

Chapter 1

Enhancing Resilience in Youth: Sustainable Systemic Effects in Different Environments



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Abstract Nowadays, in order to promote psychological well-being and prevent diseases (mental and physical), several interventions have been developed and tested in school settings. These involve, for instance, mindfulness and compassion. Nevertheless, despite promising results attesting to the effectiveness of mindfulness in increasing well-being, there remain some open questions concerning how to implement mindfulness in a systematic way beyond research, incorporating it as a regular practice of the educational system which makes it possible to introduce a culture of resilience. In this chapter, we would like to give insights into the sustainability of psychosocial interventions considering a systemic approach in a variety of environments. To do this, we will revisit the concept of resilience (i.e. definition, resources) and how to enhance it (e.g. positive learning, positive peer culture, positive self-development). In summary, we wish to highlight that, to ensure the sustainability of psychosocial interventions in schools, a multilevel approach should be adopted. Specifically, we propose that a framework based on resilience may give rise to a pivotal concept through multiple novel interventions such as mindfulness and compassion, which should be integrated in more systemic and ecological view.

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1.1 Modeling Research and Practice

How can the different findings on mindfulness and positive peer relationships be integrated? Which models help us to classify the most important factors? We seek answers to this question from the perspective of psychology as an empirical science. This is associated with the claim that we must rely on evidence-based theories when discussing causes, interventions, and effects. Theory is thus closely related to practice. As current research shows, a meaningful model cannot be developed if it is not possible to incorporate the findings of other sciences. Integration is the result of a process of “consilience” whereby we bring together findings from different sciences (Wilson, 1998). Research on mindfulness and peer-related interventions is not yet complete. So, we need to develop theories and models that help us to better understand and positively develop practice. At the same time, our theories and models must be open and flexible enough to integrate new findings.

1.2 Basic Assumptions

We must certainly do everything we can to prevent behavioral problems such as depression or aggressive behavior. This must also be a central concern in adolescence, because psychological disorders occur more frequently during this time and can persist into adulthood. In addition, our aim must be to strengthen mental health and well-being, and to do so by means of services aimed at young people as well as their social environment. “Optimal (or desirable) well-being is characterized by (predominantly) positive feelings and attitude, positive relationships with other students and teachers, resilience, self-optimization, and high level of satisfaction with their learning experiences at school” (Noble, Wyatt, McGrath, Roffey, & Rowling, 2008, in Noble & McGrath, 2014, p. 137). Current research on interventions in childhood and adolescence emphasizes the importance of basic needs and strengths. Since peers are gaining greater importance in adolescence (e.g. Donlan, Lynch, & Lerner, 2015), attempts are being made to include peers in interventions in different ways: “Optimizing positive peer influence and protecting against negative peer influences are important to promote positive peer influence” (Donlan et al., 2015). Current research also makes it clear that every young person has strengths that can help himself or herself and others. Nowadays, in order to promote psychological well-being and prevent diseases (mental and physical), several interventions have been developed and tested in school settings, including mindfulness and compassion. Nevertheless, despite promising evidence of the effectiveness of mindfulness in increasing well-being (see Andreu & Garcia-Rubio in this book), there are open questions concerning

how to implement it in a systematic way beyond research as a regular practice of the educational system aimed at introducing a culture of resilience. In this chapter, we would like to give insights into the sustainability of psychosocial interventions considering systemic approaches in a variety of environments. To do this, we will revisit the concept of resilience (i.e. definition, resources) and how to enhance it (e.g. positive learning, positive peer culture, positive self-development).

1.3 Resilience as a Touchstone for Positive Development

Theories of adolescence differ in focus, breadth, and degree of concretization (Newman & Newman, 2011). Even if we limit ourselves to questions about generosity, it becomes clear that we are compiling concepts and findings that have their place in various groups of theories. Ultimately, we are dealing with genetic foundations, hormonal influences, changes in the central nervous system and the brain, cognitive development, personality and identity development, development in social systems such as the family or peer group, and environmental and cultural psychological aspects (Sales & Irwin, 2013). “Dynamic Systems Theories” can then help us compile all these different concepts and findings in a meaningful way, as long as we succeed in mapping the diversity of internal system processes (Newman & Newman, 2011).

1.3.1 Defining Resilience

As a term from physics, resilience is the ability of an object to regain its original shape after being subjected to strong external forces. In psychology and pedagogy, however, we would not only wish that everything would remain as it was after stress. Rather, we would prefer that new challenges could be mastered more easily and better on the basis of the experience gained. We would also hope that overcoming difficult experiences would strengthen self-determination, self-development, and self-discipline. In the social sciences, the term “resilience revolution” (Brendtro & Larson, 2006) is often used. On the one hand, this may be due to the surprising finding of positive development even under adverse developmental conditions. Certainly, however, another factor that plays a role is that resilience is combined with pedagogical and psychological prevention and intervention aimed at boosting the strengths of children and young people. “Strengthening the strengths” becomes a pedagogical maxim. Resilience means the “resilience” of a person in their particular environment. It is about maintaining the ability to function, about a constant competence under acute stress conditions, about positive development in spite of a persistently high risk, about restoring the ability to function and rapid recovery after traumatic events, and finally about an improvement beyond the previous status. Several questions can now be derived from these considerations: (1) How can young people develop well in a

“risky” environment (e.g. in a residential area that is considered a “social hotspot”)? (2) Under stressful circumstances (e.g. after their parents’ divorce), how can young people maintain their previously acquired skills (e.g. self-confidence, self-efficacy convictions)? (3) How can young people cope with traumatic experiences (e.g. war, accidents, abuse)? (4) How can young people restore their functional capacity (e.g. through impairments as a result of a chronic illness)? And finally: (5) How can we adequately support young people in these contexts (through education and therapy in formal or informal programs, e.g. open youth services)? At the same time, of course, we always have to ask which living conditions might weaken resilience by putting them at risk or more indirectly by reducing their strengths and resources.

1.3.2 Resources as Protective Factors

Crises and critical life events are important markers for the development and proof of resilience. Existing risk and protective factors affecting young people and their environment prove to be decisive factors in coping with them. Thus, individual vulnerability can be a risky weakness, for example, when it is due to neurological deficits or existing chronic diseases. The list of possible environmental risks is long: low social status, poverty, low educational level of the parents, family disharmony, mental illness of one or both parents, alcohol and drug abuse of the parents, criminality of the parents, separation and divorce of the parents, frequently changing partnership of the parents, residential areas with a high crime rate, educational deficits of the parents, very young parenthood, early and unwanted pregnancy, social isolation of the family, mobbing or rejection by peers... As can be seen, the occurrence of a random risk factor is relatively non-problematic. It is only when several factors come together that developmental problems become most probable. Protective factors are psychological characteristics of the child or positive characteristics of the social environment, which lower the probability of occurrence of durable disturbances. It is important to note that individual risk factors are not immediately seen as weaknesses but can be used as an opportunity to implement more personalized early interventions. Two groups of protective factors must be distinguished: (1) personal resources (positive temperament, above-average intelligence, positive self-concept) and (2) social resources (favorable family living conditions, person of trust, networks).

What resources are important in adolescence? And where should we focus on to enhance mindfulness while promoting a peer culture of mutual support and assistance? For young people, new competences based on physical development are an important resource. Neurophysiological development poses some risks that can be countered with mindfulness-related interventions. Good health is the basis for positive activities not only in sport, also promoting well-being and emotional balance. Performance motivation leads to the acceptance of challenges and the ability to withstand stress. With appropriate interventions, it is possible to promote endurance, concentration, and willingness to perform. Self-efficacy convictions and high self-esteem promote experiencing competence and self-compassion as important founda-

tions for actively shaping one's development. Communicative skills are an important prerequisite for close social relationships and integration in groups. Group-related interventions promote social competences in a special way. Being able to fit in with others is an important factor for prosocial behavior. In addition to these individual resources, there are resources in the family. This is about communicating with each other, but it is also about structural aspects of proximity and distance and hierarchy in the family system. An actively supportive and, if necessary, orienting educational attitude makes it clear that one's family provides backing even in difficult situations. Educational closeness under parents' social commitment is a resource that promotes talents and interests. Friends of the same age are seen as resources, but they are also a model for social commitment. Because they are reliable in their support, they help establish an emotional balance. Permanent dialogue with each other helps develop positive identities. It might be important for family and friends to be on good terms with each other. The circle of friends should also be involved in activities in the community in which they live. The school or company is also part of the social environment. This is where positive relationships with teachers can be found, such as a good class- and school-climate or a positive working atmosphere, the matching of competences and requirements, positive role models, and good contact between family members, school, and/or company. These competences of the social environment enable people to deal with problems constructively, balance their emotional experience in everyday life, and promote personality development. In the residential community, special neighborly relations and the willingness of the living environment to assume responsibility are important resources. The availability of counseling services in the vicinity of the parents' home and good leisure activities for young people are also relevant. Likewise, society and culture provide useful resources. Other pros include the permeability of educational interventions, the availability of supplementary services and professional advice, and the competent networking of services (cf. Steinebach & Gharabaghi, 2018).

1.4 Enhancing Resilience

In the meantime, the idea of resilience has also been transferred to social groups and larger communities. Research and practice are devoted to the resilience of families, youth groups, teams, businesses, communities, and cities. So, if we want to define resilience, we must try to capture the crucial individual and social aspects. This is most likely to happen if we talk about systems and understand human beings as systems integrated into a complex structure of environmental systems. This makes sense if we consider the evidence for "a 'decentered' understanding of resilience in which changing the odds stacked against the individual contributes far more to changes in outcomes than the capacity of individuals themselves to change" (Ungar, Ghazinour, & Richter, 2013, p. 357). Keeping this in mind, resilience is "seen overall as the positive adaptation and sustainable development of a system to respond to short- or longer-term everyday challenges or severe stress. Based on internal system processes

and through dealing with the environment, the system defines new reference values and develops required competencies, and the ability to cope with future stresses improves” (Steinebach, 2015, p. 557). In this definition, we must also bear in mind that all system elements and interactions change continuously. Today, in the 21st century, the everyday use of virtual media requires a variety of skills. At the same time, there are many opportunities to shape development in a new and different way. For young people, we can assume, the social environment today is new and different.

1.4.1 Positive Learning

The development of resilience can be understood as a learning process. Experiences in dealing with crises and critical life events lead at best to a permanent change in behavior and experience (see Steinebach, Süß, Kienbaum, & Kiegelmann, 2016). Learning must be regarded as a multifocal but integrated experience that influences cognitive, emotional, and physical processes (e.g. effects of mindfulness on cognitive functions and executive functions, Weare, 2014). For a better understanding, the most helpful learning theories are those which take into account the cognitive processes of learners in learning, especially those that see learning as an active construction process. In these theories, the individual makes an important contribution to learning. Without having to use the adjective “positive”, we can assume that observational learning supports resilience when successful problem solving can be observed. Perceived similarity to the model, concentration, and attention etc. contribute as cognitive aspects. Cognitive learning theories cover learning in the sense of instruction, expertise, discovery learning, or learning using solution examples. We can easily imagine moments in which young people are guided, in which they develop expertise in a task area and thus the composure to deal with challenges. The confrontation with challenges and the constant effort in trying out different solutions may correspond to discovery learning. Lastly, examples of solutions may be seen as useful not only when it comes to helping e.g. with math homework, but also when it comes to more complex life questions. Such considerations are associated with the appeal to also understand the confrontation with the challenges of life as a learning process and thus to take learning seriously in everyday life, and especially outside school. This also includes the call to understand everyday pedagogical situations as learning opportunities (Gharabaghi, 2011). It is precisely here that the degrees of freedom of young people are very high. In order to understand learning in these unstructured and open situations, situated learning theories seem helpful. Here, learners are ascribed special responsibility in the learning process. They develop solutions in dealing with their concrete environment and at the same time in dialogue with others. The acquired action competences correspond to cognitive schemata, which are developed and stored in a highly situational way. And what does “positive learning” mean? The greater the individual’s contribution to the learning process, the more the teacher’s role changes. Moderation is required, along with coaching, support and motivation,

empowerment, communication at eye level, and the effort to reflect together on the experiences and thus secure the knowledge gained.

In counseling young people, information should be conveyed or new behavior learned. Implicitly or explicitly, these interventions are therefore generally about learning. In most cases, however, this is not just about imparting knowledge alone. The actual aim is to allow students' personality to thrive as well. Following Mittelstraß (1989), we can assume that education is about more than just knowledge acquisition. Education, here likened to the concept of "Bildung", helps to mediate between one's knowledge and one's will. According to Mittelstraß (1989), education ("Bildung") is "the power of judgement that operates between what we know and what we want" (p. 56). Education thus has a great deal to do with ethics. The fundamentally available knowledge changes very quickly. That is why it is important to impart skills in educational processes that help students to orient themselves in a complex world that changes rapidly both professionally and ethically. Every intervention for young people can be understood as a teaching and learning opportunity. We know that surprises and possibly mistakes in the learning process are important, since they cause attention to be focused on learning outcomes, leading to new solutions. New experiences and experiments are important. Both, however, are much more likely to occur in socially secure relationships. This also makes it possible to focus and direct one's attention to the construction of new learning content (Steinebach et al., 2016). It is therefore becoming increasingly important for young people to make their own learning experiences. Education thus generally stands for self-education, in which adults have the task of accompanying young people, moderating learning processes, and not dominating them. This view has led authors to assert that "an investment in positive education at the school, system and national level, and in educational policies and practices for student well-being produce long-term benefits for individual students, for school communities and for the whole society" (Noble & McGrath, 2014, 149).

1.4.2 Positive Peer Culture

Collaborating in a group brings performance advantages, especially if the group norms are formulated positively. A group structure appropriate to the task can help to avoid conflicts or contribute to solving problems constructively and achieving the objectives set in good cooperation. Depending on the type of group and the task to be solved, observing self-organization, offering moderation, or leading the group might be helpful. In the workplace, it is usual to ask how teamwork can be conducted in order to achieve the set goals as effectively and efficiently as possible. Similarly, we also try to foster social and emotional skills in adolescence by using group processes. Young people live in formal and informal groups. In schools or sports clubs, we expect mostly formal groups. In the area of self-determined leisure time or in open youth services, young people often come together in informal groups. Goals and rules must then be negotiated through informal processes. This also includes

norms and rules for mutual assistance. In appropriate programs working with formal groups, the organization's vision, mission, goals, processes, and composition are formalized. All these aspects are also the subject of the evaluation of the program (Brown & Braun, 2013). The pedagogical demands of the program refer to different developmental tasks or to existing behavioral problems: changes in social systems, upcoming challenges at school, or later career paths, the selection of a profession, the formulation of a sustainable personal identity, or the challenges of sexuality.

But what are the arguments in favor of including peers into interventions? Following Brown and Larson (2009), we can assert that, overall, relationships with friends of the same age become more important in adolescence. Adolescence is characterized by very fundamental physical, emotional, and cognitive changes. At the same time, however, the social environments of young people are also changing. It is important to spend time with others, learn more about their expectations, and align oneself with the group in one's own identity and behavior in order to orient oneself in these changing worlds. Another argument may be that the complexity of relationships in the groups of young people increases. We find informal groups that may also have the character of cliques, we find closer friendships, but also the first romantic relationships. Individual groups can understand themselves as parts of larger groups or specific youth cultures. This is about identity, but also about one's own status and the desire to experience satisfying relationships in a group of like-minded people. It is noticeable that, in friendships and peer groups, young people are more similar to each other. On the one hand, this can be seen as the result of a common learning and development process. On the other hand, of course, group members are also selected for membership in the group based on their fit. Status and prestige are important, not only for the group as a whole, but also for one's own role within the group. The formulation of a positive and stable identity is an important developmental task for young people. Group membership in a socially recognized group and personal status within the group make an important contribution (Steinebach & Steinebach, 2013). Social skills are important in order to survive within the group. The recognition that a young person receives from his or her friends thus becomes an important indicator of the adaptation of the individual to the group. There may be at least three reasons why friends of the same age become more important:

- (1) Integration into the group meets the need for belonging.
- (2) Young people like to choose their friends in groups according to similarities in behavior. This can increase development risks, but can also create opportunities.
- (3) Young people also experience social support in groups. Groups offer the opportunity to develop solutions to problems together. The competences thus gained by coping with problems ensure a sustainable positive development (Steinebach, Steinebach, & Brendtro, 2012; Steinebach, Schrenk, Steinebach, & Brendtro, 2018).

1.4.3 Positive Self-development and Health Actions

Today, human development and health appear to be influenced to a large extent by human beings themselves. Behavior, attitudes, and competencies determine whether health can be developed and maintained in interaction with external difficulties or resources. Both health and positive development are reflected in the successful interplay of personal and environmental conditions (Ungar & Lerner, 2008). This is also reflected in the Ottawa Charter of 1986, which has played a key role in shaping the current understanding of health promotion. With its focus on health and the contribution of the individual to positive development, it overcame the purely biomedical model common at the time (World Health Organization, 1986, 2009). The work of Antonovsky (1987) also specified which factors are important for coping with stress and thus for maintaining health. The Bangkok Charter of the WHO follows suit by stating that health promotion stands for “a positive and inclusive concept of health as a determinant of the quality of life and encompassing mental and spiritual well-being” (World Health Organization, 2009, 24). In addition to the individual aspect of well-being, various environmental levels and systems are taken into account, such as direct social relations, the community in which one lives, superordinate political systems, and society.

The gap between knowledge and attitudes on the one hand and concrete action on the other is proving to be a central problem in health promotion. Many people know what would be healthy, but they do not act accordingly. In principle, the question arises when people are prepared to follow their wishes in a concentrated and consistent manner and implement the decisions they have made. According to the self-determination theory of Ryan and Deci (2000), people are particularly motivated when the action in question serves the fulfillment of their basic needs: belonging, experiencing competence, and autonomy.

In this context, it becomes clear why peer groups are so important for young people. Belonging not only offers social-emotional support: it is also an essential part of one’s own identity. In joint activities, young people experience themselves as competent and this promotes well-being (Bandura, 1997; Sternberg & Spear-Swerling, 1998). And this well-being is regarded as a protective factor in the struggle for health and resilience (Steptoe, Dockray, & Wardle, 2009). Belonging is important, but so is the possibility to distinguish oneself and live autonomously. Thus, the peer group helps to differentiate oneself from one’s family, while the first romantic relationships promote differentiation from one’s peer group. By striving to balance belonging and autonomy, young people learn to live their needs in a socially appropriate way.

1.5 Outlook: Creating Cultures of Mutual Support

Even though we already have some reliable findings, a few unanswered questions remain. These concern preventive interventions, counseling and therapy, and finally future research.

1.5.1 *Everyday Life*

Following Luthar (2006), we can assume that interventions are most effective when they (a) are tailored to a specific high-risk group (see also Rutter, 2013; Steinebach, 2012), (b) address aspects of behavior and experience that can be easily changed, (c) are readily available and reliable, (d) last longer, and (e) aim to develop new environmental resources such as personal strengths and competences. In addition, it makes sense to (f) align the interventions with risk factors present in the person and their environment and (e) simultaneously address the interventions at different levels (e.g. physical, emotional, cognitive, social with family, peers, school, community; Ungar et al., 2013; “Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care”; Leve, Fisher, & Chamberlain, 2009: 1869). All of this must be done as early as possible so that problems do not solidify, thus enabling the early strengthening of the five “Cs” (competence, confidence, connection, character, and caring for; Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005: 12) to support positive development in childhood and adolescence. In this regard, it has been pointed out that “Such programs are most likely to result in the development of these Cs when they involve sustained positive adult-youth relationships, youth skill building activities, and opportunities for youth participation in and leadership of community based activities” (Lerner et al., 2005: 12).

Emotional competence is a key competence. Learning is not only associated with surprises, but also with disappointments such as self-doubt or even social conflicts. This is why emotional competence is so important. It is regarded as a key competence for teaching and learning processes. Many interventions based on peer counseling and training appeal to the helpfulness of young people. However, especially in helping situations, it is necessary to deal with very different and sometimes contradictory feelings. The perception of the situation in which another person needs help, the evaluation of one’s own abilities, and the weighting of different norms require not only mental consideration, but also coping with feelings, with contradictions between compassion and the spontaneous desire to distance oneself from the unpleasant demands of the situation. Interventions that involve peers aim to make young people more compassionate, to notice social situations in a more nuanced way, to be able to classify their perceptions better, to process complex and contradictory information more appropriately, and to be able to evaluate the effects of their actions. It is to be assumed that self-assessment changes as part of this process. Those who are helped receive social support and see themselves as valued members of the social system. The result is appreciation of one’s own identity and self-esteem. In this con-

text, willingness to help is an important social motive. If young people help each other, they come closer to their own self-ideal. At the same time, there is the possibility of questioning exaggerated ideals and coming to a realistic assessment in the group (Steinebach & Steinebach, 2013). These processes, information, and feelings ultimately form the basis for concrete action. The group offers a good training field to implement actions, to give each other feedback, and ultimately to decide on the basis of perceived results whether the action was good and right. Therefore, effective intervention focuses not only on obtaining experiences, but also on encouraging reflection and securing the results obtained. This also makes it clear that cognitive, emotional, and social skills are promoted by interventions for peers. Such interventions can then also focus on certain topics, e.g. career choice and career entry (cf. Petermann & Schultheiß, 2013).

1.5.2 Counseling and Therapy

It seems that professionals are particularly challenged when working with young people. The recommended counseling is different from the one we would choose when talking to children. A dialogue at eye level that avoids dominance is also recommended. At the same time, young people should be treated with spontaneity and openness, with a language that is appropriate for them. According to Geldard and Geldard (2010), this is most successful when counselors are still aware of their “inner adolescent”. In addition, it is helpful to know about adolescent development. However, self-congruence and unconditional appreciation in dealing with young people as well as the development of a good professional relationship with empathy are also important. This again offers points of contact with the model of general factors of successful counseling and therapy (see chapter by Schaer & Knafla). Irrespective of whether one wants to follow the thoughts of one’s own inner adolescent, it will certainly be important for young people that the counselor “meets them at eye level”. Likewise, appreciation, openness, and creativity offer many opportunities for surprising learning experiences. On the basis of their own conditional model, counselors will then have to make decisions about their strategies and methods.

In supporting peers, many different ways to intervene come into question. From the point of view of learning theory, positive affirmation, asking for solutions, and transferring responsibility can be important for the development of desired behavior. In order to reduce unwanted behavior, it can be helpful to focus attention on the injured person, accompany conversations during conflicts with peers, and seek solutions together. Active listening or ego-messages, strategies, and methods, as used in humanistic counseling, are helpful in these situations. Working with groups offers the opportunity to clarify individual schemata from the here and now of the group, reflect feelings, and discuss possible behaviors from the perspective of other group members. What happens in the group can be a chance to reflect on individual behavior patterns. However, the group itself can also provide important support for this reflection process to succeed. When working with groups, experience-activating methods

such as dream travel or role-playing can be helpful. In addition, mutual support and help can be an important experience for countering previous negative relationship experiences.

1.5.3 Research and Theory Development

The evaluation of interventions to promote resilience is not easy. In complex quasi-experimental designs, large samples would have to be monitored in longitudinal sections in order to arrive at reliable conclusions (Ungar et al., 2013). Ideally, evaluations should be regarded as a self-evident contribution to a learning process in which interventions are designed on the basis of available knowledge, while at the same time theories and practical knowledge about the documented results are further developed (Leve et al., 2009). Resilience has many facets and, accordingly, evaluation is at best implemented on an interdisciplinary basis, so that fields such as medicine, psychology, pedagogy, and sociology can be included depending on the issue being examined. What do we know so far? Following Rutter (2006) we can say: (1) Resilience helps, especially when we succeed in eliminating risk factors. (2) If there are no dangers or demands, protective facts often prove to be neutral. Sometimes, however, they can also turn out to be risks. (3) Efforts to deal with stress can actually lead to the development of protective factors. (4) However, the development of such protective factors can only become apparent long after the negative event has been dealt with. Evaluations should therefore be multifocal and multi-methodological.

The demands on good research in this area are many: theoretically, a clearer definition of the core concepts should be called for. Research should focus more closely on peer relationships (Brown & Braun, 2013), with not only friendships, but also other relationships, such as sibling relationships or various types of “friendships”, becoming a topic (Padilla-Walker, Dyer, Yorgason, Fraser, & Coyne, 2015). The interrelationships between the different relationship systems should be taken into account (Dijkstra & Veenstra, 2011). The importance of regional and culture differences should be examined (Greater Goods Science Centre, n.d.). Measurement instruments should be optimized. The positive should be given the importance it deserves, because the primarily negative focus of peer research is still proving to be a problem (Brown & Bran, 2013). The course of development in adolescence itself should be examined more closely (Carlo, Hausmann, Christiansen, & Randall, 2003). Longitudinal studies should then show whether short, medium, or long-term effects can be proven (Leve et al., 2009). Finally, the many theories on adolescence should be examined for similarities and, if possible, integrated (Newman & Newman, 2011).

In summary, we sought to highlight that, in order to ensure the sustainability of psychosocial interventions in schools, a multilevel approach should be adopted. Specifically, we proposed that a framework based on resilience may prove to be piv-

total, yielding several novel interventions—such as mindfulness and compassion—that may be integrated into a more systemic and ecological perspective.

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