STAMINA

Formation of non-violent behaviour in school and during leisure time among young adults from violent families

2008 – 2011

Research Report

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Content

Acknowledgement

Introduction

Resilience, as a concept, is rarely researched and discussed in the literature concerned with violence. Most of what is written emphasizes the reasons why violence occurs, as well as, how it affects both perpetrators and/or victims. Resilience research, on the other hand, asks the question why certain people do *not* react violently – even though their family history might predispose them to this kind of behaviour- or why potential victims do *not* become victims – even though situations or circumstances may indicate the likelihood of this happening. STAMINA is a ground-breaking study that researches which characteristics adolescents have and which resources they may use to avoid becoming violent even though their family history and thusly, their predisposition, is one of reacting violently. This approach in the study of violence is only recent and may greatly add to the body of research concerned with violence.

The concept of resiliency shies away from focusing on deficits and moves towards the relevance of competencies and resources as they are used in assessing general life challenges and coping with the ensuing stress. Traditionally, It has been used to gain a better understanding of conditions which maintain and foster psychic health and stability in children, who are exposed to particular developmental risks (Wustmann 2005: 192).

In an effort to expand our understanding of resiliency, a cross-sectional study, divided into quantitative and qualitative parts, was conducted in Germany, Spain, Austria and Slovenia. The results of the project should deliver useful information for creating effective measures addressing both families and schools.

This report presents all findings from the STAMINA Study with 5.149 adolescents in the age of approximate 14 over four EU-Countries (Austria, Germany, Slovenia and Spain). Unlike previous studies on violence resilience, we incorporated quantitative (Part I) and qualitative (Part II) sub-studies and specific theory approaches on resilience. In Part III of the report are the summary and the perspectives: of the quantitative and qualitative results.

Part I: Quantitative Analysis

1. Theory: On resilience

Exposure to family violence during adolescence is an established risk factor for the development of depression and violent behaviour in adolescence (Gilbert, et al., 2009; Hussey, Chang, & Kotch, 2006; Kassis, 2010; Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003; Yates, Dodds, Sroufe, & Egeland, 2003). Research on the effects of family violence on the development of adolescents has emerged as a salient field in the social sciences (Hussey, et al., 2006; Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber, & White, 2008; Prinzie, Hoeve, & Stams, 2008). The main types of family violence that have been linked with both depression and violent behaviour include physical maltreatment by parents (Gilbert, et al., 2009; Hussey, et al., 2006) and witnessing violence or psychological aggression between parents (Kitzmann, et al., 2003; Yates, et al., 2003).

Our intention in this study was to identify social and personal characteristics of adolescents who are violence resilient despite having experienced violence in their families. Logistic regressions allowed us not only to examine the correlates and predictors of the use of violence and aggression, but also the correlates and predictors of violence resilience in the face of exposure to aggression and violence in the family and at school. Resilience, the ability to achieve positive adjustment despite adversity (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000), has more recently been defined as process that Ungar (Ungar, 2008) sees as dependent on multifaceted ecological factors that include a focus on community responsibility and social justice. Still, despite our current far more nuanced understanding of resilience, the study of violence resilience is still premised on a somewhat narrow understanding of violence resilience that still focuses for the most part, on externalized violence.

Although a large body of literature has established a well documented association between violence in families and the development of externalized physical aggression in adolescence (Hussey, et al., 2006; Loeber, Slot, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2008; Prinzie, et al., 2008), only a few studies have examined depression as an internalized form of aggression due to experiencing violence in one's family (Brownfield & Thompson, 2005; Leadbeater, Kupermine, Blatt, & Hertzog, 1999). As a consequence, the significance of specific socialization patterns for resilience is unclear (Van der Put, Van der Laan, Stams, Deković, & Hoeve, 2011). Therefore; to say that resilience among children and youth who are raised in violent families can be premised on the absence of their use of violence may be too simplistic (Kassis, 2010). Since we also know that both violent behavior and depression are linked physical maltreatment by parents (Artz, Nicholson, & Douglas, 2008; Gilbert, et al., 2009; Hussey, et al., 2006) and witnessing violence or psychological aggression between parents (Kitzmann, et al., 2003; Yates,

et al., 2003), We believe it makes sense to develop an understanding of violence resilience that examines both aggression and depression

Additionally, while the literature tells us abut the important connection between exposure to violence and young peoples' use of violence, it tells us very little about the social and personal characteristics of violence resilience pathways out of the violence cycle (Van der Put, et al., 2011), especially now that we understand that violence resilience should not be conceptualized *only* as the complete absence of the use of aggression and violence (Smith-Osborne, 2008) but also as including the absence of depression. Further, we contend that if we take seriously a more dynamic understanding of violence resilience, we must define external violence resilience more flexibly to include a continuum of levels of the severity of use of aggression and violence and incorporate into our broader definition the concept of "near-resilience" whereby we include in our understanding of violence resilience the use of lower and less severe forms of violence than those the youth have been exposed to and acknowledge their resisting the involvement in more severe forms. Expanding our understanding of resilience to include near resilience and the internal dynamics of behaviour like depression could prove to be more useful to a pathways understanding (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009) and could be useful for the purposes of prevention, clinical intervention, and scientific understanding of violence resilience.

A limitation of existing research on youth exposure to family violence and the development of psychopathology is that while studies have established associations between family violence as a severe burden for the development of depression and violent behaviour in adolescence, far fewer studies have examined resilience pathways out of the violence cycle (Van der Put, et al., 2011). As a consequence, the significance of specific socialization patterns for violence resilience is unclear, and we cannot say whether resilience among children and youth who are raised in violent families is "just" the absence of their use of violence or something more. We can examine this dynamic further if we look beyond these young people's use of violence to asking how their immersion in a violent family has affected both their externalized and internalized behaviour.

If we expand our understanding of resilience to examine both external and internal dynamics of behaviour we may also expand our understanding of resilience and how to support it. We therefore include in our examination of pathways out of violence the absence of both externalized and internalized behaviours where violence against others is an externalized manifestation of exposure to violence in the family and depression is an internalized manifestation of such exposure. We suggest that such an approach could prove to be more useful for the purposes of prevention and clinical intervention, because this broader scope aims to identify adolescents at highest risk for co-morbid outcomes while helping us to learn more about resilient young people who, contra-intuitively, have

successfully handled family violence and are both non-violent and able to the manage their own emotional stability.

Factors that support violence-resilience

A number of factors have been identified as contributing to violence resilience: Psychology based theorists (Brownfield & Thompson, 2005; Leadbeater, et al., 1999) have emphasized the importance of the individual's self-concept as an important protective factor for violence-resilience. Recent research has also highlighted the importance of such family factors as socioeconomic status (Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, & Simons, 1994; Rebellon, Piquero, Piquero, & Thaxton, 2009), migration (Connell, Beale Spencer, & Aber, 1994; Pauwels & Svensson, 2009) and parenting style (Bates, Bader, & Mencken, 2003; Phythian, Keane, & Krull, 2008) in understanding why adolescents are staying violence-free despite experiencing family violence. Educational researchers and criminologists have provided school oriented explanations for violence resilience and argued that positive school climate (Longshore, Chang, Hsieh, & Messina, 2004) and a good relationship with teachers (Byrne & Lurigio, 2008) are especially helpful protective factors for adolescents from violent families. The central and shared notion of all these studies is that personal and social protective factors are core to exiting the family violence cycle.

Even though violent-resilient adolescents share many similarities on protective characteristics in their every day life (Van der Put, et al., 2011), the possibly higher influence of the level of experienced family violence (Gilbert, et al., 2009; Hussey, et al., 2006), the so-called ground-burden (Kassis, 2010) and the co-morbidity of the existence of further risk factors (Murray, Farrington, & Eisner, 2009) e.g. violence experiences with peers (Pauwels & Svensson, 2009), substance use (Link, 2008; Musher-Eizenman, Holub, & Arnett, 2003; Musher-Eizenman & Kulick, 2003), verbally aggressive teachers (Kassis, 2009) and experiencing a coercive parenting style (Brownfield & Thompson, 2005) for violence-resilience have been underestimated.

Existing research persuasively indicates that witnessing violence and child maltreatment are common for adolescents in the EU and the United States (Eaton, et al., 2008; Hussey, et al., 2006; Kassis, 2010). Almost 28% of adolescents in the US-National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health reported physical abuse by caregivers during childhood (Hussey, et al., 2006). Kassis (Kassis, 2010) in a study conducted in Austria, Germany, Slovenia and Spain shows an a similar frequency: 25% of adolescents aged 15 report maltreatment by their parents and almost 16% report witnessing violence between their parents. Still it is important to note that the risk for witnessing violence and violence victimization varies and not all adolescents face the same risk for exposure. Research shows that exposure to violence is associated with a number of individual and family characteristics: gender, family socioeconomic status, substance use (Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008; Gilbert, et al., 2009) Moreover, those adolescents who experience family violence often experience co-occurring forms of

such violence within a given period of time and therefore both witness intimate partner violence and experience physical maltreatment by parents (Yates, et al., 2003).

2. Methods

2.1 Data

The data was collected in the spring of 2009 from a random sample of students in four EU-countries (Austria, Germany, Slovenia and Spain) who completed a questionnaire anonymously**.** Table 1 presents the characteristics of the respondents surveyed. 47% of the adolescents were female and approximately 29% came from migrant backgrounds. The mean age of the respondents was 14.4 years. Nearly 1/3 of the students had a low, medium or high SES. 23% of the adolescents reported being physically abused by their parents and 17.3% witnessed physical violence between their parents. Approximately 27% exhibited signs of depression and nearly 35% of the students reported participating in physical violence against other adolescents.

Table 1: Sample descriptives

	in %	Abs.
Migration		
Without migration-background	71.2	3.666
With migration-background	28.8	1.483
Sex		
Girls	47.0	2.418
Boys	53.0	2.731
Country		
Germany	55.0	2.832
Austria	14.1	724
Slovenia	14.1	726
Spain	16.8	867
Parents socioeconomic status (SES)		
Low	33.2	1710
Medium	32.7	1686
High	34.0	1753
Physical abuse by parents		
Yes	23.0	1184
No	77.0	3965
Witnessing physical violence between parents		

Yes	17.3	892
No	82.7	4257
Depression		
Yes	27.1	1394
No	72.9	3755
Physical violence		
Yes	34.8	1793
No	65.2	3356
Age, AV: 14.40, SD: 0.934	N= 5.149	

2.2 Measures

Emotional self-control: This indicator identifies the following dimension of self-control as central – control of your own emotions and having the ability to deal with your own moods, e.g. "I am one of those people who sometimes cannot control their anger". Scale of 4 items. Items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.653)

Worrisome future: A young person's assessment of his/her own future opportunities as being limited. E.g. "I am afraid of everything that might happen in future." Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.684)

Self-acceptance: Self-acceptance is a young person's ability to positively assess him/herself e.g. "*I have quite a good opinion about myself.*" Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.588)

Talks with parents or friends about violence. E.g. "If – during the past three months – you committed physically violent acts, how often did you confide in the persons mentioned below? Help from mother, father, peers" (α=.948), (Range: 1 = not once, 2 = once, 3 = several times)

Seeks help to avoid violence (actions taken by a young person to avoid violence: We are querying what measures a young person takes to avoid violent behaviour, e.g. "*I try to solve a problem by talking instead of lashing out.*" Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range = 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.762)

Witnessing physical partner abuse: Young people were asked whether they had been present during physical acts of violence between their parents, e.g. "I noticed one of my parents strongly shoving or pushing the other one about." Scale of 5 items. The items were answered on a 6-point

Likert scale (Range: 1 = Never, 2 = Fairly seldom, 3 = Several times a year, 4 = Once to three times a month, 5 = Once a week, 6 = More than once a week). (α=.881)

Witnessing verbal partner abuse: Young people were asked how often they witnessed verbal abuse between their parents, e.g. "I witnessed my parents shouting at each other very loudly". Scale of 3 items. The items were answered on a 6-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Never, 2 = Fairly seldom, 3 = Several times a year, 4 = Once to three times a month, 5 = Once a week, 6 = More than once a week). (α=.855)

Physical abuse by parents: Adolescents were questioned as to what degree they had been abused by their parents, "People in my family beat me up so severely that I had bruises or scratches". The items were answered on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Never, 2 = Very seldom, 3 = Seldom, 4 = Often, 5 = Very often). (α=.832)

Inconsistent parenting style: Inconsistent parenting style is defined as inconsistent and unstable behaviour when parenting, e.g. "My parents often scold me for no apparent reason." The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). Scale of 5 items. (α=.832)

Authoritarian parenting style: This scale measures parental attempts at controlling the behaviour of their children. "My parents often do not tolerate any contradiction." The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). Scale of 4 items. (α=.608)

Parental supervision: This scale measures parental attempts at positively supporting the behaviour of their children, e.g. "My parents listen to my opinion in the same way as they would listen to an adult." The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). Scale of 4 items. (α=.755)

Physical violence: Measures the degree to which parents injure and/or wound their children, "During a brawl, I hurt a boy so strongly that he was in pain for several days and/or had to go and see a doctor". The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (1= Never happened, 2 = Once or twice per month, 3 = Once per week, 4 = More than once per week). Scale of 8 items. (α=.817)

Victim of physical aggression by boys: Measures the degree to which boys injured and/or wounded respondents, "During a brawl, I was hurt by a boy so badly that I was in pain for several days and/ or had to go and see a doctor". The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (1= Never happened, 2 = Once or twice per month, 3 = Once per week, 4 = More than once per week). Scale of 4 items. (α=.734)

Egocentrism: This scale indicates the degree to which the young person feels that s/he has control over his/her own life: "I feel that I have a firm grip on life". Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.617)

Lack of empathy The scale measures the degree of the respondent's lack of empathy, e.g. "Mostly I do not care too much about other people's unhappiness." (reverse coded) Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.739)

Aggression-supportive beliefs: The scale measures to what extent a young person is willing to solve problems by using violence: "Fighting is a good way of defending my friends". Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.819)

Verbally aggressive teachers: Indicates the effect of verbal abuse by teachers, e.g. "You were insulted or sworn at by a teacher." Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1= Never happened, 2 = Once or twice a month, 3 = Once a week, 4 = More than once a week). (α=.690)

Close relationship with teachers: Central to this indicator is the relationship between pupil and teacher, e.g. "I quite like most of our teachers." Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.779)

Acceptance by other students: This scale looks at acceptance by fellow pupils, e.g. "In my class, I sometimes feel a bit like an outsider". Scale of 4 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true) (α=.855)

The *usage of drugs* was assessed by a scale of eight items, e.g. "Smoke marijuana or hashish" and "Use other illegal drugs". Scale of 8 items. The items were answered on a 5-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Never, 2 = Once, 3 = Several times, 4 = Often, 5 = I do not know these products (α=.929).

Alcohol consumption was assessed by a scale of six items, e.g. "Drink beer". The items were answered on a 5-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Never, 2= Less than once a month, 3 = Every month, but not every week, 4 = Every week, but not every day, 5 = Every day) (α=.851)

Depression: A tendency toward depression is used to measure self-doubt and a negative attitude toward life, e.g. "Now and then I feel that my life is not worth living." Scale of 5 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Somewhat untrue, 3 = Somewhat true, 4 = Completely true). (α=.779).

Indirect aggression against boys: Within this indicator we record the young people's experiences of using indirect aggression against boys, e.g."I picked on a boy or upset him in one or the other way." Scale of 3 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1= Never happened, 2 = Once or twice a month, 3 = Once a week, 4 = More than once a week). (α=.759).

Indirect aggression against girls: Within this indicator we record the young people's experiences of using indirect aggression against girls, e.g."I picked on a girl or upset her in one or the other way."

Scale of 3 items. The items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1= Never happened, 2 = Once or twice a month, 3 = Once a week, 4 = More than once a week). (α=.6903).

3. Analytic Strategy

The statistical analyses for this study were conducted in four stages.

Stage 1: Initially, we defined the *family-burden variable* and tested the distribution for possible national, socioeconomic and gender differences. To identify the *family-burden* variable we dichotomized the reported physical abuse by parents ("0" no physical abuse by parents", "1" physical abuse by parents) and the physical partner abuse between parents ("0" no witnessing of physical abuse by parents", "1"). Secondly, we computed the new indicator "family-burden". No physical abuse by parents *and* no physical abuse between parents was coded as a "1" for family-burden. Reported physical abuse by parents without the witnessing of physical abuse between parents was coded as a "2" for family-burden. Witnessing of physical abuse between parents without any physical abuse by parents was coded as a "3" for family-burden. The combination of experienced physical abuse by parents and the witnessing of physical abuse between parents were coded as a "4" for family-burden. Respondents who received a score of "2" or higher – that is, they indicated they were involved in some family violence – were included in the sample (STAMINA-Burden) for analysis stages 2, 3 and 4.

Stage 2: The testing of the resilience variable with the three values "resilience", "near-resilience" and "non-resilience" for possible national and gender differences against the dependent variable of the analysis was the next analytic step taken with the STAMINA-Burden sample. As for resilience against violence, the procedure did not involve resorting to zero tolerance in terms of the symptoms (the use of physical violence and/or tendency to depression) displayed by the young people from families affected by violence, but a certain degree of use of physical violence and/or tendency toward depression was allowed for. To identify these three resiliency groups we proceeded in three steps. The first step was to identify the resilient students. Here, we used criteria regarding the content. The students who reported no use of violence at all and who additionally had depression-scores bellow the middle of the scale "depression" were coded as resilient. The depression items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (Range: 1 = Not true at all, 2 = Rather not true, 3 = Rather true, 4 = Completely true). On this account the range of "1 = Not true at all, 2 = Rather not true" was chosen for the non-depressive students. For the second step in choosing the resilient-groups we used a cut-off value of the highest quartile in physical violence and depression. This group was named "non-resilient". Students who were situated in using violence and/or reporting depression in this highest quartile were coded "non-resilient". The and/or-condition secured the consideration of the toxic situation for extraverted and introverted symptoms of adolescents in violent families. In a third step all students who were not

in the "resilient" or in the "non-resilient" group were coded as near-resilient. These students had middle scores in using violence and/or in reporting depression.

This strategy of linking the internalized and externalized effects of domestic violence, in the empirical sense, was also chosen because domestic violence strongly effects both genders and similarly creates a strong relationship between the tendency toward depression and the use of physical violence against peers (girls: $F (736.20) = 2314$, $p =. 001$, $ETA^2 = 5.9\%$, boys: $F (864.22) = 2806$, $p =. 001$, $ETA^2 = 6.7\%$).

Stage 3: In the third stage, logistic regression analysis was used to identify the resilience patterns of those exposed to family violence in the STAMINA-Burden sample. Logistic regression analyses, separated by gender, were also used to predict resilience in the face of violence. An analyses of these logistic regressions could only be undertaken by aggregating all four sub-samples (Austria n=178, Germany n=1074, Slovenia n=175, Spain n=217) into the new STAMINA-Burden sample (N=1644). Otherwise it would have been impossible to obtain a sufficient number (>=30) of girls or boys who resiliently responded, in the countries where the study was being undertaken, to successfully perform a regression analyses (see table 3). The logistic regression analyses were undertaken with the aim of shedding some light on how far the groups of young people ("resilient", "near-resilient" and "non-resilient") differed from one another in terms of the theoretically applied predictors. Regression analyses were conducted separately for girls and boys using the seven steps of modelling resilience. Model 1 presents the unadjusted association between self-concept (Emotional self-control, Worrisome Future, Self-acceptance) and resilience; Model 2 adjusts additionally for activities geared to finding alternatives to violence (Talk with parents or friends about violence, Seek help against violence); Model 3 includes to this familial risk factors (Physical partner abuse, Verbal partner abuse, Physical abuse by parents). Model 4 enhances model 3 by the parenting style (Inconsistent parenting style, Authoritarian parenting style, Parental supervision). Model 5 adjusts additionally for aggression experiences in an aggression-supportive belief system (Relational aggression against boys, Relational aggression against girls, Victim of physical aggression by boys, Egocentrism, Empathy, Aggression-supportive belief system). Model 6 includes the risk factors found in school (Verbally aggressive teachers, Close relationship with teachers, Acceptance by other students). Model 7 examines whether the associations are maintained after adjusting for substance and alcohol misuse. In order to identify the specific effects of each model in a more differentiated manner we will closely look at the changes in R^2. Results are presented, firstly, as a comparison between the "resilient vs. near-resilient" groups and secondly, as a comparison between the "near-resilient vs. non-resilient" groups.

4. Results

4.1 Analysis results of stage 1

Of the 5149 young people studied, 1644 (31.9%) have been affected by domestic violence. In these families either the young person was physically abused by his/her parents (752 young people or 14.6%), or witnessed the parents physically abusing each other (460 young people or 8.9%). In addition, a third case, which combines both of the aforementioned factors; respondent was physically abused by his/her parents and witnessed his/her parents physically abusing each other resulted in (432 young people or 8.4% of all of them). That means that in total almost every forth student (23.5%) by the age of 14.5 was physically abused by his/her parents and almost every sixth student (17.3%) witnessed partner abuse (see table 2). The separation of girls and boys into these groups of affected families did not prove to be significant (Chi-square=5.285, df=3, N=5149, p>.05.).

Table 2: Family violence by gender and nation

	STAMINA sample n (%)	Austria	Germany	Slovenia	Spain
Girls, Family violence	2418 (100%)	n=326	n=1322	n=386	n=384
No family violence	1661 (68.7%)	256 (78.5%)	807 (61.0%)	301 (78.0%)	297 (77.3%)
Physical abuse by parents	335 (13.9%)	16 (4.9%)	228 (17.2%)	40 (10.4%)	51 (13.3%)
Witnessing partner abuse	231 (9.6%)	37 (11.3%)	148 (11.2%)	24 (6.2%)	22 (5.7%)
Physical abuse by parents AND Witnessing partner abuse	191 (7.9%)	17 (5.2%)	139 (10.5%)	21 (5.4%)	14 (3.6%)
Boys, Family violence	2731 (100%)	n=398	n=1510	n=340	n=483
No family violence	1844 (67.5%)	290 (72.9%)	951 (63.0%)	250 (73.5%)	353 (73.1%)
Physical abuse by parents	417 (15.3%)	50 (12.6%)	271 (17.9%)	29 (8.5%)	67 (13.9)
Witnessing partner	229	36 (9.0%)	141 (9.3%)	26	26

abuse	(8.4%)			(7.6%)	(5.4%)
Physical abuse by parents AND Witnessing partner abuse	241 (8.8%)	22 (5.5%)	147 (9.7%)	35 (10.3%)	37 (7.7%)

In contrast, when separated into the three groups measuring family violence (see Table 2) the nation-specific differences of a young person being affected by domestic violence proved to be significant for girls (Chi-square=99.555, df=9, N=2418, p<.001.) and for boys (Chi-square=45.208, df=9, N=2731, p<.001.) The difference in significance is due to the stronger presence of girls in the group of physically abused young people. In the other two groups there is a balanced gender distribution.

The major difference in significance is due to the stronger presence of German girls and boys in families affected by these factors. When we look at the variable of witnessing partner abuse, there seems to be a similarly (high) distributions for both girls and boys in Austria and Germany. These national differences should not be overly exaggerated due to their low Cramer-V 0.090. There appears to be a significant relationship between all of the families who engaged in domestic violence in the all four EU-countries, yet, this difference remains insignificant. Therefore, we conclude that the distribution of family violence over the four countries is almost equal.

Similar results were found in the association between a family's socioeconomic status and the reporting of domestic violence. Adolescents within a lower socioeconomic group report significantly higher levels of family violence then adolescents within a higher socioeconomic group (Chi-square=41.724, df=6, N=5149, p<.001.) but the Cramer's V, as a post-test, reports the importance of this result as very low (Cramer's V=0.064).

Similar results are found when looking at the migrant status of the family. Adolescents whose parents were recent migrants reported significantly higher levels of family violence than those "native-born" adolescents (Chi-square=45.893, df=3, N=5149, p<.001.) Still, the Cramer's V reported the difference as insignificant (Cramer's V=0.064).

4.2 Analysis results of stage 2

The variable *resilience* was created with three values; "resilience", "near-resilience" and "non-resilience". *Resilience* was then tested against specific conditions that have affected the family, the use of violence and depression to the STAMINA-affected sample (N=1644) 510 (31.0%) students are coded as resilient, 466 (28.3%) as near-resilient and 668 (40.6%) as non-resilient. In testing possible national and gender differences over the dependent variable of our analysis we identified different results (see table 3).

The differences between the four national samples in terms of the frequency of the resilience phenomena "Resilient vs. near-resilient" in girls (Chi-square=1.648, df=3, n=470, p>.05.) or boys

(Chi-square=0.217, df=3, N=506, p>.05.) also resulted in being insignificant. Adding this result to the former analysis of the almost equal distribution of domestic violence over the four countries, we conclude that a country-specific analysis is of low importance.

Girls were significant in all five samples "Near-resilient vs. non-resilient" the girls (Chi-square=3,594, df=3, N=490, p>.05.). We observed that for boys there was only one significant difference between the four samples; the German and Austrian sample (Chi-square=12.087, df=3, N=644, p<.01.). A young male from Austria was non-resilient more frequently (54.6%) than a young German male (37.9%). However none of the Slovenian or Spanish sub-samples differed from each other or from the German or Austrian sample (see table 3).

In contrast, when separating the three groups measuring resiliency by gender "Resilient vs. near-resilient" proved to be significant (Chi-square=7.537, df=1, n=976, p<.01.). The difference in significance is due to the stronger presence of girls (35.3%) than boys (27.4%) in the group of resilient young people. When comparing the two groups "near-resilient vs. non-resilient" there is a balanced gender distribution (Chi-square=0.040, df=1, n=1.134, p>.05.).

Table 3: The resilience variable by sex and nation

	Total sample n (%)	Austria	Germany	Slovenia	Spain
Girls, Resilience status	757 (100%)	n=70	n=515	n=85	n=87
Resilient	267 (35.3%)	24 (34.3%)	171 (33.2%)	40 (47.1%)	32 (36.8%)
Near-Resilient	203 (26.8%)	16 (22.9%)	138 (26.8%)	23 (27.1%)	26 (29.9%)
Non-Resilient	287 (37.9%)	30 (42.9%)	206 (40.0%)	22 (25.9%)	29 (33.3%)
Boys, Resilience status	887 (100%)	n=108	n=559	n=90	n=130
Resilient	243 (27.4%)	25 (23.1%)	166 (29.7%)	21 (23.3%)	31 (23.8%)
Near-Resilient	263 (29.7%)	24 (22.2%)	181 (32.4%)	24 (26.7%)	34 (26.2%)
Non-Resilient	381 (43.0%)	59 (54.6%)	212 (37.9%)	45 (50.0%)	65 (50.0%)

When evaluating the relationship between socioeconomic status and *resiliency*, "resilient vs. near-resilient" (Chi-square=4.618, df=2, N=976, p>.05.) or "near-resilient vs. non-resilient" (Chi-square=3.758, df=2, N=1134, p>.05.) there appears to be no significance in the distribution of the various resiliency groups.

The same results are found between students with and without migrant status. The migrant status is neither in the "resilient vs. near-resilient" analysis (Chi-square=0.088, df=1, N=976, p>.05.) nor in testing the "near-resilient vs. non-resilient" analysis (Chi-square=0.634, df=1, N=1134, p>.05.) significant in any of the resiliency groups.

4.3 Analysis results of stage 3

In Stage 3 logistic regression models with the STAMINA-Burden sample were used to estimate the association between resilience-status and the predictors included in these models.

4.4 Predictors for the groups "Resilient vs. near-resilient"

Tables 4 and 5 include the findings from the first step in the analysis. Self-concept, regression step 1, is a relevant predictive variable for both sexes (change in R^2 9.9% for the girls and 5.5% for the boys). It becomes apparent that for both genders only the control of emotions is responsible for these effects (β= -1.025, p<.001 for the girls and β= -.695, p<.001 for the boys). The second step of the analysis, using actions to avoid violence, produces virtually the same results for both genders (change in R^2 3.8% for the girls and 3.7% for the boys). Young people's conversations with their parents and peers about their own experiences of violence (β= -.973, p<.01 for the girls and β= -1.145, p<.001 for the boys) and their own actions in an attempt to avoid violence (β= -.458, p<.01 for the girls and β= -.304, p<.05 for the boys) are relevant variables in respect of resilience to violence. However, it is only among the boys that the extent of the violence experienced in the family contributes to explaining the differences between the two groups "Resilient vs. near-resilient" (change in R^2 0% for the girls and 0.8% for the boys). For boys, the predictor "physical spousal violence" is largely insignificant (β= .618, p<.05. for the boys). However, for both boys and girls, their parent's parenting style, the fourth step of the analysis, significantly contributes to differentiating the living environments of resilient and near-resilient young people (change in R^2 3.2% for the girls and 2.0% for the boys). It is interesting to note that different factors, specifically apply to each gender, the inconsistent parenting style only for the girls (β= .821, p<.001 for the girls and β= .428, p>.05 for the boys) and the authoritarian parenting style for the boys (β= -.122, p>.05. for the girls and β= -.456, p<.05. for the boys).

Experiences of and attitudes toward violence are indicative for both genders in terms of differentiating between resilient and near-resilient young people (change in R^2 8.3% for the girls and 5.5% for the boys). In particular, physical violence against young males (β= 1.009, p<.001 for the girls and β= .831, p<.0501 for the boys) and the acceptance of violence (β= .624, p<.001. for the girls and β= .348, p<.05. for the boys), which are relevant for both genders. Two factors have been found that are specifically relevant for girls, namely the experience of having been a victim of physical violence from boys (β= 1.829, p<.05. for girls and β= .692, p>.05. for boys) and the absence of empathy (β= -.474, p<.05. for the girls and β= -.082, p>.05. for the boys).

Experiences at school have only a minor effect in differentiating between resilient and near-resilient young people (change in R^2 0% for the girls and 1.2% for the boys). School appears to have neither a negative affect or be a relevant resource. We were only able to determine that there is a significant effect as a result of having experienced verbal abuse from teachers (β= .230, p>.05. for the girls and β= .697, p<.01. for the boys). Misuse of alcohol (β= .300, p>.05. for the girls and β= .661, p<.05. for

the boys) and of drugs (β= 1.694, p<.01. for the girls and β= 1.041, p>.05. for the boys), step 7 of the analysis, are relevant in a gender-specific way (change in R^2 1.7% for the girls and 4.0% for the boys). Overall we found that we were able very clearly establish the differences between the resilient and near-resilient young people by means of the analysis models adopted. We were able to rate the overall prediction strength for both the girls (Cox & Snell R^2 = 26.9%, Nagelkerkes R^2 = 36.1%) and also for the boys (Cox & Snell R^2 = 22.7%, Nagelkerkes R^2 = 30.2%) as high to very high. In combination with the classification reliability for the girls (81.3% for resilient, 66.0% for near-resilient and 74.7% across both groups) and then also for the boys (68.7% for resilient, 68.4% for near-resilient and 68.6% across both groups) this provides the necessary empirical reliability of having developed a very good predictive model.

Table 4: Girls resilience vs. near-resilience: Gender-specific logistic regression analysis with STAMINA-Burden-sample

n Sample/gender	STAMINA: Resilient vs. near-resilient						
	n Girls 470						
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Emotional self-control	-1.025*** (.188)	-1.035*** (.191)	-.990*** (.193)	-.955*** (.197)	-.815*** (.214)	-.794 *** (.216)	-.779*** (.220)
Worrisome future	.300 (.179)	.189 (.182)	.167 (.184)	.085 (.189)	.035 (.209)	.020 (.211)	.018 (.214)
Self-acceptance	-.258 (.183)	-.233 (.187)	-.236 (.190)	-.135 (.197)	-.282 (.214)	-.239 (.218)	-.258 (.223)
Talk with parents or friends about violence		.973** (.315)	.932** (.315)	.973** (.319)	.731* (.335)	.704* (.337)	.764* (.345)
Seeks help to avoid violence		-.458** (.153)	-.462** (.157)	-.438** (.165)	-.200 (.195)	-.180 (.198)	-.208 (.199)
Witnessing physical partner abuse			.014 (.317)	-.075 (.330)	-.032 (.350)	-.024 (.354)	.016 (.358)
Witnessing verbal partner abuse			.125 (.086)	.049 (.090)	.091 (.097)	.099 (.097)	.085 (.098)
Physical abuse by parents			.423 (.286)	.160 (.300)	.118 (.312)	.091 (.313)	.026 (.318)
Inconsistent parenting style				.821*** (.237)	.750** (.250)	.722** (.255)	.702** (.260)
Authoritarian parenting style				-.122 (.211)	-.043 (.229)	-.016 (.235)	-.028 (.239)
Parental supervision				.246 (.186)	.306 (.201)	.336 (.206)	.348 (.207)
Relational aggression against boys					1.009*** (.305)	1.028*** (.316)	.991** (.320)
Relational aggression against girls					.326 (.255)	.341 (.256)	.323 (.258)
Victim of physical aggression by boys					1.829 (.805)	1.593* (.819)	1.441 (.838)
Egocentrism					.110 (.259)	.135 (.264)	.156 (.267)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Lack of empathy					-.474* (.228)	-.463* (.229)	-.459* (.232)
Aggression-supporting beliefs					.624*** (.185)	.573** (.190)	.546** (.192)
Verbally aggressive teachers						.230 (.278)	.140 (.296)
Close relationship with teachers						.022 (.221)	-.009 (.225)
Acceptance by other students						.248 (.193)	.300 (.199)
Alcohol							.161 (.186)
Drugs							1.694* (.717)
Cox and Snell R²	9.9%	13.7%	14.4%	16.9%	25.2%	25.6%	26.9%
Nagelkerkes R²	13.3%	18.3%	19.4%	22.7%	33.9%	34.4%	36.1%

Model 1: Self-Concept

Model 2: Self-Concept + Activities against violence

Model 3: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk

Model 4: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style

Model 5: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs

Model 6: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School

Model 7: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School + Substance and alcohol misuse

Note: *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001   [1]Beta

Table 5: Boys resilience vs. near-resilience: Gender-specific logistic regression analysis with STAMINA-Burden-sample

n Sample/gender	STAMINA. Resilient vs. near-resilient						
	n Boys 506						
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Emotional self-control	-.695*** (.156)	-.729*** (.160)	-.723*** (.161)	-.725*** (.167)	-.419* (.186)	-.400* (.188)	-.254 (.197)
Worrisome future	.308 (.174)	.329 (.176)	.303 (.179)	.306 (.181)	.241 (.190)	.223 (.194)	.240 (.199)
Self-acceptance	.003 (.181)	.094 (.185)	.110 (.187)	.173 (.194)	.064 (209)	.107 (.220)	.020 (.225)
Talk with parents or friends about violence		1.145*** (.333)	1.114*** (337)	1.061** (.342)	.910** (.355)	.884* (.357)	.697* (.355)
Seeks help to avoid violence		-.304* (.126)	-.265* (.128)	-.165 (.137)	-.177 (.172)	-.198 (.174)	-.194 (.180)
Witnessing physical partner abuse			.618* (.303)	.601* (.307)	.613* (.312)	.614* (.315)	.658* (.325)
Witnessing verbal partner abuse			-.072 (.101)	-.139 (.106)	-.244* (.116)	-.260* (.117)	-.326** (.120)
Physical abuse by parents			.208 (.271)	.167 (.281)	.184 (.293)	.163 (.303)	.147 (.309)
Inconsistent parenting style				.428 (.226)	.389 (.237)	.305 (.242)	.340 (.247)
Authoritarian parenting style				-.456* (.202)	-.453* (.212)	-.417* (.214)	-.350 (.219)
Parental supervision				-.254 (.170)	-.248 (.176)	-.239 (.182)	-.209 (.187)
Relational aggression against					.831*** (.222)	.766*** (.224)	.669** (.227)

boys							
Relational aggression against girls					.194 (.309)	.117 (.313)	.063 (.316)
Victim of physical aggression by boys					.692 (.461)	.489 (.464)	.362 (.463)
Egocentrism					-.082 (.206)	-.092 (.208)	.016 (.214)
Lack of empathy					.027 (.191)	.043 (.191)	.073 (.196)
Aggression-supportive beliefs					.348* (.148)	.346* (.154)	.345* (.158)
Verbally aggressive teachers						.697** (.265)	.619* (.271)
Close relationship with teachers						.117 (.177)	.223 (.181)
Acceptance by other students						.117 (.180)	.247 (.184)
Alcohol							.661* (.167)
Drugs							1.041 (.613)
Cox and Snell R^2	5.5%	9.2%	10.0%	12.0%	17.5%	18.7%	22.7%
Nagelkerkes R^2	7.4%	12.2%	13.4%	15.9%	23.3%	24.9%	30.2%

Model 1: Self-Concept

Model 2: Self-Concept + Activities against violence

Model 3: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk

Model 4: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style

Model 5: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs

Model 6: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School						
Model 7: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School + Substance and alcohol misuse						
Note: *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001	[1]Beta					

4.5 Predictors for the groups "Near-resilient vs. non-resilient"

An analysis of the young people's groups "near-resilient" vs. "resilient" was followed by the same analysis for the groups "near-resilient" vs. "non-resilient" (see Tables 6 and 7).

Both genders consider self-concept important but it needs further clarification (changes in R²: girls 10.4%; boys 6.3%), and appears to be more pronounced for girls. While a worrisome future was insignificant, control of the emotions (girls: β= -.753, p<.001; boys: β= -.421, p<.001) and self-acceptance (girls: β= -.527, p<.001; boys: β= -.518, p<.001) provided us with further clarification.

Actions to avoid violence (regression step 2), as experienced when confronting their family's and/or friend's violent behaviour was portrayed by these young people as (girls: β= .441,ns; boys: β= 1,117, p<.001), having made a relevant contribution to explaining the differences between "near-resilient" and "non-resilient" young people, especially for boys (changes in R²: girls 1%; boys 5.9%).

However, the predictor "family risk", which significantly contributes to our understanding (changes in R²: girls 7.3%; boys 9.1%), is non-gender specific. For both girls and boys their own experiences of violence within the family (physical violence by their parents) are highly significant (girls: β= .769, p<.001; boys: β= 1.126, p<.001). The use of physical violence between the parents displays a highly significant value for the girls (β= .992, p<.001), while this predictor is weakly significant for the boys (β= .443, p<.05). Interestingly enough, the parenting style plays no part in differentiating "near-resilient" and "non-resilient" young people (β-values of all the individual indicators: ns).

The predictor *"experiences of and attitudes toward violence"* provides clearly differentiated contributions (changes in R²: girls 3.8%; boys 8.6%). While relational aggression against other people (male and female) plays a role for the girls, for the boys it is a significant predictor (relational aggression against boys: β= .667, p<.001; relational aggression against girls β= .568, p<.01). For girls, experiencing physical violence from young males provides a weakly significant contribution to explaining the differences (β= 1.008, p<.05), however for boys it is highly significant (β= 1.219, p<.001). A further explanatory factor for girls applies is the inability to feel empathy β= .640, p<.01). Experiences at school play hardly any role (changes in R²: girls 1.0%; boys 0%).

It is only for girls that verbal violence by teachers makes a slightly significant contribution to explaining the differences (β= .552, p<.05). Misuse of alcohol and drugs does not further contribute as an explanation for boys, and for girls, this also tends to be minor (R² Changes: girls 1.0%; boys 0%). Therefore, for the latter, only a slightly significant effect can be identified through the misuse of drugs (β= .778, p<.05).

The overall prediction strength of the model is high, both for the girls (Cox & Snell R²: 25.2%; Nagelkerkes R² 34.0%), and also for the boys (Cox & Snell R²: 30.1%; Nagelkerkes R² 40.6%). An

examination of the reliability of the classifications confirms our initial results (girls: near-resilient 62.1%, non-resilient 81.2%, overall 73.3%; boys: near-resilient 68.8%, non-resilient 79.3%, overall 75.0%).

To summarise, the significance of the predictors: self-concept, seeks help to avoid violence, family risk and experiences of and attitudes toward violence can be emphasised.

On the other hand, parenting style play no role for either gender in terms of the differences in the group "near-resilient" vs. "non-resilient". Furthermore, for the girls the predictors school and alcohol and drug misuse provide a minor contribution to explaining the differences.

Table 6: Girls near-resilience vs. non-resilience: Gender-specific logistic regression analysis with STAMINA-Burden-sample

n Sample/gender	STAMINA-Burden: Near-resilient vs. non-resilient						
	n Girls 490						
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Emotional self-control	-.753*** (.168)	-.698*** (.170)	-.664*** (.182)	-.693*** (.186)	-.753*** (.195)	-.802*** (.200)	-.818*** (.202)
Worrisome future	.389** (.149)	.397** (.151)	.344* (.159)	.349* (.161)	.324* (.166)	.317 (.169)	.349* (.171)
Self-acceptance	-.527*** (.156)	-.599*** (.160)	-.643*** (.168)	-.648*** (.173)	-.628** (.190)	-.583** (.194)	-.592** (.195)
Talk with parents or friends about violence		.441* (.220)	.375 (.229)	.395 (.230)	.099 (.251)	.019 (.256)	-.018 (.258)
Seeks help to avoid violence		.158 (.144)	.256 (.153)	.305 (.158)	.056 (.187)	.052 (.190)	.022 (.192)
Witnessing physical partner abuse			.992*** (.257)	.963*** (.258)	.895*** (.262)	.903*** (.268)	.938*** (.271)
Witnessing verbal partner abuse			.022 (.080)	.016 (.084)	-.016 (.087)	-.027 (.088)	-.032 (.090)
Physical abuse by parents			.769*** (.234)	.742** (.235)	.609* (.237)	.606* (.240)	.599* (.240)
Inconsistent parenting style				.102 (.206)	.029 (.213)	-.007 (.216)	-.055 (.218)
Authoritarian parenting style				-.315 (.210)	-.328 (.218)	-.353 (.221)	-.342 (.225)
Parental supervision				-.244 (.171)	-.399* (.182)	-.402* (.186)	-.433* (.189)

Relational aggression against boys						.031 (.235)	.068 (.243)	.064 (.247)
Relational aggression against girls						.273 (.213)	.246 (.216)	.236 (.217)
Victim of physical aggression by boys						1.088* (.461)	.925* (.480)	.859 (.474)
Egocentrism						-.229 (.216)	-.307 (.224)	-.331 (.227)
Lack of empathy						.640** (.205)	.641** (.207)	.688*** (.209)
Aggression-supportive beliefs						.251 (.160)	.238 (.163)	.211 (.164)
Verbally aggressive teachers							.522* (.253)	.408 (.263)
Close relationship with teachers							.355 (.192)	.360 (.194)
Acceptance by other students							.231 (.161)	.240 (.164)
Alcohol								.055 (.170)
Drugs								.778* (.354)
Cox and Snell R^2	10.4%	11.4%	18.7%	19.3%	23.1%	24.2%	25,2%
Nagelkerkes R^2	14.0%	15.3%	25.2%	26.0%	31.0%	32.6%	34.0%

Model 1: Self-Concept

Model 2: Self-Concept + Activities against violence

Model 3: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk

Model 4: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style		
Model 5: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs		
Model 6: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School		
Model 7: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School + Substance and Alcohol misuse		
Note: *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001	[1]Beta	

Table 7: Boys near-resilience vs. non-resilience: Gender-specific logistic regression analysis with STAMINA-Burden-sample

n Sample/gender	STAMINA-Burden: Near-resilient vs. non-resilient						
	n Boys 644						
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Emotional self-control	-.421*** (.124)	-.446*** (.129)	-.568*** (.143)	-.571*** (.145)	-.620*** (.168)	-.593*** (.171)	-.595*** (.171)
Worrisome future	.223 (.139)	.243 (.144)	.123 (.158)	.125 (.159)	.148 (.172)	.152 (.173)	.156 (.173)
Self-acceptance	-.518*** (.148)	-.516*** (.154)	-.468** (.160)	-.472** (.163)	-.617*** (.192)	-.549** (.202)	-.549** (.202)
Talk with parents or friends about violence		1.117*** (.199)	1.050*** (.218)	1.050*** (.219)	.816*** (.236)	.850*** (.239)	.844*** (.240)
Seeks help to avoid violence		-.268* (.113)	-.282* (.121)	-.280* (.123)	-.307* (.157)	-.317* (.159)	-.315* (.159)
Witnessing physical partner abuse			.433* (.187)	.432* (.188)	.283 (.197)	.296 (.199)	.296 (.199)
Witnessing verbal partner abuse			.137 (.089)	.148 (.092)	.099 (.100)	.097 (.100)	.097 (.101)
Physical abuse by parents			1.126*** (.196)	1.125*** (.201)	.712*** (.213)	.672*** (.219)	.666** (.220)
Inconsistent parenting style				-.142 (.201)	-.302 (.218)	-.318 (.221)	-.314 (.222)
Authoritarian parenting style				.126 (.187)	.293 (.204)	.294 (.206)	.290 (.207)
Parental supervision				-.008 (.140)	-.016 (.151)	-.030 (.153)	-.031 (.154)

Relational aggression against boys						.677*** (.168)	.722*** (.177)	.727*** (.178)
Relational aggression against girls						.568** (.207)	.572** (.208)	.568** (.209)
Victim of physical aggression by boys						1.219*** (.300)	1.182*** (.301)	1.167*** (.308)
Egocentrism						-.159 (.191)	-.174 (.192)	-.168 (.193)
Lack of empathy						.138 (.164)	.156 (.165)	.158 (.166)
Aggression-supportive beliefs						.026 (.126)	.037 (.129)	.038 (.131)
Verbally aggressive teachers							-.095 (.191)	-.101 (.193)
Close relationship with teachers							-.024 (.161)	-.021 (.162)
Acceptance by other students							.172 (.156)	.171 (.158)
Alcohol								-.019 (.129)
Drugs								.094 (.241)
Cox and Snell R²	6.3%	12.2%	21.3%	21.4%	29.9%	30.1%	30,1%
Nagelkerkes R²	8.5%	16.5%	28.8%	28.9%	40.4%	40.6%	40.6%

Model 1: Self-Concept

Model 2: Self-Concept + Activities against violence

Model 3: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk

Model 4: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style						
Model 5: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs						
Model 6: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School						
Model 7: Self-Concept + Activities against violence + Family risk + Parenting style + Aggression experiences/supportive beliefs + School + Substance and Alcohol misuse						
Note: *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001	[1]Beta					

Part II: **Qualitative Analysis**

by Mart Busche & Elli Scambor

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1. Theory

Resiliency, as a concept, is rarely researched and discussed in the literature concerned with violence. Most of what is written emphasizes the reasons why violence occurs, as well as, how it affects both perpetrators and/or victims. Resilience research, on the other hand, asks the question why certain people do not react violently – even though their family history might predispose them to this kind of behaviour- or why potential victims do not become victims – even though situations or circumstances may indicate the likelihood of this happening. STAMINA is a ground-breaking study that researches which characteristics adolescents have and which resources they use to avoid becoming violent even though their family history and thusly, their predisposition, is to one of reacting violently. This approach in the study of violence is only recent and may greatly add to the body of research concerned with violence.

The concept of resilience shies away from focusing on deficits and moves towards the relevance of competencies and resources as they are used in assessing general life challenges, and then, coping with the ensuing stress. Traditionally, It has been used to gain a better understanding of conditions which maintain and foster psychic health and stability in children, who are exposed to special developmental risks (Wustmann 2005: 192).

> *"The term resilience refers to the phenomenon of overcoming stress or adversity. Put in more operational terms, it means that someone's life outcome has been relatively good, despite his or her experience with situations shown to carry a major risk for developing psychopathology. The focus is strictly on relative resistance to psychosocial risk experience" (Rutter 2001: 13)*

Three problems arise in Violence research when focused on psychopathologies. Firstly, the focus on personal traits and competences of a child paves the way for arguments that legitimize the notions of individualized failure and/or success and the notion of (a lack of) individual responsibility. This perspective ignores the adverse conditions faced by many marginalized and disadvantaged peoples (Bottrell 2009: 334). For example, it has been impossible for many statistical analyses to represent the significance of discrimination experienced by those who are impoverished or face racism or other forms of deprivation or stereotyping. The reason for this is that those who face discrimination are treated, in statistical analyses, as factors of low socio-economic status, ethnicity, gender etc. and as such, are not included in, (or are controlled out), of these analyses. In particular, this holds true for the quantitative STAMINA analysis and therefore, the qualitative approach becomes particularly important, for it delivers valuable insights into specific contexts and experiences. In addition, the

STAMINA approach tries to locate the individual from within his/her support network (school, family, extended family, friends, etc.) and then, is able to evaluate this individual's access to these resources (see below).

Secondly, another problem arises due to the fact that a dichotomous construction of "psychopathology" on the one hand and "health/resilience" on the other, follows normative concepts of favourable outcomes. In Psychological research, resilience is oftentimes associated with concepts like "normal child development", "age appropriate abilities" or "maladjustment" which are normative concepts that define standard and deviance from an outer perspective, without taking into account the many ways individuals acknowledge and cope with the dynamic relationship between the individual and structural factors. If resilience is generally perceived as remaining "healthy" despite facing adversity (Masten 2001) we must then ask, who defines "healthy" and "adversity" - the researcher or the one being studied? Many authors have been highly criticized for marginalizing those they are studying in the name of "normalcy", e.g. Black girls (Ladner 1971). The researcher's expectation of "normalcy" is defined by "normalcy" in hegemonic groups and clearly stereotypes and sidle-lines those they are studying (Ungar/Teram 2000, Cross 2003, Bottrell 2009). When giving researchers the authority to define "healthy" and "adversity" how do they proceed from the following scenario? What if a situation arises where a coping behaviour is employed which is not defined by the researcher as "healthy" but is successful in reducing risk or adversity? Describing "troubled youth", Michael Ungar states that "patterns of deviance are healthy adaptations that permit them to survive unhealthy circumstances" (Ungar 2004a: 6). In the interviews with the adolescents of the STAMINA sample we had to learn that this can also be true in terms of using violence. As Kaplan puts it:

> *"A major limitation of the concept of resilience is that it is tied to the normative judgements relating to particular outcomes. If the outcomes were not desirable, then the ability to reach the outcomes in the face of putative risk factors would not be considered resilience. Yet it is possible that the socially defined desirable outcome may be subjectively defined as undesirable, while the socially defined undesirable outcome may be subjectively defined as desirable. From the subjective point of view, the individual may be manifesting resilience, while from the social point of view the individual may be manifesting vulnerability." (Kaplan, 1999: 31-32).*

A third, major problem arises from the dichotomous way in which resilience and psychopathology are perceived. It is impossible to be considered one-hundred percent "healthy" or "violent- free" or completely the opposite; one-hundred percent "unhealthy" or "violent". There is always the potential that one may act violently, as well as, non-violently. As we know, violence may be consciously or unconsciously used by those who have survived adverse conditions (e.g. defending one's space by acts of aggression, finding relief in cutting oneself, etc…) and may not be considered a "healthy" resilient behaviour if based on the "either-or" paradigm. Therefore, we suggest that when thinking about

resiliency, one places it on a continuum, always present to some degree, and expressed in a multitude of ways, based on the individual's history.

Our findings are limited in that we did not conduct a longitudinal study which would have allowed us to study resilience, as a dynamic process, from the perspective of someone experiencing the process, rather than as an anonymous, onetime occurrence. Nevertheless, these adolescents, who courageously shared their most intimate life experiences with us, provided researchers with tremendous insight into their individual complexities and challenges and their subjective expertise helped us better shape an understanding of resilience. We must also bear in mind that resilience is dynamic, variable and is not universal. Wustmann (2005: 193) describes these three characteristics of resilience as follows:

1. Dynamic process of adaption and development:

   Resilience is gained during the developmental course of child-surrounding-interaction. Early positive experiences have a positive effect on the development of coping competences. Children regularly shape their surroundings and look for protecting or supporting settings.

2. Variable extent:

   Resilience is a construct which varies over time and in different situations (Rutter 2000; Waller 2001). Former resilience might not appear in different situations or in different ways, it is not a life-long ability ("elastic resistance ability", Bender/Lösel 1998).

3. Situation specific and multidimensional:

   Resilience cannot be transferred from one life sphere or field of competence to another automatically, there is no universal resilience but one which functions situation specific or according to certain life spheres (Scheithauer et al. 2000). Therefore more specified terms are in use, such as, "emotional resilience", "social resilience", "behavioural resilience" (Luthar et al. 2000).

Applying this framework to our research on the rejection of the use of violence by adolescents helped sensitize us to the many changes adolescents experience in their own developmental processes. As they shared their experiences with us it became apparent that "the children's own perspective on their culturally embedded pathways to resilience has remained largely silenced"(Ungar 2004b: 358). As these adolescents shared with us their views on their own development, their own stories and lives, they made us aware of the fact that resilience is much more than just the absence of violent behaviour in adolescents who have faced hardship, challenges and severe adversity.

Challenges and resources, risks and protection

Resilience and adversity – understood as vulnerability – are two sides of the same coin. Resilience is developed under adverse conditions. Violence as a "universal language without premise"(Niklas, Ostermann, Büttner 1997: 31) and a potential shortcut for the realization of an ideal (Bettelheim 1992: 213) can be seen as an easy solution for many of the problems faced by high-risk adolescents. Our

study includes many high-risk adolescents who struggle with poverty, ethnic or racial discrimination or who are mentally or physically challenged. Many still suffer the vestiges of domestic abuse, unstable family structures, and divorce. Therefore, focusing on resilience in the face of violence may bring to light those factors which deter these adolescents, with a history of family violence, from acting out violently.

Talking about risk factors, the emergence of only one factor might not have problematic effects since it is the simultaneous and intersecting existence which has cumulative effects which creates a serious risk for children's well-being and development (Garbarino et al., 1992). The way different risk factors interact is indeed very complex. Prognoses about the effect of different risk factors are almost impossible to be made. One risk factor can result in having many different effects (multifinality) and varying risk factors can lead to similar effect (equifinality). If we want to understand how a risk factor might affect an individual, we need to first understand the individual's life circumstances and his/her relationship to the environment (see methodology: multi-level conceptual framing approach).

Regarding protective factors, Garmezy (1991) distinguishes three main areas, where relevant factors are to be found: the individual, the family and external support. Werner, who conducted the classical study on resilience with the long-term observation of the birth cohort of 1955 on the island of Kauai (Werner & Smith 1982; Werner, 1993) found similar results. A range of protective factors and processes fostering resilience was discovered, such as, the calm temperament of infants, resulting in less troublesome interactions with parents, which, in turn, may lead to good performance at school, good skills in communication and problem solving and a higher level of self-confidence. In this way, a positive development can emerge step by step. Other protective elements were the ability to organize, help and support; the presence of external support at school and by other institutions; religious beliefs and a sense of meaningfulness in life. They came to the conclusion that resilient competencies and well-being mainly depended on a reduction of risk factors and the support by protective factors and mechanisms (either on individual level, family level or external socio-cultural protective mechanisms) at the same time (Werner & Smith 1982; Werner 2000).

Since the idea of risk and protective factors does not always work as a dichotomous model, which means that a factor like gender can be advantageous in one case and disadvantageous in another, Rutter (2000) made a proposal to overcome the strong concept of a dichotomous relation between risk- and protective factors. The opposite is not always the good or the bad side of the coin. Rutter implements the concept of protective mechanisms, which allows getting a clear picture about a person's reaction in a risky situation. The protective quality lies in the mechanism, not in the factor itself.

An example: Divorce can be a stressful situational experience for a child. It can be a risk factor. On the other hand, divorce may finalize family conflicts and lead to a more relaxed life for the child – so it is a protective factor. The protection lies not in the factor "divorce", but in the mechanism, the reaction of an individual. That means "The search is not for broadly defined protective factors, but rather for the development and situational mechanisms involved in protective processes" (Rutter, quoted in Laucht 1990: 183).

Four levels of interest

On the individual level mainly two factors seem to be important: intelligence, which helps children to understand their situation and find realistic ways of coping or strive for more supportive environments (Block & Kremen, 1996; see also Condi 2006), and a happy temperament, which helps to "engage the world on easier terms" (Condy 2006: 218; Werner 1998, 1993). According to different studies, resilient children play livelier, show active coping behaviour, look for new experiences and are rarely frightened. They act autonomously and self-dependently, nevertheless they are able to ask for help if necessary. Personal characteristics are sense of duty, discipline, ambition, self-concern, intellectual curiosity and caution, empathy and consideration (see. Julius & Prater, 1996; Lösel & Bender, 1999; Masten, 2001). They are able to judge which situations are under their influence and which are not. They dare to undertake tasks correctly and are successful in the production of expected outcomes.

Sometimes they have their own private world, their hideaway, which they can access and use to realize their hobbies or be creative. But as said before, such factors neither work independently from other factors nor can they be regarded as under the influence of the individual with certainty just because they are internal (e.g. possessing an internal locus of control; Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). For the STAMINA study the question was crucial, whether individual factors like intelligence and reflectiveness, happy attitudes or impulse control appear in the adolescents' narratives and, in case they do, how the interviewees describe taking advantage of them (or not) in terms of resilience.

Since domestic violence is understood to be a major source of risk for children and adolescents, in this study, the family is of special interest for the family is both a resource, as well as, a source of future life challenges. Studies indicate that the affects of domestic violence on children may vary, (e.g. 50-70% suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome after being exposed to domestic violence (Heynen 2001). Yet, quality of family relationships, especially parental attitudes can have a crucial effect on their further development (Wyman et al. 1991; 1992). Family violence that functions as risk factors are physical maltreatment by parents (e.g., "coercive parenting"; (Patterson; Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984) and witnessing violence or psychological aggression between parents (e.g. domestic violence; Rabe, Kavemann, 2007; Kindler, Werner 2005; Lamnek et al., 2006). If a factor acts as risk enhancing or protective depends on the interaction with other factors. Condi (2006, 222) claims that "a good and

supportive family can do no harm in helping a child cope with adverse circumstances and it very probably helps." The older a child gets the more other factors gain importance and the family (or equivalent forms of close relationships) as the core sphere of attachment and orientation decreases. Many leave their dysfunctional families after finishing high school and look for an environment which suits them better (Werner & Smith, 1992; Reis, Colbert & Hébert, 2005). Therefore, age becomes an important factor since many of our interviewees have left their stressful or violent family environment or plan to do so, as soon as they are able. In this study we tried to estimate the relevance of family and/or other forms of (primary) close relationships in terms of challenges and resources which influence the adolescent's development regarding non-violent behaviour.

Garmezy (1991) as well as Werner (1989) point out that external support for the child and the family is of great importance for the development of resilience. From parental employment opportunities (Wolff 1995) to friendships (Conrad, Hammen, 1993) and community support (Bottrell 2009), external resources are able to buffer adverse conditions. In societies where the labour market is of great importance for social positions as well as personal identity and acknowledgement a profession or a professional perspective is connected to resilient behaviour (Schuhmann 2003; Lösel & Bender, 1999, Masten 2001).

School is a place where children and adolescents spend a great deal of their waking moments, where they meet friends and are exposed to stress as well as to new and interesting opportunities. We asked our interviewees how they perceived their school experience and the opportunities their schools afforded them. In their study "Fifteen thousand hours", Rutter et al (1979) investigated the protective potential of school. They demonstrated that even disadvantaged schools were able to mitigate familial discrimination and reduce emotional instability by stimulating the development of self-worth; social integration and successful school performance (see also Maughan, 1989). Taking into account that school can be an important place for (installing) resilience and enhancing resources, schools are mainly organised by institutionalized and institutionalizing logic which openly includes - excluding and stigmatizing practices (Sanders, Munford 2007). In Bottrell's study on Black females between the ages of 13 and 24, who lived in urban public housing, it became clear that a girl practicing truancy and/or leaving school early, are all signs of resistance to the stigmatization they experience at school due to their economic backgrounds (Bottrell 2007: 605f.). They also criticize the school's effort to provide learning support as inappropriate for their needs (Bottrell 2009: 328). On the one hand, this example hints at a fourth level where risk or protective factors can be found: the structural level, where factors like poverty, housing policies and other social inequalities which are legitimized by official (juridical) decisions or societal norms and against which no legal protection exists can be judged as macro-level risk factors. The girls decide to spare themselves the experience of constantly feeling deprived at school. On the other hand, their way of acting does not meet the normative ideas of

resilient concepts or education policies, still the girls and women succeed in most of their undertakings involving their informal networks as well as community organizations. Their ways of resilience can only be understood within their system, not from outside.

Defining violence resilience in qualitative terms

Risk and protective factors as well as challenges and resources are found at different structural levels (individual, family, institutions, structures) and as they interact, they do not always necessarily conform to the normative idea of a positive outcome. We asked the adolescents to describe violent situations in which they found themselves and other challenges they faced, and then, the strategies they employed to handle these situations. To better understand resilience, both the violent conditions and the personal measures used to face those challenges must be present. In the development of our own definition, two pre-conditions must exist. Firstly, a violent situation or setting must have existed or still exists, and secondly, the individual must have mastered the situation without becoming a perpetrator or victim of violence. As previously stated, we cannot measure resilience without firstly having a problematic situation or circumstance which demands that the individual react in one way or the other. We must also take into account the fact that many of these children and adolescents met situations in which violent behaviour must indeed be classified as competent behaviour. Other ways of acting would not have been suitable for these adolescent in that they would have either gotten themselves into even more trouble or this was their only option to prevent the situation from getting worse. A perfect example of this kind of situation would be using force to stop their fathers from beating up on their mothers. Here, we were faced with a contradictory situation in that we had to categorize interviewees as resilient even though they were still using violence to resolve situations. In order to rectify this dilemma, this type of violent behaviour and/or action must somehow be incorporated into an expanded concept of competent behaviour. We suggest a twofold definition :

> *Resilience is an outcome, after negotiating with the environment for resources to act predominantly, non-violent, and competently, in one's own best understanding and interest, in the face of violent circumstances.*

In part, the grounded theory approach was used in this qualitative study (e.g. open coding, see Methodology) which is based in normative psychopathological research as well as in constructivists insights. This definition helped us to combine both perspectives and is one of the unexpected results of this study in terms of theory development in a new field of violence research.

2. Methodology

The project design consists of a cross-sectional study combining quantitative and qualitative methods. With the questionnaire survey on violence socialisation in family, school and leisure time which was conducted in all partner countries an initial step of data collection focusing on quantitative parameters relevant to resiliency was done. An initial analysis of the quantitative data material led to the following core variables for the selection of matched pair partners for the qualitative interviews:

- sex (male/female)
- socio-economical status (low, middle & high)
- mono-/multilingualism

Linked to these core variables a matched sample was defined for all partner countries. 80 pairs of youths (20 pairs per country) with similar background conditions but with different violence behaviour were selected. The qualitative survey should explore the reasons for the dissimilarity within each matched pair and it should offer a deeper understanding of the interrelations influencing the violence socialisation of youths subjected to stressors, while also, and more importantly, illuminating factors that may counteract the effects of unfavourable conditions. In each partner country 40 interviews (20 matched pairs) should be performed.

Table 1: Sample Design

	resilient	non-resilient
Spain	20	20
Germany	20	20
Slovenia	20	20
Austria	20	20

From the overall sample described above, a partial sample of 80 matched pairs of adolescents (20 pairs per country) was selected for qualitative interviews. A letter of invitation was sent to the school classes, where the quantitative survey was conducted. The adolescents were asked to contact the research team.

As the following table (...) shows, Slovenia and Spain were able to conduct the recruitment process in the intended way, while especially Austria and Germany had to find other ways of access to adolescents, due to the fact, that the selected adolescents from Germany and Austria did not reply for different reasons (school strikes, other surveys were carried out at the same time in different school, beginning of vacation, ...). The research teams in Germany and Austria contacted youth workers in order to find interview partners (youth workers in the field of childcare and education or open youth work, etc…). The recruitment was undertaken either by pre-selection via questionnaire or by accessing interviewees in youth clubs and other facilities.

Table 2: Qualitative Sample n= 132

Selection through...	Quantitative survey		Other ways of recruitment	
	Resilient	non-resilient	Resilient	non-resilient
Spain	8	25	-	-
Germany	5	20	2	4
Slovenia	8	30	-	-
Austria	1	1	6	22
Total number	22	76	8	26

The following two groups of adolescents were defined as "non-resilient":

- those adolescents who described violent experiences within their families and at the same time talked about their own violent behaviour and attitudes as a common and justified practice
- those adolescents who neither described any violent experiences within their families nor talked about any violent behaviours or attitudes.

Adolescents who were defined as "resilient" are differentiated in two group:

- Adolescents with general resilient competences: those adolescents who described violence experiences within their families and at the same time neither reported of any incidents in which they have become perpetrator of violence against others nor showed any violent attitudes
- Adolescents with predominant resilient competences: those adolescents who described violence experiences within their families and who reported of rare incidents in which they have become perpetrator of violence against others while not showing violent attitudes or informing us about an ongoing process of violent-free development.

It became evident that almost all adolescents have been involved in violent situations in which they at least participated passively (e.g., school bullying).

In total, 132 interviews (61 girls and 71 boys) were conducted in the four partner countries. 15 boys and 17 girls were defined as adolescents with a migrant background (1st and 2nd generation), due to the fact that they or their parents were born in another country than the one, where the interviews were conducted. All the other interviewees (44 girls and 56 boys) were defined as autochthon.

The following table shows the qualitative sample along the core variables of selection. All adolescents are included, those who were categorised as "resilient" as well as those who were defined as "non-resilient".

Table 3: Qualitative sample (n=132)

sex	Male						Female					
migration	Migration			Non- Migration			Migration			Non- Migration		
SES	low	middle	high	low	middle	high	low	middle	high	low	middle	high
Low family burden	2	3	-	4	4	1	1	1	-	2	1	1
	-	-	-	2	1	4	2	1	-	5	6	1

	-	-	-	4	6	-	2	-	-	5	7	-
	1	4	-	2	5	-	-	1	-	1	2	-
Middle family burden	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-
	1	1	-	-	3	1	-	2	-	-	2	-
High family burden	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	1	3	1
	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-

Austria Slovenia Spain Germany

The interview guideline was prepared in accordance with the findings from the literature review. The literature review focused on resilience in general, violence, resilience and protective factors, and the exploration of problem constellations and conditions of successful processes. We focused mainly on those factors which may help young people to be able to cope with unfavourable, social conditions; to find those factors which strengthen the chances of young people to remain non-violent.

The interview guideline included the following main dimensions:

- social network
- socialisation and biographical changes
- school experiences
- leisure time, friends and social environment
- intimate relationship
- family and childhood
- religion
- affiliation (nationality, ethnicity, migration)
- gender stereotypes
- emotions
- mobbing, violence and exclusion
- future perspectives
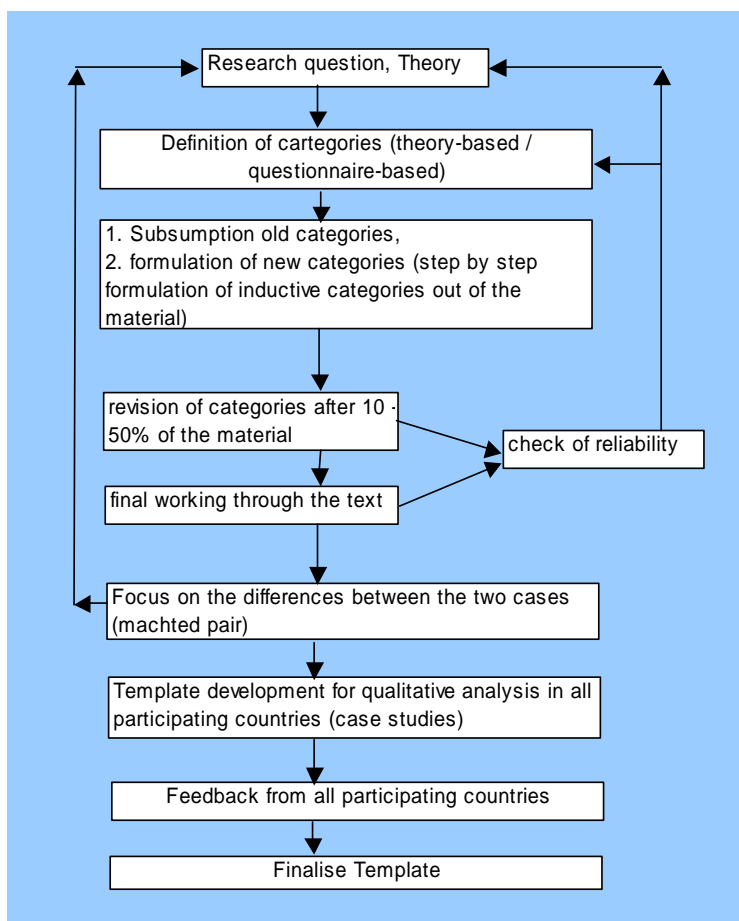- self-awareness

Analysis

Qualitative methods and approaches were used to analyse the interview material in all countries. After the interviews were conducted, interview transcripts were written and analysed. With reference to the research question, some main categories were defined, theoretically based and linked to main dimension in the quantitative survey. Appropriate passages within the qualitative material were

subsumed into these categories. At the same time, new categories were developed out of the material. Linked to the method of "open coding" (see Strauss & Corbin 1990, 1996; Glaser & Strauss 1998), some important variables involved in the topic of resilience were identified, categorised and related. Open coding means, defining the properties of "new" categories. The process of open coding followed some main aspects:

- main elements in the coding process were compared with each another
- the data material was conceptualised and labelled
- relevant dimensions were generate through comparison
- categories were labelled in relation with characteristics and proportions

All partners analysed all the interview material, which led to a long list of deductively and inductively generated categories. A next step of analysis focused on reliability: all categories were checked in order to avoid overlapping of categories. All categories were proved in order to guarantee adequacy according to the research question.
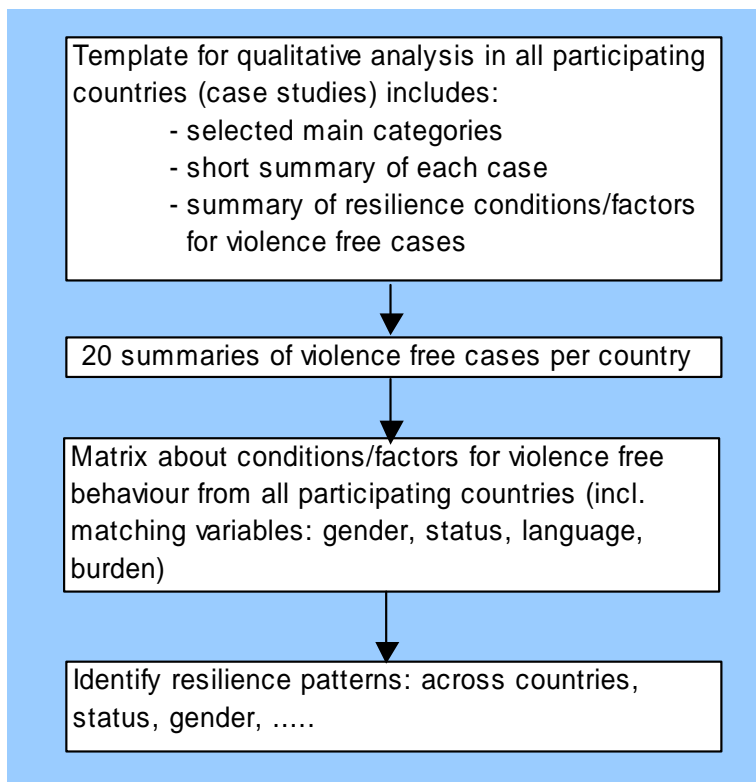
Table 4: Defining categories

After the categories were defined, groups of categories were subsumed into some important main dimensions. Following the methodical concept of "qualitative content analysis" (Mayring 2000), the whole interview material was summarised according to a template, which included main dimensions

of analysis. The summarisation of the interview material (interview abstract) focused on the following key dimensions:

- Socio-demographic data and description of the life situation
- Violence experience (violence family burden, own experience with violence, dealing with violence)
- Protective factors (school, living conditions, self concept, relations, skills)
- Intersectional framework (social structure, processes of identity formation & symbolic representation of dominance relations)
- Resilience (impression of the researcher)
- Accordance of questionnaire and interview material

In a second step, the cases were compared with their matched pair partners (see above) or matched pairs were defined, based on the qualitative material (comparable life circumstances and different violent behaviour). This step of explication led to four matched pairs in the qualitative survey.

Table 5: Resilience Patterns

In a third step, the interview material was structured along a balance model, where risk-raising-conditions and risk-minimising-conditions were compared (see Scheithauer/Niebank/Petermann 2000: 67) on four different levels: ontogenetic level, micro-level, meso-level and macro-level. We used a multi-level conceptual framing approach (see Hagemann-White et al. 2010) in order to involve the influence of different levels in analysis. For a policy-relevant and intervention-oriented model we used a sociological understanding of "levels", which in particular differs from the conventions

established in much of psychological literature on child abuse, because of the greater affinity to policy that is intended to address the violence resulting from structural inequality of gender, ethnicity, class and generation. This gives a different approach than that found in literature primarily aimed at qualifying casework and family intervention, or on psychiatric intervention in the case of sexual violence. Both are important.

The analysis of the qualitative material (case by case as well as transnational comparison) focused on single protective factors, protective patterns and matched pairs.

3. Results of the qualitative analysis

STAMINA focuses on the question what fosters resilience against violence of youngsters when risk-factors and challenges are present. This approach resembles the paradigmatic change from prevention of disease to promotion of health, in this case applied to the field of youth violence.
One of the important goals of the project refers to a better understanding of those factors and processes, which lead to successful non-violent coping with potential violent situations for young people.

3.1 Sample Description

In the STAMINA project we followed two strategies of recruitment of interviewees: 1. quantitative measures filtered interesting candidates out of the questionnaire sample who were asked to give an interview, and 2. interviewees were found by visiting different youth clubs or other facilities (see above).
29 out of the 131 interviewees were classified as equipped with general resilient competencies or at least some resilient competencies.
The qualitative study provides a detailed differentiation of factors, which give young people, who grew up under violent conditions, the capacity to deal with conflicts in a non-violent way. In this respect, resilience is seen as a dynamic process, a two dimensional construct that includes negative life circumstances and the manifestation of coping strategies (Luthar & Cicchetti 2000). In this respect, resilience is not always equivalent to being non-violent by any means. Actually, nearly all adolescents from our sample were perpetrator of at least some cases of group bullying, light physical violence against their siblings, reciprocal violence among peers or violence against themselves (internalized violence). Only 5 adolescents do not mention any involvement in violent incidents in the interview. In the interviews, some adolescents follow a strong differentiation of active violence, which they refuse to use, and defensive violence which they were not able to avoid for different reasons. Taking into account that some adolescents from our sample suffer from different challenges (e.g., early death

of parents, almost no economic resources, corporal violence by parents, witnessing intimate partner violence, emotional neglect etc.) and that adolescents are more likely to be involved in physically and psychologically violent situations than children or adults it seems rather unremarkable that almost all adolescents were perpetrators of violence. The question here is if it is possible to estimate resilient competences and resources in relation to challenges, experiences and circumstances. If a person like Markus, a 16-year-old Austrian boy, who witnessed his father beating up his mother when he was 13, started to fight back against his father, than this kind of violence has to be judged in a different way from the violent acts of Jordi, a 15-year-old Spanish boy, who talks about two incidents of reciprocal violence among peers, where he defended himself. Jordi is rather a victim of structural violence in the sense of lack of economic security. Neither the forms of violence nor the life conditions are comparable and the definitions of resilience and resilient competences as well as classifications of challenges (high, middle, low) were discussed case by case. So we tried to find out in the analytical process of this study to what extent life and life circumstances of the adolescents are affected by different forms of violence and burden, in order to rate the quality of resilient competences which were developed despite such negative impacts or risks.

Since children and adolescents are the experts of their own lives and their well-being, it is their subjective view we want to make heard. It is the adolescents themselves who define their well-being and its limits, the strategies and factors which have helped them to overcome stressful situations with violent implications and situations where they have been involved in violent actions without escape or alternative. Besides our analytical summaries of what they have said to us, we want to let them speak themselves as often as possible. We thank all of them for sharing with us their thoughts about their lives.

3.2 Adolescents with general resilience

12 of 29 adolescents - 3 boys and 9 girls - were qualified as "fully resilient" against becoming a perpetrator of violence against others, including 5 cases without any reported active violent incidents. All of these were girls. The others have reported very few acts of group bullying or rare fights (they mainly happened a long time ago), failure to render assistance, or they describe their own development from being frequently violent towards a violent-free life today, e.g. due to conflict mediation programmes in school or because they left the violent surrounding. Time in combination with personal development seems to play an important role in this process.

Of the 12 fully resilient adolescents, 7 adolescents have to deal with high (family) challenges, three are affected by middle (family) challenges, and 2 are classified with low (family) challenges. "Challenge" means either family violence (witnessing intimate partner violence, parental violence, domestic violence, neglect or other form of emotional violence), ongoing emotional stress, e.g. due to a divorce

or the death of a close family member, or forms of structural violence like continuous economic shortages, experiences of racism or being handicapped etc.

3.3 Adolescents with limited resilience

The interviewees who were not classified as "fully resilient" have either shown "resilient competencies" which they apply in certain fields or situations of their lives, or they informed us about an ongoing process of development which contains a promising change of environment or attitude, but which is still in a stage of ambivalence. In the example of Kim (see quotation box) she describes having violent quarrels with her brother in the past. One gets the impression that the relationship that lacks trust in the present but since her brother is rarely at home, the amount of violence has decreased and Kim says she tries to avoid anymore trouble. This means she leaves her TV to her brother if he demands it and waits for him to finish watching on the stairs outside of her room.

> Kim: Usually it starts very harmless. Somehow… like, [my brother] doesn't like my tone or such a thing. Even, if I speak in a normal voice and he still doesn't like that, he gets loud. And when he gets loud, I sometimes get loud, too. In former times it always went that way, that I just became loud, too. And, yes, then it just starts, that we push each other. And then beat. And once it went that far that I did beat him with a pan. Just such things.
> I: This happened some time ago, and…?
> Kim: Long ago, yes. And he choked me sometimes, which I didn't like so much as well. But I mostly never told this to my mother, or so, because I didn't want him to get in trouble, or so. I always thought, well, this is just our business.

Today, she still avoids telling somebody what to do, as she describes in the quote. Kim lives in a violent family atmosphere. Her parents drink and her father hit her once when he was drunk because he was convinced that she forgot something to do. Her mother was often violent because of the grades she got at school. She hit her with the shower hose. She says her parents ruined her childhood and this is the reason why she would like to go away from home and be more independent in future far away from her parents. On the one hand her way of dealing with her brother might be seen as

> Kim: "I am nobody who starts violence and who stops things with violence."

reasonable behaviour (avoiding trouble with a stronger opponent and without a network of support). On the other hand, Kim makes a strong impression when she remarks that she wants to live abroad in order to get away from all the family trouble. Kim seems to have an adventurous character and strives for autonomy; she often tries to slip away from being controlled. Furthermore, Kim shows empathy for others, for example, for a teacher who has trouble dealing with her class, even though Kim does not like her. She also mentions her ability to admit if she has made a mistake. She also talks about herself settling conflicts in school without bullying. Her own position on violence is that she prefers non-violent behaviour.

In Kim's case we can not talk about general resilience but about her engagement in some individual buffering processes in order to deal effectively with her situation at home. Often, she can not escape

the situation and her opponent – her brother - is much stronger than her. Her perspective on her way out is a fundamental breakup with her family and great geographical distance. In this respect Kim is an interesting but ambivalent case like many other which we did not want to exclude in our sample.

4. Three different approaches: factors, patterns, pairs

In the following, we first describe the prevalence of protective factors in the qualitative data and focus on those factors with the highest number of entries in the categorisation process of the interview analysis. As for gender, there seems to be more similarities than differences. The six major factors are as prevalent in boys as in girls.

Further on, we seek to locate different factors in the varying social levels – the ontogenetic level, micro, meso and macro. Factors which can foster resilient competences often lie on different levels of influence. We provide an overview of which factors were found and on which levels they operate.

In the third part we discuss patterns of protection and resilience. During the process of comparing adolescents with resilient and non-resilient resources it became clear that a comparison based on structural factors like gender, socio-economic status, citizenship etc. would hardly be possible or effective since it is other factors – potential challenges like divorce or being a loner – that offer an opportunity for comparability. Analysing the patterns surrounding these factors helps us to understand some mechanisms in the development of resilient or non-resilient attitudes and behaviours.

Resiliency patterns are possible combinations of challenges, risks, protective factors and mechanisms that were found in several of cases studied. We found "social turning points" in many of the life-stories we were told which included risky or protective mechanisms. By an exploratory factor analysis we identified different possible combinations of protective factors. Subsequently, we searched the results of the interview analysis for these combinations. Some patterns resembled or supported the patterns we had already identified.
In the end we describe a "matched pair", two boys with a similar story but with different implications.

4.1 Single protective factors

General prevalence of protective factors in the qualitative sample

The following single protective factors are significant in terms of quantity (i.e. appearing in at least one third of the cases in our sample). These factors (description below) might be the results of protective processes which already took place; therefore they can also be seen as the effects, in some cases, of "protective factors of the second order". For example, having developed strategies against

violence is one possible outcome of a process that enhanced resilience and as well a potential protective factor against violence in the future.

Table 6: Single protective factors found in a qualitative resilient sample, number of entries:

Factor	Amount all (n=30)
Reflectiveness	22
Support by family	18
Support by friend(s)	17
Clear future plans	15
Strategies against violence	13
Self acceptance	12
Empathy	11
Open view on gender roles	10
Good school environment	10

Reflectiveness is the ability to habitually, think critically about oneself, one's actions and their consequences as well as about one's environment, culture and society. Reflectiveness implies being able to see oneself form another's perspective as well as being willing to change one's habits under certain circumstances as a result of reflection.

Support by family is, of course, a rather diverse and vague notion. It may consist of a resilient mother, clear norms in a family, an amicable relationship to one's father, the presence of one or more role models, some sort of egalitarian gender structure, support by relatives who do not live close to the interviewee, sometimes even in another country (extended family), or support by a whole network of remote relatives like aunts and uncles, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law etc, women's networks and/or the negotiability of rules in the family.

Support by friends involves the support by a best friend or a network of friends (same-gender or opposite-gender), sometimes as well as a homogeneous peer group (e.g. of ethnical minorities in order to assert a social position in a racist society and/or solidarity among themselves). The adolescents, who feel supported by their friends feel accepted by them as they are, they can talk to them about their issues and a strong network of friends prevents adolescents from being insulted (Pollack 1998: 425),.

The factor clear future plans means to have an idea about the future of one's relationship(s) and career, having (realistic) plans for how to reach these goals. The labour market as one central – if not the

central – institution of the production of meaning has already an effect on 14 to 16 year-old adolescents. Having professional perspectives can affect the adolescents in terms of safety and resilience. This was also described in studies by Schuhmann (2003), Masten (2001) and Lösel and Bender (1999).

Another factor, strategies against violence, aggression and stress, includes in each case at least one of the following features: sociability, the capacity to talk about one's emotions or problems, some form of emotional self-management, leaving or ending potentially violent situations, finding a safe place, channelizing – finding ways of sublimating violent impulses, e.g. by sports, computer games, or music –, and asking others for support.

Self acceptance means an acknowledgement of one's own personality and body with all its strengths and weaknesses. In cases of homosexual orientation, self acceptance includes the acknowledgement of this part of her/his identity.

Empathy is the ability to feel with others, to understand another person's emotions, thoughts, personality or intentions without getting lost. Unlike pure identification with others, being empathic implies that one is still able to clearly distinguish one's own from the other person's feelings, thus allowing for critical reflection and the ability to find solutions.

Having an open view on gender roles implies that one's perspective on femininity and masculinity is not strictly dichotomous, but rather egalitarian or at least flexible. It means to have no, or only a few, stereotypes related to gender, to show interest in gender equality and openness towards non-heterosexual orientations.

A good school environment implies the existence of a rather supportive surrounding at school, including, on the structural level, some kind of anti-violent school policy or climate and/or the existence of a conflict mediation programme. On an individual level, a good school environment means that the adolescents describe their personal experiences in schools as satisfying in terms of relations with teachers and students as well as their personal success, their possibilities of participation and decision-making. Sometimes school is described as a place of relief from a stressful life at home.

4.1.1 Gendered Analysis

The sample of 29 adolescents included 16 girls and 14 boys. The top six characteristics – reflectiveness, support by family, support by friend(s), clear future plans, strategies against violence and self acceptance – were the protective factors (mainly, undecided whether of first or second order)

most often found among the girls as well as among the boys (see table xxyz; red numbers indicate that the number is greater-than-or-equal to one third of the respective gender sample). This finding suggests rather large gender similarities in the field of protective factors. However, gender differences are also found for some characteristics, even though some differences seem to be minimal.

Table 7: Single protective factors (first and/or second order) in qualitative resilient samples of girls and boys, number of entries

Factor	Female (n=16)	Male (n=14)
Reflectiveness	12	10
Support by family	10	8
Support by friend(s)	10	7
Clear future plans	8	7
Strategies against violence	7	6
Self acceptance	7	5
Good school environment	5	5
Empathy	8	3
Open view on gender roles	8	2
Responsibility	7	2
Happiness	7	1
Openness	6	3
Self-esteem	6	3
Social service	6	2

The girls in our sample are far more often than boys characterised by empathy, an open view on gender roles, by happiness, responsibility, openness, support by social services and self-esteem.

Empathy (see above) is a characteristic of 8 girls and 3 boys: Veronica (Spain), Eva (Slovenia), Claudia (Germany), Kim (Germany), Kar (Austria), Queen (Austria), Luna (Spain), Susi (Austria), Kevin (Spain), Mitko (Germany) and Dominik (Germany).

An open view on gender was found in the case of Jordi (Spain), Dominik (Germany), Kim (Germany), Kar (Austria), Hanna (Austria), Laura (Spain), Luna (Spain), Daniela (Germany), Sakura (Germany) and Susi (Austria). In some of these cases, the interviewee criticised gender-based inequalities; e.g. Dominik is not satisfied with the distribution of housework between his mother and her partner, because for the most part, it is always done by his mother, even though she works full-time. Jordi demonstrates an appreciative attitude towards women and their independence. More boys than girls follow a very stereotypical model of femininity, masculinity and gender relations.

7 girls and 2 boys are characterised by responsibility. Responsibility means the capacity to make decisions in a conscious and well-considered manner and to explain and justify their consequences.

This factor includes the ability to take responsibility for oneself as well as for another (e.g. as class representative like Susi from Austria). Another example is Hanna (Austria): Since her mother is retired (she suffers from scoliosis and has had mental challenges), Hanna increasingly takes part in carrying out domestic tasks. She cares and also protects her in various ways.

Happiness is identified as a personal characteristic of Veronica (Spain), Lana (Slovenia), Kar (Austria), Laura (Spain), Maria (Spain), Iva (Slovenia), and Luis (Spain). *Happiness* is identified as a character trait that involves a generally positive attitude and cheerful personality, positive feelings of contentment and pleasure in relation to and in social interaction with others. Luis is the only boy in the whole sample who clearly demonstrates this definition of happiness.

The character traits *openness* and *self-esteem* were found in each of the 9 interviewees (6 girls and 3 boys). *Openness* is a specific, positive way of relating to the world, implying the willingness to explore and have new experiences while remaining curious about oneself and others, and dealing with complex situations without getting lost. Openness requires the ability to trust other people and share your problems with them.

Self esteem is a character trait of those who trust in their own competencies.

The *social services* that were identified as being supportive are psychological counselling (Theodor/Austria), intervention by youth welfare in the case of Markus, Jewel and Queen (all Austria), attending youth centres after school in the cases of Lana (Slovenia) and Sakura (Germany), and support by a family counsellor in the case of Daniela (Germany).

4.2 Protective Factors on Four Levels

We identified vulnerability factors, protective factors and protective processes, which influence and modify negative effects of adverse life conditions. Protective factors and processes modify the effects of violent experiences in the direction of non-violent behaviour.

Protective factors can be derived from different levels of influence. Therefore, we assigned risk-minimizing-conditions to a multi-level conceptual framing approach (see Hagemann-White et al. 2010) in order to include the influence of different levels in the analysis:

- The **ontogenetic level** includes personality and life history, early or continuous support and protection as well as psycho-sanity.
- The **micro-level** includes the influence of the immediate social environment, socialization, personally held values and norms, such as, expectations of respect, of masculinity and femininity, notions of peacefulness, that are present in day-to-day interactions.

- The **meso-level** includes social institutions, processes and patterns of action embedded in the structure of family, the neighbourhood, the school environment, and "public" values and norms to which one is encouraged to conform. This would also include the "opportunity structure", e.g. easy access to (professional) adult support.
- The **macro-level** includes conditions and regulations in society as a whole, social equality, childhood and gender as institutions, and institutions like the law.

The following table shows relevant factors for protection and resources for non-violent attitudes of adolescents on the four respective levels. Influences can radiate from one factor to other factors and other levels, e.g., a law that forbids hitting a child may have effects on public norms (macro), school policies (meso), parenting styles (micro) and the experiences of a child (onto).

Ontogenetic level	Micro-level	Meso-level	Macro-level
Personal competencies (empathy, self acceptance, reflectiveness, self-esteem, openness, happiness, responsibility, ...)	Parental interactions Friends' support Adults' support Teachers' support Close relationships	Good school environment (e. g. anti violence program)	Legal regulations, support & sanctions
Continuous support by adult(s), especially in times of difficulties (death of a close person, divorce, relocation etc.)	Affiliation to community (youth subculture, religious assoc.) Norms & values	Style of raising children (institutionalisation, daily routines, rules, control, external family support etc.) Continuous support by social workers, social welfare institutions, educational couselling, youth support centers etc.	Social equality Normative regimes of anti-racism, gender equality etc. Existence and legal frameworks of social service support system (youth welfare service, counselling services, …)
Open views on gender roles	Open views on gender roles		
Clear future plans	Clear future plans		

In the following, we describe factors and their effects, from one level to another. They must be seen as embedded in the adolescents' life circumstances, placed in a specific setting in their life-history, and interact with other factors which may create a dynamic effect. For example, the ways in which a girl may competently deal with a violent situation or develop specific coping behaviours may have been influenced by a narrow framework of references, such as, her concept of femininity and gender identity which, for some reason, is percieved by her as going beyond the normative boundaries of femininity. Her perception may have been influenced by having had other positive experiences when using the same behaviour, such as, in terms of having taken responsibility for herself by resisting social expectations (Taylor et. al, 1995).

4.2.1 The ontogenetic level

Strategies in the face of violence
Strategies in the face of violence are defined as specific reactions adolescents have when confronted with threatening situations. In addition, we must differentiate between defensive and active strategies. Defensive strategies are targeted towards the avoidance of violence, while active strategies become evident in violent situations. (Wustmann 2009).

Another distinction is drawn with reference to its function: different strategies in the face of violence can lead to a problem solving effect or to an effect of emotional regulation (Klein-Heßling & Lohaus, 2000).

Problem solving strategies concentrate on a specific violent situation and their conditions, involving a direct focus on the stress factor. These strategies may focus on the adolescents environment (e. g. seeking for a safe place), own habits (e. g. development of new competencies such as 'walking away from violence – pattern' or looking for help and support) and/or on a basic change of perception (e. g. changes of interpretational patterns).

Seeking to hide and or finding a safe retreat is a very common strategy in the face of violence among adolesents in the qualitative sample. The focus is on making changes in the environment as well as changes in one's own habits as the following examples will show:

"Let off steam"
Katja, a highly challenged Slovenian girl, stated that music is the most important thing in her life, besides friends and school. She attends music school, plays guitar, and has a band. Her favorite music is punk and she also likes classical music. She began taking classes in fencing and she likes it very much. Initially, she wanted to take classes in judo or boxing because according to her definition of femininity, women should not be interested in fencing. In addition, her concept of femininity determined that women should not express themselves in an assertive, musical manner, such as, in punk music. Her concept of "doing gender", consciously or unconsciously, contradicts her own gender stereotypes about proper femininity. She trains in fencing, listens to punk music, behaves in a rude manner, experiences getting drunk, smokes, as well as, is violent. Therefore, we can assume, that by building her identity in an alternative manner, as compared to building a "proper" girl's identity (obedient, nice, hard-working, responsible, efficient, kind, submissive, calm and disciplined), her delinquency in school can be seen as a "masculine" reaction to her inner pain. This may be due to the tragic loss of both of her parents who were unable to be present at a time when she needed them the most (early childhood and puberty).

By expressing her identity in this manner, she was able to create a space for herself where she could act out her feelings of bitterness and anger towards her life-challenges, rather than internalizing them and becoming self-violent, self-victimizing and/or depressed. From this perspective, her delinquency (smoking, drinking, and reacting violently to provocations) and when she performed "masculinity" (fencing, listening punk, being rude) can be seen as a way of developing resiliency. In her case, a

dilemma, as in most concepts of resilience, becomes visible. Ungar (2004) describes as follows: "A major limitation of the concept of resilience is that it is tied to the normative judgments relating to particular outcomes. It is possible that the socially defined desirable outcome may be subjectively defined as undesirable, while the socially defined undesirable outcome may be subjectively defined as desirable. From the subjective point of view the individual may be manifesting resilience, while from the social point of view the individual may be manifesting vulnerability." (Ungar 2004: 351). In the following interview, Katja left us with the impression that she is realistic, self-confident, and strong and has an integrated personality.

"Get away from violence"

Markus, a 16 year old boy from Austria was traumatized by domestic violence. His father, who was challenged by alcohol and drug-abuse, used to severely beat his wife and his children. The grandfather sexually abused Markus' two sisters. Within the family structure, domestic violence was seen as acceptable, even as commonplace. Markus's uncle was shot by his father. His mother had been beaten by her parents and she was sexually abused by her uncle. Clearly, Markus associates violence with his family of origin.

In this case, the primary pattern of dealing with this kind of violence would be best described as the "walk away from violence" -pattern. After years of abuse, Markus does not seem to be interested in the life of his family anymore. He likes to remain- distant. His strategy can be described as a problem solving strategy through which he actively avoids violent situations at home by "walking away". This seems to be an exclusive strategy for "home". As the following quotation shows, in other situations, other problem solving strategies are more evident

"Searching for Help"

Some of the adolescents described pursuing strategies of actively searching for help. All of them sought support from an adult, talked with a teacher, a sports trainer, a grandparent or another person in whom they felt they were able to confide, in- or outside the family.

Jewel took an active role in trying to solve her problem of constantly being physically abused by her mother. She never gave up searching for help and in the end, she was successful. Her teacher informed the youth welfare service and her mother stopped physically abusing her after several interventions by social workers. Nowadays, Jewel tries to diffuse the situation with her mother by running away or not being at home. When she reflects on family life she seems to have developed a clear plan concerning her role in any potential, future family. Her own family should be happy, characterized by good relations, and she does not want to be as tough and violent as her mother.

Actively searching for help seems to imply a distinct locus of control. The adolescents seemed to expect that they were able to actively influence their lives. As opposed to non-resilient adolescents who more often than not described positive experiences in terms of "good fortune" or "luck", resilient adolescents seemed to be more confident that they could influence and overcome violent situations.

"Self-regulating Strategies"

How to control or act out emotions without doing any harm?

Self-regulating strategies are not targeted toward changing an adverse situation but rather focusing on impulse control and the regulation of emotions, such as in the example of Kim ("Adolescents with limited resilient competences"). Empirical results about coping strategies indicate that self-regulating strategies develop in late childhood and puberty while young children tend to use problem-orientated coping stratgies (Hampel & Petermann 1998, 2001). The following examples show self-regulating strategies focused on promoting health and the prevention of violent situations occurring.

"Diversion"

For Theodor, an Austrian boy who suffers from lymphoedema , music plays an important role in his life. He listens to his favorite music 3-4 hours every day. He is sure that music creates a divisive distinction between him and other people. This attitude may have been created in that he states that he does not want to be part of "majority". Music gave him the chance to define himself in a new way, apart from his sickness, and apart from the "majority". Music gives him the feeling of becoming stronger and being different and helped him to empower himself. When this process began, in his zealousness, he put down others who did not listen to his type of music. This gave him the opportunity to exclude others as "non-normative" in the same way as he perceives himself as a victim of his own non-normatively shaped body. With time, he began realizing that he was jeopardizing friendships by continuing to act this way. He stopped this exclusionary behavior which clearly indicates that he is much attuned to social processes and is not willing to further provoke others.

For Eva, her belonging to the Gothic subculture gave her personal integrity and provided her with some relationships with adults (brother, teacher) in which she could trust even though she also experienced bullying because of her appearance. In terms of a protective mechanism this rather made her strong: "... because of others I'm not going to change my style".

Years ago, Jordi from Spain, started to learn break-dancing which served as a channel to help rid him of negative emotions, and which inevitably, cheered him up. He participated regularly in championships as both a participant and a judge. In the hip hop subculture he found older boys (17-25 years old) who cared for him like older brothers. Two, were especially protective of him. Obviously, maturity and responsibility were acquired by Jordi through the mentoring of "older brothers" and the discipline that performing these activities afforded him. For Jordi, hip hop is a good place to channel rage.

In all these examples, sublimation seems to be the main strategy being employed in the face of violence. Playing x-box, painting pictures, listening to music and many other strategies can be defined as acts of compensation. Feelings of anger, despair and aggression are dealt with in a personally,

healthy manner through these strategies and then, these adolescents are able to attain feelings of satisfaction under adverse conditions.

"Suppression"

Suppression of negative feelings helps adolescents to repress feelings of insecurity for a certain period of time. A common characteristic of suppression strategies is the fact that the adolescents get out of violent situations through the change of environment as well as through distraction strategies or a strong focus on certain role models, as the following case of Sakura shows.

One example is Sakura, a 14-years old girl from an urban area in western Germany. Sakura does not have any siblings and did not begin to get to know her father until the age of 5. She used to visit him every second weekend, but nowadays, she refuses to meet him and does not want to have any contact with him. Her decision was further supported by a court order. The reasons for her decision are that her father often shouted at her, scared her off and threw away her cuddly toys. However, he did not hit or punch her. The relationship with her mother was also not good. She is not allowed to come home before 5 o' clock and is forced to remain at a leisure time center for girls because otherwise she would get on her mother's nerves. Sakura is often left alone as her mother usually visits her new boyfriend in the evenings. Sakura does not get along with her mother's new boyfriend because he is a know-it-all. He mother does not allow her to have friends, celebrate her own birthday at home and does not listen to Sakura's problems. As a consequence, Sakura often thought about running away from home. She feels that everything she does is wrong because she is unable to foresee the reactions of her mother. Consequently, Sakura and her mother quarrel a great deal. They shout and punch each other and her mother also destroys her posters. In one situation, Sakura's mother got so angry that she almost strangled her. So Sakura has experienced both physical and verbal violence at the hands of her mother. The violence has somewhat decreased. This is due to the fact that Sakura defends herself and then locks herself up in the bathroom which forces her mother to calm down. In summary, domestic violence constantly challenges Sakura and puts her under a high degree of stress.

Sakura hates going to school. There is a lot of bullying and she is also critical of her teachers for she feels that they do not listen to their pupils. There is one new teacher who she likes for he seems to know who is responsible for the quarreling and is able to deal with it in an effective way. As for school, Sakura's mother does seem to support her. However, Sakura did want to change schools in order to attend a Waldorf School but was unable due to financial constraints.

Sakura is not a real loner and misses having a best female friend. Presently, she is quite disappointed as to how her friendships have developed in the past. She has experienced betrayal and finds most of the girls in her surroundings not adventurous enough for her taste. Since she doesn't own a computer or a TV – she owns only books – she gets the impression that her peers get bored when visiting her. She admits that she does not talk to anybody about her problems. However, Sakura makes a very positive first-impression; she is interested in politics and culture and mentions a visit to the Leipzig

international book fair as an example where she has really felt good. She would like to learn Kung-Fu but her mother always misses the deadline when registering her for the course.

Two hobbies that help Sakura deal with negative emotions or experiences are: drawing mangas and being an adoring fan of Miley Cyrus, an American actor ("Hannah Montana") and singer. Miley Cyrus's stardom is powerful enough to cheer her up. Sakura also loves Japanese cartoons and enjoys painting in her own manga style. She dreams about becoming a police officer who might also spend time working in Japan, or perhaps, becoming an actress. Even though her dreams might seem to be a bit unrealistic, they buffer her from feelings of being unwanted at home and ignored at school. Her teachers seem to be oblivious of the many forms of bullying and "happy slapping" she has endured. Many adolescents have developed similar strategies when exposed to emotional or physical violence. They channel or actively work on letting hard feelings go (e.g., by listening to certain music).

These adolescents are able to gain strength and security for a certain period of time, as they "breathe deeply" just prior to again being immersed in their own life challenges. A change in the environment or when focusing on something else, these adolescents are able to forget their insecure conditions for a certain period of time.

4.2.2 Micro-level

Close social relationships within families

Protective conditions that are present and available to a child in his/her immediate environment, seems to have an important impact on the development of resilient behaviour. Relevant aspects on the micro-level, such as close social relationships, and on the meso-level (processes and patterns of action embedded in the structure of a family) were defined within the qualitative study.

It appears that those adolescents who are considered to be resilient, as opposed to those considered to be non-resilient, seem to have a greater chance of experiencing closer relationships in their immediate social environment.

Despite the challenges of domestic violence, almost all of the adolescents experienced a positive relationship with at least one attachment figure. In many cases, the person trusted was a family member.

Jewel, an Austrian girl with a migrant background from Ghana, grew up in an emotionally supportive environment. She spent her first nine years of life together with her grandmother and other relatives in Ghana. When she talks about her childhood in Ghana, she accentuates her relationship with her grandmother, which was exceptionally positive, constant and stable. Jewel's "nightmare" began when her mother took her out of this protective environment and thrust her into an insecure future. Jewel was forced to join her mother in Austria. She describes her mother as overburdened with challenges. She was a low-income, single-parent of three children. She incessantly beat her children and seriously impaired Jewel's personal development. In this situation Jewel developed successful coping strategies.

We assume that Jewel's childhood in Ghana can be interpreted as an important protective process. Jewel grew up in an environment, characterized by stability and emotional support that enabled her to cope with the high degree of domestic violence she experienced in her mother's home. According to Fingerle (2007), secure attachment patterns lead to the development of self-esteem and social competence. Based on the relation of parents and children, a notional picture is shaped about the child, its skills and competencies and its interaction with related people. Zimmermann (2000) states that positive social relations support active coping strategies and not avoidance in cases of conflict. Jewel's experience of "knowing it better", in terms of good support and violent-free surroundings in the first phase of her life equipped her to take care of herself through the challenges she encountered in Austria. Jewel speaks about several active ways to cope with conflict. She speaks about herself as a person who

- takes responsibility for others (e.g. for her two younger brothers)
- who is able to encourage others (friends who got in troubles)
- is able to solve problems on her own in an active way
- actively asks for support in situations that are highly challenging in order to avoid the potentially negative effects (Jewel calls her grandmother or her aunt, when she gets in trouble with her mother).

This example makes it clear that the trustworthy person within a family does not necessarily have to be a parent. That person can also be the grandmother/grandfather, a sibling or another relative. For highly violence-challenged families, siblings may be an emotional support since they share similar experiences (although it cannot be the same experience), and therefore, a "problem shared may become a problem halved." (Wustmann 2009: 110)

Katja, a girl from Slovenia, lost her parents when she was a child (her mother died when she was two and a half years old and her father committed suicide when she was eight). Katja lives with her sister, who takes care for her. She also has a good relationship with her second sister and her husband and with other relatives (her grandmother and cousin). Katja feels supported and motivated by these family members.

In other cases, the trustworthy individual may have an important impact as a role model. Certain skills or competencies, specific values or ways of how that individual deals with conflict may constitute the role model. At the same time, role models seem to be characterized by a strong claim for independence.

In many cases, women who were able to avoid or solve challenging situations which lead to a decrease in a child's fear, were described as role models, as the following example shows. Kevin, a boy from Spain with a migrant background from Ecuador, described his mother as a role model due to the fact that she was able to stop domestic violence and abuse. Kevin describes the relationship between his parents as "very bad". When his family migrated to Spain, his father used to get drunk and abused both his mother and his children. His parents talked about divorce. These violent episodes occurred

some years back. Kevin is sure that his mother was able to resolve the situation by talking with his father. He accentuates her positive influence on his father and himself. According to Kevin she was the one who managed to rid their home of violence.

Kar, an Austrian girl who was born in Cameroon, migrated to Austria, together with her father and her sister when she was 6 years old. The experience of migrating was described by her as one of the most important "social turning points" in her life. For Kar it was not easy to leave her mother and move to a foreign country where most of the people were not Black. Due to her skin colour she was a victimized at school and is still confronted with racism on a daily basis.

Yet, Kar's situation seems to be better than that of other adolescents in the sample - she receives support from her family, especially from her father, who showed her how to effectively defend herself against racism - as the following quotation shows. She seems to have learned the lesson.

Adult's support outside the family
Sakura, a girl from Germany, was bullied at school (e.g. some pupils stole her bike and began destroying it). In order to defend herself, she began shouting and stopped those who were bullying her. She also reported the incident to a teacher who did not react in a fair manner. This was usual for this particular teacher. Presently, she has a new teacher who has the ability to see past the quarrelling and endeavours to find solutions. Since then, Sakura does not experience bullying anymore.

In this case, the intervention of a teacher, who seems to have paid attention to Sakura and supported her, stopped the bullying. In Sakura's situation, one of the most important effects of the teachers support was the immediate reduction of violence. An adult's support may serve as a model for pro-active coping strategies and social behaviour: "positive model character" (see Bender & Lösel 1998; see Wustmann 2009).

Daniela, a German girl, talks about two supportive adults in her environment: one is a female, mathematics teacher who supports her emotionally and the other is her soccer trainer who helps her control her emotions, especially when dealing with feelings of aggression towards other people, by concentrating and confining her aggressiveness to the soccer field.

In all these (and many other) cases, social contacts with adults outside the family are of major importance to adolescents. A supportive adult (teacher, trainer, youth worker) is one of the very few people who may provide the adolescent with advice and help him/her deal with the challenges of life. "With her, I can talk about everything", said one girl about her teacher. Especially, when conditions at home are precarious, a trustworthy adult, outside the family, who truly cares about the adolescent, becomes an important role model. This relationship may have a supportive impact on the future strategies used by the adolescent. A deeper insight into the described mechanism has already shaped

"Buddy-Programs", in which mainly young adults stand by adolescents as social attachment figures (see Göppel 2000: Opp & Fingerle 2000).

A friend's support
Social relationships seem to be a widespread and effective system of support. Many adolescents who were interviewed in the qualitative study speak about having good social relationships with friends in a most positive manner.

As it pertains to resiliency, the main effect of having good social relationships with friends is that it serves as a distraction from the quarrelling and tension at home. The social network of friends enables the adolescent to experience relaxed relationships and something like "normalcy". Adolescents are free from the quarrelling in their everyday life and have the opportunity to show their true feelings in an unrestrained manner (see Wustmann 2009). They are able to share secrets, similar interests and sometimes, they are members of the same sub cultural youth group (e.g. Gothics, Emos).

Wustmann (2009) highlights the fact that by having social relationships with peers, the adolescent is provided with an opportunity to "slip into another's shoes", change their perspective and begin experiencing empathy. Peer relationships support the ability to communicate with each other, to demonstrate impulse control, to be creative and to have interpersonal consciousness (see Wustmann 2009).

What happens, if supportive relations are not evident?
Sarah lives together with her four older siblings, parents and grandparents on a farm in rural Styria, Austria. The farm is isolated in the mountains. If Sarah wants to meet friends, she must walk for hours. When she was younger, Sarah's mother used to beat her and Sarah is still unsure if her father was aware of what her mother did to her. Violence in school has many different faces! Sarah describes herself as a victim as well as a perpetrator. Violence seems to characterize her way of solving problems at school. She used to beat both the girls and the boys at school for different reasons. At the same time, she was beaten by others. Sarah felt that her popularity at school was due to her acting out violently against others. She realized that by being violent she became more influential in her peer group and that the other students seemed to become increasingly supportive of her ("they did everything for me afterwards"). In primary school, Sarah describes her approach to violence as rather unreflective and impulsive. Violence seemed not only to be characteristic of the way Sarah solved problems at school but also became her main identifying feature within her own peer group.

In this case, no positive relationship seems to be present. Family relationships seem, to the adolescent, as being the same as relationships with friends. Both are characterized by a lack of emotional warmth

and "one-sided" expectations. Good and supportive relationships with friends were never mentioned. Sarah has lost contact with her friends from her former school (secondary school to polytechnic school); and relationships with new "friends" at school are described as unequal. If Sarah is in trouble, she will not talk to her new friends. Sarah does not like to go to school ("teacher, tests and foreigners" annoy her). School is seen as a place where people are treated unequally (teacher favour "foreigners").

A case by case comparison led to the matched pair of Susi and Sarah. This was due to the fact that both girls grew up under similar circumstances but, at the same time, developed very different behaviours toward violence. In comparison with her matched partner, Susi has a positive role model in her life helping her deal with her family challenges while Sarah does not. Major family challenges are readily evident and every family member seems to cope with everyday challenges in a rather individualized manner. No common strategy in solving family problems is evident. Both Sarah and Susi have developed a sense of independence when dealing with the challenges of their respective families. Susi has developed an image of herself as an independent person (especially a future perspective of independence from men) while Sarah's independence is based on mistrust and is targeted towards overcoming the vestiges of family control. In her case, positive sustainable relationships, based on trust within and outside of the family circle, are not evident. Sarah is perceived as being non-resilient.

Clear future plans
Having the competence to make future life plans was found to be an important characteristic of resilient adolescents in the Kauai study (see Wustmann 2009). Adolescents are able to develop realistic life goals (family, education, occupation), that are based on their life experiences. The protective quality of the competence can be defined in terms of security: clear goal and ways of future orientation are related to a feeling of security.

Schools may especially offer conditions and opportunities (self-responsibility, clear rules, positive reinforcement, participation, respectful cooperation, appreciative atmosphere) which may lead to the development of a positive self-image for adolescents. A feeling of coherence may form under these conditions (Julius & Prater 1996). This feeling is characterised by the fact that adolescents have a clear understanding of their environment and a realistic perception about the link between resources available to them and their primary goals. Therefore, in the development of "clear future plans", ontogenetic factors (personal traits), and factors from the micro level (negotiations on a day-to-day basis in school, where the expectation of having a profession is translated into personal perspectives) works together.

Kar knows what she is talking about, when she describes racism in Austria, the country where she lives. She was born in Cameroon and she defines herself as a girl from Cameroon not as an Austrian. In her case, identity is strongly connected to the feeling of being different (see quotation box).

Kar is continuously confronted by everyday racism and, therefore, she knows how it feels to be a victim. Due to her father's support, who also served as a role model for Kar, she is able to defend herself in a non–violent way and to confront perpetrators with their stereotypes and prejudices ("unfair" and "not ok"). At the same time, she enjoys school and seems to be very popular. Kar is also the class representative.

Under these life circumstances, Kar developed a clear picture about her future life plans in which she clearly tries to overcome current challenges. Kar does not want to spend a lifetime of resources on fighting against everyday racism. She is sure that her situation will improve in other cities. Kar wants to study in Paris or London, cities where she expects diversity among people to be respected and, therefore, fewer barriers for Black people. Her educational success empowers her and she attributes education as having been an important resource for improving her life conditions (see quotation box).

Claudia, a 14-year-old girl from Germany (migrated from Russia), lives in a disturbing family environment and has a bad relationship with her father who exhibits all-dominant behaviour and is incoherent in his style of raising children. Her father never hit Claudia or her sister but the relationship between her mother and her father is seemingly very difficult. Her mother attempted to leave him but he convinced her to come back. Claudia says that nobody wants to talk with him and gets out of his way when he comes home after work. Claudia finds her father's behaviour to be irrational and absurd, almost funny, and it no longer seems to bother her. She finds it rather strange that her mother does not want a divorce and remains rather vocal about wishing that they would divorce.

Claudia has no difficulties in school and she thinks that education is important in order to get a job. She envisions having a career as an architect. She has the capacity to reflect on her life circumstances and as an architect she wants to incorporate modern images of female independence. Perhaps, her educational success (which is hierarchical) helps her to take her father less seriously and enables her to feel superior.

In both cases, these girls seem to have developed self-efficacy. *"Yes, I have an opportunity to change my situation"* which may have a great impact on the development of my self-worth and is an important influence in the realisation of my future life plans (see Fingerle et al. 1999).

Safe Places

When negotiating living conditions, some adolescents were able to find places where they "can be themselves". Miha is a Slovenian boy who, further on, will be introduced in detail. He is not popular in school. Other students, oftentimes, make fun of him because he does not really care for sports. Being enthusiastic about sports is an important factor in becoming popular when trying to compensate for other deficits (Frosh/Phoenix 2001). Since he feels that he is different from the other, more popular students, he remains content within his little family network and the few activities he does on his own. One gets the impression that Miha has found his place in the world – both symbolically and concretely – where he feels safe and comfortable – without having to constantly interact with the outside world.

We found examples where adolescents explicitly and implicitly mentioned certain spaces where they felt good – either places where they received active support or places where they could retreat to from all their troubles; a hideaway where nobody could disturb them. In the example of Sakura (see above), drawing manga comics served this purpose.

For Markus, his safe place is geographic as well as a symbolic. He emphasizes his "own bed" which is not located at home; a home full of violence, but rather at the boarding school where he decided to stay to finish his education. While at school, he sticks to the rules and does not drink or do drugs.

For Jewel and Queen, school is also their own safe haven. During the day, they experience different forms of support and remain far removed from their violent mothers.

Besides having a social network of friends and relatives or certain support structures, a safe place – either in terms of a location, such as a school, or an activity which demands concentration and/or provides inspiration – is another important factor in building resiliency or in accessing protective resources.

4.2.3 Meso-level

Good school environment

Resilient adolescents, in the qualitative survey, seemed to enjoy going to school for many more reasons than non-resilient adolescents.

In some cases, school became a safe haven from the insanity of their family life. School could also serve as a vanishing point, a shelter, a well organised and structured island in the chaotic sea of life. A safe and secure place where adolescents are able to meet trustworthy people who value and acknowledge them for what they are. (Göppel 1999, cit. in Wustmann 2009)

A good school environment was identified as being influential for more than one third of the boys and almost the same for girls. Some schools actively confront violence on a structural level. For example, Luis's school in Spain has a zero-tolerance policy towards violence, and the same holds true for

Daniela's school, in Germany. Additionally, due to a school programme, Daniela became a conflict mediator which also became important in her non-violent development.

Mitko, who lives in Germany, was able to transfer from a school with a seemingly low academic level (Hauptschule) to a secondary school (Realschule). This is no easy task for a migrant with a limited educational background.

On the other hand, Robert, who also lives in Germany, had to transfer from a Gymnasium to a Realschule due to his low grades. This became a seemingly positive move for Robert. Since the transfer, he generally likes to go to school and describes his classes at the Realschule as "nicer" than his former classes at the Gymnasium. He is now able to ask for help, such as, in the case of math, etc... It also seems that the school transfer has been good for his self-esteem. When a student, like Robert, transfers in from a school perceived to be more difficult, s/he is treated better at the new school. Students in the new school ask the arriving student questions s/he is already well-equipped to answer. This is due to the fact that a student, having previously attended a school with a somewhat quicker learning process, has already been exposed to that the subject matter at hand.

For Eva and Miha, both from Slovenia, and Queen and Susi, both from Austria, the school environment has also been important on an individual level. They like to go to school for they feel safe and supported.

Theodor, who lives in Austria, suffers from a chronic physical disease and describes himself as being very shy, feels safe at school and protected by the other students and his teachers.

For Jewel (Austria) school is important on both a structural and individual level. Going to school means she can escape a stressful home life. School is also a place where she gets support from teachers and friends. According to Kos-Mikuš (1992), one of the most important factors in preventing violence is having a good relationship with teachers and having a supportive peer-social group while in school. Involved and caring teachers, as well as, a supportive social climate amongst students and students with their teachers, serve as some of the best ways to prevent future, violent behaviour (see Tillman, 2000).

In addition, a pro-active school environment seems to support a positive self-perception as well as the development of problem solving skills and abilities. The experience of self-efficacy has an important influence on the development of self-worth, leads to the feelings of security which protects adolescents under adverse conditions (Fingerle et al. 1999).

Continuous individual support through social services

For some of the adolescents, resources of emotional support can be available outside of the family structure; in the immediate social environment. Apart from a supportive school environment, social service institutions can provide continuous support for a certain period of time. Individual support through counselling services (psychologist at school, family counselling, educational support) may provide the adolescent with a feeling of security in the face of the constant chaos found in her/his family life, provide advice as to how to best cope with the situation and support helpful, social behaviour.

Luna, a Spanish girl, Sakura, a girl from Germany, as well as Theodor and Markus, two Austrian boys, were individually supported when in highly stressful situations, such as, having trouble at school, being confronted with their parents divorcing, etc…, they began suffering from depression. Therapy and advice was provided so that these individuals could learn to cope with their challenge-laden situations and lives. Daniela, who had major issues dealing with her aggression, became a mediator and Theodor, who used to try to harm himself, started therapy with a psychologist who intervened medically to help him with his depression.

These examples provide us with a deeper understanding of how important supportive people, outside the family are, in terms, of resilience. Support can be defined as providing advice or serving as a role model.

Parent's way of raising children

The parent's way of raising children seems to be strongly connected to attachement patterns. Many former studies have supported an authoritative-democratic way of raising children, characterized by esteem, acceptance, educational security and monitoring (see Bender & Lösel 1998; Masten 2001; Scheithauer et al. 2000). Wustmann (2009) refers to Baumrind's (1989) characterisation of an authoritative-democratic way of raising children: children get a clear picture of what is expected behaviour, supervised by their parents; autonomy is supported; interactions are characterized through emotional support and cooperative communication. An authoritative-democratic way of raising children includes a warm and supportive but at the same time a demanding and limiting style of education.

After the divorce, when Susi's father left home, (he used to continually beat his wife and children), she was confronted, for the first time, with family rules. Before the divorce, quarrelling and chaotic conditions characterised everyday family life. For Susi, rules did not exist and/or were not clearly delineated (*"I did a lot of nonsense"*). When her father left, her mother started to set boundaries and Susi seems to have been happy about the implementation of these new rules which were clear and understandable. Now, she is able to form a clearer picture of her mothers' expectations. At the same time, Susi knows that the possibility exists that certain rules may be discussed and re-negotiated by directly communicating with her mother (e.g. her mother does not forbid her to smoke because she knows that if she did, Susi would smoke, secretly; therefore, her mother allows her to smoke up to two

cigarettes a day). In this case, family rules, daily routines and the possibility to communicate were instituted after the divorce.

4.2.4 Macro-level

The access to social services
Apart from continuous individual support through social service institutions, which was defined as a protective factor on the meso-level (see above), the availability of social service institutions, based on legal regulations, was defined as a protective source on the macro level.

The access to social service institutions and therefore, the access to professional support, based on child protection and safety creates both feelings of security and insecurity in society.

For some of the adolescents, protective factors in an extended social environment are especially important in high risk situations. Queen, Jewel and Markus talked about resources on the local level, especially professional support from social services, as important protective factors, in situations, where there is a high degree of physical violence.

Markus spent time in a women's shelter where his mother found a safe place for herself and her adolescent children after having endured a high degree of physical abuse at the hands of Markus's father, her husband, and other family members, such as, Markus's grandfather.

Queen and Jewel, both girls with migrant backgrounds from Ghana were constantly beaten by their mothers. Queen was finally taken to the hospital when physical child abuse became visible and apparent at school. One day, Queen's mother began beating her at school. Queens' teachers intervened, separated the girl from the mother and gave Queen first aid and called the police. Bruises (Hematomas) were found all over her body and Queen was taken to the hospital, where she remained in a sheltered environment, for the next six months. In this case, social services "kept an eye" on internal family relationships and may have forced a change in the mother's attitude toward violence. From that time on, Queen was no longer beaten by her mother. In this case, the school, police and social services successfully cooperated to work on behalf of Queen.

In Jewel's case, another girl from Austria, this type of cooperation between a teacher and youth welfare services also benefited an adolescent. Jewel took an active role in helping to resolve the problem of constantly being physically abused by her mother. Jewel told a female teacher about the physical abuse at home and, in turn, the teacher informed youth welfare service about the situation. After several interventions by social workers, her mother stopped beating Jewel and her other children but the verbal abuse continues.

In these cases, the adolescents found protective resources in their environment and used them to avoid undesirable situations within the family. Both girls experienced how social services could help and successfully give them support.

Children's rights

Since interviews with adolescents were our only source of information, structural factors were not our main focus. Nevertheless, they appear in the adolescents statements, such as, when they told us about how they dealt with racism. On this level we mainly find factors like children's rights, (e.g., not to be beaten and consequently, juridical decisions for family support or other interventions) and also social norms, like fighting racism or the institutionalizing of social equality through policy formation (e.g., housing policies). The influence of the media is to be taken into account in promoting such norms and values.

Society perceives domestic and family violence is something that belongs to the private sphere – even though, in many countries, steps are being taken to improve the legal situation. Our social perception that violence by boys is normal, denies their right to remain unscathed (Voigt-Kehlenbeck 2009: 129) while violence by girls is perceived as the outcome of a failed socialisation process (Busche/Stuve 2010: 276f.).

Divorce, in some cases, is seen as an opportunity to get rid of the stressful and violent parent. Some of our interviewees have experienced their parent's separating and their experiences enable us to realize that divorce can only be a positive experience when other factors buffer the occurring difficulties. External support must be more specific and adapted to the adolescents' needs.

It is mainly the government's responsibility to fully support our adolescents with rights that adequately protect them and provide them with enough information so that they understand their rights.

5. Protective Patterns

In several cases, "social turning points" were identified. These are caused by the occurrence of pivotal events or important personal life changes (e.g. migration, new school, divorce). In some cases, "social turning points" changed the environment of the adolescent in a way that improved his/her life. Yet, in other cases, adverse life conditions - worsened.

Some adolescents described a major life change after transferring schools. For example, Daniela, a 15 year old girl from Germany, changed schools after a period of being highly stressed in her life. Transferring helped Daniela overcome many of her problems, in particular, a problem she was having with a female teacher. Fortunately for her, the new school has a positive environment and a mathematics teacher who fully supports Daniela.

Life improved for Markus too! A 16 year old boy from Austria, he left his home, where he had been physically and sexually abused (gunfights, sexual abuse) and moved into a boarding school. This is a "walk away from violence" –pattern. Markus stays away from home to avoid conflict. He is not interested in the life of his family anymore and he likes to remain at a safe distance from them. His

"own bed" which he drew on his network card is not located in his family's home but rather at a boarding school which appears to be a safe and secure place for him.

Susi and Hanna from Austria, as well as Dominik from Germany, and Luna, a girl from Spain, talk about an important common 'social turning point' which seems to have positively influenced their lives - their parent's divorce. In all these cases, the father is described as the perpetrator of violence and divorce was based on the decision of the mother. The father moved out of the common flat. Susi and Dominik described their fathers as addicted to alcohol and used to continuously beat all family members. Hanna was seriously affected by the verbal and physical violence perpetrated by her father against her mother. Violence seems to have increased after her father became member of a religious sect. Luna talks about years of quarrelling and violence between her parents at home. In all these cases, divorce was described as relieving the problem and a salvation for all family members. All of their lives seemed to improve after the divorce, as testified to by the following quotations:

"SU: My father is an alcoholic ... and he has beaten my mum ...and this is what I have witnessed and so on ...but now, since they have split, it turned out to be better ...because he shifted away from home ...and now, we have a good relationship."

"I: How did you feel when your parents divorced?

SU: It was quite good. I'm even happy about it"

"I: Ok. And how did your parents go on with the situation of divorce?

SU: I don't know. I think mum still likes my daddy, even though he made such a lot of nonsense and all that, but yes, quite well. Now their relationship is much better because they divorced. Rather positive for both."

In these cases, divorce finalised or extenuated family conflicts and led to a more relaxed way of life for the children – so it is defined as a social turning point – for it protects the involved adolescents. The protective quality does not seem to lie in the "divorce" itself, but in the "mechanism", the reaction of each and every family member. Therefore, if divorce is a "social turning point", is it then a risk or a protective factor? Our research seems to indicate that the answer to this question depends upon the specific context and the reactions of the individuals involved.

Rutter (2000) implemented the concept of **protective mechanisms** in differentiation to protective factors. A parent's divorce can lead to a situation of insecurity, a risk, or it can be seen as a protective factor. Whether a factor becomes a risk or a protective factor is always dependent on the specific context and on the reactions of the individuals involved. In all the cases mentioned above, divorce seemed to relieve the situation.
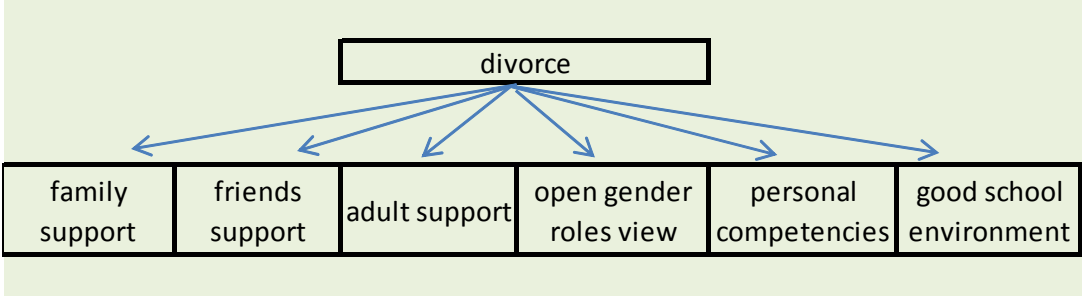
The improvement of life situations seems to be based on better relations between the people involved and then, how they organise their lives. Susi describes the salutary effects of the newly instituted

family rules, daily routines and channels of communication after the divorce. When her father left home, clear family structures and daily family routines appeared for the first time that led to a more predictable and relaxed way of life for Susi and her mother.

Luna's relationship with her father improved after he left home. He "surprised" his daughter with skills and interests, she had not recognized before (see box).

The factor itself has a 'Janus face'. Divorce can have a salutary or an adverse effect. Andres and Laura, a boy and a girl from Spain, describe divorce as a stressful experience. In their situations, we must label divorce, a risk factor. Andres's life situation turned out rather badly after his parents divorced. Divorce involved a court case in which his mother was awarded custody over him even though he preferred to live with his father. In Laura's case, divorce led to adverse effects, as well. After her parents divorced, Laura was not allowed to see her father for two years because he was being punished by the court for having committed adultery.

When the life situations of Susi, Hanna, Dominik and Luna were compared, common protective factors emerged. Sources of emotional and social support appeared inside and outside their family structures.

All of them talked about the importance of friends. Peer contact, positive relationships with friends, along with sharing advice, seems to provide the social support needed to distract adolescents from the challenges at hand. Some adolescents needed to find someone with whom to talk to about their stressful situation while others, wanted to find a relaxed, informal relationship with a friend with whom they could have fun (a distraction from violence-laden family situations).

Other positive factors are associated with social support outside the family. Three of the four adolescents mentioned stated that they liked to go to school for several reasons. Positive experiences in school included having good relationships with friends in school (emotional support), educational success (acknowledgement) and a good relationship with at least one teacher. School seems to be a place for freedom of action, outside of the family, where self-acceptance, self-esteem and social competence can be developed in a safe place.

Protective factors in the immediate environment of the adolescent may contribute to the development of resilient behaviour in fundamental ways. Despite the quarrelling, and their experiences with domestic violence and abuse, all the interviewees were able to develop a positive emotional relationship with at least one attachment figure. Dominik describes his grandmother as the most important person in his life. She seems to support him in every way and talks with him about all his problems. She is trustworthy and "functions" to uncouple him from the terrible memories he has of his early experiences with his father. Both Hanna and Susi developed very close relationships with their mothers after their fathers left home. In both cases, solidarity and a common interest seemed to have created a role-model-relationship between mother and daughter. Susi describes her mother as a role model, due to the fact, that she was able to actively stop the domestic violence and abuse through divorce.

Among the adolescents interviewed by the STAMINA research team, there is one case in which the parents have not divorced but is seen as a rudimentary solution for the many problems facing this family. This is the case of Claudia, a 14 year-old German girl who longs for the divorce of her parents. She lives in a dysfunctional family environment and has a bad relationship with her father who exhibits dominant behaviour (e.g., takes her laptop without reason) which Claudia finds ridiculous and interprets as a form of helplessness. Claudia and her sister were never beaten but the relationship between their parents was difficult and precarious. Her mother attempted to leave their father but he convinced her to come back. There are frequent verbal conflicts and Claudia told us about a violent incident that did occur between her parents, even though, she was not present.

It is remarkable how Claudia is able to reflect on her father's behaviour. She seems to find it irrational and absurd, almost funny, and it does not seem to really bother her. She finds it rather strange that her mother is not trying to get a divorce and, oftentimes, expresses her wish that they would soon divorce. She is able to tell us what helps her get away from stressful family situations which she deals with in a rather ironic, almost sarcastic manner.

Claudia had a network of very good friends. After relocating, she was able to make new friends. She also has a good relationship with her sister and her mother and wishes that her mother would spend more time with her. It seems that she compensates for the dysfunctional relationship she has had with her father by having a network of intensely close relationships. Perhaps, her academic success has also helped her not to take her father too seriously. Her academic success appears to enable her to feel that she is continuing to rise above her father's level.

Dominik, Hanna, Luna and Susi, have a certain appreciation for the female figures in their families; their mothers and/or grandmothers. They share a certain experience of living or having lived with

independent mothers who struggled with violent and/or alcoholic fathers and who now, either live alone or have found a new relationship. This might have impacted their views on traditional gender roles. For example, Susi gets very angry about "women behind the stove". Reflecting on her experiences, she projects some non-traditional gender images, in which men go shopping, cook food and women play soccer and enjoy mathematics. Since her favourite female teacher teaches her mathematics and this relationship might be influencing the role of gender in her Weltanschauung. Her sister might also be an important source of inspiration. She admires the ability to reconcile paid work with care.

Susi wants to have children later on in life and emphasizes that she will remain married to only a good guy. This implies that she has thought about how she wants to be treated, that she is aware that there are "bad" guys in this world and that she seems to know how to recognize the "good" ones.

In the case of Hanna, her father has served as a bad role model for a father. He was a violent and threatening husband whom her mother finally divorced. When reflecting on her experiences, Hanna imparted to us her sense of social justice. She wants equal rights for men and women and her mother serves as her role model. Even though Hanna finds her mother to be a bit too controlling, she understands her mother's behaviour, for it is a consequence of her father's incessant stalking of her and the fact that she might still be in fear of him.

Hanna: *"And, yes, then they lived together for two years and then my mother had a nervous breakdown because of my father."*

I: *"Mhm."*

Hanna: *"She has a lot of fear and is very afraid that he could lay his violent hands on us and so..."*

She is also proud of her mother for she did not accept the new ideas her husband tried to force on her after he became member of a religious community. She tells a story of repartee and resistance when her father introduced the idea of wanting a second wife:

Hanna: *"He became a member of the sect five years ago."*

I: *"Mhm."*

Hanna: *"They were two years together after that and then he made the pilgrimage alone."*

I: *"Mhm."*

Hanna: *"And then he wanted a second wife!"*

I: *"Mhm."*

Hanna: *"Beside my mother! My mother said, she doesn't want that, unless he allows her a second man."* [smiles]

Hanna finds her father guilty of having harmed her mother by constantly quarrelling and being violent with her which finally led to her nervous breakdown. She remains solidly behind her mother and has taken over most of her mother's care since the breakdown. We question if Hanna had a choice.

Nevertheless, Hanna impresses us as being very mature. For example, when Hanna's mother tries to act with her as one of her friends, Hanna refuses to accept this "role dissolution". She wants her mother to be her mother and not a friend! This provides us with some insight into Hanna's ability to protect her own space which is reserved for her and her adolescent friends.

Dominik's grandmother is the most important person in the world. She supports him in every way and talks with him about all his problems. She is trustworthy and "functions" to uncouple him from the memories of his early and painful experiences with his father. Dominik is not satisfied with the distribution of housework between his mother and her new partner in that his mother does the majority of the work even though she also works full-time. He cleans his room once a week and helps with the shopping and the dishes once a while. Since Dominik does not like his mother's new partner it is unclear to us whether his description of him is balanced or simply represents a deep resentment he has towards him.

Three of the interviewees mentioned that they understood and appreciated the clarity of the new rules set by their mothers. Sometimes, though, they found these rules to be too strict and/or controlling and expressed their need to re-negotiate the terms and conditions.

6. A matched pair

After our comparative analysis, we wanted to generate "matched pairs" out of the quantitative and qualitative material available. We wanted to match two adolescents with comparable life circumstances but in that pairing, we wanted to find one adolescent who regularly turns to violence, while the other, remains non-violent. Miha and Ivo are just such a pair. Miha and Ivo are both from working class, Slovenian families, living in urban areas. Both have experienced family conflicts, mainly screaming and quarrelling, as well as a painful divorces. Presently, they both live with their respective mothers and brothers. Both are loners and, sometimes, are victims of bullying and are made fun of at school. Both of them have weight problems, dislike football and group sports. Miha as well as Ivo, plays an instrument. Ivo plays the saxophone while Miha plays piano. Miha is resilient, Ivo is not.

Miha: Personal characteristics (reflexivity, sensitivity, normativity)
Miha is a loner and, sometimes, is a victim and made fun of by his schoolmates. He is overweight, does not like to play football and it appears that this might be one of the reasons why he is being bullied by his schoolmates. Miha once witnessed another boy in school being victimized by an older boy for being accused of walking, dressing and behaving in an effeminate manner. He sympathized with the victim of this bullying in that the position of being the "other" was all too familiar to him.

Miha expressed that he gets very hurt and angry when he is insulted but he never reacts violently. Instead he withdraws, takes a walk, and tries to solve conflicts by conversing with himself and others. He seems to have a few supportive and/or protective resources. He did mention his grandmther, a dog, as well as, that he plays the piano. He, however, did not express much enthusiasm about his musical talent.

Miha lives together with his mother and an older brother. Recently his parents got divorced which was very painful for him (*"Yes, I was completely shocked. It is very hard..."*). The divorce motivated him to give us this interview. He is very attached to his mother and he says that he has a good relationship with both of his two older brothers which might also serve as a protective factor. He says that he feels supprted by them and, in particular, by his family. Miha feels that his family is the most important part of his life. He said: *"Family means the most to me and if I did not have family in my life I could not be happy"*.

In the narrative part of the study, there is no mention of violence occurring between Miha's parents but the quantitative part tells a different story. Miha's parents screamed at each other often and insulted each other in the presence of Miha. There are also signs of physical violence between his parents, as well as, signs of corporal punishment. In the qualitative part of the study, Miha does not speak about his father at all while in the quantitative part he stated that his father is indifferent and uninterested; a detached person. The divorce hit Miha hard and it seems that it came as a complete surprise. He was very disappointed in his father for it seems that his father already had another family. This was the main reason for the divorce.

Apart from family, Miha has one best friend and a teacher. They seem to be an important part of his social network. He spends most of his leisure time doing schoolwork, playing computer games, and practicing piano.

We assume that his personality is the main factor that protects him from getting violent.

- He is open and trustful enough so that he was able to develop a supportive and trustful relationship with his teacher with whom he can also talk about problems.
- Despite his experiences and disappointments regarding his father, he still finds family the most important part of his life.
- He is strongly attached to his mother.
- He has a clear vision of his future life: he likes cooking and would like to become a cook, working on the ship for a while and then, opening his own restaurant.
- Equality among people is a top priority in his value system.

Ivo: violent loner without a safety net

Ivo lives together with his mother and his younger brother. He experienced family violence before his parents got divorced. He never spoke about physical violence but about screaming and quarrelling. His first experience with violence was overhearing a quarrel between his mother and father. He

admitted that the quarrelling between adults makes him feel helpless. His parents are now divorced and during the weekends he visits his father, at the rural location, where they all used to live together. His grandmother who is an important person for him also lives there. He says that when he visits his father he spends most of his time with his grandmother. After the divorce, Ivo should have lived with his father but his parents decided that both sons would live with their mother while the father would pay alimony. Ivo never spoke about how obviously painful the divorce was for him. It tore him away from his father, grandmother, friends, and from an environment where he felt safe and secure. The divorce happened six years ago and it appears that, emotionally, Ivo has not moved on.

After six years in a new environment he has not developed a supportive, social network. He says that his mother is his support person but, at the same time, he admits that she works a lot and is not really interested in how he spends most of his day. He spends most of his time alone. His relationship with his father is also cold and distant. His relationship with his younger brother is full of conflict and violence – they constantly quarrel and fight over cleaning up their room. He does not have a best friend. In fact, in the past 6 years he did not establish any new friendships. He said: *"Here I don't have any friends. Here is nothing."* His only friends are those from the old neighbourhood. His feelings towards his mother, father and brother are ambivalent and he says, he gets on well, only with his grandmother, an old aunt and one female school friend. He likes his female, biology teacher and dislikes his male, gym teacher. He has virtual friends from computer games from all over the world. Nevertheless, he can be characterized as a loner.

Ivo often uses physical violence when fighting back. He appears in different roles in violent situations: as victim, perpetrator and observer/mediator. He experiences exclusion in school; he says that this is because he is obese. He reacts physically violent if somebody provokes or insults him, and he also beats up his younger brother during their everyday conflicts. About solving conflicts with his younger brother he says: *"We have a fight and then it is OK for some time."* He experiences violence as something that successfully keeps stress away.

Despite their similarities, Ivo is violent and Miha is non-violent. Differences between them which can perhaps explain their different trajectories in violence development are:

- At the **ontogenetic level** Miha has several personal qualities which may prevent him from becoming violent. Miha is very reflective, normative, open and trustful while Ivo is not. Ivo is not an easy-going, approachable person. He is difficult to communicate with, not reflective and emotionally detached. While Miha openly speaks about his suffering due to the divorce, Ivo says that he easily got over that. Ivo is also much more frustrated because of his obesity than Miha.

- At the **micro level** Miha expressed many strong values (family as the utmost value, education, equality among people, non-violence) while Ivo did not express any values at all. Most of the time, Ivo is occupied with computer games, while Miha spends only a little time on his computer. Regarding violence, Ivo legitimizes it as a strategy for conflict resolution. Ivo's

emotional life and his relationship with his family are mostly ambivalent, cold and conflicted. The exception is his grandmother. Also among his (ex) friends from his former hometown he has never mentioned having a best friend. He blames, relocation, on the fact that he seems to be lacking close relationships. On the other hand, Mihas' feelings towards other family members (except towards his father about whom he never speaks) are extremely positive. Despite occasionally being bullied by schoolmates, he has positive opinions about them, too. His brothers are older and perhaps because of that he argues with them less than Ivo with his younger (age structure and opportunities) brother. Miha is also in a close and trusting relationship with his teacher ("I can truthfully tell her all my secrets and everything that bothers me and then we solve school problems together."). Ivo did not mention any such supportive relationship. It is not that he lacks supportive persons in his life (grandmother, grand aunt); it is more about his alienation from himself and his feelings (connected to **ontogenetic level**).

- At the **meso level** we are uncertain about Miha's external support system helping him deal with the hardship of the divorce. In the area where Miha lives, youth workers and/or other youth agencies are not readily available.

- At the **macro level** there are some points to be made referring to housing and housing policy. Ivo spent his early years in a suburb, a rural area, populated by many migrants with a relaxed, outdoor lifestyle. After the divorce, they moved into a villa, in the very city centre of Ljubljana, where people can be closed, snobbish, superior and cold. In comparison, Miha lives in the urban area of Maribor which differs considerably from Ljubljana in its openness, and the warmth and kindness of its easily-approachable residents (connected to **meso-level**).

Part III: Summary and Perspectives: Quantitative and qualitative results

1. Summary of the quantitative results

The aim of the empirical analysis was to investigate to what extent the three groups of young people, we created ("resilient", "near-resilient" and "non-resilient"), differ in respect to theoretically applied predictors. We were able to derive the differences between individual groups, as well as, the gender-specific differences. (A) The "self-concept" proved to be a very strong predictor, in particular, for girls. Control of the emotions provides us with an explanation of the differences between the groups. (B) The two proactive measures which are used to deal with experiences of violence are chiefly relevant for differentiating between "resilient" and "near-resilient" girls and boys. If we study the groups of "near-resilient" and "non-resilient" young people, we can establish that it is above all, boys, who are influenced by these measures. In particular, a young person's conversation with his/her parents and peers about her/his experiences of violence appear to make a substantial contribution to explaining the differences. (C) The role of the family in respect of the development of resilience has to be examined in a differentiated manner. Experiencing violence within the family plays a major role in differentiating between the "near-resilient" and "non-resilient" young people of both genders. Physical violence between parents tends to play a weaker role for boys, while for girls, domestic violence between their parents is definitely more significant for their own resilience-status. Parenting style on the other hand appears to provide no contribution to explaining the differentiation between "near-resilient" and "non-resilient" young people. Parenting style play more of a role in differentiating between "resilient" and "near-resilient" young people, and this is gender-specific. While for girls an inconsistent parenting style is relevant, for boys it is the authoritarian parenting style. (D) The predictor "experiences of and attitudes toward violence" also requires differentiated consideration. Acts of relational aggression directed toward others (girls and boys) explain in particular the difference between "resilient" and "near-resilient" young people. This also applies to the acceptance of violence. In the group of the "near-resilient" and "non-resilient" young people this indicator plays a role only for the boys. An interesting finding which should particularly be emphasised is the fact that the victimisation by boys is relevant for differentiating between "resilient" and "near-resilient" girls and between "near-resilient" and "non-resilient" boys.

A similar observation can be made for the predictor "school", where the individual indicator "verbal violence by a teacher" becomes more important for the boys in respect of the differentiation between "resilient" and "near-resilient" and for girls in respect of the differentiation between "near-resilient" and "non-resilient". However, the predictor "school", generally does not play such an important role in the differences between the groups studied. A similar situation applies for "alcohol and drug misuse", which solely explains the differences between "resilient" and "near-resilient" for the boys.

To summarise, the self-concept, in particular, appears to be a strong predictor for the differences between the groups for both genders. In addition the predictors directly relating to violence are strongly gender-specific and highly relevant. What type of violence was experienced from whom and what measures were taken to oppose this violence, appears to play a different role for boys and girls. This also applies to the family risk.

We can conclude that the theoretical model can, to a large extent, explain the differences between "near-resilient" young people, on the one hand, and "resilient", on the other, for "non-resilient" young people. Around 3/4 of all the young people who participated in the analyses can be correctly classified using the predictors applied. From a content perspective this means that the "resilience status" could be influenced in a focussed way by moderating the living environments of these young people. According to the compilation in Table 7 (resilience patterns) this would need to involve on the one hand minimising risk factors and on the other hand supporting protection factors. In this way, a large proportion of the young people who were negatively affected by their family environment could be sufficiently supported to become much more symptom-free.

A limitation of our study is the fact, that we have only one information source, the adolescents. Personality traits could influence perception and reporting of violence experiences and interactions to parents and teachers.

Notwithstanding the real political value of providing welfare for young people, the socio-political perspective should always be borne in mind: The causes that affect violence within the family would by far and away not be addressed by this, but either the young people themselves or the compensatory pedagogical interventions would be empowered to cope with these. This is certainly not nothing – given the existing problems, to assert the contrary would be naked cynicism, but from a pedagogical perspective could well be described as suboptimal.

2. Summary of the qualitative results

This qualitative study provides some theoretical, methodological and practical insights regarding resilience:

Resilience as a relational phenomenon

Resilience is seen as a dynamic process, a two dimensional construct that includes negative life circumstances and the manifestation of coping strategies (Luthar & Cicchetti 2000). In this respect, resilience is not always equivalent to being non-violent. Therefore, we need to ask the question: Is it possible to estimate resilient competencies and resources in relation to challenges, experiences and circumstances? In many cases, neither the forms of violence nor the life conditions were comparable. And the definitions of resilience and resilient competencies, as well as, classifications of challenges

(high, middle, low) needed to be discussed on a case by case basis. In the analytical process of this study, we sought to find out to what extent life and life circumstances of adolescents are affected by different forms of violence and challenges, in order, to rate the quality of their resilient competencies. These resilient competencies were developed despite the negative impact or high risk.

General and limited resilience

A differentiation between general resilience and limited resilience was based on the probability of becoming a perpetrator of violence against others.

General resilient: Those qualified as "fully resilient" were against becoming a perpetrator of violence or reported participating in very few acts of group bullying or rarely participated in fights, or failed to render assistance, or described their own development from being frequently violent to living a violent-free today (e.g. due to conflict mediation programmes in school or because they left a violent environment).

Limited resilient: Those who showed either "resilient competencies" which they applied to certain fields or situations in their lives, or they informed us about an ongoing process of development which contains a promising change of environment or attitude, but which are still in a stage of ambivalence.

General prevalence of protective factors

Some single protective factors are of significant importance in terms of quantity (i.e. appearing in at least one third of the cases in our sample): reflectiveness, support by family, friend(s), clear future plans, strategies against violence, self-acceptance, empathy, open to flexible gender roles and a good school environment. These factors might have already been the result of protective processes. Therefore, they can also be seen as effects, in some cases, or "protective factors of second order". Having developed strategies against violence is one possible outcome of a process that enhanced resilience, as well as, a potential protective factor against violence in the future.

Protective Factors on Four Levels

We identified vulnerability factors, protective factors and protective processes, which influence and modify the negative effects of adverse life conditions. Protective factors and processes modify the effects of violent experiences in the direction of non-violent behaviour. Protective factors can be derived from different levels of influence. Therefore we assigned risk-minimizing-conditions to a multi-level conceptual framing approach (see Hagemann-White et al. 2010) in order to involve the influence of different levels in analysis:

The **ontogenetic level** - focusing on personality and life history, early or continuous support and protection as well as psycho-sanity – includes the following protective factors: personal competencies (empathy, self acceptance, reflectiveness, self-esteem, openness, happiness, responsibility, ...), a continuous support by adult(s), especially in times of difficulties (death of a close person, divorce, relocation etc.), open views on gender roles and clear future plans were

On the **micro-level** – we focus on the influence of the immediate social environment, values and norms, expectations, respect, masculinity and femininity, and notions of peacefulness. As part of our day-to-day interactions – the following factors were outlined: Parental interactions, friends' support, adults' support, teachers' support, close relationships, affiliation to community (youth subculture, religious assoc.), norms and values and open views on gender roles.

The **meso-level** includes social institutions, processes and patterns of action embedded in the structure of family, the neighbourhood, the school environment, and conforming to "public" values and norms. This would also include the "opportunity structure", e.g. easy access to (professional) adult support. According to the meso level, the following factors were defined: Good school environment (e. g. anti violence program), style of raising children (rules & daily routines, institutionalisation, external family support etc.) and the continuous support through a social service support system (youth welfare service, counselling services …).

The **macro-level** includes conditions and regulations in society as a whole: social equality, childhood and gender, and institutions like the law. Here the existence of a social support system was treated as a protective factor. The access to social service institutions and, therefore, the access to professional support, based on child protection and legislation creates both security and insecurity in society. Structural factors (children's rights, a national commitment to fight racism, and gender equality, etc...) appeared in the statements made by adolescents when telling us of how they combat racism on a daily basis. On this level we found factors like children's rights, (e.g., domestic and child abuse, and consequently, juridical decisions for family support or other interventions) and social norms, like combating racism or the realization of social equality by formulating national and/or local policy (e.g., housing policies). The influence of the media is to be taken into account in promoting such norms and values.

Protective Patterns

In several cases, "social turning points" were identified. These are caused by the occurrence of pivotal events or important personal life changes (e.g. migration, new school, divorce). In some cases, "social turning points" changed the environment of the adolescent in a way that improved his/her life. Yet, in other cases, adverse life conditions - worsened.

Some of the adolescents shared the experience of a common 'social turning point', which seems to have influenced their life situation in a positive way. When life situations of those individuals were compared with the others, common protective factors emerged. Common sources of emotional and social support appeared inside and outside their families, such as important friendships, positive

experiences in school, the development of good relationships with a teacher or other adults outside the family unit.

Protective factors in the immediate environment of adolescents may contribute to the development of resilient behaviour in a fundamental way. Despite the quarrelling and experiencing of violence within their families, all interviewees were able to develop a positive, emotional relationship with at least one other attachment figure.

Future Perspectives

This qualitative study provides some future perspectives regarding resilience:

- ~Almost all the adolescents were involved in violent situations and only a few have not become violent themselves. Therefore, a definition of resilience which will be applicable in research and practice must take into account an individual's subjective circumstances as well as their point of view.

- ~The expectation to live in a violent free society which legitimizes (male) violence in public (war, police) as well as tolerates it in private spheres (domestic and family violence) as well as if it is applied to minorities (migrants, queers, Roma people etc.) might be perceived as hypocritical, especially by adolescents who do not feel protected or valued by society. Research needs to take a stand regarding these contradictions.

- ~The resources and factors which may deter someone from becoming violent can be found on many levels: In the development of personal traits, the immediate environment, social institutions, culture and social structures. All are interconnected. Longitudinal studies are needed to follow the paths of non-violent socialisation patterns. This study was based on only one source of information: the adolescents themselves. It strengthens their perspectives and enables us to hear their voices. If more sources of information (friends, teachers, parents, community, structural data, etc...) would be included, a clearer picture would emerge.

- ~Intervention and support measures must be equipped with resources to assess the adolescents' needs properly, especially when they do not follow social norms.

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