk and protective factors that discuss when measuring resilience.

All of the articles presented study Latino/a youths within the United States and were written between the years of 2012 and 2020. The articles each have a unique sample size, with some being under 500 participants and others with well-over 1000 participants. The sample size of a study has the possibility of creating a wider array of data results and allow for a

² Due to a spontaneous error in the coding of the Microsoft Endnote files that contained my datasets, the files would open to a blank library, or sometimes my original library prior to screening, showing none of the categorical groups that I had created or their notes and explanations for why they were sorted as such. In turn, this lack of information can be seen and understood throughout my discussion of the screening process, as all of the numbers are a rough estimate up to the final 6 articles. The overall period of attempted recovery of the lost data spanned two weeks.

better understanding towards how resilience plays into the relevant studies that include larger quantities of participants. However, this is not a guarantee and the results of the articles must be compared in order to better understand this. All of the following articles use resilience directly within their studies as a means of understanding child wellbeing in the context of Latino/a children and youths within the United States; furthermore, all studies incorporate both male and female youths. The conclusions of these studies their definitions and uses of resilience will be discussed later.

Boutin-Martinez, A.S., Mireles-Rios, R., Nylund-Gibson, K., & Simon, O. (2019). Exploring Resilience in Latina/o Academic Outcomes: A Latent Class Approach. Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR), 24, 174 - 191.

To begin, “Exploring Resilience in Latina/o Academic Outcomes: A Latent Class Approach,” written by Boutin-Martinez, Mireles-Rios, Nylund-Gibson, Odelia Simon, is a longitudinal study with the aim of exploring “the relationship between various protective factors with academic outcomes of Latina/o high school students” (p. 174). In order to measure this, the three variables of “LCA indicator variables, demographic covariates, and distal academic variables (i.e., students’ math achievement, dropout rates, and postsecondary education)” (p. 177) were analyzed through the results of questionnaires that were provided to the non-randomly selected population of Latino/a students within the area. Within this study, the math grades of the students were analyzed, in addition to the students’ discussion of school, including the possibility of pursuing higher education, with their family at home. In terms demographics, this study includes 1364 youths, of which a 75 percent majority are second-generation immigrants and 25 percent represent the minority of first-generation immigrants in the study. Furthermore, this study only included Latino/a youths in the questionnaires. The direct ages of these youths are unstated within the article, but their grade levels are explained to be between the 10th and 12th grades, which can be assumed that the children are between the ages of 15 and 18.

Liew, J., Cao, Q., Hughes, J. N., & Deutz, M. (2018). Academic Resilience Despite Early Academic Adversity: A Three-Wave Longitudinal Study on Regulation-Related Resiliency, Interpersonal Relationships, and Achievement in First to Third Grade. Early education and development, 29(5), 762–779.

Continuing, “Academic Resilience Despite Early Academic Adversity: A Three-Wave Longitudinal Study on Regulation-Related Resiliency, Interpersonal Relationships, and

Achievement in First to Third Grade” which was written by Liew, Cao, Hughes, and Deutz, works to “examine which qualities of children’s interpersonal relationships at school serve as mechanisms through which ego-resiliency and future academic achievement are linked in a sample of children assessed as at-risk for early literacy problems” (Liew et al., 2018, p. 763). Like Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), Liew et al. (2018) uses academic scores from the children as means of measuring their wellbeing. However, this study follows 784 younger students from the average age of 6.57 years and follows not only their achievement in mathematics, but also their reading scores. In addition to this, the children that are included in this study are not only of Latino/a ethnicity, but also white, African American, and an “other” category which includes any other minority. By doing this, a comparison can be made of the resilience between the Latino youths and their non-Latino classmates; this allows for a deeper understanding of what can be deemed an average amongst this group of participants and whether or not the Latino/a students are above, below, or at the average. Uniquely, this is the only included study that bases its data on the reports that were provided by the teachers of the participating students; although this possibly provides a unique perspective in observing external factors that show that a student is not developing well, this data collection method can also serve as a hinderance because the data can be very limited, as teachers can only see and understand so much of their students from the outside.

O’Gara, J. L., Calzada, E. J., & Kim, S. Y. (2020). The father's role in risk and resilience among Mexican-American adolescents. The American journal of orthopsychiatry, 90(1), 70–77.

“The Father’s Role in Risk and Resilience Among Mexican-American Adolescents” by O’Gara, Calzada, and Kim (2019) is a cross-sectional study that takes an alternate approach to the previously introduced articles and measures resilience through the behavior and delinquency levels of youths in connection with their relationships with their father-figures. The researchers in this study believe that the behavior that fathers’ express around their children, specifically an aggressive or loving behavior versus a more loving or empathetic behavior, has an extremely large impact on the children’s overall wellbeing, in addition to their performance in school. Through random sampling, this study includes 272 participants with an average age of 12. Uniquely, this is the only study in this thesis that exclusively studies children of Mexican descent. In doing so, this creates an extremely focused group of participants which can be very limiting in the data that is found, as it is both a small group of participants and no ethnic diversity amongst them.

Perreira, K. M., Marchante, A. N., Schwartz, S. J., Isasi, C. R., Carnethon, M. R., Corliss, H. L., Kaplan, R. C., Santisteban, D. A., Vidot, D. C., Van Horn, L., & Delamater, A. M. (2019). Stress and Resilience: Key Correlates of Mental Health and Substance Use in the Hispanic Community Health Study of Latino Youth. Journal of immigrant and minority health, 21(1), 4–13.

“Stress and Resilience: Key Correlates of Mental Health and Substance Use in the Hispanic Community Health Study of Latino Youth,” written Perreira, Marchante, Schwartz, Isasi, Carnethon, Corliss, Kaplan, Santisteban, Vidot, Van Horn, and Delamater (2019) studies the risk of negative development, which is defined in this study as the appearance of symptoms of anxiety and depression, in addition to the presence of drinking and smoking habits. However, within their sample of 1,466 participants, first generation immigrant children are included (21%), in addition to the second-generation students (68%) and the non-immigrant children (10%) (Perreira et al., 2019, p. 5); the age range of participants within this study is 8 to 16, and the average age of the children included is 12 years. In addition, for each child or youth that was interviewed one parent was also interviewed in order for the researchers to expand their scope of understanding.

Romero, A. J., White, R. M. B., Anguas, M. M., Curlee, A., & Rodas, J. M. (2020). Resilience of Mexican descent youth in a low-income neighborhood: Examining family and neighborhood factors. Journal of Latinx Psychology, 8(4), 265–279.

“Resilience of Mexican Descent Youth in a Low-Income Neighborhood: Examining Family and Neighborhood Factors” was written by Romero, White, Anguas, and Curlee (2020) as a study that works to understand both promotive and inhibitive factors that the neighborhood environment provides for Latino/a youths, as they claim there is a large imbalance in the this field of research that mostly focuses on the negative affects. Within their study, 127 youths are included, of which 80% identified as Mexican American, 15% identified as Mexican, and 5% identified as mixed. Similar to Perreira (2019), this article includes first and second-generation immigrant children, however it furthers this depth by including children who are third generation and on; in addition, this study does not include any non-Latino youths. By only studying Latino youths, these researchers have the opportunity to compare these youths to one another and sort them by their ethnic group, but by not including other ethnic groups, these researchers are left with data to compare these youths to. Furthermore, these researchers are unaware if other groups, such as African American, Asian American, or European

American children are more resilient or not because they decided on such a specific focus group.

In order to obtain this information, in-person questionnaires were filled out and submitted by the participants in 5 locations. By using multiple locations to gather data, Romero et al. gathered data that includes a higher number of influential factors when studying the data from the participants; this extra level of depth allows for a better understanding on the importance of location when studying resilience. For example, the youths that grow up in a poorer region, according to this study, have a higher chance to be involved in delinquent behaviors than an individual that is raised in a wealthier region.

Vazquez-Torres, L. (2012) Resilience in an ethnic enclave: high-achieving, at-risk Latino youth UMI Dissertation Publishing.

“Resilience in an ethnic enclave: High-Achieving, At-Risk Latino Youth,” written by Vazquez-Torres (2012), is a PhD study that analyzes the “distal (internal) and proximal (external) protective factors that make a difference in the achievement trajectories” of Latino/a students (p. 4). By conducting a cross-section observational study, Vazquez-Torres interviews Latino/a students directly as a means of understanding the importance of resilience within the students’ academic success. Within her study, students in the 11th and 12th grades are included, so it is assumed that the ages range from 16 to 18; regarding the ethnic representation, Latino students compose 71.5% of the sample, whereas Asian students compose 25%, and the other 4% is comprised of various minorities that are small enough to not be included within her study. Uniquely, this study, rather than using ethnically white students as the comparison, Asian students are included as a means of comparing various minorities within the school, rather than comparing these students to the white majority.

3 BACKGROUND AND THEORY

In this section, I plan to create a level of understanding of both of the terms “resilience” and “wellbeing” in the world of resilience and how their definitions have changed with time; I will do this by comparing interpretations from previous scholars that show how both of these terms can be understood differently. In turn, this will also show that researchers’ various understandings of these terms are why there must be sub-categories within both terms in order to be able to narrow it down to a specific or set group of topics of focus. Through this, I will portray a wider understanding of resilience, wellbeing, and connected concepts in order to lay the ground for understanding how resilience and child wellbeing are interwoven throughout the included studies within this thesis.

In addition, I will introduce theories and concepts that are relevant in the world of research that pertains to resilience and/or child wellbeing; following theories and concepts, I will discuss prevalent researchers within the history of these fields of study that allow for a deeper understanding on the development of these concepts and how they can be represented in studies through researchers’ individual interpretations and approaches in measuring resilience. Within the field of research, the terms for resilience and wellbeing serve as generally vague terms that can be applied to a large variety of studies and collections of data. Both of the terms, as a result, must be defined so that they can be applied to this study. Through the screening process, the articles that are left and that have been utilized for this thesis actively define resilience throughout their studies while focusing on studying the wellbeing of their focus groups.

Resilience serves as a metonym for wellness because in all of its definitions, it represents positive growth and development, which can, in turn, be linked to the wellbeing of children and youths because if someone is developing in a positive manner (i.e. abstaining from detrimental behavior and engaging in and displaying positive behavioral and mental patterns), he or she, based on how child wellbeing is interpreted within this thesis, is doing well. This can also be linked to Zolkoski and Bullock (2012) and their explanation that one common factor between most, if not all, interpretations of resilience in the field of behavioral psychology is that they actively assess and interpret both protective factors and risk factors in order to be able to predict and follow the path of development. These factors, when measuring

resilience, show what the researcher deems impactful in the overall resilience of an individual. Because these factors can change through each interpretation of resilience, let alone each researcher's personal interpretation, their indications on how the individual is doing can change as well.

3.1 WELLBEING

It is important to understand that child wellbeing is still a very general term. As discussed earlier, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2018) states that “there is no consensus around a single definition of well-being, but there is a general agreement that at minimum, well-being includes the presence of positive emotions and moods (e.g., contentment, happiness), the absence of negative emotions (e.g., depression, anxiety), satisfaction with life, fulfillment and positive functioning.” This does not mean, however, that we should refrain from using it.

Referring to the earlier stated definition for child wellbeing, it is defined within this thesis as a “broad multidimensional construct that covers objective and subjective measures of physical and mental wellbeing, education and social outcomes (e.g., social skills and social inclusion), and subjective perceptions of quality of life” (Robitail et al., 2007; OECD, 2016). Overall, this definition still follows very similarly to that of general “wellbeing” as explained above because it includes a variety of perceptions and fields that have to be studied in order to interpret if an individual is living well. By placing the term “child” in front of it, wellbeing's overall field of inclusion does not change, but it is rather limited to a specific age bracket, which in this thesis is from the age of 5 to 18. Through it's accepted definition for this thesis, child wellbeing is represented within the included articles through resilience; furthermore, resilience serves as a proxy for wellbeing, as when a child or youth develops positively, whether or not in the face of adversity, they are doing “well.”

According to Stevens and Jarden (2019), wellbeing is “a fundamental measure when it comes to learning and growing as a human being. Cognitive development or processing is not void of the social and cultural context in which it occurs, and therefore to be ‘well’ or what constitutes ‘wellbeing’ as a young person will inevitably vary depending on life experience” (p. 2). This interpretation explores a wider spectrum the concept of what it means to be “well,” allowing for more room into research in various fields besides behavioral psychology.

As can be seen from the accepted definition of child wellbeing for this thesis, physical wellbeing is also included within this definition, but it is not utilized within this thesis; rather, mental and behavioral wellbeing has been chosen to be the focal point.

3.2 RESILIENCE

Resilience, in and of itself, has evolved as a concept since its conception decades ago, and is applied to multiple fields of studies today, including but not limited to “including psychology, psychiatry, sociology, and more recently, biological disciplines, including genetics, epigenetics, endocrinology, and neuroscience” (Herrman et al., 2011, p. 259). In addition to it being applicable to more than one field of study, each researcher can and often does interpret resilience differently due to various disagreements and varying understandings of how resilience is defined. For example, Herrman et al., (2011) explains that on a general level, many researchers differ in their interpretations of resilience when assessing whether it can be understood as a “personal trait, compared with a dynamic process” (p. 259). With this understanding, many researchers can either see resilience as something individuals possess automatically (for example that they could be born with it) or that resilience is something an individual achieve after facing hardship and still retaining a positive developmental growth.

Resilience was initially introduced as a term in the 1970s (Vanderbilt-Adriance & Shaw, 2008). In the following decades, researchers have attempted to refine it in order to make a more understandable and clearer definition. Even so, the way resilience is used within studies has branched into several variations. To begin, resilience has a multitude of definitions which allow it to function as an umbrella term in nearly all fields of research. Referring back to Werner’s (1995) explanation for resilience within the field of psychology, resilience has generally three accepted uses: “good developmental outcomes despite high-risk status; sustained competence under stress; and recovery from trauma” (as cited in Fleming and Ledogar, 2008, p. 2). Although it has been over 25 years since these 3 uses were identified, they are still applicable and widely used when defining resilience within psychology. However, the overall development of resilience as a term is too extensive to be included within this thesis.

To understand resilience in more general aspect, it needs to also be defined as such. One definition is that resilience can be understood as “the capacity to maintain competent functioning in the face of major life stressors” (Kaplan, Turner, Norman, & Stillson, 1996, as cited in Vanbreda, 2001, p. 5). Kaplan, Turner, Norman, and Stillson (1996) (as cited in

VanBreda, 2001, p. 5) continue this explanation for the term resilience by explaining that resilience identifies the “presence of protective factors (personal, social, familial, and institutional safety nets)” which allow an individual to resist various sources of stress throughout their lives (p. 158).

VanBreda (2001) continues this definition by arguing that resilience encompasses both “the presence of protective factors and the presence of hazardous circumstances” (p. 5). Resilience, specifically within children, has been defined as “the capacity of those of who are exposed to identifiable risk factors to overcome those risks and avoid negative outcomes such as delinquency and behavioral problems, psychological maladjustment, academic difficulties, and physical complications” (Rak and Patterson, 1996, as cited in VanBreda, 2001, p. 9).

Overall, because the term resilience can be interpreted in so many perspectives during a study, it can lead to difficulties when analyzing and comparing studies. This can happen because the study either does not directly state how resilience is defined and simply uses it as proxy to their study. Hypothetical, one can ask- if a study is working to analyze the academic progression of children, is it analyzing how the children can still perform well despite outside stressors? Is it studying how, after facing trauma, such as the death or arrest of a family member, some recover and actually improve in school? Or is it discussing how these children or youths have a higher risk of negative development progress due to outside factors such as genetics, social circle, or home life? Estimations of risk are made through collecting these factors and assessing the overall chance that these individuals will develop negatively.

This multitude of definitions creates complications when comparing and analyzing research. It is also important to consider how the data and results change when the point of focus within a study is shifted. For example, a student could do well in school but have poor mental health. If resilience within that study is focusing only on the students’ positive or negative growth rate in regard to their academic scores, it will not always consider the mental health of that youth that may not reflect these scores. For example, simply because a child or youth is performing well in school does not mean that he or she also has good mental health. In this way, researchers can make false assumptions with these two factors which are not entirely reflective of one another. The same can be said for these youths’ social and familial relationships; simply having many positive social connections or expression positive behavior does not mean that a researcher can assume that this individual has good mental health. However, some researchers do argue that there exists a positive correlation between school performance and mental health and avoidance with dangerous or illegal substances. For example, Bond et al. (2007) argue a positive correlation between performing well in school

and resisting negative habits/substances; in addition, they further explain that having a weaker connection to school and their academic performance has shown to be connected to developing unhealthy habits, in addition to the higher chance of the presence of poor mental health symptoms including anxiety and depression.

3.2.1 PROBLEMS WHEN DEFINING RESILIENCE

Luthar et al. (2000) explains that many researchers experience problems when performing research in the field of resilience because of the varying “definitions of resilience and central terminology, which slow the development of the field” (as cited in Zolkoski and Bullock, 2012, p. 2299).

Furthering this understanding, culture can potentially serve as an influential factor in both the child’s actions and mannerisms, in addition the researcher’s individual thought process; culture creates potential dilemmas when defining resilience as researchers’ own personal cultures and beliefs can alter how they might identify potential factors; this is reflected by one of the 6 included studies Vazquez-Torres’s (2012) statement that “the criteria may change across different cultures, as well as social and historical contexts. For example, the expected behavior of children of a particular age, given society, or historical period can be different and may change over time” (p. 50). The reason this is important in resilience research is because Vazquez-Torres underlines one of the problems that researchers have when studying resilience in general, not just within behavioral psychology. Researchers’ interpretations of resilience can be heavily influenced by their own individual cultures, as cultures can instill a certain way of thinking (Vazquez-Torres, 2012).

This difference in expression is only deepened further by cultural differences. Resilience must exist in various forms in all cultures and all times. However, the factors that make an individual more or less resilient depends on factors variable within the cultural context of the individual. Or reflect the cultural context. In other words, researchers can try identify what common factors are across time/geography/culture or identify specific traits within one cultural group, like you ended up doing.

Continuing, Vazquez-Torres (2012) also states this, which is a vital argument in understanding the depths and complexities in the field of resilience: Furthermore, the academic community has not agreed on or standardized how resilience is observed. Some scholars argue that resilience is observed externally such as in achievement outcomes and absence of delinquency. Others contend it is an internal manifestation demonstrated through

psychological well being or low levels of distress, while others believe it is a combination of both (Luthar, 1999; Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 1999).

3.3 RESILIENCE THEORY AND THEORIES ON RESILIENCE

Resilience theory focuses attention on positive contextual, social, and individual variables that interfere with or disrupt developmental trajectories from risk to problem behaviors, mental distress, and poor health outcomes (Zimmerman, 2013, p. 381). Therefore, the difference between *resilience* versus *resilience theory* is that *resilience* identifies that an individual holds the ability to maintain positive growth and development despite exposure to adverse circumstances. As a result, *resilience theory* places more focus on the variables that could potentially alter the development of the individual, whether they are internal, genetic, or environmental.

Resilience as a field of study is tremendously large and includes a vast array of applications and interpretations within studies. As a result, resilience theory can differ extensively depending on the study it is being applied to. For example, if the study uses academic performance as a means of assessing resilience, the relevant variables involved could be the youth's social life in school, familial connectedness, or other variables. With an understanding of the definitions of resilience, and resilience specifically in children, and child wellbeing, it is possible to compare how each study defined and applied resilience within their own terms.

The presence and role of the family of the child represents a field of disagreement in resilience research. Several authors, when studying resilience within children and youths, label the family as a risk or protective factor that has either a large or small sphere of influence on the child and their development; an example of this is Romero et al. (2020), one of the 6 included resilience studies, who actively use the term "familism" and explain that the family represents a highly influential factor within their study; specifically, "familism" is defined within their study as "culturally rooted positive family values and behaviors" (Romero et al., 2020, p. 267). In contrast, the other five included articles do not place emphasis on familism or use it as a protective or risk factor within their studies. This term, similar to machismo, highlights the level of influence that family members can have on their children; however, familism does not only apply to the Latino culture and can be applied to any and all ethnic groups. Similarly, Walsh (2003) elaborates on the "family resilience framework" which argues that the family contributes to the individual resilience of its

children by functioning as a protective factor, when the family functions as a healthy and safe environment, that can instill positive adaptation in its children which allows for them to overcome adversity. However, this also shifts resilience in a sense that its focus becomes measuring how well a child does or copes in school, rather than being resilient to family turbulence; this further shows the amount of layers that resilience has as a term.

In addition to the theory of resilience, many researchers within the field of developmental psychology utilize both protective and risk factors when defining and measuring resilience within their studies (Zolkoski and Bullock, 2012). These factors vary depending on how they choose to interpret resilience; for example, if a study explains that resilience represents that a child is still performing well after facing adversity, researchers would consider protective and risk factors differently than if resilience were understood to be a trait already within this child, therefore causing him or her to still be well after facing adversity. As a result, knowing that a child is resilient can have multiple meanings depending on the researchers' individual interpretations within that given study. However, all interpretations of resilience have one common factor- that when the studied individual triumphs developmentally over adversity, they are resilient (Werner, 1995).

When analyzing resilience in children and youths, Herrman et al. (2011) highlights the vastness of resilience and potential problems with these studies when stating:

Studies on children and adolescents focus on competence across stage-salient developmental domains, including behavioural, emotional, and educational functioning. Competence in one domain does not guarantee competence in another. A focus on only one of these domains limits the measurement of competence; a focus on multiple domains makes assessment more difficult. Clearer information should be provided about what measurements or combinations of measurements are used, so that better comparisons among studies can be made (p. 262).

With this explanation, these authors highlight a fraction of the challenges that researchers face when trying to interpret and measure resilience, as they can incorporate both too many and too few factors.

4 RESILIENCE INTERPRETATIONS IN THE INCLUDED STUDIES

Within this section, I hope to achieve a level of understanding with how these articles use resilience within their individual studies by connecting and comparing the ways that they are defined and applied. Because of how extensive the field of resilience is in research, even with its specific connection with child wellbeing, it can often be difficult to find any form of a clear answer; complications with these studies can be further understood because child wellbeing, in addition to resilience, is a very general term that encompasses a vast array of factors which are all dependent on how the researcher chooses to utilize it. Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to attempt to shed some light in understanding some of the uses for resilience and how these interpretations can affect how child wellbeing is considered in a study, both directly and indirectly.

The reason that each of these six articles includes has been selected through the screening process is that, amongst other necessary traits, they actively include and explain a form of resilience in their studies. Because of how vast of a field resilience is within the world of research, these definitions and interpretations can vary greatly. Therefore, it is crucial to have an understanding as to how these authors incorporate resilience within their own studies. Following this, it is possible to compare how they have utilized this term and analyze the positives and negatives of each interpretation in relation to each other. By comparing how resilience is incorporated into these studies, it allows for a better understanding as to how child wellbeing is represented and understood as a result.

4.1 BOUTIN-MARTINEZ, MIRELES-RIOS, NYLUND-GIBSON, & SIMON, 2019

Boutin-Martinez, Mireles-Rios, Nylund-Gibson, & Simon (2019) uses student achievement as a means of measuring resilience within the Hispanic/Latino population of students that are surveyed; these students' ages are not explicitly provided, however it is explained that within this longitudinal study, students are followed for 2 years from the 10th grade of school to the end of the 12th grade. As a result, it can be assumed that these students are within the range of 15 to 17 years on when starting, and between 17 and 19 years old when finishing.

In this study, resilience is represented through academic success, specifically in mathematics, and enrollment in postsecondary education. The authors of the study cite Epstein, Coates, Salinas, Sanders, and Simon (1997) who depict their interpretation of resilience “overlapping spheres of influence, places the student in the center of the model, and identified three primary contexts (family, school, and community) in which students develop and learn” (p. 175). This description creates a visual understanding of where the protective and inhibitive factors can develop and how they relate to one another; as the number of protective factors increases in more than one of these spheres of influence, a positive space for growth is created for the child, therefore leading to a higher chance for resiliency. With this explanation for resilience, it can be understood that in this context, successful resilience relies highly on the influence of the environment around the individual; however, because this study was conducted through surveys given directly to the students, it can be understood that their opinions and connections with school and their academics are important to an extent. In this article, the authors do not place much emphasis on the reactions of the participants, but rather of the potential factors that can affect them.

Furthermore, within their article, the authors focus specifically on what they label “academic resilience” which can be understood through their focus in the study solely being academic success and failure, as explained above. In doing so, this creates a unique perspective of understanding resilience, as this interpretation focuses solely on the participating students’ academic performance, which has the potential to overlook or even neglect other indicators of the students’ mental health. This can be labeled as a potential flaw or disadvantage in their study because they may mislabel students as being resilient for performing well in school even though these students may be suffering psychologically and experiencing something like depression or anxiety.

4.2.2 LIEW, CAO, HUGHES, & DEUTZ, 2018

Similarly to Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), Liew, Cao, Hughes, & Deutz (2018) measure resilience through academic performance, but from an earlier stage in life. Rather than measuring mathematic capabilities such as Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), Liew et. al. uses reading skills and children’s behavior towards adversity as a means of measuring resilience capabilities. However, this study adds an additional layer by clarifying the difference between *resilience* and *resiliency*, in which *resiliency* encompasses the “temperament or personality traits associated with adaptability,” and *resilience* is defined specifically as “a dynamic

developmental process of maintaining a positive adaptation or adjustment in the context of substantial threat or adversity” (Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 1994, as cited in Liew et al., 2018, p. 763).

Based on their interpretation of the term, resilience can be taken to be a positive indicator of school performance; furthermore, in this study, resilience’s connection with school performance shows that the authors use a student’s academic performance as a means of assessing their mental health. As a result, this study, similar to that of Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), uses the term “academic resilience.” If the student does well in school, researchers say that the student has good resilience; similarly, if the student is performing poorly in school, researchers would then say the student has poor resilience. Within this study, the authors look further into the importance and influence that peer and teacher relationships can have on a student’s academic resilience. Within their findings, they identified that teacher-student relationships did not have a mediating effect on their resiliency and academic success, while peer relationships did have an effect, to an extent, on their academic success. As a result, this study explains that resilience is measured in the sample through positive academic development or growth and peer-based social connections within the classroom.

To continue, resiliency, more-specifically “ego resiliency” as used within this study (Liew et al., 2018), serves as an advantage to these youths because it allows them a greater chance to positively react towards stressors that would otherwise lead to negative development. Within this study, the authors cite Block & Block (1980) in their definition for “ego resiliency” by stating that it “refers to capacities for ‘resourceful adaptation to changing circumstances and environmental contingencies ... and flexible invocation of the available repertoire of problem-solving strategies’” (Liew et al., 2018, p. 763). The authors theorize that ego resiliency is linked to social and academic success within children. This overall separation in terms creates a better understanding between what an individual experiences and how they can and do respond to it. Additionally, this study uniquely defines the term “ego resiliency” as “a temperamental or personality resource that allows individuals to be flexible and resourceful in adapting to external and internal stressors” (Liew et al., 2018, p. 762).

4.2.3 O’GARA, CALZADA, KIM, 2020

O’Gara, Calzada, and Kim (2020) define resilience within their study as “overcoming serious threats to healthy development and experiencing positive outcomes despite exposure to such threats” (Masten, 2001, as cited in O’Gara et al., 2020, p. 71); this definition is used within the study with the threats being identified as engaging or resisting delinquent behavior. In

contrast to Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), this study labels resilience as the response and process of working against potential inhibitive factors that would otherwise lead to unhealthy development within the Latino youths. Specifically, engaging in delinquent behavior or not serves as the identifying factor over whether or not the youths are resilient. As a result, if a youth is resilient, according to these authors' interpretation of the term, this youth does or engage in delinquent behavior or has a higher level of resistance towards engaging in negative behaviors, therefore giving them the chance for a more positive future. An emphasis is placed on a strong familial bond and a warm and safe home environment as the strongest protective factor in Latino youths' resilience.

Interestingly, O'Gara et al. (2020) explains that there is limited research that has been performed on resilience within Latino youth (specifically regarding perseverance and positive growth) and that there exists more data on the adversity that they face and their negative development that follows as a result (p. 71). Within this study, the father's influence on their child's resilience is analyzed (after taking into consideration the influence/role of the mother figure), specifically examining "fathers' parenting behaviors (e.g., warmth and hostility)" and "the family context (e.g., adolescent gender and age, socioeconomic status [SES], and adolescent-parent alienation)" (O'Gara et al., 2020, p. 71). The inclusion of family-relationships is not unique to this study, alone; however, the level of importance these authors place in understanding specifically the level of influence that father figures have on their children and youths is shown only within this study.

Looking specifically at the terminology, O'Gara et al., (2020) directly use the terms "resilience" and "adolescent resilience" within their article. With their interpretation of how these terms can be applied, they study the effects that parental involvement and warmth, specifically from a father figure, can affect a youth's development and influence whether or not he or she will be more likely to become involved in delinquent behavior. Their results revealed that parent-child alienation, explained as spacing between the child and parental figures in this study, has a direct effect on the resilience of these Mexican American youths; alienation revealed to have a negative correlation with fatherly warmth and resilience, in addition to having a positive correlation with motherly hostility and delinquency (O'Gara et al., 2020, p. 73).

4.2.4 PERREIRA ET AL., 2019

Perreira et al. (2019) measure resilience within Latino youths through 4 identified sources of resilience: "own ethnic identity, parental closeness, family functioning, and social support" (p.

6). With this definition of resilience, these authors incorporate resilience, in addition to other factors such as “immigrant generation, acculturation, and sources of stress” in relation to four potential outcomes of “depression symptoms, anxiety symptoms, alcohol susceptibility, and smoking susceptibility” (Perreira et al., 2019, p. 4). With this definition, these authors analyze specific indicators that are also studied in other articles within this thesis in order to measure resilience within these children; for example, Perreira et al. (2019) and O’Gara et al. (2020) both study involvement in delinquent behavior amongst these youths. An interesting note worth mentioning is that Perreira et al. (2019), level several of the other articles, stress the importance of familial relations, but they do not use it further within the studies themselves.

This study by Perreira et al., similar to Liew et al. (2018), also interviews one adult in relation to the children; in doing this, the study includes an additional factor that greatly affects the children- the mental health of the relevant adult(s). Although other studies highlight the importance of having a safe home for the children to develop in, they do not go as far as these studies and study the health of the present adults. Understanding the mental state of the adults around these children enhances the knowledge of how much more likely a child is to develop negatively because of them. From this, it can be understood that the mental health of the adult plays an influential role in the resilience of their children.

This study provides a unique level of depth with obtaining data, as the researchers did not use one source of information; rather than interviewing just the youths or just the adults, the researchers in this study interviewed one adult for every youth that was included in the study. By doing so, it allows for more than one perspective to be included in the study. What one youth sees and feels can be the opposite and therefore contradict the perspective and understanding of the parent figure. Therefore, it is very helpful when studying youths to include both an adult figure and a youth figure.

4.2.5 ROMERO, WHITE, ANGUAS, & CURLEE, 2020

Romero, White, Anguas, & Curlee (2020) use Ungar et al.’s (2007) definition for resilience which is defined as “youth ability to access resources within their environment that help them effectively navigate risky environments in order to achieve positive outcomes and reduce negative outcomes” (p. 266). These authors continue this definition by explaining how it recognizes resilience not only within the youths, but also within their interactions within other contexts, specifically their family, school and neighborhood. Paired with resilience, this study uses the youths’ self-esteem as an indicator towards their psychological development.

With them serving as indicative factors in this study, self-esteem and resilience were then measured and calculated within these youths through direct surveys which included 10 items that regarding their values and behaviors when working with daily obstacles. Through these items, a “high internal consistency was found ($\alpha = .87$)” when measuring resilience and a “sufficient internal consistency was found ($\alpha = .79$)” when analyzing self-esteem (Romero et al., 2020, p. 270). Additionally, this study identifies age, socioeconomic status, and generation of immigration as covariates when measuring both resilience and self-esteem.

4.2.6 VAZQUEZ-TORRES, 2012

Unlike previously mentioned studies, Vazquez-Torres (2012) defines resilience within her study as a theoretical construct that can be applied to a wide variety of studies and data. Similar to several of the other included articles, “academic resilience,” in addition to “educational resilience,” is used throughout the Vazquez-Torres’s study. The author explains that resilience is utilized as “the lens to examine the (under)achievement of struggling students, and all utilize a measure of academic achievement as a way to draw distinctions between resilient and non-resilient groups of students (e.g., earning mostly A grades vs. earning mostly D grades or below; high GPA vs. low GPA; low-risk of dropping-out of high school vs. high-risk of dropping out of high school; attendance rate and academic achievement)” within this study, similar to many other studies performed within the field of behavioral psychology (Vazquez-Torres, 2012, p. 53-4). Within her study, she explains that to measure resilience, “the ratio between the presence of hazardous circumstances and the presence of protective factors” must be calculated (Van Breda, 2001, as cited in Vazquez-Torres, 2012, p. 49).

Within this study, Vazquez-Torres explains that there are two “judgements” that must be made in order to be able to determine resilience in a study. The first of these two judgements is defined as such:

“the first is an inferential judgment that addresses the adversity, risks, or threats encountered. For the judgment of resilience to be made, there has to be a significant threat to positive adaptation or development, therefore, exposure to risk has to be demonstrated and the current or past hazards must have the potential to derail normative development. In some circumstances, the risks are based on predictors of undesirable outcomes drawn from evidence that a status condition is statistically associated with higher probability of a negative outcome in the future” (Kramer et

al., 1997; Masten, 2001; Masten & Garmezy, 1985 as cited in Vazquez-Torres, 2012, p. 49).

Through this definition, it is argued that there must first be an evaluation of the presence of some form of event or trauma that can negatively alter a child or youth's mental growth; if there are any, they must be identified. Examples of potential risk factors can vary from environmental factors to internal factors such as how the youth perform in school both academically and socially to being born into a genetic line where anxiety, depression, or other mental illnesses exist.

In addition to highlighting the importance of measuring risk factors, Vazquez-Torres (2012) furthers her explanation by stating that the second judgement is "an inferential judgment in the criteria and the quality by which a developmental outcome is evaluated and determined as good" (p. 49); this statement, as further explained by Vazquez-Torres, works as the second step in assessing resilience within a study. Previously, the risk factor was identified in a study; now, the researcher has to decide if the child or youth's reaction to this factor has been what can be deemed as "good." If so, they must look to see what protective factors could have helped to interrupt the potential negative growth pattern. Vazquez-Torres (2012) explains that, according to Rutter et al. (1970), several examples of protective factors are "(a) high academic standards, (b) incentives and rewards, (c) appropriate feedback and praise, (d) teachers modeling of positive behavior, and (e) offering opportunities for students to experience responsibility, success, and the development of social and problem solving skills were significantly related to positive academic outcomes even when students encountered difficulties" (p. 53).

5 DISCUSSION

Within this section, I will use the previously identified interpretations for resilience in the six included articles and present how each of the six included studies define resilience and what role it plays throughout; following this, I will compare the various interpretations and analyze the costs and benefits of these interpretations. In addition, I will further dissect these interpretations and explain how the researchers' understandings for child wellbeing are affected by these interpretations for resilience.

5.1 COMPARISONS OF RESILIENCE

From what has been discussed, almost all of the articles include one of these terms and/or focus primarily on the academic success of the students. Perreira et al. (2019), however, also include input from an adult that is around the children. This allows for a deeper understanding, as it is not just the youth that is surveyed in this study and can provide deeper information on their life outside of school that would otherwise go undocumented.

In addition, when studying resilience, it does not automatically indicate positive factors or outcomes. When interpreting resilience for themselves and applying it to their own studies, researchers choose how they will study resilience and what specific they will use as indicators on how to decide if an individual can be deemed resilient or not.

A minute understanding into the complexity of the world of resilience can be achieved through comparing the different interpretations of resilience within this thesis. Although this thesis focuses only on Latino youths, the included interpretations of resilience can be applied to other studies and fields of research because of the depth that resilience has as an overall concept.

5.1.1 CONNECTIONS WITHIN RESILIENCE

When examining these articles' use of the term resilience, they can all be linked back to Werner's (1995) initial explanation that there are 3 general uses for resilience; to re-state these uses, they are "good developmental outcomes despite high-risk status; sustained competence under stress; and recovery from trauma" (as cited in Fleming and Ledogar, 2008,

p. 2). This does not mean that there are no other ways to use resilience within psychology, but within this study and the articles that have been selected, all definitions fit into these 3 uses. When comparing them to one another, several of the articles can be seen to share the same definitions and uses for resilience within their studies.

Werner's (1995) interpretation is similar to that of Vazquez-Torres (2012) in the sense that both arguments express that resilience can be represented in more than one manner; however, Werner (1995) provides three possible outcomes as opposed to Vazquez-Torres's (2012) two outcomes. This can be seen when examining that two of Werner's outcomes are "sustained competence under stress" and "recovery from trauma" (p. 2); both of these outcomes fall under one of Vazquez-Torres's two outcomes in that resilience is understood to be a process of development rather than a trait an individual already has. It can be debated whether this combining has occurred as a result of general progression of development and refining within the world of research, or that perhaps Werner's argument provides an additional layer of depth that Vazquez-Torres is lacking in their study.

When explaining resilience in their articles, the various uses and interpretations that the different authors have can lead to difficulties when comparing the studies even though they were written about the exact same topic with different methods of understanding and measuring. Specifically, a researcher's interpretation of resilience, even in a similar overall context of study, can still differ to the point where their results are not comparable because they see resilience differently.

Of the six articles that remained after the screening process, Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), Liew et al. (2018), O'Gara et al. (2019), and Vazquez-Torres (2012) use the term "academic resilience" actively as a method of further defining resilience. Because of this, these four articles are easier to compare when analyzing their results and examining how their interpretations and implementation of resilience affects how child wellbeing is represented in their studies. When comparing the four articles' interpretations of resilience to one another, there are many overlapping protective and risk factors because they chose to interpret resilience in the same manner. However, this does not mean that the other four articles only use the same factors within their own studies, although there are many that are shared.

The remaining two studies Perreira et al. (2019) and Romero et al. (2020) continue to use the general term "resilience," which create a dilemma when comparing their results to the other included studies, as the previous four have a designated focus on what resilience encompasses in their studies which is academic success when faced with various risk factors. Because the latter two use a much broader interpretation of resilience, their results and

understandings for child wellbeing incorporate a larger scope of both protective and risk factors that may not have been discussed within the other articles.

5.1.2 CHANGES IN DATA

The reason that many researchers focus so heavily on academic success within these students can possibly be because academic success, from a cultural standpoint in both the Latino culture and within the general culture of North America, reflects a positive future and often foreshadows overall success in life (or at least thought so). Additionally, academic success is also a physical value that can be easier to study than behavioral progress.

However, as stated earlier in this thesis, when focusing solely on academic success, this can lead to a hyper fixation on academic scores. This may then lead to researchers overlooking social and psychological behaviors that are displayed in and outside of school which also serve as vital indicators towards a child's wellbeing. When studying resilience, researchers have the opportunity to select on how large of a scale and in what context they want to study and measure resilience. In a way, it can be almost neglectful to focus so specifically on academic performance as the indicative factor towards a child's wellbeing. It is interesting that none of the scholars seem to view this hyper-focus on academic scores as a potential problem as it can limit their sphere of understanding the overall wellbeing of these children. To examine such a specific selection from a positive perspective, choosing a factor such as academic performance, or *academic resilience*, as the point of focus allows for researchers to use grades within school as concrete numbers that they can measure as a means of documenting their improvement or decline in school. As a result, researchers studying academic resilience often use these numbers to indicate the mental wellbeing of these children and youths (Vazquez-Torres, 2012).

Stepping away from academic resilience, it is interesting to acknowledge that some researchers argue that there exists a positive correlation between school performance and mental health and avoidance with dangerous or illegal substances. Referencing Bond et al. (2007), these authors argue that there is a positive correlation between performing well in school and resisting negative habits/substances; in addition, they further explain that having a weaker connection to school and their academic performance has shown to be connected to developing unhealthy habits, in addition to the higher chance of the presence of poor mental health symptoms including anxiety and depression. Bond's argument is reflected within the resilience interpretations made by Romero et al. (2020), Perreira et al. (2019), and O'Gara et

al. (2019), as each highlights the importance of abstaining from delinquent behavior as an indicator for resilience.

5.1.3 VARIATIONS OF RESILIENCE

By using terms such as academic resilience and educational resilience, researchers in these studies often only focus on test scores and school performance, when the students have the potential to be performing well in school but still are suffering psychologically. Contrasting this understanding, Perreira et al. (2019) use the input from an adult, for example the child's guardian within their study; this allows these researchers to have the potential to get an outside perspective on home life and behavior that would otherwise be difficult to pinpoint in a school setting. In addition, the children themselves may not openly reflect on these kinds of behaviors in a survey.

However, it is also worth mentioning that they further clarify the type of resilience that is being measured, because as explained by many researchers, simply the term *resilience* is very broad and does not explain what factors are being measured in order to understand how the youths are succeeding.

With the included studies, all 6 actively use resilience. Although the terminology varies slightly, it is worth noting that 4 of the 6 included studies use "academic resilience" as they use the performance of the participants in school as an identifying factor. Unlike these 4, Romero et al. (2020) interpret resilience as a trait that the children and youths already have and assess it through questions that focused on their self-image; furthermore, this general term of "resilience" allows these researchers to study a wide variety of both protective and risk factors that allow for them to have a wider set of data.

These two brief examples reflect Herrman et al.'s (2011) earlier mentioned statement that in the research world, researchers still debate whether or not resilience can be identified as a "personal trait, compared with a dynamic process" (p. 259). Furthermore, researchers must individually decide how they choose to identify resilience before they can apply it to their study. As a result, data can often vary as researchers are looking at different factors even though they are still using the same term.

In addition, several of the articles use resilience as an indicator on whether or not their participants engage in delinquent behavior or not. Furthermore, if the youths or children that they study do not engage in behavior that is labeled as detrimental to their growth (i.e. tobacco, alcohol, or other forms of drug abuse), the subject is considered to be resilient

(O’Gara et al., 2020). If they discuss anything else within their articles, they often refer to it indirectly, rather than using the terms resilience, academic resilience, or education resilience and discuss academic performance instead. They also mention positive and negative behavior when discussing outward expressions and reactions made by the youths.

5.1.4 CULTURE AND ITS CONNECTION TO RESILIENCE

Since the articles in this study focus on resilience within Latino youths, the authors’ use of Latino culture as an independent factor is important to analyze; the reason for this is that culture, in and of itself, represents both the researchers’ perspectives when performing their studies, but also the perspectives and behaviors of the participants of these studies (Vazquez-Torres, 2012). Although culture is vaguely discussed throughout many of the articles, only one directly talks about the influence that culture can have when studying Latino children. Vazquez-Torres (2012) explores the potential misalignments when defining resilience without considering the implications of culture by stating “the criteria may change across different cultures, as well as social and historical contexts. For example, the expected behavior of children of a particular age, given society, or historical period can be different and may change over time” (p. 50). Through this, she explains how there are a multitude of factors that often need to be considered when measuring resilience that exceed relative individual and environmental factors which are easier to measure.

Additionally, it is worth noting that Vazquez-Torres is the only researcher that discusses the importance of culture in these studies. However, she is not the only Latino/a researcher within this study. Is there a specific reason that these other researchers neglect cultural understanding and do not use it throughout their studies as an independent factor? Say if a child does well in school despite experiencing trauma within their family- does it matter that the child is white or Latino?

Delving further into the understanding of culture when measuring resilience, within this specific thesis that analyzes the Latino ethnic group, “machismo” represents a unique part of their culture that is even mentioned by Vazquez-Torres and not mentioned at all by the other 5 articles. This Spanish term exists in the Latino community and represents an important part of their culture, thought processes, and behavior (Ingoldsby, 1991); it incorporates “male behaviour that is strong and forceful, and shows very traditional ideas about how men and women should behave” within its definition (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021). Furthering this definition, in traditional Latino culture, boys are taught to express as little emotion as possible, and girls are taught to be quiet and subservient. Within her study, Vazquez-Torres

(2012) uses culture to argue that cultural differences and misunderstandings can lead to misinterpreting behavioral patterns of Latino children by non-Latino researchers. As a result, these instilled behaviors can restrict how much the observer, whether it be a teacher, parent, or research can see with regard to these children's actions.

Overall, culture can represent an extra level of depth within ethnic studies as it allows researchers a better understanding into the everyday lives of their participants, in this case the Latino children and youths; however, this can only be said when more than one ethnic group is represented within these studies, as culture cannot be a variable factor when only one culture is included. Culture provides insights into behavioral practices and generally accepted beliefs or ways of thinking that are often exclusively found within certain populations. In addition, children are taught to behave based through cultural beliefs and practices in addition to their parents' personal beliefs. These differences may create cross-cultural barriers in understanding one another when performing research such as these resilience studies. This can be seen in Romero et al.'s (2020) research which highlights the overall importance of familism and the level of impact that mothers' and specifically fathers' behaviors can have on their children. However, Romero et al.'s use of familism still does not place a strong enough emphasis on the overall impact that culture can have and why it could and often should be incorporated as an independent factor in studies similar to theirs.

5.2 CHILD WELLBEING AS AFFECTED BY THE VARIOUS DEFINITIONS OF RESILIENCE

Because of how large the field of resilience is, authors' different interpretations can alter their entire studies and how they are conducted; how an author defines resilience, whether as a development process or an already-existing trait within the child, these authors will search for different factors to either prove or disprove their own studies. However, these interpretations for child wellbeing will all still have the same base understanding if "wellbeing" is defined by the CDC's (2018) definition: "... well-being includes the presence of positive emotions and moods (e.g., contentment, happiness), the absence of negative emotions (e.g., depression, anxiety), satisfaction with life, fulfillment and positive functioning." It is worth noting that with this definition, none of these traits have anything to do with academic achievement,

hinting that the focus of researchers who use resilience to talk about child wellbeing might be looking in the wrong place. If researchers are studying products that these children and youth are producing, such as grades in school, they are ignoring the biggest indicator of wellbeing- the youth or child themselves.

How child wellbeing is represented within studies and understood by the authors is reflected in how the researchers interpret resilience. As stated earlier, if a study uses terms such as “academic resilience” or “educational resilience,” as in Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), Liew et al. (2018), O’Gara et al. (2019), and Vazquez-Torres (2012), these researchers place emphasis on the participants’ performance in school as their means of identifying whether or not these individuals are resilient. However, although these researchers often examine protective and risk factors that exist within the school, such as the individual’s social network, relationship to the teacher, participation level in class, and other factors, the deciding factor for these researchers is ultimately the grades that these students receive in school.

In one way, this has the potential serve as an effective manner of assessing resilience within these children and youths because their grades serve as concrete numbers that researchers can follow over a period of time in order to understand if the student’s performance level in school is improving, declining, or remaining consistent. To provide a hypothetical example- if a student is performing well in math class with higher grades, as studied by Boutin-Martinez et al. (2019), but over time begins to decline more and more to the point where this student is no longer performing well in school, researchers can use these scores as indicating factors of the student’s mental health; the same applies for students that perform poorly but whose grades improve over time. In both circumstances, researchers have the opportunity of using those scores as physical markers of when the student began to improve or decline, and they can then look begin searching for potential protective or risk factors that could have influenced him or her. Ultimately, when resilience is studied through the indication of academic performance, researchers have what can be a fast and readily available resource for them to use.

However, facing this argument from the opposite standpoint, researchers that use terms such as “academic resilience,” “educational resilience,” and other terms may not be fully able to interpret child wellbeing in their studies or there could be the possibility that they misinterpret the wellbeing of children through their understandings of resilience. Reflecting back on the definition of child wellbeing that has been accepted for this thesis, it is defined as “broad multidimensional construct that covers objective and subjective measures of physical and mental wellbeing, education and social outcomes (e.g., social skills and social inclusion),

and subjective perceptions of quality of life” (Robitail et al., 2007; OECD, 2016). Through this definition, several, if not all, of the stated factors are included within the resilience studies in this thesis. However, when studies focus primarily on academic scores as a means of assessing overall resilience and therefore child wellbeing, there arises the potential that certain factors of wellbeing are disregarded or altogether missed by these researchers.

6 CONCLUSION

Through the dissemination and analysis performed within this thesis, I worked to show that resilience is a massive field of research and incorporates a plethora of definitions and interpretations that span multiple fields of study. Because of these varying definitions, it can be difficult for other researchers to interpret each other's data because their interpretations, even when within the same field of study, can be completely different. My research throughout this thesis has compared six studies on resilience and its connection to child wellbeing within Latino children and youths within the United States of America in order to visualize this understanding on the complexity of the field of resilience. Following this comparison of interpretations, I used these definitions to analyze how each study interpreted child wellbeing through a specific understanding of the term in which it is understood to be a "broad multidimensional construct that covers objective and subjective measures of physical and mental wellbeing, education and social outcomes (e.g., social skills and social inclusion), and subjective perceptions of quality of life" (Robitail et al., 2007; OECD, 2016). Through these comparisons, similar to when resilience was defined in each study, I elaborated on the similarities and differences within the interpretations of child wellbeing within these studies; however, I deepened these explanations by also evaluating the positives and negatives of each interpretation. This specifically refers to what they could either be excelling in with what they incorporate or what they are lacking in.

Through these comparisons, I argued that even though several of the differences had similar interpretations or overlapping factors used for measuring resilience, these interpretations represent just an extremely hyper-focused understanding of how slightly different understandings can influence the data and results within a study. Continuing, all six of the studies included within this thesis used resilience actively through their research; however, several of them used specific terms for resilience that led to alternate interpretations. For example, 4 of the 6 studies, specifically Boutin-Martinez et. al. (2019), Liew et. al. (2018), O'Gara et al. (2019), and Vazquez-Torres (2012), actively used the term "academic resilience" within their studies because each of them used students' academic performance in school as a means of identifying whether or not these participants were "resilient." By only using the general term "resilience" Perreira et al. (2019) and Romero et al. (2020) incorporate

more factors of influence, both protective and resilient within their studies which functions both positively and negatively when working to compare their interpretations to that of the other included studies.

As stated above, using the interpretations for resilience, how child wellbeing was interpreted and evaluated within the studies was analyzed. Looking at Boutin-Martinez et. al. (2019), Liew et. al. (2018), and Vazquez-Torres (2012) again, since these studies use the term “academic resilience” and focus primarily on the academic success of the students, it can be interpreted that these authors see academic success as synonymous with positive wellbeing and mental health. However, this can be argued to be a misunderstanding by these authors, because although a student may be performing well in school, test scores do not show all that is going on within the student’s mind, nor does it show how their behavior and emotional state may be before and/or after school. Therefore, it can be argued that these authors are missing important factors in being able to better fully-understand these children’s wellbeing.

These articles’ interpretations of resilience can be connected to Vazquez-Torres’s (2012) explanation with the complications of interpreting resilience by stating that a dilemma for researchers is “whether to expect resilient children to function in the normative range or to excel. In other words, is a person resilient because despite of the obstacles they are ‘doing okay’ or is the person resilient because despite of the challenges they are better than okay” (p. 50). This statement that she makes represents a divide in the field of research when connecting resilience to child wellbeing, as there is no concrete definition for what resilience fully includes.

With the hypothesis for this thesis being that “the interpretations that researchers make regarding the definition of resilience can and often will affect their understandings of child wellbeing and what it, as an overall term, can mean,” when reflecting on the information provided throughout this thesis, this statement is proven to be true. This thesis represents only a hyper-focused analysis on 6 articles that all study second-generation and further Latino children within the United States, but it can be argued that this proven hypothesis can be proved true in other ethnic groups, if not all, when studying this same topic.

To summarize, the research question of this thesis was how is resilience used in the literature and what are the implications for how the concept of child wellbeing is understood? The hypothesis for this thesis was that the interpretations that researchers make regarding the definition of resilience can and often will affect their understandings of child wellbeing and what it, as an overall term, can mean. This hypothesis was tested by dissecting the articles that are included in this thesis, including variables, but not limited to, how these researchers

conducted their studies, how they decided to define resilience, and how they decided when a participant was resilient or not. With this in mind, the results of this thesis prove the hypothesis to be true, as each study's interpretation of resilience affected what they deemed as important factors in being able to measure resilience within these children and youths. Because this hypothesis was proven true, the earlier stated null hypothesis, which argued that the various interpretations of resilience had no effect on the understandings of child wellbeing, is proven false.

Ultimately, this thesis has illustrated that the field of resilience is vast and requires further research in order to make solid conclusions. Because this thesis uses resilience within a specific context, specifically its connection to child wellbeing within these six articles, resilience is only understood to represent one specific understanding, even though there are several versions of this understanding within the thesis. The data that is represented within this thesis only represents an extremely hyper-focused and minute percentage of what resilience encompasses. Therefore, further research is required in the future in order to better understand how resilience can be connected to child wellbeing, both on a very focused scale such as that of this thesis and also on a wider scale.

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TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 1: This flowchart displays the steps that were performed during the filtering process in order to find the 6 relevant resilience articles that are included within this thesis.

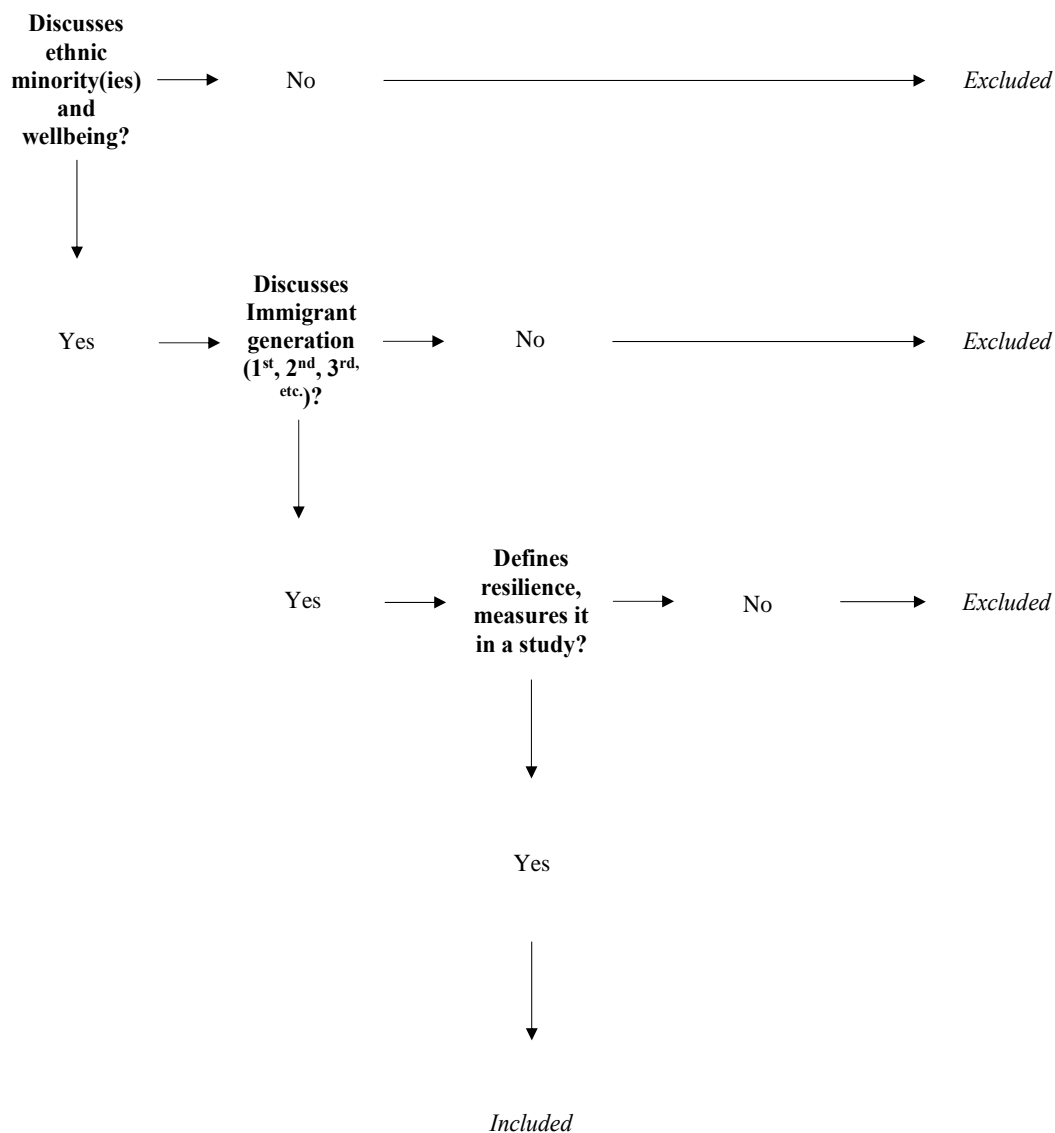


TABLE 1. This table shows the six resilience articles that are included in this thesis.

Name of Study	Authors	Year	Setting	Age	Gender	Race, Ethnicity, n (%)	Sampling	Study Aim	Type of Study
Experiencing Resilience in Latino Academic Outcomes: A Latent Class Approach	Borjas-Martinez, A., Rodriguez, R. K., Nivola, G., & Simon, O.	2019	USA	10th to 12th grade	43% Female 47% Male	69.4% Mexican 11.0% Puerto Rican 6.6% Central American 6.6% South American 3.7% Dominican 3.2% Cuban	Non-Random Sampling N=1,584	To explore the relationship between various protective factors with academic outcomes of Latino high school students.	Prospective, Longitudinal, Cohort Study
Academic Resilience Despite Early Academic Adversity: A Three-Wave Longitudinal Study on Regulations-Related Resilience and Achievement in First or Third Grade	Levy, J., Cao, Q., Higgins, J. N., & Pianta, R. C.	2018	USA	Average: 6.57	47.4% Female 52.6% Male	34.1% white 37.4% Hispanic 22.2% African American 5.2% other	Random Sampling N=784	To examine which qualities of children's interpersonal relationships at school serve as mechanisms through which spillover and future academic achievement are linked in a sample of children assessed as at-risk for early literacy problems	Prospective, Longitudinal, Cohort Study
The Father's Role in Risk and Resilience in Mexican American Adolescents	D'Ortiz, J. L., O'Leary, E. J., Kim, S. Y., Peralta, R. M., Schmeier, S. J., Kasl, C. R., Carroon, M. R., Collins, H. L., Kaplan, R. D., Rodriguez, D. A., Vidal, D. C., Van Horn, L., & Delamater, A. M.	2019	USA	Average: 12	47.4% Female 52.6% Male	100% Mexican	Random Sampling N=272	To examine whether parent-child alienation mediated the relations between parental displays of warmth and hostility and the outcomes of adolescent resilience and delinquency in Mexican American families.	Cross-Section, Observational Study
Stress and Resilience: Key Correlates of Mental Health and Substance Use in the Hispanic Community Health Study of Latino Youth	Peralta, R. M., Schmeier, S. J., Kasl, C. R., Carroon, M. R., Collins, H. L., Kaplan, R. D., Rodriguez, D. A., Vidal, D. C., Van Horn, L., & Delamater, A. M.	2019	USA	Average: 12	49% Female 51% Male	51.88% Mexican 17.27% Puerto Rican 14.15% Dominican 12.15% Puerto Rican 6.19% Cuban 7.56% Other Hispanic	Random Sampling N=1,466	To examine associations of immigrant generation, acculturation, and sources of stress and resilience with four outcomes—depression symptoms, anxiety symptoms, alcohol susceptibility, and smoking susceptibility.	Prospective, Longitudinal, Cohort Study
Resilience of Mexican Descent Youth in a Low-Income Neighborhood: Examining Family and Neighborhood Factors	Romero, A. J., White, R. M. H., Ojeda, M. M., & Rodin, J. M.	2020	USA	Average: 15.7	53% Female 47% Male	80% Mexican American 15% Mexican 5% Asian	Cluster Sampling N=127	To examine how positive development of Mexican-descent youth in a low-income ethnic enclave is associated with neighborhood and family factors.	Cross-Section, Observational Study
Resilience in an ethnic enclave: High-achieving At-Risk Latino Youth	Vazquez-Torres, L.	2012	USA	11th and 12th grade	52.2% Female 44.8% Male	71.5% Latino 25% Asian 4% Too small to consider	Convenience Sampling N=370	To examine the distal (external) and proximal (external) protective factors that make a difference in the achievement trajectories of one of the nation's greatest underperforming student groups.	Cross-Section, Observational Study

N1 = Not included in study

(Continuation of Table 1)

How studies measure resilience/what kind of instrument they applied to measure resilience	Definition of Resilience	Term(s) Used	Estimated resilience, content	Evaluation Form, Instrument	Evaluation Form, Name of Study
7 Resilience items (positive academic factors) are applied to the academic environments of students as a means of assessing academic achievement among Latino students.	NI	Academic Resilience	Educational outcomes and familial connections	Interviewed by the use of structured questionnaires to students	Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS: 2002) (previous data set)
Resiliency was assessed using teacher ratings of students' agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness on a 5-point scale. Items for Agreeableness and Conscientiousness were from the scales of the same name of the Big Five Inventory (John & Srivastava, 1999), and items for Openness were from the California Child Q-Sort (Caspi, Bickel, Block, & Kopp, 1992).	A dynamic developmental process of maintaining positive adaptation or adjusting to the sources of substantial threat or adversity.	Academic Resilience; Ego-Resilience; Temperament-Based-Adaptability	Academic achievement despite early academic risk or adversity	Interviewed by the use of structured questionnaires to teachers	NI
These items from the Connor and Davidson (2003) Resilience Scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Items included: "I can deal with whatever comes," "I am not easily discouraged by failure," and "I tend to recover easily after an illness or hardship."	Overcoming various threats to healthy development and experiencing positive outcomes despite exposure to such threats.	Resilience, Adolescent resilience	Abstaining from delinquent behaviors (vs. gun carrying, drug/alcohol consumption)	Interviewed in homes or neighborhood by research assistants using structured questionnaires	Collaborative Research: Mexican American Language Brokers: Multiple Levels of Stress and Academic and Health Outcomes (previous data set)
4 sources of resilience for youth— 1. own ethnic identity- 8 items (6 from Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)) (3 from Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)) 2. parental closeness- 3 items 3. family functioning- 12 items (McMaster Family Assessment Device) 4. social support- 4 items (Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support)	NI	Resilience	Abstaining from delinquent behaviors (vs. gun carrying, drug/alcohol consumption) and fewer negative symptoms (depression/anxiety)	Interview-administered survey	Hispanic Community Health Study of Latinos Youth (HCHS/SOL)
Resilience was measured with 10 items assessing values and behaviors that helped with tackling daily life challenges (Lugar & Lieberberg, 2011).	Young ability to access resources within their environment that help them effectively navigate risky environments in order to achieve positive outcomes and reduce negative outcomes.	Resilience	Their ability to tap into assets within the contexts of family, school and neighborhood as a means of resisting negative outcomes.	Pen and pencil self-report surveys at 5 local sites	NI
The Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC) is a 25-item scale that measures the ability to cope with stress and adversity plus 5 additional items.	Resilience is the ability to adapt to and recover from adversity. It involves cognitive and self-regulation skills, motivation, and connections to competent and caring adults in the family and community.	Educational Resilience; Academic Resilience	Educational outcomes	Interviewed by the use of structured questionnaires	NI

APPENDIX

This is the key word search conducted by Malene Wøhlk Gundersen and Elisabeth Karlsen on June 12, 2020.

#	Searches	Results
1	adolescent/ or Puberty/ or young adult/ or child/ or child, preschool/	3380226
2	(child* or adoles* or pubert* or prepubert* or teenage* or teen or teens or youth* or schoolchild* or preschool* or pre school* or generation*).tw,kw,kf.	2122946
3	or/1-2	4315337
4	Ethnic Groups/ or "Emigrants and immigrants"/ or "Emigration and Immigration"/ or undocumented immigrants/	94469
5	(immigra* or emigra* or ethnic* or migrant* or ((cultural* or migrat* or linguistic*) and (background* or population*)) or race or racial*).ti,kw,kf.	88806
6	or/4-5	147978
7	3 and 6	48580
8	Mental Disorders/ or Mental Health/ or exp Emotions/ or exp Personality/ or Behavior/ or Adolescent Behavior/ or Child Behavior/ or Problem Behavior/ or Dangerous Behavior/ or Health Behavior/ or Social Behavior/ or Social Adjustment/ or Social Skills/ or Social Conformity/ or Social Identification/ or Internal-External Control/ or Personality Development/ or Shyness/ or Self-Control/ or Resilience, Psychological/ or Adaptation, Psychological/ or Emotional Adjustment/ or Emotional Regulation/ or Self Efficacy/ or Empathy/ or Object Attachment/ or exp Aggression/ or Anxiety/ or Depression/ or "attention deficit and disruptive behavior disorders"/ or Attention Deficit Disorder with Hyperactivity/ or Child health/ or Adolescent Health/	1028700
9	((((mental* or psychiatric*) adj (health or disorder* or diagnosis or ill* or problem*)) or (health* adj3 status*)).ti,kw,kf.	125009
10	((conduct or affective or attention or impulse*) and problem*).ti,kw,kf.	2021

11	(externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized).ti,kw,kf.	4997
12	(anxiet* or depression* or depressive).ti,kw,kf.	199431
13	(temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or resilien* or behavior* or behaviour* or emotion* or hyperactiv* or shyness or hyperkinesis or psychopathology or neuroses or distress).ti,kw,kf.	514347
14	or/8-13	1504022
15	7 and 14	12634
16	((child* or adoles* or youth* or generation* or teen* or pubert*) adj10 (immigrant* or migrant* or ethnic* or racial* or race* or origin or native-born*) adj10 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or distress or behavior* or behaviour* or conduct or externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized or anxiet* or depression* or depressive or shyness or hyperkinesis or temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or emotion* or hyperactiv*)).tw,kw,kf.	6169
17	15 or 16	16570
18	Cross-Sectional Studies/ or Observational Study/	399034
19	((cross-section* or prevalence) adj2 (study or studies or studied)) or cross-sectional).tw,kw,kf.	367110
20	(observational adj2 (study or studies)).tw,kw,kf.	127176
21	or/18-20	640336
22	exp Cohort Studies/	1998887
23	(cohort adj2 (study or studies or analy*)).tw,kw,kf.	235216
24	((follow up or followup) adj2 (study or studies)).tw,kw,kf.	60672
25	((longitudinal or prospective or retrospective) adj2 (study or studies)).tw,kw,kf.	619792
26	or/22-25	2260117
27	17 and 21	2378
28	limit 27 to yr="2013 -Current"	1263
29	17 and 26	2712

30	limit 29 to yr="2013 -Current"	1306
31	28 or 30	2375

#	Searches	Results
1	adolescent/ or Young Adult/ or Child/ or Preschool child/ or School child/ or puberty/ or prepuberty/	2807429
2	(child* or adoles* or pubert* or prepubert* or teenage* or teen or teens or youth* or schoolchild* or preschool* or pre school* or generation*).tw,kw.	2484238
3	or/1-2	3900016
4	Ethnic group/ or Ethnic differences/ or Ethnicity/ or Emigrant/ or Migrant/ or Immigrant/ or Undocumented immigrant/ or "ethnic or racial aspects"/ or Race/ or Race difference/	248625
5	(immigra* or emigra* or ethnic* or migrant* or ((cultural* or migrat* or linguistic*) and (background* or population*))) or race or racial*).ti,kw.	100750
6	or/4-5	292839
7	3 and 6	74705
8	Mental disease/ or Mental health/ or Psychological well-being/ or exp Emotion/ or Emotional attachment/ or Emotional deprivation/ or Emotional intelligence/ or Emotion regulation/ or exp Temperament/ or Empathy/ or Object relation/ or Behavior/ or Abnormal behavior/ or Disruptive behavior/ or Problem behavior/ or Child behavior/ or Adolescent behavior/ or Social behavior/ or Adaptive behavior/ or exp Antisocial behavior/ or exp Defensive behavior/ or Aversive behavior/ or Coping behavior/ or Runaway behavior/ or Health behavior/ or High risk behavior/ or Mental instability/ or Assertiveness/ or exp Aggression/ or Shyness/ or Personal value/ or Psychological adjustment/ or psychological resilience/ or Ego development/ or Altruism/ or Maladjustment/ or ego identity/ or Self control/ or Personality/ or anxiety/ or Depression/ or Minor depression/ or Major depression/ or Adolescent depression/ or attention deficit disorder/	1733755

9	((((mental* or psychiatric*) adj (health or disorder* or diagnosis or ill* or problem*)) or (health* adj3 status*)).ti,kw.	131099
10	((conduct or affective or attention or impulse*) and problem*).ti,kw.	2512
11	(externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized).ti,kw.	6027
12	(anxiet* or depression* or depressive).ti,kw.	268600
13	(temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or resilien* or behavior* or behaviour* or emotion* or hyperactiv* or shyness or hyperkinesis or psychopathology or neuroses or distress).ti,kw.	546180
14	or/8-13	2084636
15	7 and 14	18987
16	((child* or adoles* or youth* or generation* or teen* or pubert* or prepubert*) adj10 (immigrant* or migrant* or ethnic* or racial* or race* or origin or native-born*) adj10 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or distress or behavior* or behaviour* or conduct or externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized or anxiet* or depression* or depressive or shyness or hyperkinesis or temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or emotion* or hyperactiv*)).tw,kw.	6593
17	15 or 16	22992
18	cross-sectional study/ or observational study/	533961
19	((cross-section* or prevalence) adj2 (study or studies or studied)) or cross-sectional).tw,kw.	482518
20	(observational adj2 (study or studies)).tw,kw.	200952
21	or/18-20	812250
22	cohort analysis/ or follow up/ or longitudinal study/ or "National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health"/ or prospective study/ or retrospective study/	3032249
23	(cohort adj2 (study or studies or analy*)).tw,kw.	351892
24	((follow up or followup) adj2 (study or studies)).tw,kw.	79451
25	((longitudinal or prospective or retrospective) adj2 (study or studies)).tw,kw.	919843
26	or/22-25	3300927

27	17 and 21	3119
28	limit 27 to yr="2013 -Current"	2013
29	17 and 26	4578
30	limit 29 to yr="2013 -Current"	2966
31	28 or 30	4552

#	Query	Results
S1	DE "ADOLESCENCE" OR DE "TEENAGE boys" OR DE "TEENAGE girls" OR DE "TEENAGERS" OR DE "YOUTH" OR DE "YOUNG adults" OR DE "YOUNG men" OR DE "YOUNG women" OR DE "PUBERTY" OR DE "CHILDREN" OR DE "CHILDREN of unemployed parents" OR DE "HOMELESS children" OR DE "POOR children" OR DE "PRESCHOOL children" OR DE "SCHOOL children"	70,098
S2	TI (child* or adoles* or pubert* or prepubert* or teenage* or teen or teens or youth* or schoolchild* or preschool* or pre school* or generation*) OR AB (child* or adoles* or pubert* or prepubert* or teenage* or teen or teens or youth* or schoolchild* or preschool* or pre school* or generation*) OR KW (child* or adoles* or pubert* or prepubert* or teenage* or teen or teens or youth* or schoolchild* or preschool* or pre school* or generation*)	362,189
S3	S1 OR S2	371,132
S4	DE "ETHNIC identity of Asian American youth" OR DE "ASIAN American children" OR DE "ASIAN American college students" OR DE "ASIAN American teenagers" OR DE "ASIAN American youth" OR DE "ASIAN American teenagers" OR DE "HISPANIC American children" OR DE "HISPANIC American college students" OR DE "HISPANIC American teenagers" OR DE "HISPANIC American youth" OR DE "PACIFIC Islander American children" OR DE "PACIFIC Islander American teenagers" OR DE "AFRICAN American young men" OR DE "AFRICAN American teenagers" OR DE "BLACK teenage girls" OR DE "AFRICAN American young women" OR DE "BLACK teenagers" OR DE "BLACK young men"	4,128

	OR DE "BLACK young women" OR DE "BLACK youth" OR DE "AFRICAN American youth" OR DE "BLACK children" OR DE "AFRICAN American school children" OR DE "AFRICAN American children" OR DE "AFRICAN American boys" OR DE "AFRICAN American girls" OR DE "TEENAGE immigrants" OR DE "CHILDREN of immigrants" OR DE "CHILDREN of intercountry marriage" OR DE "CHILDREN of interethnic marriage" OR DE "CHILDREN of interfaith marriage" OR DE "CHILDREN of migrant laborers" OR DE "AFRICAN American young adults" OR DE "CHILDREN of undocumented immigrants" AND DE "MINORITY boys" OR DE "MINORITY girls" OR DE "IMMIGRANT children" OR DE "RACIALLY mixed children"	
S5	DE "AFRICAN Americans" OR DE "ASIAN Americans" OR DE "HISPANIC Americans" OR DE "RACIALLY mixed people" OR DE "ETHNIC neighborhoods" OR DE "ETHNICITY" OR DE "ETHNIC differences" OR DE "ETHNIC discrimination" OR DE "ETHNIC groups" OR DE "ATTITUDES of ethnic groups" OR DE "ETHNIC relations" OR DE "ETHNIC conflict" OR DE "RACE" OR DE "BLACK race" OR DE "RACE & social status" OR DE "RACIAL minorities" OR DE "RACE discrimination" OR DE "RACE identity" OR DE "RACIAL differences" OR DE "BLACK white differences" OR DE "IMMIGRANTS" OR DE "UNDOCUMENTED immigrants" OR DE "EMIGRATION & immigration" OR DE "COUNTRY of origin (Immigrants)" OR DE "ASSIMILATION of immigrants" OR DE "BLACK people" OR DE "PEOPLE of color" OR DE "RACIAL identity of black people"	101,7 80
S6	TI ((immigra* or emigra* or ethnic* or migrant* or ((cultural* or migrat* or linguistic*) and (background* or population*)) or race or racial*)) OR KW ((immigra* or emigra* or ethnic* or migrant* or ((cultural* or migrat* or linguistic*) and (background* or population*)) or race or racial*))	93,78 7
S7	S4 OR S5 OR S6	148,9 54
S8	S3 AND S7	29,17 3

S9	DE "MENTAL health" OR DE "MENTAL health & social status" OR DE "MENTAL illness" OR DE "DEPRESSION in college students" OR DE "MENTAL health of African Americans" OR DE "MENTAL health of Asian Americans" OR DE "MENTAL health of black college students" OR DE "MENTAL health of college students" OR DE "MENTAL health of Hispanic Americans" OR DE "MENTAL health of teenagers" OR DE "ADAPTABILITY (Psychology)" OR DE "ADJUSTMENT (Psychology)" OR DE "AGGRESSION (Psychology)" OR DE "PERSONALITY" OR DE "COGNITIVE dissonance" OR DE "CONFLICT (Psychology)" OR DE "SELF-efficacy" OR DE "BEHAVIOR" OR DE "MENTALLY ill youth" OR DE "MENTALLY ill teenagers" OR DE "EMOTIONAL competence" OR DE "EMOTIONAL stability"	75,557
S10	DE "EMOTIONS (Psychology)" OR DE "AGITATION (Psychology)" OR DE "ANGER" OR DE "AUTONOMY (Psychology)" OR DE "DISCONTENT" OR DE "DISPLACEMENT (Psychology)" OR DE "DISTRESS (Psychology)" OR DE "FEAR" OR DE "FRUSTRATION" OR DE "GRATITUDE" OR DE "GUILT (Psychology)" OR DE "HAPPINESS" OR DE "HATE" OR DE "HELPLESSNESS (Psychology)" OR DE "HOSTILITY" OR DE "IMPULSE (Psychology)" OR "MOOD (Psychology)" OR DE "REJECTION (Psychology)" OR DE "RESENTMENT" OR DE "RESIGNATION (Psychology)" OR DE "HEALTH behavior" OR DE "PROBLEM children" OR DE "BEHAVIOR" OR DE "SUBJECTIVE well-being (Psychology)" OR DE "WELL-being" OR DE "EXTERNALIZATION (Psychology)" OR DE "IDENTIFICATION (Psychology)" OR DE "INTERNALIZATION" OR DE "IDENTITY (Psychology)" OR DE "IDENTITY (Psychology) -- Social aspects" OR DE "PERSONALITY & culture"	57,849
S11	TI ((((mental* or psychiatric*) N0 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or ill* or problem*)) or (health* N2 status*))) OR KW ((((mental* or psychiatric*) N0 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or ill* or problem*)) or (health* N2 status*)))	30,277
S12	TI (((conduct or affective or attention or impulse*) and problem*)) OR KW (((conduct or affective or attention or impulse*) and problem*))	783

S1 3	TI ((externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized)) OR KW ((externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized))	1,771
S1 4	TI ((anxiet* or depression* or depressive)) OR KW ((anxiet* or depression* or depressive))	18,967
S1 5	TI ((temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or resilien* or behavior* or behaviour* or emotion* or hyperactiv* or shyness or hyperkineses or psychopathology or neuroses or distress)) OR KW ((temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or resilien* or behavior* or behaviour* or emotion* or hyperactiv* or shyness or hyperkineses or psychopathology or neuroses or distress))	107,383
S1 6	S9 OR S10 OR S11 OR S12 OR S13 OR S14 OR S15	217,058
S1 7	S8 AND S16	5,973
S1 8	TI (((child* or adoles* or youth* or generation* or teen* or pubert* or prepubert*) N10 (immigrant* or migrant* or ethnic* or racial* or race* or origin or native-born*) N10 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or distress or behavior* or behaviour* or conduct or externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized or anxiet* or depression* or depressive or shyness or hyperkineses or temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or emotion* or hyperactiv*))) OR AB (((child* or adoles* or youth* or generation* or teen* or pubert* or prepubert*) N10 (immigrant* or migrant* or ethnic* or racial* or race* or origin or native-born*) N10 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or distress or behavior* or behaviour* or conduct or externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized or anxiet* or depression* or depressive or shyness or hyperkineses or temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or emotion* or hyperactiv*))) OR KW (((child* or adoles* or youth* or generation* or teen* or pubert* or prepubert*) N10 (immigrant* or migrant* or ethnic* or racial* or race* or origin or native-	3,134

	born*) N10 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or distress or behavior* or behaviour* or conduct or externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized or anxiet* or depression* or depressive or shyness or hyperkinesis or temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or emotion* or hyperactiv*)))	
S1 9	S17 OR S18	7,902
S2 0	DE "CROSS-sectional method"	5,740
S2 1	TI ((((cross-section* or prevalence) N1 (study or studies or studied)) or cross-sectional)) OR AB ((((cross-section* or prevalence) N1 (study or studies or studied)) or cross-sectional)) OR KW ((((cross-section* or prevalence) N1 (study or studies or studied)) or cross-sectional))	15,647
S2 2	TI ((observational N1 (study or studies))) OR AB ((observational N1 (study or studies))) OR KW ((observational N1 (study or studies)))	1,739
S2 3	S20 OR S21 OR S22	19,611
S2 4	DE "COHORT analysis" OR DE "FOLLOW-up studies (Medicine)" OR DE "RETROSPECTIVE studies"	3,901
S2 5	TI ((cohort N1 (study or studies or analy*))) OR AB ((cohort N1 (study or studies or analy*))) OR KW ((cohort N1 (study or studies or analy*)))	6,157
S2 6	TI (((follow up or followup) N1 (study or studies))) OR AB (((follow up or followup) N1 (study or studies))) OR KW (((follow up or followup) N1 (study or studies)))	2,926
S2 7	TI (((longitudinal or prospective or retrospective) N1 (study or studies))) OR AB (((longitudinal or prospective or retrospective) N1 (study or studies))) OR KW (((longitudinal or prospective or retrospective) N1 (study or studies)))	22,508
S2 8	S24 OR S25 OR S26 OR S27	30,712
S2 9	S19 AND S23 Limiters - Date of Publication: 20130101-20201231	164

S3 0	S19 AND S28 Limiters - Date of Publication: 20130101-20201231	258
S3 1	S29 OR S30	408

#	Searches	Results
1	("100" or "160" or "180" or "200").ag. or emerging adulthood/ or puberty/	788794
2	(child* or adoles* or pubert* or prepubert* or teenage* or teen or teens or youth* or schoolchild* or preschool* or pre school* or generation*).tw.	959268
3	or/1-2	1197446
4	immigration/ or ethnic identity/ or exp "racial and ethnic groups"/ or "racial and ethnic differences"/ or "racial and ethnic relations"/ or "racial and ethnic differences"/ or "racial and ethnic attitudes"/ or "race and ethnic discrimination"/	173840
5	(immigra* or emigra* or ethnic* or migrant* or ((cultural* or migrat* or linguistic*) and (background* or population*)) or race or racial*).ti,id.	92377
6	or/4-5	192879
7	exp emotions/ or mental disorders/ or mental health/ or mental status/ or mental health stigma/ or well being/ or spiritual well being/ or emotional adjustment/ or emotional control/ or anger control/ or identity crisis/ or emotional disturbances/ or behavior/ or adolescent behavior/ or child behavior/ or health behavior/ or behavior problems/ or tantrums/ or internalization/ or introjection/ or externalization/ or distress/ or major depression/ or timidity/ or personality/ or anxiety/ or emotional states/ or social anxiety/ or social behavior/ or social adjustment/ or social identity/ or group identity/ or social skills/ or antisocial behavior/ or "internal external locus of control"/ or personality development/ or self-control/ or coping behavior/ or emotional stability/ or empathy/ or "resilience (psychological)"/ or relational aggression/ or aggressive behavior/ or major depression/ or attention deficit disorder/ or attention deficit disorder with hyperactivity/	870420

8	((mental* or psychiatric*) adj (health or disorder* or diagnosis or ill* or problem*)) or (health* adj3 status*).ti,id.	171601
9	((conduct or affective or attention or impulse*) and problem*).ti,id.	5058
10	(externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized).ti,id.	8047
11	(anxiet* or depression* or depressive).ti,id.	222758
12	(temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or resilien* or behavior* or behaviour* or emotion* or hyperactiv* or shyness or hyperkinesis or psychopathology or neuroses or distress).ti,id.	708940
13	or/7-12	1336831
14	3 and 6 and 13	22082
15	((child* or adoles* or youth* or generation* or teen* or pubert*) adj10 (immigrant* or migrant* or ethnic* or racial* or race* or origin or native-born*) adj10 (health or disorder* or diagnosis or distress or behavior* or behaviour* or conduct or externalising or externalizing or internalising or internalizing or externalised or externalized or internalised or internalized or anxiet* or depression* or depressive or shyness or hyperkinesis or temperament or well being or wellbeing or wellness or emotion* or hyperactiv*).tw.	6840
16	14 or 15	25541
17	longitudinal studies/ or prospective studies/ or cohort analysis/ or followup studies/ or retrospective studies/ or ("0430" or "0450" or "0451" or "0453").md.	217158
18	(cohort adj2 (study or studies or analy*).tw.	24852
19	((follow up or followup) adj2 (study or studies)).tw.	15785
20	((longitudinal or prospective or retrospective) adj2 (study or studies)).tw.	92953
21	17 or 18 or 19 or 20	265513
22	16 and 21	3244
23	limit 22 to yr="2013 -Current"	1493
24	((cross-section* or prevalence) adj2 (study or studies or studied)) or cross-sectional).tw.	81004
25	(observational adj2 (study or studies)).tw.	12140
26	24 or 25	91986

27	16 and 26	1113
28	limit 27 to yr="2013 -Current"	600
29	23 or 28	2007