

## *The Social Ecology of Resilience: Families, Schools, Communities and Service Providers*

*Ontario Summit for Children and Youth Mental Health  
April, 2014*

**Michael Ungar, Ph.D.**  
Killam Professor,  
School of Social Work, Dalhousie University  
**Twitter @MichaelUngarPhD**  
**www.michaelungar.com**  
**www.resilienceresearch.org**



To read more about the ideas explored in this presentation, please see the list of references at the end of these notes, or:

Ungar, M. (2011). *Counseling in Challenging Contexts: Working with Individuals and Families Across Clinical and Community Settings*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole

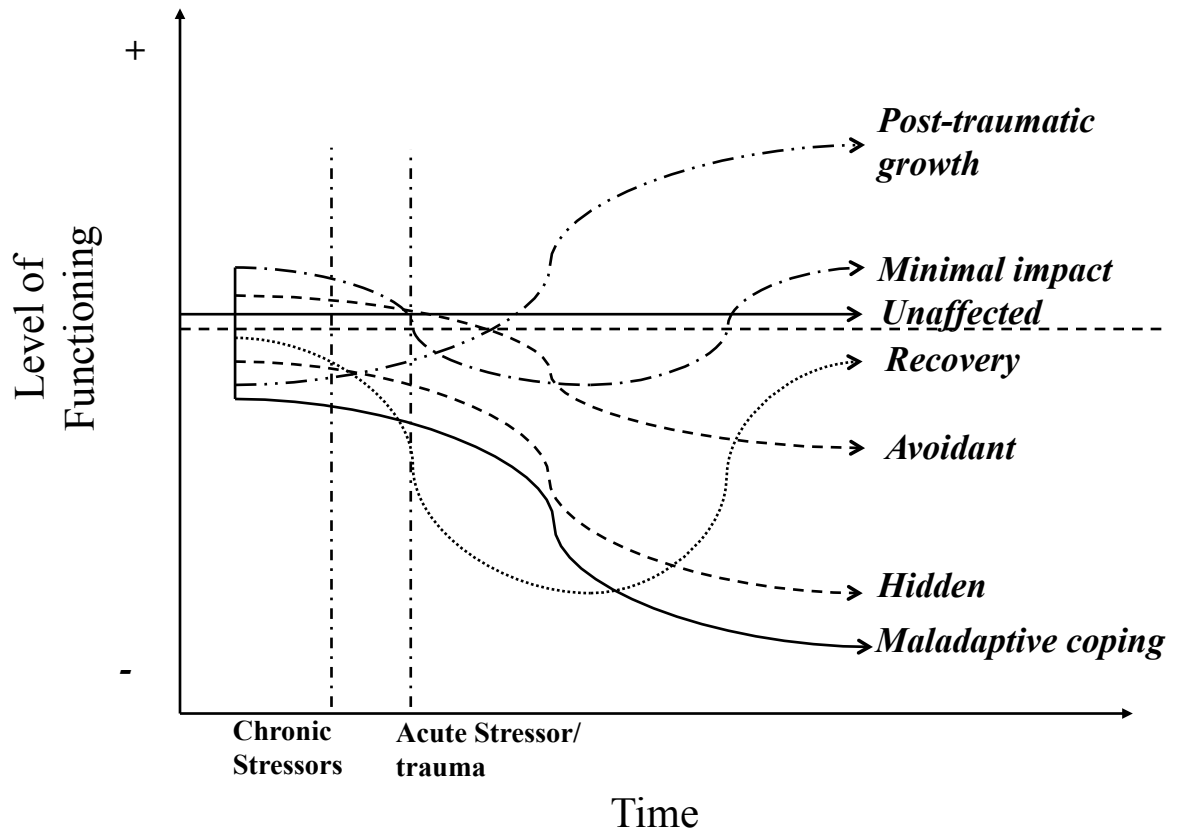
[www.cengage.com/counseling/ungar](http://www.cengage.com/counseling/ungar) (U.S. and International orders)

<http://hed.nelson.com/> (Canadian orders)

Ungar, M. (2013). Resilience, trauma, context and culture. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 14*(3), 253 - 264. doi: 10.1177/1524838013487805

Ungar, M. (2011). The social ecology of resilience. Addressing contextual and cultural ambiguity of a nascent construct. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 81*, 1-17.

## Patterns of Resilience



## **Nine Things all Children Need to Thrive (and strategies for providing them)**

**Michael Ungar, PhD.**  
[www.michaelungar.com](http://www.michaelungar.com)

### **1. Structure**

- Our children want a reasonable amount of structure. It convinces them that their parents love them.
- The structure parents provide children needs to make sense to the children themselves. It needs to fit with where children live, the dangers they experience, and the values that their families hold.
- Children are okay with being told "No" when what they want puts them in real danger.
- As often as possible, children need to hear "Yes" and be encouraged to take responsibility for themselves and others.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Give your child rules: bedtimes when he's younger; expectations for chores and homework when he's older.
- Be clear about how you expect to be spoken to, and model that same behaviour when speaking with your child.
- As your child grows, increase the decisions that he can make on his own.
- When you tell you child he can't do something, be sure your decision makes sense. If it looks like you are over-reacting you will lose credibility.
- When you are sure you know better, and have to tell a child "Wait" or "You can't do that," be sure to promise to revisit your decision when the child is older.

*Practical things communities can do:*

- Create child-friendly spaces where children can do things on their own (skateboard parks, open gyms, etc.).
- Support community policing and programs that bring police into the schools to teach citizenship so that children have opportunities for positive contact with those who enforce the rules in the community.
- Include children in activities like walks for charity, community clean-ups and fitness runs so that they feel a sense of real ownership for their community.

### **2. Consequences**

- Our children want the security of knowing there are reasonable consequences to their actions.
- Our children want to be shown how to fix their mistakes without using violence or bullying others that are weaker than them.
- Our children need to be reminded they are part of their families, schools and communities, and accountable for the harm they cause others.

- Children need quick and thoughtful discipline that conveys empathy, not harsh punishment that teaches them how to hurt others.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- When you discipline a child, be sure the child understands what she did wrong. It's all right if the child feels embarrassment or shame, but she should also be shown how to correct what she did wrong.
- If you threaten a consequence, be sure to follow through.
- When disciplining a child, make sure she is kept safe and her needs are met. Discipline is not the same as punishment.
- If a child's behaviour has affected more than one person, then everyone affected should be a part of the consequence. A child should feel accountable to the people she has hurt.
- Give a child the chance to fix her mistakes.
- Give a child a chance to say she's sorry.
- Show a child how what she did affected others rather than just telling her she did something wrong.

*Practical things communities can do:*

- When a child causes someone harm, find ways for the child to fix her mistake herself. The storefront she put graffiti on should be the same store where she does her community service hours if she gets caught.
- Match the consequence to the misbehaviour. Ensure the child understands how her behaviour affected the people in her community that she harmed. Have her meet her victims in restorative justice circles.
- As the child gets older, encourage people other than your child's caregiver to discipline your child (aunts, uncles, neighbours can be asked to keep an eye out for your child).
- As a community, encourage people to take responsibility for their own and other people's children.

### **3. Parent-child connections**

- Our children really do want connections with their parents, but those connections will look very different at each age and stage of development.
- Our children want to know that their problems are theirs to solve, and that their parents are there to help them when they're needed.
- Our children appreciate the effort their parents make to connect with them. Parents need to remember what we've done right in the past and do more of the same in the future.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Sometimes hugs are more powerful than words.
- The quantity of the time we give to a child is sometimes more important than the quality. Our child may want us there, waiting, even if he doesn't appear to need us just then.
- Put down our phone, turn off our computer and open space for our child to

approach us.

- Eat together as a family three times a week.
- Take time each day to find out what a child did at school, at her friend's, or out in the community.
- Share an activity together as a family.
- Insist the child help others with a task that will be noticed by others in the family.
- Travel together.
- Kiss your child goodnight, no matter how old he is.

*Practical things communities can do:*

- Create family-friendly spaces like skating rinks, parks and ethnic festivals.
- Provide respite time to caregivers so they can recharge and be more available to look after their children.
- Provide formal services in ways that are sensitive to family work schedules.
- Create opportunities for children's voices to be heard by their families through theatre, celebrations, and needs assessments.

#### **4. Lots and lots of strong relationships**

- Children live in interdependent worlds that bring them the possibility of lots of supportive relationships. Our job as adults is to help them nurture these connections.
- Children want adults to catch them doing something fabulously well, and to be applauded for their success.
- Children want their parents, and lots of other adults, to notice when they behave in ways that tell us they are not problem children.
- Children need adults and peers who can help them build bridges back into their communities when their behavior has made them outsiders.
- Children want adults to talk about children's problems as things that are separate from children themselves ("I see you're *having a problem with learning math*" instead of "I see *you* can't learn math").
- Children want the chance to make a genuine and noticeable contribution to their families, schools and communities. Volunteer activities ensure children see themselves as competent, while getting closer to peers and adults who will see them as worthy of respect.
- Children need to know that they are expected to do their best, whatever that best is. Children who don't believe anyone cares how well they do are children who will feel lost and hopelessly alone.
- Children want to feel accepted by others. Children who know they are welcome in their families, at their schools, and in their communities are more likely to take advantage of the opportunities to feel they belong. Adults don't have to accept children's problem behaviors to still accept children as worthy of being loved.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Celebrate special occasions together.
- Tell a child about a problem that you are struggling with as an adult, and ask for the child's help to solve it.

- Catch a child doing something good and let others know what you saw.
- Encourage a child to make friends with people who are different from her.
- Leave your child alone with people who are there to help your child, like coaches.
- Encourage your child to visit other families, go on sleepovers and spend time with grandparents, aunts and uncles.

*Practical things communities can do:*

- Create child-friendly spaces in the community like family resource centres, art galleries, swimming pools, and age-appropriate playgrounds that challenge children of all ages.
- Provide safety checks for people who work with children so that caregivers can be confident their child is safe.
- Provide activities where there are mixed ages involved (younger children will have mentors, and older children will be able to practice being responsible for others).
- Avoid stereotyping young people just because they are hanging out with their peers. Give these peer groups a task to do. Make them feel a part of their community.

## **5. A powerful identity**

- As adults, we are mirrors to our children. We reflect back to them who they are and how much they are valued.
- Children's identities are theirs to choose, as long as they don't cause long-term harm to themselves or others.
- As adults, we can offer children substitute identities that are just as powerful as the troubling identities they may tumble into on their own.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Provide opportunities for your child to experiment with different identities.
- Encourage your child to volunteer, work, or travel when he is ready and able.
- Encourage your child to participate in different activities, even if they are likely to fail.
- Tell a child what you think of the identities he has chosen. You don't have to like your child's choices.
- Tell your child about your own childhood and the identities you tried.
- Encourage your child to look around his family and community for people he admires and would like to grow up to be like.
- Encourage your child to experiment with the clothes he wears and other impermanent ways of trying a new identity.
- Talk to your child about the consequences of making a commitment to an identity before he is sure he wants that identity forever (e.g., getting a tattoo, or not taking science in high school).

*Practical things communities can do:*

- If children have special talents, provide a space for them to show off.

- Make children feel welcome by giving them a space to be who they want to be.
- Give children the means to express themselves through music, dress, dance, sports, and other activities.
- When appropriate, let children work so they can feel more adult-like. If they can't work, encourage them to volunteer.

## 6. Sense of control

- Children need opportunities to control their own lives and learn the consequences of their actions.
- Children's experiences of control should match their age and ability. Children benefit little, if at all, from being burdened too young with decisions they shouldn't have to make, or can't make well.
- When children abuse the control they have (e.g., use that control to hurt themselves or others), the consequences they suffer should help teach them to act responsibly.
- Experiences of control give children an edge in life. They help protect children from being taken advantage of by others.
- Children who experience manageable amounts of risk and responsibility have the risk-taker's advantage. They are better prepared for future challenges having learned how to solve problems early.
- It's good for children to know when to attribute their successes and failures to themselves and when to attribute these outcomes to others (e.g., if a teacher has done a poor job of teaching math, then it is not a child's individual responsibility for his poor grade).

### *Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Let a child experience manageable and age-appropriate amounts of risk and responsibility.
- Give a child opportunities to make age-appropriate decisions for herself, like what she wears, eats, and when she goes to bed. If her choices begin to cause problems, use these problems as teachable moments and coach the child on how to make better decisions.
- Don't be shy about telling your child that her failure was something she could have controlled.
- Don't be shy about telling your child that her failure was something that she did not have the power to control, no matter how hard she tried.
- When children are successful, celebrate their success.
- Give children an allowance so they can manage their own money.

### *Practical things communities can do:*

- Give children access to the resources they need in ways that they can use them on their own: subsidized public transit, recreational programs, spaces to meet.
- Provide children unstructured opportunities to get together on their own so they can decide the rules for the games they play.
- Let children build a tree fort, a snow fort, or start a game of soccer without adult supervision.
- Teach children first aid so they can look after themselves when adults are not

around.

- Ensure that children have the right to be on their own at the park, on the ski hill, in a restaurant. Resist rules that make children more dependent on adults.

## **7. Sense of belonging**

- Children need to know they belong in their families, as well as at their schools and in their communities.
- Parents exert a large influence over their children, shaping their values and beliefs.
- Our children need to believe their lives have a purpose and that their families, peers, and communities need them.
- Our children need to know their culture in order to better understand who they are and where they belong.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Help your child participate in many different activities and groups.
- Rather than telling your child who to be friends with, ask your child why he has chosen his peer group? What is it about these other children that your child likes?
- Involve your child in family traditions.
- Talk to your child about what you believe in, but be sure to leave space for your child to ask questions and disagree.
- Ask your child to contribute to making your family work better.

*Practical things communities can do:*

- Encourage children to make contributions at school and in their communities.
- Help children find socially acceptable ways of being a part of their families, schools and communities.
- Ensure organizations create special programs to include young people.
- Make children feel welcome at restaurants, the mall and movie theatres. Expect them to behave, but also let them know these are shared spaces where they belong too.
- Hold events that are youth-friendly like dances, extreme sports tournaments, fashion shows, and music festivals.

## **8. Fair and just treatment**

- Children need to experience their homes and schools as places where they are treated fairly.
- Children need to be protected from racism, sexism, and other forms of intolerance.
- Children need to be shown how they can talk back to people who exclude them or take away their rights. Children need to be able to do this without becoming violent.
- Children need to practice exercising their rights and accepting responsibilities at home where they are safe to make mistakes.
- Children need to be valued for the skills and abilities they have, and offered opportunities to use these for their benefit and the benefit of others.
- Children need to hear the stories of their parents and grandparents and how they defended their rights when others treated them unfairly.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Tell stories. Encourage family elders to talk about their experiences growing up and their coping strategies.
- When a child is treated unfairly, show the child how to defend herself and advocate for her rights. Only advocate on her behalf if you are sure the child can't protect herself without your help.
- Share your home with people who are different. This will help your child understand that people have different values and beliefs.
- Encourage your child to defend someone else's rights when your child sees him or her being mistreated.
- Watch movies about political struggle. Watch the news and talk about what you see. Celebrate holidays that have a political message. Be sure to explain to your child what the holiday means.
- Inspire your child to fight back when he is mistreated. Help him find ways to fight back that will be respected by others.
- Avoid overprotecting your child from every hurt, bully, and injustice. While your child is young enough to be coached by you, let him experience being treated unfairly so that you can teach him how to speak up for himself.

*Practical things communities can do:*

- As a community, address the unfair treatment of those who are vulnerable.
- Make efforts to include everyone in community activities.
- Support the role of child advocate, or advocate on behalf of a child who needs help.
- Support initiatives that protect children at the neighbourhood level.

## **9. Physical and psychological safety**

- Our children need access to the resources that make them healthy. This includes housing, safe streets, well-resourced schools, and parents with the time to pay attention to them.
- Children, whether rich or poor, who experience physical and emotional neglect tend to grow up with physical and psychological problems. Give children what they need and they are more likely to be problem free and flourish.
- Children who get their basic needs met, including food, good education, proper clothing, and opportunities to participate in recreational programs, are children who will feel better about themselves.
- Children who feel better about themselves are less likely to need expensive services like mental health clinics, social workers, and prisons.

*Practical things caregivers can do:*

- Distinguish between what a child needs and wants. Giving children everything they want may actually cause more problems than it solves.
- Help children access the services that are available.
- When formal services aren't available, explore the volunteer services that are available like food banks, service clubs and religious organizations.

- Look for help for a child from her informal supports such as her extended family, congregation or friends.
- Ensure a child has good food, and does not go to school hungry.
- Advocate for a child to get what he needs in the least intrusive way possible. Before we send an anxious child to a psychiatrist, look at what we can do to make the child feel safer. Before we call the police to deal with a delinquent or violent child, see if there is an extended family member who is willing to help care for the child temporarily.

*Practical things communities can do:*

- Make children's rights a political issue.
- Ensure children get a fair start in life. Every dollar invested early pays enormous dividends later.
- Encourage services for children to be provided at little or no cost: dental care, medical care, schooling, special services for children with disabilities.
- If abuse is suspected, report it.

## Resilience Related Readings

(You may also refer to [www.resilienceresearch.org](http://www.resilienceresearch.org) for more sources)

### Trade Books and Novels

- Ungar, M. (2011). *The Social Worker: A Novel*. Lawrencetown Beach, NS: Pottersfield Press.
- Ungar, M. (2009). *We Generation: Raising socially responsible kids*. Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart.
- Ungar, M. (2007). *Playing at being bad: The hidden resilience of troubled teens*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Ungar, M. (2007). *Too safe for their own good: How risk and responsibility help teens thrive*. Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart.
- Gladwell, M. (2008). *Outliers: The story of success*. New York: Little Brown.
- McCourt, F. (1996). *Angela's ashes*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Walls, J. (2005). *The glass castle*. New York: Scribner.

### Important Books and Articles about Resilience

- Afifi, T. O., & MacMillan, H. L. (2011). Resilience following child maltreatment: A review of protective factors. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 56*(5), 266–272.
- Alegria, M. Takeuchi, D., Canino, G. et al. (2004). Considering context, place and culture: the National Latino and Asian American Study. *International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research, 13*(4), 208-220.
- Anthony, E.J. (1987). Children at high risk for psychosis growing up successfully. In E.J. Anthony & B.J. Cohler (eds.), *The invulnerable child* (pp. 147-184). New York: Guilford.
- Benson, P.L. (2003). Developmental assets and asset-building community: Conceptual and empirical foundations. In R.M. Lerner & P.L. Benson (Eds.), *Developmental assets and asset-building communities: Implications for research, policy, and practice* (pp. 19-46). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Bonanno, G.A. & Mancini, A.D. (2012). Beyond resilience and PTSD: Mapping the heterogeneity of responses to potential trauma. *Psychological Trauma, 4*(1), 74-83.
- Bottrell, D. (2009). Understanding 'marginal' perspectives: Towards a social theory of resilience. *Qualitative Social Work, 8*(3), 321-340.
- Boyden, J. & Mann, G. (2005). Children's risk, resilience, and coping in extreme situations. In M. Ungar (Ed.), *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts* (pp. 3-26). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cyrulnik, B. (2011). *Resilience: How your inner strength can set you free from the past* (Trans. D. Macey). New York: Penguin.
- Caspi, A., Taylor, A., Moffitt, T.E., & Plomin, R. (2000). Neighborhood deprivation affects children's mental health: Environmental risks identified in a genetic design. *Psychology Science, 11*, (4), 338-342.
- Dawes, A. & Donald, D. (2000). Improving children's chances: Developmental theory and effective interventions in community contexts. In D. Donald, A. Dawes & J. Louw (Eds.), *Addressing childhood adversity* (pp. 1-25). Cape Town, SA: David Philip.
- Curtis, W. J. and Nelson, C. A. (2003). Toward building a better brain: Neurobehavioral outcomes, mechanisms, and processes of environmental enrichment. In S.S. Luthar (Ed.),

- Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the context of childhood adversities* (pp. 463-488). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Elliott, D.S., Menard, S., Rankin, B., Elliott, A., Wilson, W.J. & Huizinga, D. (2006). *Good kids from bad neighborhoods: Successful development in social context*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Garmezy, N. (1985). Stress-resistant children: The search for protective factors. In J.E. Stevenson (Ed.), *Recent research in developmental psychopathology* (pp.213-233). New York: Pergamon Press.
- Gilligan, R. (2001). *Promoting resilience: A resource guide on working with children in the care system*. London: British Agencies for Adoption and Fostering.
- Hjemdal, O. (2007). Measuring protective factors: The development of two resilience scales in Norway. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 16(2), 303-322.
- Kirmayer, L.J., Dandeneau, S., Marshall, E., Phillips, K., & Williamson, K.J. (2012). Toward an ecology of stories: Indigenous perspectives on resilience. In M.Ungar (Ed.), *The social ecology of resilience: A handbook of theory and practice* (pp. 399-414). New York: Springer.
- Laub, J.H. & Sampson, R.J. (2003). *Shared beginnings, divergent lives: Delinquent boys to age 70*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Leadbeater, B.J.R. & Way, N. (Ed.)(2007). *Urban girls revisited: Building strengths*. New York: New York University Press.
- Lerner, R.M., Dowling, E.M. & Anderson, P.M. (2003). Positive youth development: Thriving as the basis of personhood and civil society. *Applied Developmental Science*, 7(3), 172-180.
- Luthar, S. (Ed.)(2003). *Resilience and vulnerability: Adaptation in the context of childhood adversities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Luthar, S.S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The Construct of Resilience: A Critical Evaluation and Guidelines for Future Work. *Child Development*, 71(3), 543-562.
- Masten, A.S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*, 56(3), 227-238.
- Martin, A.J. & Marsh, H.W. (2008). Academic buoyancy: Towards an understanding of students' everyday academic resilience. *Journal of School Psychology*, 46, 53-83.
- Prilleltensky, I. (2012). Wellness as fairness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 49, 1-21.
- Rutter, M. (2008). Developing concepts in developmental psychopathology. In J.J. Hudziak (ed.), *Developmental psychopathology and wellness: Genetic and environmental influences* (pp.3-22). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Publishing
- Sampson, R.J. (2003). The neighborhood context of well-being. *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 46(3), S53-S64.
- Schoon, I. (2006). *Risk and resilience: Adaptations in changing times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tedeschi, R.G. & Calhoun, L.G. (2004). Posttraumatic growth: Conceptual foundations and empirical evidence. *Psychological Inquiry*, 15(1), 1-18.
- Van Voorhees, E.E., et al. (2012). Childhood trauma exposure in Iraq and Afghanistan war era veterans: Implications for posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms and adult functional social support. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. Available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2012.03.004>. Downloaded July 2, 2012.

- Walsh, F. (2006). *Strengthening family resilience, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.* New York: Guilford.
- Werner, E.E. & Smith, R.S. (2001). *Journeys from childhood to midlife: Risk, resiliency, and recovery.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Zautra, A. J., Hall, J. S., & Murray, K. E. (2010). Resilience: A new definition of health for people and communities. In J. W. Reich, A. J. Zautra, & J. S. Hall (Eds.), *Handbook of adult resilience* (pp. 3–34). New York, NY: Guilford.

### **A Selection of Scholarly Articles and Books by Michael Ungar**

- Liebenberg, L. & Ungar, M. (2008). *Resilience in action.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Liebenberg, L. & Ungar, M. (2009). *Researching resilience.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Liebenberg, L., Ungar, M., & Van de Vijver, F. (2012). Validation of the Child and Youth Resilience Measure-28 (CYRM-28) among Canadian youth. *Research on Social Work Practice, 22*(2), 219-226.
- Ungar, M. (2000). The myth of peer pressure: Adolescents and their search for health-enhancing identities. *Adolescence, 35*(137), 167-180.
- Ungar, M. (2001). The social construction of resilience among “problem” youth in out-of-home placement: A study of health-enhancing deviance. *Child and Youth Care Forum, 30*(3), 137-154.
- Ungar, M. (2004). *Nurturing hidden resilience in troubled youth.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ungar, M. (2005). Pathways to resilience among children in Child Welfare, Corrections, Mental Health and Educational settings: Navigation and Negotiation. *Child and Youth Care Forum 34*(6), 423-444.
- Ungar, M. (2005). Resilience among children in child welfare, corrections, mental health and educational settings: Recommendations for service. *Child and Youth Care Forum, 34*(6), 445-464.
- Ungar, M. (2006). *Strengths-based counseling with at-risk youth.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Ungar, M., Brown, M., Liebenberg, L., Othman, R., Kwong, W.M., Armstrong, M. & Gilgun, J. (2007). Unique pathways to resilience across cultures. *Adolescence, 42*(166), 287-310.
- Ungar, M. (2007). Contextual and cultural aspects of resilience in child welfare settings. In I. Brown, F. Chaze, D. Fuchs, J. Lafrance, S. McKay & S. Thomas-Prokop (Eds.), *Putting a human face on child welfare* (pp. 1-24). Toronto: Centre of Excellence for Child Welfare.
- Ungar, M. (2008). Resilience across cultures. *British Journal of Social Work. 38*(2), 218-235.
- Ungar, M., Liebenberg, L., Boothroyd, R., Kwong, W.M., Lee, T.Y., Leblanc, J., Duque, L. & Makhnach, A. (2008). The study of youth resilience across cultures: Lessons from a pilot study of measurement development. *Research in Human Development, 5*(3), 166-180.
- Ungar, M. (2010). What Is Resilience Across Cultures and Contexts? Advances to the Theory of Positive Development among Individuals and Families under Stress. *Journal of Family Psychotherapy, 21*(1), 1-16.
- Ungar, M. (2011). Community resilience for Youth and Families: Facilitative Physical and Social Capital in Contexts of Adversity. *Children and Youth Social Services Review, 33*, 1742-1748.

- Ungar, M. (2011). The social ecology of resilience. Addressing contextual and cultural ambiguity of a nascent construct. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 81, 1-17.
- Ungar, M. (2011). *Counseling in challenging contexts: Working with Individuals and Families Across Clinical and Community Settings*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Ungar, M. (Ed.)(2012). *The social ecology of resilience: A handbook of theory and practice*. New York: Springer.
- Ungar, M., Theron, L. & Didkowsky, N. (2011). Adolescents' precocious and developmentally appropriate contributions to their families' well-being and resilience in five countries. *Family Relations*, 60(2), 231-246.
- Ungar, M. & Liebenberg, L. (2011). Assessing Resilience across Cultures Using Mixed Methods: Construction of The Child and Youth Resilience Measure. *Journal of Multiple Methods in Research*, 5(2), 126-149.
- Ungar, M., Liebenberg, L., Landry, N., & Ikeda, J. (2012). Caregivers, young people with complex needs, and multiple service providers: A study of triangulated relationships and their impact on resilience. *Family Process*, 51(2), 193-206.
- Ungar, M., Liebenberg, L., & Ikeda, J. (2012). Young people with complex needs: Designing coordinated interventions to promote resilience across child welfare, juvenile corrections, mental health and education services. *British Journal of Social Work*. doi: 10.1093/bjsw/bcs147
- Ungar, M., Liebenberg, L., Armstrong, M., Dudding, P., & van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2012). Patterns of service use, individual and contextual risk factors, and resilience among adolescents using multiple psychosocial services. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. doi: org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2012.05.007
- Ungar, M. (2012). Researching and theorizing resilience across cultures and contexts. *Preventive Medicine*, 55(5), 387-389. doi:10.1016/j.ypmed.2012.07.021
- Ungar, M. (2013). The impact of youth-adult relationships on resilience. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, 3, 328–336.
- Ungar, M., Ghazinour, M., & Richter, J. (2013). What is Resilience Within the Ecology of Human Development? *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 348-366. Doi: 10.1111/jcpp.12025
- Ungar, M. (2013). Resilience, trauma, context and culture. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 14(3), 253 - 264. Doi: 10.1177/1524838013487805