

**YOUTH RESILIENCE: SOCIO-ECONOMIC, RELATIONAL, AND PERSONAL
FACTORS**

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By

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Abstract

Resilience has been studied from different perspectives, including models that are person-focused, multi-level, or ecological. However, resilience scholars have mainly focused on personal factors in the Western, middle class and more economically established populations. In a number of countries, such as Canada, a number of scholars have studied youth resilience in marginalized and Indigenous communities. However, more research needs to be conducted on youth resilience in other non-Western and marginalized communities, paying more attention to cultural and environmental resources in addition to personal factors. In fact, there is a need to study youth resilience from youth's perspectives in these communities to draw on the complexity of communities' cultures and youth experiences of inequalities.

In the marginalized (underdeveloped) areas of Tehran, the quality of housing is poor, the rate of unemployment is high, and addiction and violence are prevalent. Due to the high rate of unemployment, many families are dependent on their youth for survival. These youth work and live in dangerous areas, such as landfills, resulting in a number of deaths. Despite these difficulties, youth in marginalized areas continue to contribute to their communities in healthy ways. In other words, they are resilient.

My research used participatory art-based methods and post-colonial frameworks to understand how Tehran's marginalized youth define resilience from their perspective. It explains the meaning of resilience and identifies the individual, relational, and socio-economic factors that support or hinder youth resilience from the perspective of Tehran's marginalized youth. From the youths' perspective, factors that influence their resilience include relationships with their family, friends, and community-based organizations; socio-economic status; and personal factors, such as hope. The most critical factor was the youth's relationships with family and how this is shaped by socio-economic contexts.

The key implication of this research is that personal and relational factors that influence marginalized youth resilience are impacted by social structural and political inequalities. Accordingly, social inequalities must change, with more resources provided to marginalized communities to promote youth resilience, rather than changing individuals.

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1. Introduction

Land reforms (beginning in 1963) in Iran and the concentration of resources and state spending in cities have resulted in the mass migration of people from rural to urban areas (Mahdinia et al., 2016; Shahraki et al., 2011). However, many people who move to cities cannot integrate into the city's economy or afford housing in developed areas of these centres and, as a result, must live in marginalized areas (Rabbani et al., 2009). Land reforms resulted from the implementation of semi-colonial policies adopted by the Shah (Hooglund, 2012). Later, armed conflicts in Afghanistan resulting from imperial powers' interventions, such as the Soviet Union's invasion in 1979 and the United States' in 2004, resulted in the mass migration of Afghans to Iran. Many Afghan immigrants also had to live in marginalized areas, due to their poverty and illegal immigration status. Marginalized areas are where race hand in hand with poverty exclude people from accessing resources required for their wellbeing (Rahbari, 2016).

The term "marginalized areas" is a translation of the Persian term "*Manateghe Hashieh*," which refers to a geographic location where disadvantaged communities live as a result of racialized geographies produced by patterns of investment (Battiste et al., 2005; Rabbani et al., 2009). In these marginalized areas, the quality of housing is poor, the rate of unemployment is high, and addiction and violence are prevalent. Crime and substance abuse rates in marginalized areas are higher than in other areas of the city (Bezi, Musazadeh, & Khodadad, 2015). For example, the rates of addiction, drug-related crimes, and theft in Mashhad (an Iranian city) are respectively three, seven, and three times higher in marginalized areas than in other areas (Hataminejad et al., 2012).

Because the rate of unemployment is higher in these areas, many families are dependent on their youth for survival. The heads of these families are often unemployed due to a lack of education, a history of imprisonment, or disability (Ahmadkhaniha et al., 2007). Many youths in these areas are in forced labour and must sell flowers, gum, or other goods in the street or become involved with waste-picking. These youth work and live in dangerous areas, such as landfills, resulting in deaths in a number of cases (IAPSRS, 2017; Ahmadkhaniha et al., 2007; Ali et al., 2004).

The rates of crime, childhood addiction, and victimization are also higher among youth in marginalized areas than among youth in city centres. The majority of the youth in Iran's correctional centres come from marginalized communities (IAPSRS, 2018). Adverse socio-economic status increases the level of aggression in youth (Ahadi et al., 2014). Families in deprived, marginalized, and low socio-economic areas do not have the financial and psychological resources to support their children's mental and physical health (Ahadi et al., 2014). Youth from lower-income families are less likely to succeed at school and acquire jobs after graduation (Ferguson, 2007; Sadeghi, 2014). Youth in deprived areas that suffer from economic problems are also more vulnerable to addiction, violence, and crime (Sadeghi et al., 2014).

Despite these difficulties, youth in marginalized areas cope with their adverse socio-economic conditions by adopting behaviours that may be in conflict with mainstream groups' norms and rules. Therefore, dominating groups or affluent people may not consider these youths to be resilient. Youth resilience has been studied by many scholars using different perspectives. For example, resilience has been defined as personal factors that help an individual's well-being despite difficulties (Gilligan, 2000; Ledogar, & Fleming, 2008; Ungar 2004, 2008, 2015; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). However, scholars studying resilience have focused on Western, middle-class, and more economically established populations (Ungar, 2004, 2008; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). In a number of developed countries, such as Canada, scholars have studied youth resilience in marginalized and Indigenous communities (Brooks et al., 2015; Cameron et al., 2011; Hansen & Antsanen, 2016; Hatala et al., 2017; Kirmayer et al., 2011; Lalonde, 2006). However, more research needs to be conducted on youth resilience in other non-Western and marginalized communities, paying increased attention to cultural and environmental resources in addition to personal factors (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Ungar, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2015).

Iranian scholars have focused on personal factors in youth resilience. For example, Nourian and colleagues (2016) found that factors such as self-reliance, spirituality, and self-protection influence youth resilience. Mohammadinia and colleagues (2018) focused on psychological, emotional, and cognitive factors, and Khosravi and Nikmanesh (2014) also investigated the relationship between spirituality and youth resilience. Iranian scholars, however, did not study the role of culture and socio-economic factors in Iranian youth resilience. Culture, in this research, is defined as socially constructed knowledge and values. These values provide guidelines for youths' everyday lives and behaviours (Theron et al., 2015).

The Imam Ali Popular Students Relief Society (IAPSRS) is an international non-governmental organization (NGO) established in 2000 to support disadvantaged and marginalized youth in Iran. In Tehran, a number of marginalized youth participate in educational classes provided by the organization. This NGO is run by volunteer students and provides youth who must work outside the home and those who live in marginalized areas, with education and skills that other youth receive at school. This organization was interested in partnering with me to conduct research with youth in Tehran's marginalized areas, for whom it provides services. Youth crime and resilience are among this organization's main concerns.

Inspired by Brooks and colleagues' (2015) research on Indigenous youth resilience, this project's goals are to contribute to knowledge about youth resilience, particularly in Tehran's marginalized areas. It aims to understand the meaning of resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized areas: the difficulties these youth experience and the supports they receive in their pathways to resilience. The specific objectives of this research are to do the following: a) document and analyze the meaning of resilience and individual, relational, and socio-economic factors that support or hinder youth resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized areas; and b) describe existing resources and programs that are available to youth in the community.

This project has a community-based participatory framework, and its objectives have been designed in consultation with IAPSRS community advisory group. This advisory group is made up of IAPSRS managers, volunteer stakeholders, clients, and the IAPSRS study evaluation committee, which is responsible for assessing proposed research projects and ensuring that research will benefit the youth in the community. The advisory group has been and will continue to be involved in consultation regarding the following: 1) the design of the research project; 2) participant recruitment; 3) data collection; 4) analysis and interpretation of the data; and 5) dissemination.

This project used postcolonial anti-oppressive theories and participatory art-based methods to study youth resilience from the perspectives of the youth. This research was conducted in the Science House, where educational, vocational, and art classes are organized for marginalized youths. I arrived at the Science House in January 2018. On that day, we were all grieving the death of Sogand, a youth who used to attend the Science House classes. She was an exceptionally talented student. However, she was dismissed from school because she was not able to attend due

to her family problems. She finally escaped home and became pregnant when she was 16. She committed suicide after giving birth to her child. Sogand, for me, was a symbol of the youth who fight their marginalization, their socio-economic problems, and the destiny that structural inequalities shape for them. As much as Sogand persevered, her behaviours were defined in terms of non-resilience and led to her dismissal from school.

The goal of this research, for me, was to allow middle-class people and policy-makers to understand youth resilience as defined by marginalized youth—an intersectionality of socio-economic, relational, and personal factors. Among these factors, relational factors were the most critical for the youths. However, these factors, similar to personal factors, were profoundly influenced by the youths' socio-economic context and marginalization. I found that marginalized youths defined by the mainstream population as non-resilient defined their dreams, hopes, and relationships as their resilience. These youth were resilient and were trying hard to access scarce resources to form their hope and resilience.

The next chapter presents my literature review on youth resilience, different perspectives and models used to study resilience, and resilience research across countries and cultures, including Iran. I also discuss the gaps in the literature as well as my research questions, objectives, and contribution to the field. The third chapter investigates conceptual frameworks that can be used to study resilience from individualist, positivist, normative, and universalist frameworks to anti-oppressive theories. Anti-oppressive frameworks are constructivist, difference-centred, and critical. The fourth chapter explains the research methods, data collection, and analysis, and the fifth chapter discusses the role of socio-economic factors in youth resilience. The sixth chapter focuses on relational factors, including youths' relationships with their families, friends, community members, and organizations. The last chapter discusses the personal factors critical to youth resilience and the impact of socio-economic factors.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter begins with reviewing person-focused and multilevel-focused models of resilience and moves to the resilience literature across cultures and communities. After reviewing the resilience literature in Iran, this chapter identifies the gaps in the literature and discusses the present research project's rationale, questions, and objectives.

2.2. Resilience Research: Person-Focused and Multilevel-Focused Models

Resilience as a concept began to be used in the field of psychology in the 1980s (Gilligan, 2000; Ledogar & Fleming, 2008; Ungar, 2012). Resilience has been approached and studied from different perspectives. For example, resilience has been defined as a capacity to recover from trauma, competence despite adversity, and coping with stress (Botrell, 2009; Kirmani et al., 2015; Werner, 1995). The concept of resilience, studied from any approach and defined from any perspective, has been applied mostly to marginalized youth (Garmezy, 1991; Goldstein & Brooks, 2006; Luthar et al., 2000; Rutter, 2001). However, Masten (2001) believes this concept can also apply in studies focusing on ordinary people and their everyday lives. From this perspective, resilience can be relevant to fostering competence in individuals and communities.

Early resilience scholars focused on personal factors, such as higher IQ, that can help youth to adapt to adverse life conditions (Ungar 2004, 2008, 2015; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). From this perspective, marginalized people have agency and need to exercise it to access resources and improve their well-being. From this positivist and individualist perspective, the focus is on an individual's personality, rather than social processes that produce the conditions of risks and resilience (Ungar, 2012).

Recent scholars have moved away from person-focused models of resilience and started to investigate the contribution of different levels of risks and resources to adaptive outcomes (Theron et al., 2015). For example, Runggay (2004) maintains that resilience is about "resourcefulness" in managing difficult life situations, rather than predetermined factors that exist in individuals and can prevent offending. Gilgun (2005) also claims that resilience is related to actively accessing and using resources and is the process of an individual's ongoing interactions

with their environment. The level of an individual's resilience is dependent on protective elements in the environment, which can promote resilience (Gilligan, 2004; Ungar, 2008, 2015, 2018).

Recently, resilience has been defined less as the personal qualities of individuals. Instead, it has been studied using multilevel and dynamic models (Theron et al., 2015) and defined as social processes and resources through which individuals are empowered to resist offending or to positively adapt despite adversity (Anderson, 2008; Ledogar & Fleming, 2008; Runggay 2004; Ungar, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2018).

Ungar (2012) terms this shift from individualist perspectives on resilience to contextual ones as ecological. This new perspective is interactional, culturally pluralistic, and environmental. Supporters of ecological perspectives argue that environmental factors are more important than personal ones, and social and physical environments are the most critical resources for positive outcomes. Resilience is more related to the social structure or ecology to potentiate positive outcomes under stress than the individual's agency (Ungar, 2008, 2011, 2012). Personal and social factors are different aspects of resilience (Luthar et al., 2000). For example, attachment to caregivers can compensate for the low socio-economic position of youth and produce positive outcomes.

Resilience in dynamic models has been defined in terms of interacting systems, consistent with relational developmental systems theory (Zelazo, 2013). In dynamic systems, internal components of the system, in addition to the interactions with other systems, influence the system's behaviours. In the same way, resilience is influenced by interacting systems: those within individuals, their relationships, environment, and culture (Masten, 2014). In other words, individual characteristics interact with environmental factors to manage vulnerability to adversity (Carbonell et al., 1998).

2.2.1. Resilience Assets and Risks

Resilience is the process of negotiating and adapting to stress or difficulties (Prabhu & Shekhar, 2017). Assets and resources that individuals can access, such as food and clothing, improve their capacity for adaptation despite adversity or risks (Windle et al., 2011). Risks, on the other hand, are factors or conditions that increase the likelihood of emotional or behavioural problem development (Keogh & Weisner, 1993; Narayanan, 2015). Examples of risk factors

include parental unemployment, addiction, and domestic violence (Annalakshmi, 2013). Finally, risk factors and resources are usually negatively related. Assets or resources, such as high socio-economic status, decrease when risk factors such as low socio-economic status increase.

2.3. Resilience Research Across Cultures and Communities

In its early years, resilience research concentrated on personal factors, such as school attendance, which could exist only in mainstream, middle-class, and more economically established communities. However, social constructivist approaches question normative and objective definitions of resilience that are based on personal qualities (Ungar, 2004, 2008; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). The definition of resilience needs to take into account a youth's social context and marginalization. In this respect, youth in marginalized areas may develop habits and practices that help them to cope with marginalization. However, these behaviours may conflict with the dominating and mainstream group's rules (Bottrell, 2007). Furthermore, Ungar (2018) found out that marginalized youth's resilience is dependent on services in the community that can be culturally accessible and meaningful to them. These services can encourage healthy development in youth who experience marginality and high levels of adversity (Masten, 2011, 2014; Ungar, 2011, 2015). However, Ungar (2018) maintains that more research needs to be conducted on cultural differences among communities and on how resilience can be understood and defined by different communities and cultures (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Ungar, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2015, 2018).

Cultural and environmental factors influence how adversity affects youth and how they can understand and practice resilience (Cameron et al., 2011; Ungar, 2015). For example, Wu and colleagues (2018) conducted an international study of resilience in migrant adolescents in six countries. They found out that resilience is not a personal quality but rather a process through which youth respond and adapt to migration as adversity.

Theron and Colleagues (2011) focused on the cultural dimension of ecological interactivity in youth resilience. They maintain that complexities within cultures are overlooked in many resilience research projects. They claim that social practices that impact resilience may differ across cultures. Therefore, understanding culture is critical to studying youth resilience, as behaviours that promote or hinder youth resilience are influenced by cultures, values, and beliefs.

A number of scholars have studied resilience from marginalized and Indigenous cultures and communities' perspectives (Brooks et al., 2015; Hansen & Antsanan, 2016; Hatala et al., 2017; Kirmayer et al., 2011; Lalonde, 2006). For example, Kirmayer and colleagues (2011) investigated Indigenous perspectives on resilience and cultural values' role in its definition. They found out that the definition of resilience for Indigenous Peoples originates outside the individual. In contrast to mainstream scholarship on resilience, which focuses on personal factors, Indigenous perspectives define resilience as a feature of communities. This definition has been conveyed through stories about individuals' connection to the community, culture, environment, and land (Kirmayer et al., 2011).

Hatala and colleagues (2017) explored Indigenous youths' meaning-making processes and their engagement with land and nature. They claimed that in addition to the processes of belonging, self-mastery, and cultural continuity, orientations of time and the future are critical to Indigenous youth resilience.

Brooks and colleagues (2015) also studied Indigenous youth resilience from youths' perspectives and focused on community-specific and cultural aspects of resilience. They found out that hip-hop culture and Thug Life influenced youth resilience, and elements of this culture can be included in programs designed for youth to encourage their engagement.

As explained above, a number of scholars, mainly in developed countries, have studied resilience from the perspective of marginalized youth. However, more research needs to be conducted to understand resilience in other non-Western and marginalized communities (Ungar, 2008, 2018).

2.4. Marginalized Youth and Resilience Research in Iran

Youth in high-poverty and marginalized communities of Iran are deprived of resources, such as quality education. A lower percentage of marginalized youth can attend public or private universities in Iran in contrast to middle-class youth, who benefit from high-quality education, sports facilities, and other extra-curricular programs (Salehi-Isfahani & Egel, 2007). Furthermore, youth in marginalized areas suffer from issues such as parental unemployment, addiction, and verbal, physical, and sexual abuse. Youth in these areas are more likely to work outside the home and suffer from depression (Ahmadkhaniha et al., 2007). Marginalized youth need to use resilience

strategies to cope with their adverse conditions, and these are often different than strategies middle-class youth may use (Bottrell, 2007). As a result, marginalized youth are overrepresented in Iranian correctional facilities (Ahmadkhaniha et al., 2007). Despite the need to study the role of socio-economic factors in Iranian youth resilience, no Iranian resilience research has concentrated on these factors in Iranian youth resilience. Furthermore, there is no research examining how these youth define their resilience.

In fact, there is a paucity of academic work on youth resilience in Iran. Only a few Iranian scholars have studied youth resilience and published in Persian (Aliahamd & Jenaabadi, 2018; Ghovvati & Ibrahimabad, 2015). A few other Iranian resilience scholars have published in English¹. The scholars who have studied youth resilience in Iran² focused on individual personal and relational factors. For example, Nourian and colleagues (2016) studied resilience among adolescents who live in residential care facilities. The youths in their study defined resilience as not giving up and continuing to resist problems. These researchers found five main themes in the youth's stories and responses: going through life hardships, aspiring for achievements, self-reliance, spirituality, and self-protection.

Mohmmadinia and colleagues (2018) studied youth resilience in natural disasters. They identified a number of factors that influence youth resilience, including psychological, emotional, cognitive, mental, spiritual, physical, social, and behavioural skills. However, they did not study the environmental and cultural factors that influence youth resilience.

Zakeri and Colleagues (2010) studied the role of parenting styles on university students' resilience. The mean age of their research participants was 21, and their findings indicate parents who show more understanding of their children's needs and have close relationships with them can help to reduce stress during adversity as youths. The results of this quantitative study showed supportive parenting styles positively influence youth resilience and help them to cope with stress and crises in different stages of their lives.

¹ Only five journal articles on Iranian youth resilience are published in English (Khosravi & Nikmanesh, 2014; Kunz, 2009; Mohmmadinia, 2018; Nourian et al., 2016; Zakeri et al., 2010). In addition to these five research projects, there is one record of a conference presentation on youth resilience (Noorafshan, Jowkar, & Hosseini, 2013). A Google Scholar search showed 103 records with the keywords resilience and Iran published in English. Six research projects among these 103 records were on youth resilience (December 2019).

² These scholars have medical, nursing, and psychology backgrounds (Nourian et al., 2016; Mohmmadinia et al., 2018).

Kunz (2009) studied the role of sport as an instrument to support the resilience of the youth who experienced the 2003 Bam earthquake. She reported significant positive changes in youth behaviours and well-being after participating in sports activities. Sport also improved their self-confidence and promoted friendship among the youths. Furthermore, the role of sports coaches was critical to facilitating youths' relationships with their friends and providing mental health support.

Khosravi and Nikmanesh (2014) investigated the relationship between spirituality and Iranian youth resilience. According to these authors, spirituality improves Iranian youth resilience by helping them to rely on their internal strengths. Spirituality can also help them to cope despite adversities, such as parental loss, through interpreting their life events and giving them meaning.

2.5. Synthesis

Resilience literature has moved away from person-based definitions of resilience to focus more on dynamic, multi-level, and ecological models. In the latter, resilience is formed and influenced by the interaction of environmental, relational, and personal risk and protective factors. Many resilience scholars have assessed resilience risks and assets in Western and middle-class communities. More research needs to be conducted to understand the intersectionality and interaction of culture, socio-economic status, and family background in youth resilience using innovative methods that encourage youth and community engagement. Research on marginalized youth resilience will highlight the importance of youth context and culture, as well as their socio-economic status, in the development of their resilience.

Resilience in Iran has been defined based only on personal factors, while the socio-economic context of youths has been ignored. Without a framework of ecological resilience for studying Iranian youth resilience, the environmental aspects of resilience that influence and shape personal and relational factors are overlooked. Because resilience is defined differently in various cultures, the definition of resilience needs to take into account the youth's context and encompass their behaviours developed as a means of coping with their conditions. From this perspective, a comprehensive and contextual definition of marginalized youth resilience is required to promote marginalized youth resilience.

2.5.1. Research Rationale

More research needs to be conducted on resilience across different cultures and communities, particularly marginalized non-Western communities. In addition, resilience research needs to pay attention to cultural and environmental factors in addition to personal factors (Ungar, 2015, 2018). Ungar (2018) claims that “[r]esilience, understood ecologically, is the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the resources they need to succeed and their ability to successfully negotiate for resources to be provided in ways that are meaningful to them” (p. 1). But resilience is not hidden in individuals; rather, it is comprised of individual and social resources, including laws and school training (Augimeri, Farrington, Koegl, & Day, 2007; Ungar, 2018). A more resourceful community can provide more services to youth when they need help. Therefore, resilience is the interaction between the individual and the community, which can have different cultural and economic resources (Ungar, 2018).

Because the concept of resilience is linked to how communities define it and how individuals experience it (Fleming & Ledogar, 2008; Kirkmayer et al., 2009; Ledogar & Fleming, 2008), research on youth resilience must rely on the experiences of the communities and their youth, who need to be the source of knowledge and inform the research. Because a youth’s relationship with their family and community influences their resilience, the concept of resilience must be understood through the youth’s language and terms (Brooks et al., 2015).

As noted above, more research needs to be conducted on youth resilience in non-Western and marginalized communities using innovative research methods, such as drawing (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Liebenberg & Theron, 2015; Ungar, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2015). Also noted above is the paucity of academic work on youth resilience in Iran. The few scholars who have studied youth resilience in Iran have focused on individual personal factors, rather than environmental and cultural factors (Aliahamd & Jenaabadi, 2018; Ghovvati & Ibrahimabad, 2015). There is also a need to rely on youth experiences and innovative research methods, such as drawing, to include youth experiences and voices in research. More research needs to be conducted on youth resilience in Iran using visual research methods, paying attention to the role of the environmental and cultural factors in youth resilience from youth perspectives (Nourian et al., 2016).

To address this gap, this research used art-based methods to understand the concept of resilience from the perspective of Iranian youth who live in marginalized areas in Tehran. It addresses individual, relational, and socio-economic factors related to youth resilience and contributes to knowledge about youth resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas. This project may also help IAPSRS and other service providers identify resources that enhance youth resilience. This knowledge can be used in policy-making processes and to enhance services and supports for youth. This project will be conducted using a participatory framework (Creswell & Pot, 2018) and will empower IAPSRS and youth to define their problems and influence policy change through their involvement in all phases of the research, from design to the dissemination of results.

2.5.2. Research Questions and Objectives

The first objective of this exploratory project was to document and analyze the meaning of resilience from the perspective of youth living in Tehran's marginalized areas. Accordingly, the first research question was how youth in marginalized areas define resilience. This project also aimed to understand the difficulties youth experience and the supports they receive in their pathways to resilience from the perspective of youth in marginalized areas. Art-based methods and interviews within a participatory research framework were used for this purpose.

In addition to understanding youth perspectives on resilience, this project analyzed and documented individual, relational, and socio-economic factors that support or hinder youth resilience. The second question of this research was what individual, relational, and socio-economic factors support or hinder youth resilience. Furthermore, this project assessed and described existing resources and programs that were available to youth in the community. This assessment aids in understanding the enablers and barriers in youth pathways toward resilience as well as gaps in policies and services and knowledge about them. Interviews with IAPSRS volunteers and a review of the literature, programs, and laws were used for this purpose. Information on formal policies, such as social assistance practices, and informal programs, such as IAPSRS's classes, was collected.

3. Conceptual Framework Introduction

This chapter focuses on conceptual frameworks that can be used to study youth behaviours and resilience, including resilience to offending. These conceptual frameworks range from theories based on individualism and universality of norms, such as social control, to critical and difference-centred theories, such as colonial and postcolonial anti-oppressive perspectives. This chapter begins with mainstream perspectives on resilience and after reviewing social control theories moves to critical, postmodern, anti-oppressive, colonial and postcolonial perspectives on resilience. This chapter concludes with a figure situating anti-oppressive perspectives on resilience between difference-centred and critical theories.

3.2. Mainstream/Liberal and Neo-Liberal Perspectives on Resilience

The majority of mainstream scholars focus on individual factors, such as higher IQ, in youth resilience (O'Doherty Wright & Masten, 2006; Rutter et al., 1998; Ungar 2004, 2008, 2015; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). Resilience studies that focus on individual factors are grounded in psychological perspectives, and their goals have been to inform intervention programs (Bottrell, 2009). Although I account for the role of individual factors in youth resilience, I consider these factors to be profoundly influenced by structural inequalities. Furthermore, mainstream resilience research essentializes resilience and psychopathology (Bottrell, 2009).

In mainstream resilience research, adaptive behaviours are universalized and defined by societal norms and mainstream populations without paying attention to the individual's social context (Bottrell, 2009). The disconnect of resilience research from social context and inequalities results in dichotomizing resilience and psychopathology. Youths in an adverse socio-economic setting might develop adaptive behaviours that the middle class and more economically established populations might consider delinquent (Theron & Malindi, 2010).

Furthermore, resilience is typically individualized in mainstream theories (Bottrell, 2009). By emphasizing individual responsibility for coping, mainstream resilience theory can be considered in support of neo-liberal policies, with their emphasis on responsible individuals (Kelly, 2001; Rose, 1996). Under the influence of globalization and retrenchment of the welfare state, neo-liberalism became the political rationality of governance. This rationality is based on individualism and responsabilization of individuals, replacing social citizenship by market-based

ideals (Comack & Balfour, 2014). Social programs are retrenched, and youth must be responsible for the decisions and choices they make (Hannah-Moffat, 2002). From this perspective, marginalized and disadvantaged people are considered to be irresponsible and lacking in effort, and their socio-economic status is neglected. According to this view, people who are less successful are blamed for their problems and must solve them using conventional ways (Rolf, 1999). Therefore, resilience in the neo-liberal perspective might mean positive adaptation to adversity rather than positive adaptation despite adversity (Bottrell, 2009).

Consensus theories, such as social control, maintain that norms and morality are natural, universal, and applicable to everybody. They assume that laws and norms are neutral, without paying attention to the social inequalities. However, these consensus theories neglect the impact of dominant groups in defining crime and resilience and marginalizing subordinated people. In the next sections, social control theories will be explained.

3.3. Social Control

Sociological theories, such as deterrence and social control theories, that are based on consensus theories make universal assumptions about social behaviour. They maintain that norms are shared and universal. According to these perspectives, resilience is defined based on mainstream norms and behaviours, such as school attendance. Social control theories aim to understand why a number of people deviate from norms and others conform despite the attractions of norm violation (Lilly et al., 2014; Reckless, 1967; Reiss, 1951; Schissel, 2015). According to social control theories, resilience may result from the individual's acceptance of norms or from submission to them (Reiss, 1951). Accordingly, crime or non-resilience is the result of the absence of internalized norms controlling human actions in compliance with the norms of society (Reiss, 1951).

Reckless (1967), however, was interested in finding self-factors that explain why some individuals become deviant and some remain compliant in the same circumstances. Reckless claims a variety of factors, including biological, sociological, and social causes, may push an individual towards crime. Other factors, such as illegitimate opportunities, may pull one toward misbehaviour. Reckless's (1967) containment theory explains how conformity can be maintained in spite of these pushes and pulls toward crime. Outer and inner containment insulate people from

pulls and pushes. These two levels of containment must be destroyed before an individual can commit a crime. When these containing forces are broken, deviance may occur, or the odds for non-conformity may increase. The next sections explain Reckless's (1967) outer and inner containment in more detail. They also discuss Hirschi's (1969, 2002) social bond and Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory.

3.3.1. Social bond or outer containment

Social control is the ability of social groups to make norms effective. The social controls of the community and its institutions are a significant basis of individuals' control. The norms of the institutions and the effectiveness of its rules in forming the behaviour according to social norms determine the level of control by such institutions (Reiss, 1951).

According to Reckless (1967), outer containment is the structural safeguard in the individual's social world that helps the family and other groups to contain them. Factors in outer containment are reasonable limits, meaningful roles and activities, and a number of complementary factors, such as reinforcement by groups and significant supportive relationships, acceptance, the creation of a sense of belonging, and identity (Akers, 2013; Lilly et al., 2014).

Hirschi (1969, 2002) defines the social bond as factors developed and maintained by ongoing social relationships. Hirschi's four control variables of the social bond are attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. Attachment is the bond formed by interaction, which is more important than the content of interaction and the resultant learning. Hirschi defined attachment as close affection and ties to others. When individuals admire others and identify with them, others' expectations become important to them.

Individuals are constrained by the norms they share with others to the extent that others' opinions are important to them. Accordingly, submission to social norms depends on the importance of others' opinions to individuals. Hirschi (1969, 2002) maintained that attachment to parents is a significant factor in controlling crime. The attachment to peers can also control non-conformity.

Commitment is the quality of being dedicated to conventional norms and activities and the investment people have made in conventional society. Investment in education or employment are examples of this commitment. This investment may be threatened by crime, and the risks resulting

from law violation depend on the amount of commitment. The harms of losing this investment can prevent crime (Akers, 2013; Cullen & Agnew, 2006; Hirschi, 1969, 2002; Lilly et al., 2014).

Involvement can be defined as the amount of time and energy being spent in activities. An individual's engagement in conventional activities, such as studying, can prevent criminal behaviours. When an individual's time is spent on conventional activities, they do not have time to engage in non-conventional activities (Akers, 2013; Cullen & Agnew, 2006; Hirschi, 1969, 2002; Lilly et al., 2014).

Belief can be defined as the approval of conventional social norms, in particular the approval of the social order and values, which can result in obeying them. Belief, in social bond theory, is associated with law-abiding values, rather than criminal ones. Hirschi (1969, 2002) maintained that the reason people do not obey the norms in which they believe is that their belief has been weakened. In other words, conformity depends on the extent to which individuals believe they should conform to norms. Belief, in turn, can be dependent on the strength of attachment and may weaken or extinguish if the attachment is lost (Hirschi, 1969, 2002).

Hirschi (1969, 2002) maintained that attachment itself is more important than the learning resulting from the attachment and also the character of the person to whom one is attached. In other words, attachment to other people determines conformity or non-conformity. Hirschi maintained that the commission of the crime is dependent on the respect that individuals have for their friends. He claimed that the probability of crime decreases as the amount of respect for others increases. Individuals respect others whom they admire by conforming to social norms, not by imitation.

According to Hirschi's (1969, 2002) theory, even the attachment to delinquent people can reduce crime. The delinquent, in Hirschi's opinion, does not have social ties to others, not even to delinquent peers, and is socially isolated. In the same way, if adolescents are attached to their parents, even delinquent parents, they will be less likely to commit a crime. However, later research showed conformity is related to association with law-violating friends. Differential association theory is an example of the theory supporting the relationship between crime and association with delinquent friends. Therefore, conformity is dependent on the attachment to law-abiding peers (Akers, 2013). Furthermore, Jensen and Brownfield (1983) found that attachment to parents cannot control crime regardless of parental behaviour. In other words, attachment to delinquent parents may not reduce crime.

Commitment, in Hirschi's (1969, 2002) theory, refers to a rational element in the individual's decision to commit crime. Therefore, the pre-assumption behind this element of the theory is that the individual is a rational decision-maker. However, this assumption is not supported by a number of scholars who maintain that an individual's rationality is limited (Joas & Knobl, 2009).

Finally, social control theorists, such as Hirschi (1969, 2002) and Reckless (1967), who focus on social bond or outer containment in crime control, do not explain how these factors are developed within individuals. However, social learning literature and theories can explain how these controls are developed (Akers, 2013; Cullen & Agnew, 2006).

3.3.2. Self-control or inner containment

Personal control is the ability of persons to avoid addressing their needs in ways conflicting with the norms of society (Reiss, 1951). According to Reckless (1967), factors in inner containment are self-concept, goal orientation, frustration tolerance, and norm retention. These forces can control individuals if the outer containment does not exist. The image of oneself as a law-abiding person can control individuals despite the pushes and pulls. Parents are the most important providers of favourable self-concepts. Teachers and other people in authority can also influence individuals' self-concepts. Goal orientation is a sense of direction in life involving an orientation towards legitimate goals and an inspiration level coordinated with approved goals (Lilly et al., 2014; Reiss, 1951).

According to Reiss (1951), the quality and strength of personal controls define how individuals act in a given situation. The personality of law-abiding individuals has a number of specifications: mature ego ideals or law-abiding social roles and appropriate and flexible rational controls over behaviour. Law-abiding people have internalized controls of social institutions and have appropriate and flexible rational controls over behaviour, which control their behaviours according to social norms.

Reiss (1951) divided the level of personal control into three categories: relatively strong ego and/or super-ego controls, relatively weak ego controls, and relatively weak super-ego controls. His research shows individuals with relatively weak ego and/or super-ego controls are

more likely to be found in a population of recidivists than individuals with relatively strong personal controls. In other words, people with relatively weak ego are more likely to commit crime.

Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory neglected self-control factors in crime. Rather, control is maintained through the relationship with conventional institutions, such as family and school. Later, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) modified Hirschi's social bond theory and focused on self-control and its role in controlling crime. They maintained that crime can provide short-term satisfaction, and people who engage in criminal behaviours would also engage in similar activities, such as smoking, that may provide short-term satisfaction.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) believed self-control is a factor that helps people to resist crime. The process of self-control development starts from early childhood, and children who fail to develop self-control as a result of bad parenting will become delinquent adults. In a similar way, people with a high level of self-control are less likely to commit crime in their lives, while those with a low level of self-control are more likely to commit crime (Akers, 2013; Cullen & Agnew, 2006; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Lilly et al., 2014).

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) identified ineffective or inadequate socialization, particularly ineffective parenting, as the origin of low self-control. In their opinion, parents who are attached to their children will carefully supervise their children, identify inadequate self-control in them, and penalize misbehaviours. The disapproval of parents or other people who play an important role in the person's life is considered to be the most significant containment (Akers, 2013; Cullen & Agnew, 2006; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Lilly et al., 2014).

According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), school and other social institutions play a role in person's socialization, but the family is the main institution of socialization. They also consider marginal the role of peer groups in the development of self-control. Furthermore, these theorists believe that self-control is developed during the childhood period, and the quality of the acquired self-control does not change during one's lifetime.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), similar to other social control theorists, do not explain how self-control is developed. However, according to Akers (2013), individuals learn self-control in the process of socialization. The containing behaviours of others can establish self-control within individuals and teach them right and wrong in different situations and circumstances. After primary stages of socialization, the majority of individuals follow social norms and control their

acts without the need for direct sanctions imposed by others. Every social system utilizes socialization to develop self-control among individuals (Akers, 1991, 2013).

The policy implication of self-control theory is that crime prevention programs designed to treat adult offenders will not be effective. In Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) opinion, self-control is developed through socialization in the family during early childhood. Accordingly, crime prevention programs should be designed to be implemented in the childhood period. These programs should have a positive impact on the family and its child-rearing capability so as to be effective in crime reduction (Akers, 1991, 2013).

Although empirical evidence confirms self-control theory's claim that low self-control and crime are related, it does not confirm that underdevelopment of self-control within children will necessarily affect their adulthood. Sampson and Laub (1993) found that adult social bonds can help such adults to overcome their childhood problems and nonconformity and move towards conformity. Furthermore, empirical studies do not support the relationship between self-control, crime, and similar behaviours (Akers, 2013; Lilly et al., 2014). Furthermore, scholars such as Hirschi and Gottfredson (1990) do not explain how control can become ineffective after it has initially developed. Scholars such as Sykes and Matza (1957) explain how people neutralize a number of social norms they believe in, and, in this way, the effectiveness of these norms is reduced.

Recently, administrative criminology focusing on social control has become the centre of attention. In administrative criminology, the criminal is a rational actor who is capable of analyzing the costs and benefits of the crime. Administrative criminology focuses on the context of crime and its prevention through the detection/punishment principle of deterrence. However, administrative criminology cannot explain crime's relationship to poverty, colonialism, and subordination; therefore, it neglects the impact of power relations and social structures on crime (Schissel, 2015).

3.4. Critical Theory

The common theme of critical frameworks is that social problems and structures and power relations are considered to be the causes of non-resilience, not individual deficiencies. Critical theorists view structural changes as solutions for improving youth resilience and believe that

stricter laws and imprisonment cannot address the issue of crime. From this perspective, this research does not view individuals' problems as the causes of non-resilience. Rather, social and structural inequalities, racism, and colonialism hinder youth resilience. This research does not view outer containment or punishments as effective or fair in resilience improvement. Punishments doubly victimize oppressed and marginalized youth who are in need of social services. Furthermore, using post-modernist and anti-oppressive theories, this research criticizes the essentializing and categorizing of youth resilience.

Critical theories help to understand environmental and relational factors in youth resilience. To understand youth resilience, we should move beyond the individual level of analysis provided by liberal and neo-liberal perspectives and focus on power relations, as articulated by critical theories. These theories provide a critique of social structures that benefit dominant groups and ask why certain groups in society define the norms and benefit from them. The process of defining crime is a political and subjective process through which crimes related to poverty are criminalized, resulting in the overrepresentation of the poor in prisons (Brooks, 2015; Reiman & Leighton, 2012). According to critical perspectives, if structures and inequalities that hinder youth resilience are not addressed, then intervention policies aimed at changing youth behaviours will reinforce youth marginalization, which further hinders youth resilience.

3.4.1. Marxist criminology

Marxism influenced the development of critical criminology. The inequality in power relations and political, economic, and social structures of capitalism are the causes of crime. Furthermore, the alienation, exploitation, consumerist culture, individualism, and competition in the capitalist society lead to crime.

Under these conditions of capitalism, as Walton and Young (1975) claimed, it is difficult for people not to commit crimes (Bohm, 1997). In other words, capitalist society structure, which is based on profit and greed, encourages crime. In this society, the law and crime are defined by the ruling class and criminal acts are attributed to the lower classes (Bonger, 1969).

Radical Marxist criminologists do not believe that crime is a deviation from a penal code or the law. This definition of crime benefits the ruling class, as this class defines what constitutes the law or a crime. According to Marxist criminologists, crime needs to be redefined as a deviation

from human rights, such as denying people the rights to food, housing, and human dignity, in addition to criminal code violations such as murder (Brooks, 2015; Platt, 1974).

Unlike consensus theories, Marxist theories do not focus on the causes of crime. Marxist criminologists focus on the criminal justice system's function in dominating subordinated groups in society. Subordinated groups must be feared and controlled in prisons. The law defines the behaviour of marginalized people as criminal, and the behaviour of the ruling class, who created the real causes of crime, as law abiding. The result is the overrepresentation of subordinated groups in prisons (Brooks, 2015; Reiman & Leighton, 2012). Although corporate crimes may threaten our communities and people much more than street crimes, their criminal implications may not be as serious as those of street crimes, and many corporate criminals can escape conviction in a number of countries (Karstedt, 2010, 2015).

3.4.2. Instrumentalist Marxism

Instrumentalist Marxists maintain that the privileged class controls all state institutions, including the economy, criminal justice system, and education, and reinforces inequality and the elite's power through these institutions (Miliband, 1969; Quinney, 1974; cited in Brooks, 2015). The elite define crime as actions that threaten this class's benefit. The state's officials support the corporate elite, as they belong to their class and have a similar education and family background. If the corporate elite commits crime, they are less likely to be prosecuted. The lower class, however, are more likely to be arrested and incarcerated (Chambliss, 1976; Goff & Reasons, 1978; Pearce, 1976; Quinney, 1975; cited in Brooks, 2015).

According to instrumentalist Marxists, crime is an outcome of class conflict. The lower or working class is alienated and angry with the system, as they cannot benefit from their work as much as the higher classes. Their acts of rebellion against the system are considered to be criminal, yet the system's structure and functions are not considered to be criminal. Instrumentalist Marxists, however, cannot bring the legal limits on the ruling class into their framework and explain them (Brooks, 2015).

3.4.3. *Structuralist Marxism*

Structuralist Marxists believe state institutions have "relative autonomy" (Akers, 2013, p.164; Beirne and Quinney, 1982; Chambliss and Seidman, 1982). The state's need for legitimation makes it take into account the interests of the dominated group in short term and to an extent that does not change power relations in society. Rebellions of the working class can also make the state serve their interests (Brooks, 2015; O'Connor 1973).

The criminal justice system helps the elite class to maintain its sovereign control in society (Gramsci, 1971). Through the process of sovereign control or hegemony, state institutions such as the criminal justice system, media, and laws make the ideology and values of the ruling class look normal. The ruling class, by controlling ideological production and education, influences people's values and maintains its hegemonic power over them. In this way, even many people in subordinated groups support the criminal justice policies, which are prejudiced against them (Akers, 2013; Brooks, 2015).

The media also creates the perception that marginalized people are dangerous for society. Corporate elites are, however, considered to be entrepreneurs and beneficial to society. Oppressions and inequalities are disguised under greater media coverage of crimes related to poverty. For example, the majority of marginalized youth in correctional centres have been convicted of minor crimes. However, media coverage of youth crime sends the message that youth violence is out of control (Schissel, 2007; Collins, 2014, 2016; Faith & Jiwani 2002; cited in Brooks, 2015).

The official version of the law is the discourse that maintains the law is neutral, fair, and equal. However, in a society where people are unequal, the law is not made in a way to equally protect all people, as power holders have made and defined the law (Hunt, 1976). The law needs to take into account the oppressions that have led to crime in society. The current definitions of crime also protect the ruling and corporate class, who are the main causes of crime in society (Reiman and Leighton, 2012; as cited in Brooks, 2015).

Marxist structuralists, however, are criticized for overemphasizing the system in people's lives without paying attention to the fact that people create, influence, and change systems. They therefore neglect human agency (Comack, 1999; Hinch, 1992). Marxist criminology criticizes the current definition of crime, maintains that violations related to human rights need to be defined as criminal, and advocates for decriminalizing the violations related to poverty. This policy

prescription, however, is criticized as a change in current institutions cannot solve the problem of crime without moving towards a socialist economy and system of justice (Bohm, 1997; Gordon, 1976).

3.4.4. Governmentality Theories and a Critique of Critical Criminology

Nowadays, an individual's welfare and economic position is no longer tied to the structures of society or the responsibilities of the state. Rather, individuals are responsabilized for their own security and welfare. Beck (1992, 1999) claims we live in a risk society where responsabilized individuals must manage these risks. Citizens have turned into stakeholders and consumers who must contribute to their own well-being (Ericson et al., 2000; Petersen, 2003; Rose, 2000). Citizens as responsabilized individuals must manage the risks. For example, to manage the risks related to theft, they must purchase security systems and insurance. Further, the diversity of identities and life choices in society questions the meta-narrative of emancipation. A universal ideology cannot fight all oppressions, in contrast with what critical criminologists claim (Butler, 1992; Derrida, 1992).

Critical criminologists, by supporting restorative justice practices, in fact accept the neo-liberal principles and responsabilization of individuals (Pavlich, 2000). According to governmentality theorists, a combination of Keynesian and neo-liberal social control measures is in place in our current risk society (Rock, 1994). According to Pavlich (2000), however, critical criminology must reject administrative criminology, without accepting neo-liberal governmentalities or restorative justice measures. Critical criminology should not conform to any social control measures and criticize neo-liberal criminal justice policies and administrative criminology (Brooks, 2015).

3.5. Postmodernist Perspectives on Resilience

Postmodern theorists maintain that the truth is multiple, partial, and socially constructed through discourse. Following Foucault (2001), they view power as decentred and omnipresent. Power exists in all interactions, institutions, and discourses (Wonders, 1999). Differences, such as resilience and delinquency, are discursively constructed through dichotomies and power relations (West & Fernstermaker, 1995). Subjects are created through discursive structures and need to be

deconstructed (Butler, 1993, 2004; Smart, 1989, 1995, 2013). The deconstruction of socially constructed subjects uncovers the power relations that created them (Smart, 1995; Wonders, 1999). Postmodern theorists do not examine the truth; they investigate how truths are socially constructed and meanings are given to them or interpreted (Smart, 1999). Postmodernism criticizes modernist theories, which rely on the objectivist scientific method for discovering the universal truth. These theories claim the universal truth can emancipate human beings. However, postmodernist theorists believe in multiple truths and reject metanarratives (Comack, 2000; Smart, 1990).

Poststructuralists claim that language is a means of social control, as it is produced to address the needs of the ruling class to dominate other people and make them conform to desired values. Poststructuralists aim to reveal the incentives that have produced language (Schissel, 1997). Postmodern theorists pay attention to the role of the ruling class in defining crime (Ferrell, 1993). Similar to poststructuralists, postmodernists also reject metanarratives and universal truth. Discourses need to be deconstructed to reveal the power relations behind them (Smart, 1995). Unlike Marxists, who claim they can represent the oppressed, postmodernists want the oppressed to express their issues and needs. People who have experienced oppression are the ones who can talk about it. For this reason, postmodernists try to include stories and personal experiences of crime in their research (Smart, 1990); they want to make different voices of the oppressed heard.

Following postmodern theories, this research does not consider resilience and delinquency as universalistic categories. Rather, these categories are constructed by discursive structures (Butler, 1993; Smart, 1995). However, I criticize postmodern theories for their uncertainty, which may make political actions and contemplating emancipatory aims impossible (Cain, 1990; Harding, 2004). Furthermore, by acknowledging discourse as the superior form of knowledge, postmodern theorists neglect structures and their power (Stanley & Wise, 1990).

Similar to postmodern theorists, Ungar (2004) acknowledges different and subjective experiences and the discursive power that defines resilience or delinquency. However, his approach to building resilience is more individualized than critical and transformative (Bottrell, 2009). Ungar's strategies (2004, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2018) for promoting resilience focus on changing individual's lives and developing a new powerful self-story (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). His approach to resilience may consider cultural factors and deconstruction of social realities and be empowering; however, it may reinforce unequal social relations and define them in terms of individualized "personal challenges" (Ungar, 2004: 224; Bottrell, 2009). Emphasis on personal

growth in Ungar's (2004) work leads to neglecting youth perspectives, which are grounded in their collective experiences of communities and their critique of power relations and society (Bottrell, 2009). Accordingly, Ungar's research methodology has been less participatory (Ungar, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2018; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011). He used mixed methods in his research (Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011), but there is a dichotomy between the researcher and researched in his work (Bottrell, 2009).

3.6. Anti-oppressive Perspectives on Resilience

Anti-oppressive theorists acknowledge the role of social structures in youth resilience and have critical perspectives (Hartsock, 1983; Moosa-Mitha, 2015). By focusing on social structures, anti-oppressive theorists do not deny social agency. Rather, they maintain that individual actions and choices are formed by these structures (Balfour & Comack, 2014; Comack, 1996, 1999; Moosa-Mitha, 2015).

Anti-oppressive theories recognize the importance of agency, subjectivity, and participant experiences as sources of knowledge. Marginalized people's voices are different and need to be heard, but there are commonalities in their experiences (Moosa-Mitha, 2015). Knowledge is subjugated, and marginalized people have knowledge of their own experiences and how people in positions of power perceive them (Balfour & Comack, 2014; Moosa-Mitha, 2015). In anti-oppressive research, researchers are not the experts but rather the learners; participants are the sources of knowledge. Anti-oppressive research is participatory in process and design and focuses on social justice in process and outcome (Potts & Brown, 2015).

According to anti-oppressive perspectives, truth is multiple and partial, and knowledge is situated (Moosa-Mitha, 2015). While they acknowledge difference, anti-oppressive theorists believe that difference is intersectional. For example, the binary of oppressed and oppressor needs to be deconstructed to understand that individuals can take both positions at the same time (Moosa-Mitha, 2015; Razack, 1998, 2002). Accordingly, categories such as resilience and delinquency are not universal and must be defined in relation to social and cultural context.

From an anti-oppressive perspective, resilience is defined as coping despite adversity and accessing resources in culturally meaningful ways (Ungar, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2018; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011), and collective responsibility is more important than each individual's

responsibility for the resilience of young people (Bottrell, 2009). Adversity is defined as a collective experience, which is grounded in unequal social relations and structures. Rather than changing individuals, social inequalities have to change, and more resources must be provided to marginalized communities to promote resilience (Bottrell, 2009).

According to anti-oppressive perspectives, resilience cannot be truly promoted in Iran without addressing inequalities in society. Emphasizing the individual's responsibility to promote resilience reinforces social inequalities, which are the causes of adversity that marginalized populations are experiencing in their lives (Bottrell, 2009). Moreover, this perspective considers knowledge to be tied to time, space, and people's social position and experience of oppression (Moosa-Mitha, 2015). Therefore, no one other than marginalized youth in Tehran can understand their experience of oppression and marginalization. Furthermore, there are differences, as well as commonalities, in these experiences (Dominelli, 2002; Moosa-Mitha, 2015). Thus, an understanding of Tehran's marginalized youth perspectives on resilience, according to the anti-oppressive framework, requires youths to become involved in this research from design through to the dissemination of results (Potts & Brown, 2015) and define their resilience from their perspectives.

3.7. Colonial and Post-Colonial Theories

The main concerns for post-colonial critical theorists are the colonialism and neo-colonialism that continue to influence communities (Anderson, 2002; Brooks, 2015; Daschuk, 2015). Neo-colonialism is established in the institutions and structures of society (Ashcroft et al., 2013).

Post-colonial theories pay attention to the intersectionality of oppression and marginalization while acknowledging the commonality of experiences (Anderson, 2008). Oppression and marginality are intersectional and involve race, class, and gender, and are related to colonialism and neo-colonialism. Therefore, the truth is multiple, and knowledge is situated (Anderson, 2008). Post-colonial theorists believe that marginalized people's experiences are the sources of knowledge, and power relations behind social facts need to be deconstructed (Anderson et al., 2003).

Some background is important in this regard. Although Iran has never been colonized, it has been a semi-colony of imperial powers, including the United States, Great Britain, and Russia (Ghaderi, 2018). In the late 18th century, Iran became an important imperial target for Russia and Britain due to its geo-strategic position (Banuazizi, 1977; Blow, 2008). Britain started using Iran to protect its colonized India against Russia's colonial expansion, as Britain's economy was dependent on India (Laisram, 2006). In the early 19th century, Iran lost some parts of its land to Russia, which introduced Russian colonial interferences (Abrahamian, 2008). In 1907, Russia and Britain divided Iran into three zones: the northern part of the country became Russia's sphere of influence, the southern part became Britain's, and the rest of Iran was considered to be a neutral zone (Behraves, 2012; Helfont, 2015; Khatibshahidi, 2012). Russia and Britain even suppressed democratic movements, such as the 1906 Constitutional Revolution in Iran, as they considered these to be against their imperialist interests (Behraves, 2012). Russian colonel Vladimir Liakhov, commander of the Cossack Brigade, bombarded the Iranian parliament in 1908 (Yaghoubian, 2014) after which Russian consuls ran local administration in the northern and western parts of the country (Volkov, 2015), turning Iran into a virtual colony (Ghaderi, 2018).

Although Iran declared its neutrality in World War I, Russia and Britain continued occupying and using its land for war-related purposes, such as the transport of soldiers. During the Russian and British occupation of Iran, a number of casualties among Iranians resulted from war-related activities (Gahderi, 2018). During World War II, Russia and Britain invaded Iran and forced Reza Shah to abdicate, as they believed he was a supporter of Germany (Abrahamian, 2008; Tazmini, 2012).

After the end of World War II, imperialist interventions by the United States began. Through the 1953 coup d'état, the American and British governments overthrew Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh, the Prime Minister of Iran, who nationalized the oil industry in 1951 and terminated oil agreements with the United States, Russia, and Britain (Gasiorowski & Byrne, 2004). The United States instructed the Shah to reform the country to prevent Russian communism from spreading (Ramazani, 1974). The Shah started land reforms in 1963 as part of the white revolution (1963-1979). As a result of these reforms, farmers lost their lands and moved to cities. However, they could not integrate into the city economies due to the poor labour market (Summit, 2004). Furthermore, land reforms and other development plans institutionalized the concentration of state spending in cities, particularly Tehran. The concentration of state spending in cities further

accelerated the migration from rural areas to cities and the formation of marginalized areas (Zad, 2013). Given this background, resilience research in Iran must pay attention to colonial legacies and post-colonial factors because the development of marginalized areas in Iran and the migration of people from rural areas to cities are the direct result of the Shah's implementation of colonial policies (Summit, 2004).

3.8. Synthesis

The intersectionality of socio-economic conditions, family background, and culture need to be studied to understand marginalized youth resilience in Iran. Furthermore, youth's agency and their ability to explain their resilience need to be taken into account. Focusing on personal factors, mainstream theories ignore the primary and structural factors that hinder youth resilience. Critical theorists help to understand these structural forces. However, by overemphasizing the role of social structures and power relations, they may neglect human agency. Anti-oppressive theories are both difference-centred and critical. While acknowledging youth's agency and multiple voices, they criticize the community structures and inequalities as factors that hinder youth resilience. This research uses this anti-oppressive perspective and art-based methods to encourage youth engagement and empowerment. However, by focusing on youth's empowerment, the methods employed in this research may reinforce neo-liberal policies, with their emphasis on responsible individuals.

Using Moosa-Mitha's (2015) framework, Figure 3.1 shows how anti-oppressive perspectives on resilience are situated. As Figure 3.1 shows anti-oppressive theories are both difference-centred and critical (Moosa-Mitha, 2015). Accordingly, resilience needs to be defined by youth's multiple voices and in relation to social and cultural context.

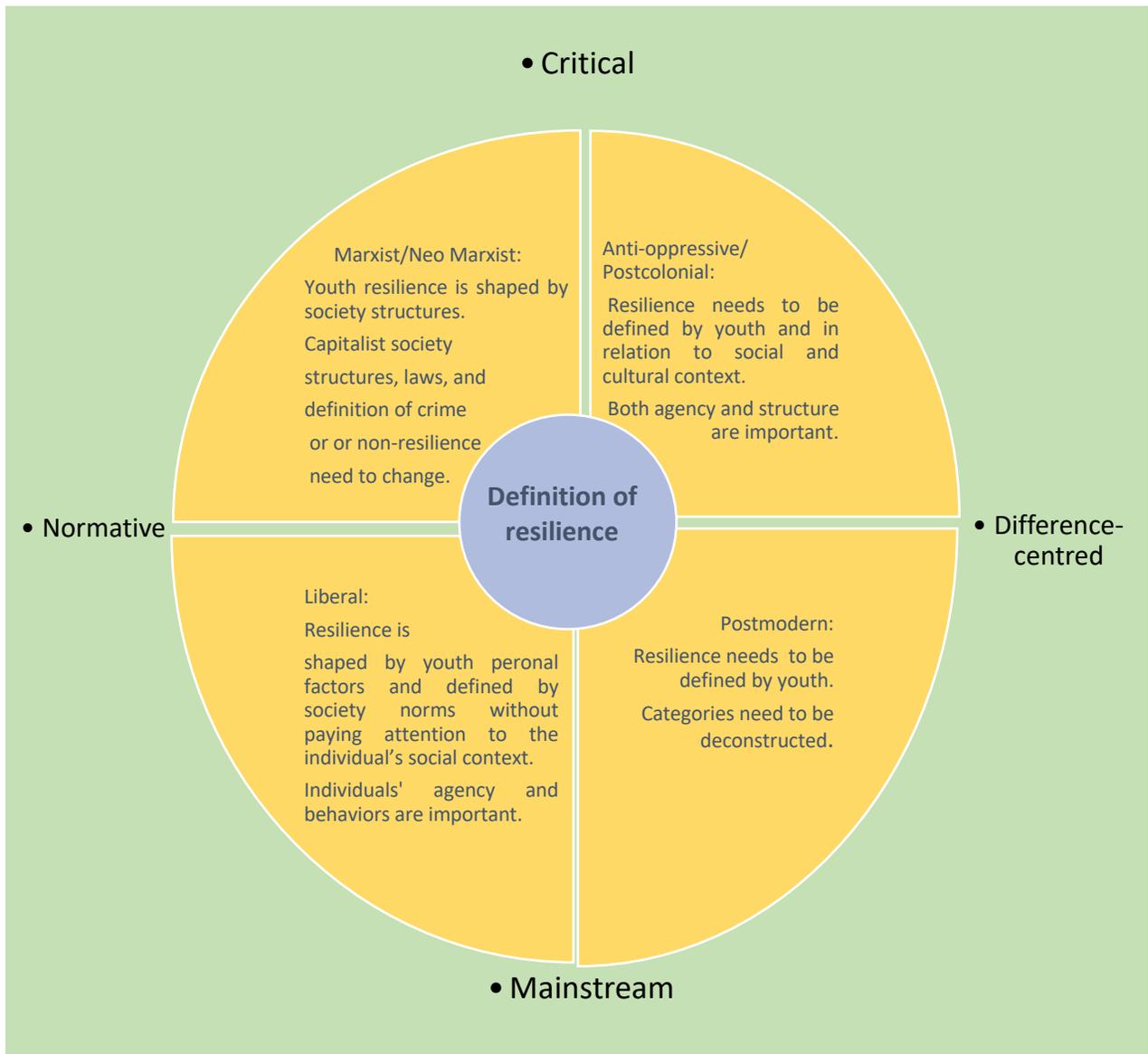


Figure 3.1. Definition of resilience

4. Methodology: A Participatory Approach to Anti-oppressive Research with Marginalized Youth

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I explain the research design, processes, methods, data collection, and analysis used to understand the meaning of resilience from marginalized youths' perspectives in Tehran. This research used a qualitative and community-based participatory arts-based research design. Qualitative research can be used as an exploratory approach when it is important to understand the meaning that people ascribe to a social or human problem, and when the research needs to draw upon participant experiences (Creswell & Pot, 2018). Community-based participatory research emphasizes community members' involvement in all aspects of the research processes and sharing knowledge, expertise, decision-making, and ownership and, therefore, is an ideal framework for research with vulnerable populations (Holkup et al., 2004).

Arts-based research is the methodical use of art as the principal means of understanding participant experiences (McNiff, 2008). Arts-based methods encourage participant engagement and are ideal for research that relies on participant experiences (Guillemin, 2004; MacGregor et al., 1998; Mair & Kierans, 2007). Arts-based methods are an innovative approach to understand the meaning of resilience from the perspective of youth (Knowles & Cole, 2008; Liebenberg & Theron, 2015; Margolis & Pauwels, 2011; Milne et al., 2012). Arts-based methods suit community-based and participatory research, as they encourage participant engagement and focus on participant experiences and explanation of their art (Guillemin, 2004; Stuart, 2007; Theron, 2008).

This research was conducted in partnership with the Imam Ali Popular Student Relief Society (IAPSRS) in Tehran, Iran. In the Science House, marginalized youths created pieces of art to express their thoughts and share their experiences. Throughout the research and art-making process, 18 participants engaged in critical thinking about their resilience and life stories.

4.2. Research Design

This section will explain community-based participatory research and this research project's main components of partnership with IAPSRS, consulting with the advisory group, and relationship building.

This research was initiated by the request of IAPSRS. IAPSRS managers asked me in June 2017 whether it would be possible that I conduct research with the IAPSRS youths. Before starting research procedures, an IAPSRS advisory group was organized and consulted regarding research design, processes, interview questions, analysis, and dissemination. More information about this advisory group structure and the consultation process is provided in the subsequent sections.

4.2.1. Community-Based Participatory Research

Community-based participatory research requires participants' engagement from research design to dissemination. Therefore, relationship building and trust are critical to community-based participatory research (Christopher, 2008). The objective of community-based participatory research is social change and justice through reducing power imbalances, relationship building, and acknowledging the community as the owner of knowledge (Castleden et al., 2008). Community-based participatory research will benefit participants and the community through disseminating the community knowledge recorded in research results (Holkup et al., 2004).

I employed a participatory framework for this project, as youth's experiences and needs should be considered in research related to resilience and justice (Aitken, 2001). Oppression resulting from colonialism, global inequalities, and neoliberal economic policies influences children's experiences and their interactions with the community, particularly the justice system (Bober, 2011).

Participatory research is emancipatory, practical, and collaborative and has a goal of social change (Creswell & Pot, 2018; Kemmis & Wikinson, 1998). Participatory research is conducted *with* others rather than *on* or *to* others (Kemmis & Wikinson, 1998). In this respect, the IAPSRS advisory group was actively engaged in the research process, from research design to dissemination, and its voices and contributions were visible throughout the research (Creswell & Pot, 2018). The advisory group was consulted in designing the research, and the youths helped me

with the interview questions and choosing the medium of art during data collection. The youths in this study commented on whether the interview questions made sense and how they could be reworded better. The advisory group also helped with the analysis of data and choosing the themes for interpreting resilience. Finally, IAPSRS volunteers and youth will participate in the dissemination of data through a community workshop to be held in Tehran.

Participatory research has a transformative goal: by empowering community members, it aims to create social change. This research pays attention to community members' interests and helps them express their needs and transform reality (Jagosh et al., 2015). The participation of youth in this research will allow IAPSRS and other governmental and non-governmental organizations to design programs that will be more meaningful and effective for youth. It will also empower the youth and IAPSRS to define problems and propose solutions. After the end of this project, a workshop will be held in Tehran, where these project's results will be shared with community members and policymakers. In this workshop, the youths will have the chance to talk about their problems and potential solutions to them, along with the presentation of their art.

This research project relies on youth as experts in their problems and considers them to be the producers of knowledge. A participatory action framework informs participatory research with youth and relies on the communities as knowledge producers and the youth experiences as the source of knowledge (Fals-Borda, 1979; Moosa-Mitha, 2015; Potts & Brown, 2015).

4.2.2. Partnership With IAPSRS

IAPSRS is an international non-governmental organization that collects money from private donors to financially support disadvantaged youth. It also organizes leisure activities, such as sports and art, and provides counselling services for the youth if needed. IAPSRS received consultative status from the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 2010 (for more information, see <https://sosapoverty.org/iapsrs/>). Non-governmental organizations that are closely involved with the economic and social life of people and make substantive and sustained contributions to the objectives of ECOSOC receive consultative status. Under the United Nations Charter, ECOSOC is responsible for promoting higher standards of living, economic and social progress, and identifying solutions to international economic, social, and health problems (for more information, see <https://www.un.org/ecosoc/en/home>).

As mentioned above, IAPSRS managers approached me in June 2017 and asked me about the possibility of conducting a research project with IAPSRS youths. In July 2018 and before starting the research project, an advisory group made up of managers, volunteer stakeholders, clients, and the IAPSRS study evaluation group was organized to discuss the research outline. The advisory group also consistently and actively sought the consultation of the youths throughout the entire research. In the July 2017 session, the research questions, theories, design, and methods that could be used in the project were discussed with the advisory group.

4.2.3. Consulting With the Advisory Group

As mentioned before, following a participatory research framework, an IAPSRS advisory group, including managers, volunteer stakeholders, clients, and the IAPSRS study evaluation group, was consulted regarding the specific research questions, research methods, data analysis, and forms of dissemination for this project. The IAPSRS study evaluation group is responsible for assessing proposed research projects and ensuring that research benefits the youth in the community.

The IAPSRS advisory group has been consulted regarding the following: 1) the design of the research project; 2) participant recruitment; 3) data collection; 4) analysis and interpretation of the data; and 5) dissemination. Before starting the project and applying to the University of Saskatchewan Ethics Office, the participation criteria and recruitment methods were developed in consultation with this advisory group. In addition, the advisory group was consulted about the dissemination of data. Drafts of the research ethics application form, information letters, recruitment posters, and interview guides and questions were first sent to the advisory group and then to the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board after several rounds of revisions with the advisory group. After receiving the research ethics approval, the approved forms and documents were submitted to the IAPSRS advisory group.

During the data collection period, I had weekly meetings with the advisory group to review the research process. I also met with a number of advisory group members whenever I was at the Science House and discussed issues related to the research. The advisory group also helped organize the workshop, arrange time for interviews, and engage with other IAPSRS volunteers who were responsible for maintaining the Science House discipline.

The members of the advisory group were of the opinion that mainstream research perspectives and data collection methods, including quantitative and qualitative interviews (alone), were not suitable for this research. However, they did not know what exactly could replace these. I introduced the advisory group to anti-oppressive and visual methodologies and the data collection tools we adopted for this research. Members of the advisory group were very excited about anti-oppressive frameworks and visual methods and discussions ensued about how to implement these. The advisory group supported the adoption of the visual methods throughout the entire research process.

In the analysis phase of the project, reports of codes and themes produced from interviews and youths' arts, along with de-identified data, were submitted to the advisory group. Codes and themes went through several rounds of revision until research themes were finalized. These feedback loops and revisions helped to ensure that participants' voice were included in the research and the analysis of data.

The dissemination of data was also discussed with the advisory group at the beginning of the project. It was decided that community reports, posters, and a journal article be prepared after this dissertation's approval. A workshop will also be held in Tehran, where the youths will have the chance to present their art to community members and policymakers and talk about their problems and potential solutions to them.

4.2.4. Building Relationships

As mentioned before, relationship building is central to community-based participatory research. It is through relationships that we understand and gain the community's knowledge. I am a volunteer for this organization and have contributed to research projects IAPSRS has conducted. My volunteer experience helped me build relationships with IAPSRS members and youths. I also previously organized art activities for the youths supported by this organization.

During the five years that I have volunteered for IAPSRS, I have been consistently visiting the Science House. I had met some of the youths before starting this project; however, I did not have any relationships with the specific youths who participated in the project. Volunteering for IAPSRS, I learned how to work with IAPSRS youths and how to start relationships with them. I learned to be humble, and I was always fascinated by IAPSRS youths' resilience experiences even

before beginning this research project. Furthermore, I had worked with IAPSRS volunteers on several projects before starting this project and had built relationships and trust with them. This relationship will continue to finalize the dissemination of research data and ensure this research's benefits return to the community.

To date, the logistics of the community workshop to share research results with community members and policymakers have been discussed. Copies of my dissertation will also be provided to IAPSRS.

4.3. Participatory Arts-Based Research

From the early 20th century, researchers have used arts-based methods, such as drawing and talking/writing techniques, to better understand participant experiences and encourage their engagement in the research processes (Guillemin, 2004; MacGregor et al., 1998; Mair & Kierans, 2007). The use of visuals in research (photography, drawing, theatre, and storytelling) is considered an aspect of community-based research (Mitchell et al., 2011). Visual research emphasizes the role of participants and art-making processes and the engagement of participants in informing the research (McNiff, 2008). Participatory arts-based research methods are used as a critical approach to intervention research, such as social work, to empower communities in terms of defining social problems and finding solutions. These methods can be used as means of inquiry, representation, dissemination, and transformation (Mitchell et al., 2011).

Through art, youth can share their stories, problems, and needs (Crenshaw, 2008). In this research project, youth drew pictures and made art about their lives and experiences. Their experiences are the source of knowledge in this research. Knowledge, in this research, is viewed as situated by youth social location as a result of their life experiences. The knowledge produced empowers these youth to define their problems (De Lange et al., 2007; Ennew, 2000). Arts-based methods also empower youth to influence policy change by communicating their voices to policy-makers (Ennew, 2000). In this research, the youths' art will be presented to policy-makers and community members through a community workshop at which the youth will have the chance to present.

The youth with whom I have worked in Tehran's marginalized areas have received inadequate schooling, which makes writing challenging for them. Not having the chance to go to

school also influences the diversity of the words they can use (Ahadi et al., 2014). Furthermore, the youth may not be able to express their thoughts using written or even spoken words. Art, including drawing, may allow youth to tell their stories more effectively (Crenshaw, 2008). Furthermore, art can help to demonstrate knowledge that cannot be expressed in words (Weber, 2008). When used as a research method, arts-based methods usually include participant explanations (oral or written) about the meaning of the art and the artist's context. Therefore, such methods are usually used along with verbal research methods to generate collaborative meaning making and give voice to what each participant intends to express (Guillemin, 2004). This research-participant collaboration is central to the research process (Guillemin, 2004; Stuart, 2007; Theron, 2008).

Furthermore, arts-based methods help in communication with children and understanding their inner world (Bruke & Prosser, 2008; Driessnack, 2005). Bruke and Prosser (2008) believe that children can more effectively convey feelings and emotions using art than speaking or writing. Participatory research with youth is especially important when working with youth who have experienced violence and displacement. Janzen and Janzen (2000) also believe that telling a story using drawing can allow youth to explain traumatic experiences and give meaning to them, as well as providing therapeutic benefit. In this research, talking about the art that the youths were going to make was a way of starting communication and discussions with them. Sometimes the meanings the youth gave to their art were quite different than what I would have understood without their interpretation. I needed to know the youth's context and life story to understand their art and its meaning. These youths' life stories were gradually revealed to me through communications with them when I visited the Science House. They would come and hug me and sometimes share their stories with me. I learnt from them how they give meaning to their life and the difficulties that they experience. I also learned to be hopeful and resilient; as one participant (Parvin) mentioned: "There are difficulties, but there exists hope".

4.4. Colonial and Postcolonial Methods and Visual Research

In this section, I explain how colonial and postcolonial frameworks are related to visual research. As explained in the previous chapter, marginality is related to colonialism and neo-colonialism according to postcolonial theories (Anderson, 2008), and the experiences of

marginalized people are the source of knowledge (Anderson et al., 2003). Iran has been a semi-colony of imperial powers, such as the United States and Great Britain (Ghaderi, 2018), and the development of marginalized areas in Iran is the outcome of the implementation of colonial policies (Summit, 2004).

Colonial and postcolonial theories consider knowledge to be tied to time, space, and people's social position and experience of oppression (Moosa-Mitha, 2015). Art is also made by a specific individual in a particular space and time (Guillemin, 2004; Stuart, 2007; Theron, 2008). Therefore, the use of arts suits the research as informed by colonial and postcolonial theories. Furthermore, according to colonial and postcolonial theories no one other than marginalized youth in Tehran can understand their experience of oppression and marginalization. Therefore, an understanding of Tehran's marginalized youth perspectives on resilience, according to the anti-oppressive framework, requires that youth be involved in this research from design through to the dissemination of results (Potts & Brown, 2015). In this respect, arts-based methods encourage the active engagement of participants and help them to communicate with researchers (Guillemin, 2004; Stuart, 2007; Theron, 2008). The advisory group and the youths in this study helped with the interpretation of their art and interview data.

Post-colonial theories aim to change the relation of domination in society. As a result, they support the use of research methods that do not reinforce these relations and do not consider marginalized groups to be objects. Methods that view participants as subjects, who inform the research process and outcomes, are of great value to these theories (Potts & Brown, 2015). Anti-oppressive methods rely on the experiences of marginalized groups, rather than focusing on objective deductive truth. Truth for anti-oppressive researchers is multiple and intersectional (Moosa-Mitha, 2015). Consistent with anti-oppressive theories, arts-based methods allow youth voices to be heard and their different and intersectional experiences to be acknowledged. In these methods, participants have the power to create, shape, and change the knowledge. The point of view of marginalized groups can be reflected in research using visual methods (Brooks et al., 2015). Visual research also provides youth and marginalized groups with opportunities to influence policy change by communicating their voices to policy-makers. Such research relies on youth, who are experts on their problems, to produce knowledge. The produced knowledge also empowers these youth to address their needs and problems (De Lange et al., 2007; Ennew, 2000). After the end of this project, the youths will participate in a workshop where Iranian policymakers

and committee members will be invited. In this workshop, the youths will talk about their problems and protentional solutions for addressing them, along with presenting their art.

4.5. Resilience and Visual Research Methods

Understanding the interaction between resilience and culture requires researchers to use innovative qualitative research methods. Although many scholars maintain that participatory research methods must be used in studies with marginalized youth, the cultural and contextual suitability of research methods is less discussed (Liebenberg & Theron, 2015). Moreover, researchers are criticized for not using culturally suitable research methods nor including the voices of youth in their research (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009; Masten, 2011). The absence of suitable research methods has resulted in a limited and superficial understanding of resilience. The majority of researchers do not take into account the contextual factors in youths' lives, such as marginalization (Liebenberg and Theron, 2015).

Innovative approaches to qualitative research are needed to study the impact of culture on resilience and understand marginalized youth perspectives on resilience (Dalgado, 2006; Greene & Hill, 2005; Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009; Smith, 2012). Innovative methods include the use of visual arts, such as photography, video, drawing, and drama (Knowles & Cole, 2008; Liebenberg & Theron, 2015; Margolis & Pauwels, 2011; Milne et al., 2012). These innovative approaches help youth to reflect on their experiences (Daniels, 2003; Harper, 2012) and include their voice in research (Thomson, 2008). These approaches can also help with reducing power imbalances and dispelling the researcher-participant dichotomy (Liebenberg & Theron, 2015; Lomax et al., 2011). Innovative research methods such as drawing are needed because many traditional research methods “fail to elicit the socially silenced voices of vulnerable and marginalized youth” (Malindi & Theron, 2011, p. 106). Marginalized youth also often have low levels of literacy. Therefore, traditional quantitative methods that require youths to provide written responses to open-ended questions are not suitable for understanding marginalized youth perspectives (Malindi & Theron, 2011). For example, Malindi and Theron (2011) used drawing to study street youth resilience. They believe drawing helps youths to share their stories and their perspectives on resilience in innovative ways (Theron, 2008). In other words, drawing ‘speaks’ for youths (Malindi & Theron,

2011). Furthermore, participants may be more reluctant to share their experiences during quantitative and formal interviews (Malindi & Theron, 2011).

4.6. Data Collection

4.6.1. Interviews With Youths and IAPSRS Volunteers and Art Workshop

To study the meaning of resilience and the factors that can promote or hinder resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized communities, I drew on an art workshop and qualitative semi-structured interviews. Participants in this project were the youth who live in Tehran's marginalized areas, in addition to four IAPSRS volunteers. The interviews with volunteers were conducted prior to interviews with the youths.

4.6.2. Recruitment-IAPSRS Volunteers

In consultation with IAPSRS, it was decided that four volunteers, who were the managers of the IAPSRS committees, would participate in the interviews. The advisory group contacted the IAPSRS volunteers and provided them with information letters. Interested volunteers contacted me, and I reviewed the information letters and consent forms with them (see Appendix A: Recruitment poster and information letters and Appendix B: consent form for IAPSRS volunteers). They were informed that their participation was voluntary, and they were able to withdraw their consent at any time.

4.6.3. Interviews With IAPSRS Volunteers

Semi-structured interviews with IAPSRS volunteers were completed to further assess the role of contextual factors, such as culture and community socio-economic situations, on youth resilience (see Appendix C: Interview guide for IAPSRS volunteers). I provided information letters and consent forms (See Appendix B: Consent form-IAPSRS Volunteers) to the volunteers and explained the research process to them. Interviews were conducted in the Persian language, audio recorded, transcribed, and translated into English. Pseudonyms were also assigned to each participant. Each interview took about 60 to 90 minutes. IAPSRS volunteers were very interested

in learning about the research process and asked me questions about the theories and literature supporting the research.

According to the interview guide (see Appendix C: Interview guide for IAPSRS volunteers), a number of questions were asked about the meaning of resilience and socio-economic, relational, and personal factors that promote or hinder youth resilience. The volunteers were also asked to comment on the importance of each factor. Finally, they provided their comments about research methods and procedures, youths' interview questions, and the dissemination of data.

4.6.4. Recruitment-Youths

In partnership with IAPSRS volunteers, participants were recruited through IAPSRS classes and centres. The participation criteria were determined by IAPSRS volunteers and the IAPSRS advisory group. It was decided to invite all youths aged 12 to 18 who lived in Tehran's marginalized areas (Khaksefid) to participate.

I provided IAPSRS with information letters, recruitment posters, and interview guides (see Appendix A: Recruitment poster and information letters and Appendix C: Interview guide for youth). All the information and interview guides were originally prepared in Persian and translated into English to be reviewed by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. The volunteers at the Science House reviewed the interview questions and proposed changes as needed. They told me the youths might not feel comfortable talking about their experiences. Furthermore, they asked me not to audio record youth interviews due to security reasons. IAPSRS volunteers and managers posted information letters and recruitment posters in the Science House and verbally informed the youth and their families about this research. I was contacted by the youths who were interested in participating. I met with each youth and their guardians to review the information letter, sign consent forms (see Appendix B: Consent forms for youth and guardians - interviews and art workshop) and conduct the first quantitative interview in the Science House.

A total of 18 youths participated in this project. According to Kathy Charmaz (2012), the purpose and analytic level of research are important factors in determining the number of participants. A small number of participants may be enough for research in applied fields. For example, Guest and colleagues (2006) argue that saturation can occur within the first 12

interviews. However, when participant experiences and circumstances are diverse, and the nature of research questions require attention to the heterogeneity of contexts, more participants may be needed (Charmaz, 2012). Finally, the quality of interviews and data analysis are important factors in producing a study with depth and significance, rather than the number of participants (Charmaz, 2012; Fusch & Ness, 2015). Given Guest and colleagues' (2006) perspectives and in consultation with IAPSRS, we decided to try and recruit 20 youths to allow the inclusion of 50% of those who attend IAPSRS classes on a daily basis. Ultimately, 18 youth signed up to participate.

4.6.5. Initial Interviews With Youth

The purpose of the initial interviews was to build relationships with participants, start discussions about resilience, and provide more information about the research. These interviews also helped me to become more familiar with the youths and understand their context, and also helped the youths prepare for the art workshop and the second interview. Interviews were semi-structured and conducted in the Persian language. An interview guide was developed for this initial interview (see Appendix C: Interview guide for youth). Youth were excited and happy to participate in the research and share their ideas. They had relayed their excitement to their IAPSRS teacher who stated:

The youths were excited that someone was interested in listening to them and talking to them about their problems and how they see their lives. (Vira)

The youths were eager to talk and came to me after the end of their interviews and asked if they could participate in more interviews with me. In initial interviews, I explained the research and told the youths that I was the learner and they have the knowledge that I need and that they can help with addressing their problems. According to the interview guide (see Appendix C: Interview guide for youth), we briefly talked about resilience and the art they were going to make. I also assured them they would not be evaluated on the quality of their art and that they needed to reflect their thoughts in their art as much as they could. Each interview took about 15 minutes. I took careful notes during interviews, then later transcribed, and translated them into English. I also assigned pseudonyms to each participant.

4.6.6. Art Workshop

A two-hour art workshop was held in the Science House two weeks after initial interviews. 18 youths participated in the workshop, where they were provided with drawing materials, cardboard, playdough, and pottery clay to make art about their lives and their resilience. Role playing was another option for them to express their thoughts and share their experiences. They were free to choose any medium they liked. Ten youth drew pictures, two made art with playdough, two both drew and made art with playdough, two made posters, and two only talked. The art workshop was organized in the Science House. The art workshop allowed the youths to talk about their life experiences, learn about themselves, and identify their strategies of resilience and the obstacles they have faced in their pathways toward resilience. The youths were excited to participate in the workshop. They talked to each other and made jokes. I again talked about myself and the research at the beginning of the workshop. I told them this research is theirs and that they could provide comments on the research process and suggestions for changing it. A number of participants were unsure about their abilities to make art. I explained to them that whatever they produced would be useful and would contribute to the research. The youths shared the art materials with each other and, if they could not find what they needed, asked me to provide it. The youths left the workshop after producing their art. Consulting with the youths, we decided that I keep their art until we meet in the workshop after the end of the project to present their art to the community and policymakers.

4.6.7. Interviews With Youths After the Art Workshop

In the weeks following the workshop, the youths were interviewed for about 30 to 45 minutes to discuss the art they created. The interviews were conducted in a private room in the Science House, where we could review their art together (see Appendix C: Interview guide for youth). Their art was available at the time of interview. During the interviews, the youths were invited to talk about their art and how it related to their resilience. The purpose of these interviews was to understand the meaning of resilience from the youths' perspectives and the factors that promote or undermine their resilience. Some youths asked about the interview questions and how

difficult they were going to be. They were happy they were contributing to the research and helping others to understand their perspectives and thoughts. Whenever I went to the Science House, the youth who had already been interviewed asked me when I would return to the Science House. They wanted to come back at that time to see me and talk to me. They wanted to spend more time with me and provide more information if needed.

According to the interview guide (see Appendix C: Interview guide for youth), I asked questions about the youths' reliance on others in difficulties and a few other questions to understand the relational factors that influence their resilience. Questions about resources in the community were related to socio-economic factors, and other questions, such as the meaning of being healthy and growing up well, were related to the youths' understanding of resilience. At the end of the interview, youths were asked how they liked the research data to be disseminated.

4.7. Data Analysis

Grounded theory was used to analyze the interview and visual data (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Konecki, 2011). The purpose of this analysis was to create themes related to youth resilience. Data were continuously analyzed throughout different phases of data collection in consultation with the advisory group. Interviews were reviewed line by line to discover themes. NVivo software was used for coding the interview data. I translated interview data and information that the youths had provided about their art into English and coded them using NVivo. At the beginning, I had about 56 themes and subthemes. After several rounds of revision by the advisory group, three main themes were identified. Main themes are socio-economic conditions, relational, and personal factors. Socio-economic conditions' subthemes included marginalized youth's access to resources, schools in marginalized communities, Community-Based Organization services and programs, race, and culture. Relational factors' subthemes were relationships with parents or caregivers, friends, nonfamilial adults, and community organizations. Personal factors included hope, spirituality, sport, music, and theatre. For refining the themes in the first stage, themes which had the least number of coding references were deleted or added as subthemes under the main themes. In the majority of cases, participants' words were used for naming the themes and sub-themes, such as relationship with friends, sport, music, and hope. Words and comments, such as access to

resources, services, and programs were categorized under socio-economic conditions guided by the IAPSRS advisory group and resilience literature (Ungar, 2018; McCrea et al., 2019).

4.7.1. Grounded Theory

The purpose of grounded theory research is to develop or discover a theory through inductive data collection (Corbin & Strauss, 1996; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Morse, 2001). Following this methodology, data analysis in this research project was accomplished through comparison of themes, categories, and codes. These themes and categories were constructed from participant data and their interpretations. The data and their interpretations, in turn, are grounded in the research participants' experiences (Mills et al., 2006); specific to this research project, the data are grounded in the experiences of the youth and IAPSRS volunteer participants. The youths and IAPSRS volunteers who participated in this study also helped with the interpretation of their data and choosing the themes that would best describe their experiences.

Traditional grounded theorists purport that data represent one truth that can be discovered through research (Glaser, 1978). Therefore, from an ontological perspective, traditionalist theorists believe in objective reality. Accordingly, the researcher must maintain objectivity and independence from the participants; there is a dichotomy between the researcher and the researched in traditionalist grounded theory (Mills et al., 2006).

4.7.2. Constructivist Grounded Theory

Constructivist grounded theorists do not believe in an objective positivist truth. Truth for them is multiple and situated. Constructivist grounded theory is ontologically relativist and epistemologically subjectivist (Charmaz, 2006). This research used constructivist grounded theory to analyze the collected data. Participants have different experiences based on their race, gender, and socio-economic status. As a result, data related to participant experiences can have several interpretations and meanings. This research relied on the experiences of marginalized youth, rather than on the objective deductive truth. The arts-based method employed allowed the marginalized youth voices to be heard and their experiences to be acknowledged. In this research project, the researcher and participants were both learners and experts, and knowledge was produced through

the interaction between them (Charmaz, 2006). This project was conducted in collaboration with the participants, who helped inform the specific research questions, research methods, data analysis, and forms of dissemination.

Charmaz (2006) also maintains that the constructivist researcher's style of writing must also be reminiscent of the experiences of the participants, their time, and context. The participant is present throughout the research and the written results of the research (Jones, 2002). Accordingly, the presentation of project data was determined in collaboration with the advisory group. The research participants, including the youth, will have the chance to present the research results in their own language at community workshops and other events at the end of this research project.

Constructivist grounded theory is more consistent with anti-oppressive and post-colonial theories and methods, which inform this research. Therefore, the experiences of the youth and interpretations of their art are the focus of research, rather than an objective truth external to participant experiences and truths. Knowledge production and the entire research process, from design to dissemination, is intersubjective and resulted from the interaction between the researcher and the participants. The youth themselves interpreted the art they had made. The researcher also interpreted the art by paying attention to the different contexts and positionalities of the youth participants. Therefore, this research does not interpret the art using positivist methods (using art or pictures to prove a single external truth).

Furthermore, the researcher's positionality and experiences also influence data analysis and knowledge production, which make reflexivity very important (Charmaz, 2006). In this way, it is also important to recognize where the researchers and youth are situated. In other words, the participants' art is tied to their diverse cultural and social positions. Therefore, the youths' interpretation of their art, along with their context and the researcher's social position, need to be understood and studied. In the next section, I include a reflexivity statement to explain my context.

4.8. Reflexivity Statement

My background in sociology, public policy, and political science and volunteering activities have influenced my understanding of resilience and the research design, theories, and methods that I used. For example, I learned about anti-oppressive theories and methods during my

academic work. Volunteering for IAPSRS helped me to learn about youth resilience, their deprivation, and their lack of access to resources. Furthermore, this background might have influenced the research process and interview questions as well as the language I used with participants. Subsequently, my perspectives might have influenced the information I received from participants and the research results. I also acknowledge I have never lived in a marginalized area and may not totally understand the experiences of marginalized youth. I acknowledge my position as a learner and respect the youths' position as knowledge producers.

All attempts were made to include participant experiences and perspectives in this research through ongoing consultation with the advisory group and research participants. I reviewed the research design, objectives, data collection processes, and interview questions with the advisory group and benefited from their input and perspectives in our weekly meetings. This advisory group was also involved in analyzing data, finalizing research results, and dissemination.

Lastly, I have been an IAPSRS volunteer for about five years, and the perspectives I have acquired through this role might have influenced this research. I tried to be conscious of this fact and continuously compared my perspectives with the theories and literature available on youth resilience as well as self-criticized my perspectives. Furthermore, I discussed my volunteering activities with the university ethics staff, and it was decided that I stop my volunteering activities during my research. This decision was made to assure youths that this research was not part of IAPSRS services, and their participation was voluntary and will have no effect on their access to IAPSRS services or how they will be treated.

4.9. Summary

This research used arts-based participatory research methods. An art workshop and semi-structural interviews were used to better understand the concept of resilience from the perspective of youth. In community-based participatory research methods, communities are considered to be experts in defining their problems and the sources of knowledge in research. The community's knowledge, in turn, informs policy change. In this research, youth and IAPSRS members, along with the researcher, collaborated to create an understanding of youth resilience in marginalized areas. Participants actively engaged in the research process and became empowered to talk about their experience, which can inform policy production. The visual art made by the youth showed

their understanding of resilience and what they rely on when facing difficulties. The knowledge produced in this research will be discussed at a community workshop at the end of the project. At the workshop, policy-makers and research participants will talk about policies that can influence youth resilience.

5. “Books ... should mention an empty table where there is no bread; and children are not happy, as they are hungry”: Socio-Economic Factors in Youth Resilience

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the role of socio-economic factors in youth resilience will be assessed from the perspective of both marginalized youth and IAPSRS volunteers in Tehran. Youths in this study identified both socio-economic conditions and relationships with family, friends, and IAPSRS volunteers as determining factors in their resilience. However, there are fewer quotes from youths emphasizing the role of socio-economic conditions in this chapter, as youths were more likely to talk about socio-economic factors in terms of their access to resources, such as sport, music, theatre, and education provided by IAPSRS in marginalized areas. These resources are discussed in the personal factor chapter. IAPSRS volunteers were more likely to identify youth socio-economic conditions as the most important factor that influences resilience, especially for youth in severe socio-economic conditions. In severe socio-economic conditions, family members, IAPSRS volunteers, and youth’s talent or personality may not be able to help with youth resilience. In these conditions, youth resilience is reduced to being alive and having access to minimal resources without which they will die, or their mental and physical health will be seriously damaged. Furthermore, socio-economics influences other youth resilience factors, including relational ones. Therefore, in consultation with the advisory group, it was decided to identify socio-economic dynamics as factors that profoundly influence youth resilience and their relationships. The impact of socio-economic factors in marginalized areas on youths’ relationships will be discussed in the next chapter.

To understand poverty, the context in which the youths live, and their access to resources and services, I will first explain Iran’s welfare regime in this chapter. To outline this regime, I use Esping-Andersen’s (1990) model of welfare regimes, in addition to Gough and Wood’s (2004) modifications. Esping-Andersen (1999) defines welfare regimes as “the ways in which welfare production is allocated between state, market and households” (p. 73). To make this model useful for studying welfare regimes in developing countries, Gough and Wood (2004) add the community to the nexus of state, market, and family. (For more information on welfare regimes in developing countries, see Gough (2004) and Gough and Wood (2004)). After explaining Iran’s welfare regime, I provide a brief overview of laws and governmental services for youth. Subsequently, I

will discuss participants perspectives on youth's access to resources, services, and programs provided by IAPSRS and community culture in relation to youth resilience, which are the most important themes related to socio-economic factors found in participants' data.

5.1.2. Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic status is a concept that signifies the placement of people and families regarding their capacity to consume valuable goods and access resources (Prabhu & Shekhar, 2017; Stepleman et al., 2009). Youths' socio-economic status is critical to their resilience and physical and mental well-being, but their access to the resources needed for well-being is limited in adverse socio-economic conditions (Escarce, 2003; Karmalkar & Vaidya, 2018; Reiss, 2013). According to the social causation model, different socio-economic conditions create variations in youth resilience (Conger & Conger, 2002). People who live in low socio-economic conditions have lower life expectancies and higher rates of mental health disorders and mortality related to chronic illness (Bratter & Eschbach, 2005; Carnon et al., 1994; Dayal et al., 1982; Williams & Collins, 1995). Youth who live in poor socio-economic conditions are more likely to suffer from mental disorders, suicidal thoughts, and antisocial behaviours than their peers in higher socio-economic conditions (Sünbül & Çekici, 2018).

Research shows societies with strong welfare states and programs to combat poverty have lower rates of crime and violence than those with fewer poverty alleviation programs (Rudolph & Starke, 2020). Generally, violence and crime are more prevalent in marginalized and poor communities (Hoffman et al., 2011; Weaver, 2013). Poverty is the cause of many negative outcomes related to youth resilience, including poor learning abilities and academic achievement, low self-esteem, violence, and other mental health problems (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Evans, 2004; Evans & English, 2002; Lindsey, 2008). Marginalized communities suffer from structural violence; rights and services are systematically deficient in these areas but available to youth in more affluent areas (Farmer, 2005; MaasWeigert, 2008). When marginalized youth experience inequality and cannot rely on society to fight their poverty, they may have rage reactions, increasing community violence as a result (Hoffman et al., 2011; Payne, 2018).

5.2. The Position of Youths in Iran's Welfare Regime

According to Iran's constitution, which sets the foundations for Iranian citizens' social, cultural, and political rights, access to social security benefits is a 'public' (citizenship) right. In this welfare regime, the state, family, market, and community all have a role, although the state assumes the main role in the provision of welfare. Article 29 of the Iran Constitution (1979) mandates the state to provide social security services to all people. These services include medical and healthcare services, retirement pension, unemployment, disability, life insurance, and social assistance. However, this mandate by law has not been fulfilled, and only about 50% of the population benefits from insurance programs (Tavana Elmi, 2010). In addition, subsidy reforms in place since 2011 are changing the focus from universality and citizenship rights to means-tested social assistance programs³ (IMF, 2010).

Social assistance is a form of welfare provision in Iran, according to which financial and non-financial aid is provided based on people's economic need (Adolino & Blake, 2010). About 2.5% of the GDP was spent on social assistance expenditures in 2008 (International Labour Office, 2010), and about 6% of the population received social assistance in 2010. Parallel organizations, such as the State Welfare Organization of Iran (*Sazmaneh Behzisti Keshvar*), the Khomeini Relief Foundation, and quasi-governmental foundations (*Bonyads*) are involved in providing social assistance in Iran. The State Welfare Organization of Iran runs under the supervision of the Ministry of cooperatives labour and social welfare (State Welfare Organization of Iran, n.d.).

Social insurance, however, is the essential form of welfare provision in Iran, as about 60% of social security expenditures are spent on social insurance (International Labour Office, 2010). Social insurance programs include old age, disability, and survivors' pensions (Civil Servants Pension Fund, n.d.; Social Insurance Organization, n.d.). The Social Security Organization and the Civil Servants Pension Fund are the main organizations that provide social insurance in Iran, and they work under the control of the Ministry of Welfare and Social Security. These organizations cover salaried workers. However, the self-employed can voluntarily enrol in the Social Security Organization insurance programs. About 50% of the population, including the dependents of those

³ Determining eligibility for means-tested social assistance programs is based on people's economic need (Adolino & Blake, 2010).

who are insured, receives insurance benefits and medical services. The social insurance schemes are not different in various organizations.

The Iranian state also spends on education and health care. In 2009, 5% of the GDP was allocated to education and 2% to healthcare (World Bank, n.d.). About 70% of Iran's population was enrolled in the public health insurance system in 2008 (Elgazzar et al., 2010). Since the early 1970s, Iran has trained local health workers to provide access to public primary health care in all Iranian villages (Elgazzar et al., 2010). Article 30 of the Constitution requires the state to provide all citizens with free elementary, secondary, and post-secondary education. In 2018, free public schools constituted 90% of the elementary and secondary schools. However, the quality of schools is lower in poor and marginalized areas (Mohammadi, 2010; Pourabollah, 2018). In 2010, 90% of the elementary and secondary schools in Iran were free public schools; however, the quality of schools is lower in poor and marginalized areas (Mohammadi, 2010; Pourabollah, 2018). About 90% of universities and higher education institutes in Iran are private, making it more difficult for students in lower socio-economic positions to attend universities (Pourabollah, 2018; Jamejam Daily Newspaper, 2011).

Before subsidy reforms in 2011, almost all essential goods and health care were subsidized (IMF, 2010). Subsidies in Iran, however, benefited people according to the distribution of wealth and power, as the wealthy could consume more subsidized goods and take advantage of subsidies more easily in their businesses. Since 2011, many people have been provided with cash subsidies instead of subsidized essential goods. However, these cash subsidies cannot compensate for the high prices of essential goods after subsidy reforms.

In Iran, the state provides social assistance and public insurance programs. The market, however, offers private insurance, such as health, life, other kinds of insurance schemes, and child and elder care. The community, including mosques and community-based organizations (CBOs), help the poor people and youth. These services are provided by either Basij or religious donations on a voluntary basis. Donations include *Sadaghat* (donations to the poor), *Zakat* (the religious duty to spend a proportion of personal disposable income on public welfare), and *Khums* (a form of tax spent on social welfare).

In addition to the market and state, the family is responsible for the care of children and the elderly. Kinship relations and family are central to welfare provision in Iran, similar to many other

developing countries. This high level of reliance on the family (familialization) is related to the limited capacity of both the market and state to truly protect people against social risks.

The parallel welfare organizations exacerbate the fragmentation of the social security system in Iran. As a result, the welfare regime does not have a comprehensive structure. Furthermore, the regressive nature of Iranian social policy, which allows the wealthy to receive more social benefits than the poor, has created an ineffective system of social security (World Bank, 2010). Furthermore, the expansion of political corruption in Iran has led to the exponential growth of deep poverty, with the percentage of people below the poverty line increasing from 16% in 2017 to about 40% in 2018 (Islamic Parliament Research Centre, 2018). The prices of essential goods increased by 53% in 2018 alone. Food prices have increased the most among essential goods, adversely affecting people with lower income more than other segments of the population. People with lower income spend most of their budget on food and thus cannot afford to address their other needs. Since 2017, the cost of living has increased by 300000 toman⁴ (Iranian currency) for each household in Iran. Although the impact of this increase may not be significant for the wealthy, it has surely affected poor and marginalized families who may have only 300000 toman of income per month to meet their essential needs. The Islamic Parliament Research Centre (2018) has predicted that more people will live below the poverty line in 2020.

As a consequence of Iran's fragmented social security system, the society is highly stratified. The formal welfare programs cover less than half of the population. However, some people are attached to informal clientelistic networks, while others rely on kinship relations and social assistance programs. Women and children, in particular, must rely on kinship relations or social assistance programs. Women and children are the main recipients of social assistance, to which access is limited due to the length of waiting lists (The Khomeini Relief Foundation, n.d.).⁵

5.3. Laws and Governmental Services for Youth

There is no reference to youth in Iran's Constitution (1979). However, children are mentioned in the law for supporting impoverished women and children, known as 'Social Security for Women and Children Without Guardians,' adopted in 1992. This law applies to widows, aged

⁴ 1 toman is \$0.0001 Canadian.

⁵ This section mainly draws on Ostadalidehaghi's (2012) work.

women who cannot fend for themselves, and other women and children who have lost their guardians (father or husband) temporarily or permanently. It does not apply to the women and children without guardians who benefit from old age, disability, and survivor pensions, are employed, or have their own means. The social security provision mandated by this law is as follows:

- 1- Financial support, including the funds needed for self-sufficiency, monthly, and special allowances in cash or non-cash provisions.
- 2- Social and cultural support, including education, employment search, technical and vocational training, counseling, and social work services, to address clients' needs and help them to marry and have a family.
- 3- The care of children and aged women without guardians by the State Welfare Organization (SWO), including the delegation of guardianship and support of these children and women by qualified individuals.

According to this law, educational expenses will be 500 toman (about \$0.05 CAD) for each student per month. SWO pays the premiums for public healthcare insurance for each woman and child without a guardian to the Khomeini Relief Foundation. This foundation is responsible for buying public healthcare insurance coverage for all clients supported by this law (Taghizadeh & Artidar, 2007). SWO passed guidelines for supporting needy families and individuals without guardians in 1996. These guidelines stipulate the following eligibility criteria for receiving allowance:

- The monthly income of singles and families with two members does not exceed 50% of the minimum wage.
- The monthly income of families with three members or more does not exceed the minimum wage.
- Sustainable employment of clients is not possible.

However, the implementation of these guidelines is dependent on the SWO's budget and policies, and the managers, deputies, and social workers of the SWO are required to identify the neediest clients and prioritize them over others for the receipt of cash and non-cash allowances. As a result of this constraint, the rigorous eligibility criteria become narrower in practice, as about 90% of eligible clients are on waiting lists and are deprived of SWO social assistance. Additionally, the

monthly cash allowance is on average less than \$1 CAD per day, which still maintains these recipients below the poverty line (State Welfare Organization, n.d.).

In addition to the SWO, the Khomeini Relief Foundation is responsible for supporting impoverished people, including children. However, this foundation works under the direct supervision of the Islamic leader and is accountable to neither the SWO nor Iran's parliament. This foundation's services for youth in need include providing dental health education, school supplies, vocational training, and storytelling sessions. It also provides food to children under the age of five. As mentioned, youth access to these services is limited due to the length of waiting lists (The Khomeini Relief Foundation, n.d.).

The Islamic Republic of Iran signed the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1994. However, it will not abide by any convention procedures that are incompatible with domestic laws and Islamic standards. The UNCRC has 54 articles on children's rights. This convention states the need to address children's basic needs and assist them in realizing their full potential. Children's fundamental rights acknowledged in this convention include: life; survival and development; protection from violence, abuse, or neglect; education; being raised by, or having a relationship with, their parents; expressing their opinions; and being listened to. Furthermore, children must not be forcibly recruited into the armed forces, used in prostitution or pornography, or sold into slavery.

The law on Protection of Children and Teenagers was adopted in 2006 and applies to people under 18 years of age. This law prohibits all kinds of harassment against children and adolescents: physical, psychological, and moral harm that endangers their physical or mental well-being, including the purchase, sale, and exploitation of children. According to this law, child abuse is a public offence and does not require a private plaintiff's complaint. All persons and institutions responsible for the custody of children shall report child abuse to judicial authorities.

However, this law has not been properly implemented, as it does not stipulate what organizations are responsible for implementing and enforcing it. Another law on the protection of children and teenagers was developed by Parliament in 2008 and is still awaiting approval by the Guardian Council. Other than these laws and programs for supporting impoverished youth, no other laws or services are specifically designed for youth. Semi-governmental programs in

mosques and Basij⁶ are designed to support the state's causes while providing services to the youth and community.

5.4. Tehran's Marginalized Youth's Access to Resources

Low socio-economic conditions adversely affect youth resilience by restricting, sometimes severely, their access to resources needed for survival and well-being. According to the family stress model (Conger and Conger, 2002), low socio-economic conditions produce stress for the family, which results in negative outcomes for youth resilience. Poverty reduces resilience by increasing stress levels and exposing youth to many risks, such as family conflict and negative youth-parent relationships (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Donellan et al., 2007; Dixit & Gulati, 2016; Grant et al., 2003; Schoon et al., 2002).

The youths in this study referred to socio-economic conditions as one of the factors that hinders their resilience. For example, Nastaran, one of the youths interviewed for this study, said,

The causes of non-resilience⁷ are related to the youths' community and where they live.

Farideh also believed that place of residence and family addictions can challenge youth resilience. Paria claimed that not having access to resources constrains youth resilience:

Non-resilient is the one who does not have money to buy food and clothes.

Ziba also explained her financial problems as the reason that she cannot study and succeed in life:

My dad says if you study this year, you will not be able to study next year. We have financial problems. He says that you should stay home and help your mom. We have a toy machine, and we receive orders. He says that I should stay at home to make more toys. I do not have time to study most often, and I have to work till 2:00 a.m.

Paria believed that her socio-economic position and immigration status is an obstacle in the way of her success:

⁶ The Basij is one of the five forces of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. The majority of the Basij's activities are related to internal security (Katzman, 2017).

⁷ The majority of the youths in this study did not distinguish between resilient and non-resilient youth. They indicated that resilience depends on the situation that youth are experiencing. In interviews, when they talk about non-resilience, they refer to the factors that hinder their resilience.

Another obstacle is registering at school without a blue card [the card that shows that Afghani people have a valid visa in Iran]. This year, my brother was 17, and because the principals of his school knew him, registered him, as they thought that he had a blue card [although he did not have one].

Ziba, comparing resources in marginalized and affluent areas, said:

They [youth in affluent areas] have a better situation in all aspects. An example is their financial situation; they can do whatever they want and buy whatever they want. However, I have to prioritize.

IAPSRS volunteers identified socio-economic factors as the most critical in youth resilience. Hamid (IAPSRS volunteer), for example, explained how youth's survival issues adversely affect them:

There are many youths who have survival problems. Sometimes the youth has hunger problems. These problems are not obvious, and youths think that they are normal and deal with them. They have permanent hunger problems. They may eat once a week. Hunger and malnutrition hurt them so badly and do not allow them to concentrate in the classroom.

Hamid also explained the difference between youth's access to resources in marginalized and affluent areas and the state's perspectives on marginalized youth:

There is a difference between the resources in marginalized areas and the more developed regions of the city. The quality of education and schools are also lower in marginalized areas. For example, a community like Gheytarieh [an affluent neighborhood in Tehran] has 20 schools; whereas another community in Yaftabad [a marginalized area in Tehran] may have two schools. This means that in better-off communities, there are more educational activities. However, in communities with lower socio-economic status, the perspective is that youth in these areas have no future. There are schools in these areas, only to say that marginalized youth can also go to school. Instead of having a future, these youths have to save the past.

Hamid explained how youth's access to resources is limited in marginalized communities, and the resources provided by religious organizations are to support the state's causes:

One youth was telling me that the state's officials were giving them bananas in the mosque and taking them to swimming pools. There are 20 mosques like that in marginalized communities, and there are no other resources, social welfare organizations, or schools to

teach who you can rely on and how to behave at home or in the community. However, mosques provide resources; they provide lunch, take youth to swimming pools. There are prayers and lectures and mourning. Youth gets identity. You become the mokabber [The person who recites Azan and prayers' verses]. If these youths participate in Basij activities, they receive food, and there will be a reduction in the time that they have to serve in the military forces.

Youth in these communities cannot access the few cultural and sport classes available in marginalized areas due to a variety of issues. Reza (IAPSRs volunteer) explained:

Another difference is related to sport and cultural activities and resources. In better-off communities there are so many of these activities. Some of these activities and classes may exist in poor communities. However, youth in these communities cannot register in these classes, as many youths in marginalized areas do not have identity documents.

Reza continued to explain how many youths in marginalized areas lack access to resources:

Social welfare organization has claimed that there are 19 million youths in marginalized areas, and the majority of them do not have identity documents. Therefore, we can say that there are at least 10 million youths who do not have access to resources.

In marginalized areas where poverty is prevalent, even non-governmental and international organizations provide less support to youth than they do in wealthier areas because of the quantitative metrics in place to measure the return on their investment. Reza related his experience:

Once I had a discussion with a United Nations staff about their books on addiction. They had a book for youth from 13- to 16-years-old whose parents are in prison. I told him these books are for the youth who are susceptible to risks. I asked him what they had for youth who live with risks and danger. He said that they had nothing because they would get no output if they had worked for the youth in danger. It was an economic and non-human argument. For example, if United Nations allocate money for 100 kids, it expects that 70 of them become better off. You do not want to allocate lots of money and only get a few results. The donors do not want to pay for complicated and expensive problems.

Reza indicated that IAPSRs also does not have enough resources to provide support to youth, such as mental health and educational services, and how resource constraints adversely affect youth resilience:

Non-governmental organizations also have limitations. For example, we like to have lots of good expenditures for youth, especially for their mental health. We have volunteers, but we need more specialists, educational facilities. We want to be able to buy computers for the youth who need them. If we do not have volunteer teachers, we like to send the youth to educational classes. These classes help them to grow and overcome difficulties. If we had more resources, we would be able to support more youth and help them in their resilience path.

Reza believed that youth resilience depends on IAPSRS's resources, in addition to the stability of their families:

I think youth resilience depends on their family problems and talents, and it also depends on our [IAPSRS's] capabilities. For example, one youth can have moderate success with the capabilities that we have. If we were more capable, he might have been more successful. For example, we had a youth who ranked third in the robotics competitions, and on the same day that he was competing, he was invited from the University [was invited to attend the university]. We have paid about 16 million toman [\$1600] for his classes. We cannot pay this money for each youth.

5.5. Schools in Marginalized Communities

Schools in marginalized areas sometimes reinforce violence instead of helping youth to overcome poverty and marginalization (Seal, Nguyen, & Beyer, 2014). When resilience resources such as education, social services, and mental health care decrease in communities, violence increases, and youth are more likely to lose the capabilities they need to overcome risks and stress (Hoffman et al., 2011).

Article 30 of Iran's Constitution (1979) requires the state to provide all citizens with free education up to post-secondary school. However, school resources and the quality of education are not the same in affluent and marginalized areas. Razieh (IAPSRS volunteer) reflected on the impact of socio-economic conditions on school resources while telling the story of an altruistic teacher (Hamidreza Garmabeh) in Sistan and Baluchistan (an impoverished province in Iran):

The school in Sistan and Baluchistan where Hamidreza Gonguzehi was teaching was not safe. Its wall fell. He went to save his students, and he died under the wall. He saved the

lives of three students. He lived and slept in the same small class, and every week was walking about 14 kilometers to get to school, and he was staying in his class for five days where there were no facilities. The class was not safe, and its wall finally fell. It was seven months that he was hired, and he had not received his salary for even a month. His salary was 450000 toman [an Iranian Currency] when the poverty line was 1200000. He was a special person and was teaching there because of love. There are other people who teach there because of love, as well. Now you imagine how energetic a teacher with all those financial and life problems could be in the class and how much students with similar financial problems could learn in the class and advance in life in comparison with students in the affluent areas of the city with well-equipped schools and well-paid teachers.

Hamid (IAPSRS volunteer) explained the impact of socio-economic conditions on youth's performance in school:

I used to teach in different areas of Tehran. Youth in marginalized areas could not concentrate in classes. However, youth in more affluent areas of the city had better conditions. I could more easily work with the youth in the better neighborhoods in comparison with the youth who were in lower socio-economic conditions. This shows the gap that exists between what these youth in different socio-economic positions experience.

Hamid went on to say that many youths living in poor socio-economic conditions do not attend school and how school norms are part of hidden curriculum (Smith, 2005) to reproduce structural inequalities:

In addition to not being able to concentrate in class, some youth are not allowed at school. They are interested in going to school; however, their parents want them to work to be able to buy drugs. Some kids hate schools because, in addition to the irrelevant context of courses, the principals and teachers of schools have no understanding of these youths' lives, and they do not want to understand it because the school has its norms and principles. You have to be polite and on time and do homework. However, these youths cannot be on time. If they arrive at 9:00, they have been beaten up and had to escape home to attend school. If he has not written his homework, it is because he has been selling drugs in the Ghorbat streets till midnight. They do not know if he is impolite; he is the reflection of his environment. He cannot bring the words from the sky. His words are coming from his community. (Hamid)

Reza elaborated how youth from poor socio-economic conditions do not see their own experiences reflected in formal education and feel excluded at school:

Moreover, formal education is not relevant to youth who live in lower socio-economic conditions, and this leads them to give up school. These youths tease formal education. The first sentence that they learn from their books at school is, "Dad gave water." However, this is the first lie that they hear. If dad does not torture you, you must be happy. Where is Dad? When does he give water and bread? He is taking everything away and selling them [because of his addiction], or dad is a poor worker who wants to provide for the kids. However, he does not have enough money to buy bread.

Reza criticized the content of educational books or hidden curriculum (Smith, 2002) and explained how they are disconnected from marginalized youths' lives:

Formal education is talking about middle-class values, such as morality and politeness. However, the kids in marginalized areas cannot see these values around them. In their books, there is nothing to teach them what to do if they are attacked with a knife or what to do if somebody curses them. This does not mean that books should become empty of social values. However, when the book is talking about the bread, it should mention an empty table where there is no bread; and children are not happy, as they are hungry. The book should ask why these children do not have bread. This will result in youth getting interested in books because they will say that this is my life. People like to see their life, and this is the reason why they like theatre. Youth in marginalized areas do not see themselves in these books and feel excluded. For example, in the mathematics books, we say that Nader wants to throw a party; he wants to buy ten pounds of bananas. If he gives two pounds of bananas to his cows, how many pounds of bananas are left? However, many youths in marginalized areas do not eat bananas.

Finally, as will be explained in the next chapter, socio-economic conditions affect other factors relevant to resilience, such as the quality of parenting. Many parents in low socio-economic areas do not have enough time to spend with their children due to their long working hours and suffer from mental health issues that may lead to neglect and child abuse (Acri et al., 2017; Kiser, 2015; Moore et al., 2014). For many abused youths in marginalized areas, continuing to be alive is more important than education. In these cases, resilience is reduced to being alive, rather than attending school or performing well. Vishka, another IAPSRS volunteer, noted that:

Sometimes the dad leaves, or the dad is sexually abusing the youth. In these cases, education is no longer important. Youth's survival despite their parents' sexual and physical abuse is the priority.

5.6. Community-Based Organization Services and Programs

Community-based organizations that provide services to youth in marginalized areas must compensate for the resources that the state and family fail to provide and address youth problems, such as hunger, homelessness, and lack of clothing. Poverty alleviation must be the critical goal of these organizations to help with youth resilience and violence problems (Moore et al., 2014). Organizations that provide education, employment, and mental health services to youth have proven successful in helping with youth resilience, as they address the survival needs of youth who, otherwise, would resort to crime (Zagar et al., 2013). In other words, to cope with their economic hardship, youth sometimes have to commit crimes; to stop this from occurring, community organizations need to reduce their economic deprivation. Paid internship and training programs and financial assistance provided to youth for completing their education can help them to escape poverty and remain resilient (McCrea et al., 2019).

IAPSRS designs paid apprenticeship programs for youth, particularly those who must waste pick to fend for their families. IAPSRS also provides financial and educational support to youth. It organizes educational classes, where volunteer teachers tutor marginalized youth to help them in their regular school courses. It also provides volunteer counselling services or takes them to specialized counselling centres if they need more help.

IAPSRS relief centres provide educational and vocational training and skills to youth. These centres also provide extracurricular activities, such as sports, theatre, music, computers, storytelling, and drawing. IAPSRS goals in creating these centres are to provide equal opportunities to youth in marginalized areas and provide resources to which these youth would otherwise have no access. For example, IAPSRS created a soccer league, "Persian League," and allows youth who do not have identity documents to join. IAPSRS also created a gym for marginalized youth where they can play sports for free. The youths in this study referred to this free gym as a means of their resilience. They play sports in the gym to keep both mentally and physically healthy. This free gym also influences their thoughts about the future. Three youths indicated they would like to become a sport coach in the future and teach there for free.

The youths in this study also talked about other activities organized by IAPSRs. Nazanin indicated, “[w]e have a free gym, the Science House, school, English, and computer classes.” Sarah said that IAPSRs provides music and theatre classes to youth, adding that she would like to participate in both but had to choose one or the other due to IAPSRs’s limited resources. Another youth mentioned she does nothing other than going to the Science House to stay healthy.

5.7. Race, Culture, and Youth Resilience

Globally, systematic racism increases community violence. High rates of racism in income distribution and educational achievements are usually associated with high rates of violence (Abt & Winship, 2016). Children can understand racism when they are at preschool, and by middle school are entirely aware of it (Derman-Sparks et al., 1980). Discrimination arising from racism results in reactions such as disappointment and violence. Discriminated youth feel rejected, worthless, angry, and ashamed (Anderson, 1999; Gilligan, 2003; Robinson et al., 2011). High-poverty and high-inequality environments cause many youths to have fatalistic tendencies, depression, and other mental health problems (Hammack et al., 2004). Systematic poverty also physically impairs youth development (Masi et al., 2007). Social factors, such as racism, poverty, lack of education, and insufficient social support, have the same impact on the number of fatalities as risky physiological behaviours (Galea et al., 2011). As McCrea and colleagues (2019, p. 301) maintain, “[y]ouths’ multiple disadvantaged identities (race/ethnicity, class, gender, and trauma) or multiple subordinate locations” make youth problems challenging to solve. Bushman and colleagues (2016) argue that any efforts to deal with these problems must consider youth’s context and social position. As well, social and criminal policies need to pay attention to the complicated structure of non-resilience, such as poverty, social values, family, and other relational and environmental factors (McCrea et al., 2019).

Racism in Iran is mainly related to the presence of Afghan refugees in this country. Afghan youths are profoundly impacted by forced migration and displacement as a result of imperialist power interventions and armed conflicts⁸, such as the Soviet Union invasion in 1979 and the United States invasion in 2001 (Keshavarzian, 2005). Due to the large number of illegal Afghan

⁸ Other wars in Afghanistan include First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42), Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–81), and Third Anglo-Afghan War (1919).

immigrant in Iran, they are not well received in this country. Iran is also negatively impacted by postcolonialism and imperialist interventions (explained in chapter 3) and does not have enough resources to support Afghan refugees. Afghan refugees are mainly involved in informal and low-paid jobs, and many of them live in the marginalized areas of cities (Monsutti, 2007). Many Afghan youths work in the streets in Iran and are exposed to economic and cultural hardship and stereotyping (Rahbari, 2016).

Racism was one factor identified by IAPSRS volunteers as having a profound negative impact on youth resilience. As Vishka pointed out, Iranians sometimes tease immigrants. She claimed this kind of prejudice delays youth development. Another volunteer explained how the immigration status of youth impacts their access to resources:

Immigrant youth do not have identity documents. They come to Iran because of the bad situation in their country. Their parents do not have legal work and force these youth to work in the streets. None of these youth has health insurance coverage or any other type of protection. (Razieh)

In addition to being exposed to racism, youth in marginalized communities are adversely affected by the culture in these communities. IAPSRS volunteers defined culture as a community's social values and norms. Culture can be defined as socially constructed knowledge and values. These values provide guidelines for youths' everyday lives (Theron et al., 2015). One volunteer (Hamid) elaborated on exactly how the culture in marginalized communities harms growth and development:

The model that exists in the community is not a growth model. It is about being aggressive, stiff-necked, and bully, and this is not what helps you to grow at work, art, sport, or school. If you walk like a hoodlum, curse well, or shout loud, it does not help you to get a job; you can be a good sharkhar [people who are illegally hired to threaten, bully, or beat up other people]. You may make lots of money, but this cannot be considered success. It is like moving backward in human values. (Hamid)

When talking about marginalized communities' negative aspects, Razieh said that girls are forced to marry soon. One youth (Sarah) also identified early marriage as one of the factors that hinders youth resilience. Another youth complained that according to her culture, girls should marry at the age of 14. She also complained about her relatives' assumptions and attitudes:

They gossip and say non-sense. For example, there are boys here and when I come here they say why I come here (Ziba).

Some volunteers also described other aspects of culture in marginalized communities. Vishka spoke of this culture as being *about begging, street peddling, and theft*. Hamid described the culture of a marginalized community in Tehran known as Strangers:

In the 'Stranger' culture, many youths have to escape from home, as there is no proposing culture. When you love someone, you have to escape from home. [Men do not propose to women. When men and women or boys and girls fall in love, they have to escape from home to live together].

However, some volunteers were more positive about the culture of marginalized communities. Reza, for example, believed the culture in these communities had formed in response to and to cope with their adverse socio-economic conditions:

I sometimes think that robbery is like a revolution, through which marginalized communities are going to claim their rights. I watched a documentary about a person in jail. He had stolen a car's CD player, and his friends were respecting him a lot and helping him to solve his problems and were allocating a percentage of their robbery money to convince his plaintiffs [to discontinue the case]. Those marginalized people believed that nobody understood what they were experiencing, so they had created their own network.

According to these volunteers, the definition of resilience needs to take into account the youth's social context and marginalization, which is consistent with anti-oppressive perspectives on resilience (Bottrell, 2007; Moosa-Mitha, 2015). In this respect, youth in marginalized areas may develop habits and practices that help them cope with marginalization. However, these behaviours may be considered in conflict with the dominating and mainstream group's rules (Bottrell, 2007).

5.8. Synthesis

According to both IAPSRS volunteers and Tehran's marginalized youth, socio-economic conditions—including youth access to resources, culture, and context—both influence and determine youth resilience. In this research, resilience is associated with the place of residence, family addiction, community resources, race, education, and basic needs, such as food and clothing. In adverse socio-economic conditions where abuse is prevalent, however, the definition

of resilience is reduced to being alive. The definition of resilience in marginalized areas needs to draw on the complexity of youth experiences of inequalities and their lack of access to resources and take into account behaviours they adopt to cope with adversity and deprivation.

Barriers to youth resilience were systematic and resulted from marginalization and structural inequalities. Therefore, policy-makers need to pay attention to youth's social location and cultural differences to adopt laws and design services that benefit marginalized youth, rather than reinforcing inequalities and oppression. If free educational services and programs do not consider youth's marginality, they do not promote resilience. Instead, they further exclude and marginalize youth and reproduce unequal structures. As elaborated by IAPSRs volunteers, the educational system is not relevant to the marginalized communities' culture and is not competent to understand the difficulties that marginalized youth experience. As a result, marginalized youth do not benefit from educational programs, feel excluded, and are more likely to abandon their schooling. This research's findings highlight the need for policies and programs that recognize the complexity of youth's experiences and intersectionality of social position, race, and culture. Racism negatively influences youth resilience and leads to their marginalization, exclusion, and lack of access to resources.

As previously mentioned, the youths and IAPSRs volunteers situated youths' experiences in class inequalities and marginalization. However, as will be explained in the next chapter, the youths interviewed in this study were more likely to emphasize their relationship with their family members than their socio-economic conditions. As mentioned in this chapter, IAPSRs volunteers maintained that many parents in marginalized areas deal with addiction problems, abuse their children, and force them to work outside the home. In poor communities, parents are less likely to have enough resources or education to address their children's needs (McCrea et al., 2019). Therefore, the quality of parenting can be affected by structural factors or socio-economic positions, as individuals and families are not able to access the resources they need for their well-being.

Another line of research suggests socio-economic status does not have a significant impact on youth resilience, and that youth from diverse socio-economic groups are not different in terms of resilience outcomes. Studies such as those with social selection perspectives underline the role of relationships with family and other individuals, in addition to youth personality characteristics, in youth resilience (McLeod & Kaiser, 2004). According to Conger and colleagues (2010), none

of these models and perspectives is an accurate reflection of youth resilience, and there is a need to more carefully study the role of family relationships and socio-economic conditions in youth resilience. In the next chapter, the role of relationships in Tehran's marginalized youth resilience will be discussed.

6. The Importance of Relationships: “My mom gives me hope. She knows all the secrets that I have in this world.”

6.1. Introduction

Consistent with research showing relationships with family and friends as an essential factor of resilience (Hareven, 2018; Zimmerman et al., 2013), youths in this research identified their relationships with family, IAPSRS volunteers, and friends as critical to the development of their resilience and as the most important source of strength in stressful conditions and difficulties. The majority of the youths considered the relationship with their parents as their most important relationship. Parents give them hope when they experience difficulty and talk to them when they have problems.

This chapter outlines the importance of youth relationships with their family members, friends, and IAPSRS volunteers. Each section of this chapter begins with literature review about resilience and relationships and ends with the findings of this research.

6.2. Family Relationships

6.2.1. The Importance of Relationships With Parents or Caregivers

For youth, the development of resilience largely depends on positive relationships with parents or caregivers (Baldwin et al., 1990; Hill et al., 2007; Luther, 2015; Werner & Smith, 1982; Wyman et al., 1999). Resilient youth are able to regulate their emotions, be creative, problem solve, and think positively about their future (Oshio et al., 2003). Parenting behaviours that lead to youth resilience include demonstrating warmth and respect, being responsive, forming attachments with their children, and showing affection to them in early childhood (Archdoll & Kilderry, 2016; Boughton, & Lumley, 2011; Johnson et al., 2011; Maximo & Carranza, 2016; Miller-Lewis et al., 2013). Attachments to parents and caregivers early in life also help adolescents to develop supportive relationships with people other than family members (Sroufe, 2016); close relationships with parents can also compensate for unhealthy or problematic relationships with friends (Noller & Patton, 1990). Whereas positive relationships with parents and the sense of being loved and respected in the family can reduce youth’s exposure to risk (Fuller, McGraw, &

Goodyear, 1999), the absence of such relationships can impede or prevent the formation of resilience.

Many youths in this study reported having good relationships with family members, particularly parents, who generally induce feelings of calm and security. When asked to identify the first person they wanted to see when facing difficulties, most indicated their family members, including parents and siblings. They also indicated their most important relationships were those with their family. Beyond relying on family members to help them with problems, they also depended on IAPSRs volunteers. One of the IAPSRs volunteers also identified family as the most important factor in youth resilience. The youths in this study mentioned that their parents talk to them, give them hope, and help them out when they are stressed. They also identified their family members as their role models. For example, Shahrzad said:

I wanted to be similar to my mom, as she is very powerful, and nobody is allowed to tell her anything. At the same time, she is very kind.

Another youth identified her mother as a symbol of resilience, as she never fails, in her opinion. Several youths in the study who had lost a parent indicated they relied on their siblings or other close relatives. For example, Paria had good relationships with her family. After the death of her father, she began to rely on her brother, whom she preferred of all her remaining family members. She viewed him as her role model, saying that he made jokes and took her to parks. She said she also liked her mother but was worried for her. If Paria were to remarry, she indicated she would invite her mother to live with her. Sarah had also lost her father. Although her mother was alive, she relied on her sister and other relatives:

One of the reasons that I am alive is my sister. My father's relatives give me lots of hope because I am the last grandchild and should continue the generation; my sister is here, and she can do it, so I do not have to worry about it.

As this interview extract demonstrates, the support of siblings and extended family members is critical to youths who have lost a parent.

6.2.2. Youth Perceptions of Their Relationships With Their Parents

Youth understanding of their relationships with their parents influences their resilience. In fact, the perceptions youth have of their relationship with their parents affect their resilience more

than the relationships themselves; these perceptions are so important that they influence youths' self-perception and motivation (Babkes & Weiss, 1999). Resilience is more likely to develop in youth if they feel warmth, love, and support in their family (Zakeri et al., 2010).

In general, youths' own perceptions of their relationships impact their mental characteristics significantly more than the perceptions of third parties (Tamura, 2019). Accordingly, the youths' perceptions of their relationships with their parents is the focus of attention in this research. As the following interview extract illustrates, the youths in this study referred to their relationships with parents and caregivers as their most important and as sources of hope:

My mom gives me hope. She knows all the secrets that I have in this world. Even if I make mistake and do something wrong, I tell her. My mom loves me more than other family members. She gives me attention. (Tahereh)

Another youth said:

My mom is my role model. I love her everything; she never yells at me or puts me down; she gives me advice and attention. (Shahrzad)

6.2.3. Attachment Theory

Bowlby (1969) developed attachment theory, which suggests children's attachment to caregivers increases their resilience and the probability of survival. This intrinsic need or tendency in children to physically and psychologically rely on their caregiver (the person to whom they are attached) is the foundation of attachment theory (Marvin et al., 2016; Juang et al., 2018). The attachment system is activated and the need for proximity to caregivers increases when children are stressed (Bowlby, 1969).

Attachment theory explains children's reliance on their caregiver and particularly their need for this attachment in stressful conditions. This attachment also influences children's development and relationships in the future (Juang et al., 2018). Caregivers (attachment figures) help with children's development by addressing their three critical needs: a sense of closeness, sense of safety, and secure base; these allow children to explore life and perform their tasks with a sense of confidence and efficacy (Bowlby, 1973). Considered to be children's essential resources, these senses can help them to navigate stressful situations and develop both socially and emotionally.

They also influence children's relations in adulthood (Afifi, Merrill, & Davis, 2016). Four attachment patterns are developed in children based on the attachment figure's quality of care: secure, anxious-avoidant, anxious-resistant, and disorganized (Ainsworth et al., 2015; Main & Solomon, 1990; Mesmer, van IJzendoorn, & Sagi-Schwartz, 2016). Secure children can feel calm when their caregivers are present, and they can rely on them in difficult times (Marvin et al., 2016). How youth understand and control their emotions in stressful conditions influence how stress may affect their well-being or resilience (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007). Youth with secure attachment patterns are equipped with better coping skills and are more resilient (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2017).

As this extract demonstrates, the majority of the youths in this study considered their parents as a source of safety and did not feel any fear when they were with them:

When I am alone, I think that somebody is chasing me and wants to force me into a car. When I am at home, I also have fears. However, when my dad is at home, I do not have fears. (Shohreh)

The youths in this study expressed their belief that parents and good parenting, either their absence or their presence, influence youth resilience. According to these youths, losing or being neglected by a parent may lead to failure in life or even a life of crime. Samira, for example, identified youths who lose their parents or siblings as “losers” (they will go through many hardships and may not be able to achieve their goals in life). Another youth associated the death of her mother with her failure at school:

When I was in grade two, I was really good at school; however, my mom died, and there was nobody to help me with school... My dad is illiterate ... I like reading and writing. However, I cannot study. (Shohreh)

Steele and Steele (2005) claim the mother's role is more important than the father's in developing youth resilience and resolving children's emotional conflicts. For positive relationships to develop with their children, mothers need to initiate and maintain a close relationship with their children, become a role model for them, and discuss a positive future orientation with them. However, if mothers are involved in substance abuse, dangerous labour, and other issues related to low socio-economic status, it is difficult for them to provide resilience resources to their children (McCrea et al., 2019). In other words, if the community does not provide the financial and

structural resources to families, youths face difficulties navigating their way through and accessing the resources they need for their well-being.

6.2.4. Families in Poverty and Delinquency Contexts

Although family support promotes resilience in youth (Werner, 2005), often protecting them against stress, violence, and anxiety, this support is not as apparent in areas with low socioeconomic status and high crime rates (McCrea et al., 2019). Parents in these areas experience many problems and their minimal support cannot compensate for environmental risks (Deane et al., 2016; Goldner et al., 2014; Hammack et al., 2004). High-crime areas often experience structural violence, such as racism, which can lead to interpersonal violence, mental health issues, and reactive youth violence (McCrea et al., 2019). In these areas, families and schools are under-resourced and cannot protect youth against trauma and stress. If the community does not provide the financial and structural resources to families, youths face difficulties navigating their way through and accessing the resources they need for their well-being.

As many parents in poor communities have to work long hours to fend for their families, leading to long hours of separation from their children (Kiser, 2015; Lindsey, 2008). A number of these parents also suffer from depression and other mental health issues (Acri et al., 2017). Furthermore, low-income parents and families from poor neighbourhoods are often unable to access social and educational resources (Allard, 2009; Austin, 2013; Kiser, 2015; Lindsey, 2008). These conditions can lead to parental neglect and child abuse (Moore et al., 2014). Parents who themselves suffered from childhood, family, and community violence often pass on the negative impacts of trauma and mental health issues to their children (Felitti et al., 1998). Youths whose mothers experienced childhood trauma are more likely to experience mental health issues themselves (Stepleton et al., 2018). Separation from caregivers, ongoing stress, and instability in family and living situations negatively affect cognition and lead to mental health issues in youth (Conger et al., 2002; Shonkoff et al., 2012). About 50% of youth in marginalized areas suffer from mental health issues (Stagman & Cooper, 2010). These youth are excluded from society and do not have adequate access to services; welfare state deficiencies, cultural insensitivity, racism, and classism have also contributed to their exclusion (Bringewatt & Gershoff, 2010; Gibbs & Huang, 2003; Smith, 2005). As a result of these and other factors, many families in poor neighborhoods

educate their youth according to street values and force them to become involved in criminal activities in their early childhood (Anderson, 1999; Stewart & Simons, 2006).

The youths in this study also maintained that a delinquent family is one of the critical factors influencing youth crime. In their view, delinquent families force their youths to become involved in criminal activities. Paria, for example, believed that family substance abuse hinders youth resilience and leads to youth addiction and crime. Mana said she had no parents to take care of her. She considered her uncle as a family member but relies on NGO volunteers to address her needs. She believed that she would have no future if she stayed with her family.

I do not know where my mom is, and my dad is in prison. My uncle is a criminal [similar to my dad] and does not treat me well. He tells me that I am a thief. However, I have never stolen anything from him. He himself is a thief. When he arrives home he brings the money that he has stolen from people. He does not count them and leave them on the floor, but I never touch them ... adults except my family members are kind. (Mana)

Sarah also does not have a father, and cannot rely on her mother when she is in difficulty:

I never talk to my mom about my problems. She herself needs someone to help her and be with her. If I tell her anything, she uses it against me and puts me down because of it. She keeps telling me that I am nothing and will be nothing in the future. My grandma is dying, and my uncles are stray. My granddad had two wives. I like to be alone.

Similar to Nastaran, I like to stay in the Science House day and night. I do not like to go home. I enjoy staying here a lot; I love that somebody tells us not to go home and stay here. I like to be here day and night.

Similar to these youths, one of the IAPSRS volunteers believed the most critical factor that hinders youth resilience is family crime. Another volunteer stressed the role of the family:

The role of the family is so important that youth talents can get buried, unused, and ignored if family problems are severe. In these cases, youth talent cannot help them to survive. (Hamid)

From the perspectives of the volunteers, the role of the family is also vital in the development of personal characteristics, such as self-esteem, which can promote resilience. When a youth's family frequently labels him/her as an idiot, the youth will not be able to imagine herself/himself as someone who can succeed in life. Another example provided by volunteers is

when the family put their children under pressure to use drugs, and label them as upper class if they do not become involved in substance abuse.

6.2.5. Abuse and Youth Violence

Abuse is a primary contributing factor in youth violence and crime. The majority of violent youth have experienced child abuse that has led to stress-related disorders (Silvern & Griese, 2012; Solomon & Heide, 1999). Child abuse results in feelings of unworthiness, unhealthy relationships, and distorted physical, cognitive, and social development (Kiser, 2015; Lindsey, 2008; Perry, 2002, 2009; Sroufe et al., 2005; Stronach et al., 2011). Other effects on youth who have been abused in childhood are failure to control emotions, including fear, irritation, and fight responses (Cicchetti, 2016). The experience of abuse and poverty can also increase the probability of committing a crime (Garbarino, 2015; Zagar et al., 2009).

According to one IAPSRs volunteer, the level of aggression and isolation is high in youth who have been sexually abused:

They [abused youth] do not even like their teachers to become close to them. When they avoid men, you understand that a man is abusing them. The critical point is that they do not believe their teachers [they cannot trust their teachers and accept that they want to help them] because from experience she has seen that their parents do not have time for them; dad is addicted or sick, mom does not have time for them. They do not pay attention to them. The salesperson of the supermarket, if he does not abuse them, also does not care about them. He is like why the hell this kid exist in this world [in Persian: be Jahannam ke in hast]. (Hamid)

According to IAPSRs volunteers, it is challenging for abused youth to trust and develop relationships with other community members. Hamid continued to explain how difficult it was to establish relationships with abused youth:

When the [IAPSRs] teacher is caring for youth without receiving money, the youth cannot believe the teacher and wants to categorize her with other people. The Teacher's attention bothers youth so much that they tell her to get away, and this is a challenging period until they trust the teacher. We had a youth who was constantly abused, but she rarely talked. She had told one of the teachers that her dad was masturbating in front of her. The teacher

reported her dad. However, the jury did not believe the teacher. After one year, the youth allowed one of the teachers to film her complaining about her dad's behaviour. Finally, the jury believed the teacher and sentenced the dad. Therefore, the formation of trust is complicated. (Reza)

Another volunteer explained how abuse adversely affects youth resilience:

Sometimes dad sexually abuses the youth. Resilience in these cases is only about helping the youth survive despite parents' sexual and physical abuse. Early, in the morning, their parents kick them out to bring money. They beat them up if they do not bring enough money. The reason that these youths fail is that their survival needs are not addressed. (Hamid)

Abused youths' basic rights, such as life, survival, development, and protection from violence, are not respected. The definition of resilience for these youths is reduced to being alive in the conditions of abuse and neglect.

6.3. Relationships with Friends

Relationships with friends and people other than family members can also promote youth resilience. Youth with more positive relationships with other youth and friends experience less anxiety and depression (Gorrese, 2016). Positive relationships are those that involve trust, good communication, and no alienation (Juang et al., 2018). Relationships with peers can also result in better school achievement (Fazel et al., 2012) and compensate for the absence of family attachments by addressing youth attachment needs, including a sense of closeness, safety, and confidence (Juang et al., 2018). Bronfenbrenner (1979) believes that, as youth become older, the influence of the mesosystem (the interactions between youth and their environment) becomes more significant. Hoffman and colleagues (2011) also maintain that the influence of friend relationships increases as children grow and develop independent identities (Monahan & Booth-LaForce, 2016). The relationship between youth and caregivers also influences the relationships youth form with their peers. Youth who are deprived of caregiver support are more likely to develop relationships with delinquent peers (Albert & Steinberg, 2011), which can directly impact involvement in crime as these youth are socialized relying on street values (Anderson, 1999; Stewart & Simons, 2006;

Dishion et al., 2005; Howell, 2010). The youths in this study believed that delinquent friends were one of the most important factors that influence youth crime:

If your friend or role model is delinquent, you would repeat the same behaviours and would follow the same goals. (Paria)

The majority of the youths indicated they had good relationships with their friends. Two youth made a poster (figure 6.1) and compared their past and future in the poster blue and green columns, and one of them stressed the importance of the relationship with her friend:

I was a very sentimental girl and even jokes made me cry. I was a girl that there needed to be someone to make me laugh [otherwise I would not laugh at all]. I was a girl who was not aware of child who was begging in streets. When things happened to me, I did not know who I should rely on till I got to know my friend Nastaran [in the Science House]. She was the first one who I loved after my sister. Nastaran could understand me in all situations. This is now that I can understand the meaning of life. (Sarah)

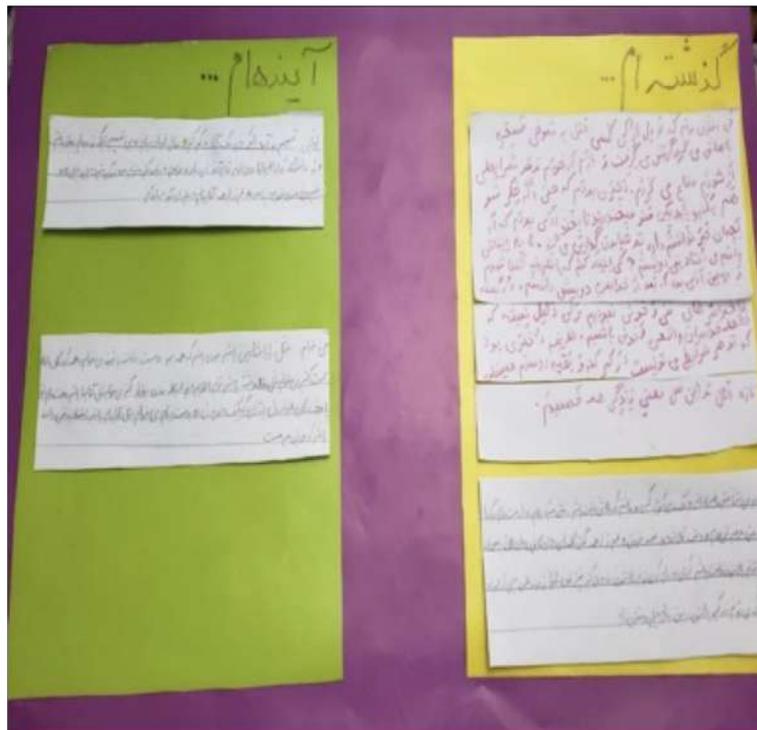


Figure 6.1. Sarah and Nastaran's poster about the importance of friendship

For Sarah, her friend was the first person that she wanted to see when she had problems. For her and for another youth, relationships with their friends were even more important than relationships with their family members. They relied on their friends to help them with difficulties:

I do not trust anyone except the three friends that I have. I like to spend most of my time with my friends; I do not like to go home at all; I am furious at home; I wish there were beds here and we could sleep here at the Science House. (Sarah)

Golnar's comments, when answering the question about what she does to keep healthy mentally, physically, and emotionally, also reflected the importance of friends:

I talk to my friends and let my heart out, so that I do not feel the sadness; we go out with friends and go to parks.

Ziba also explained the activities that she and her friends enjoy:

We spend time together; go to the cinema, parks, we enjoy ourselves a lot, eat hot beets; we go to funfairs, Kheaksefid park; we do sport; go to the gym and swimming pool, play volleyball; we go the Golden park in the north of Iran, Police park...

Another youth mentioned she feels safe with her friends in the streets. Another youth, however, did not have good relationships with her friends and believed that her friends had betrayed her:

My friends gossip a lot behind my back. Some of my friends support the ones that I am fighting with. (Maryam)

6.4. Relationships With Nonfamilial Adults

Youth in communities with high crime rates are often treated violently by unrelated community adults (Moore et al., 2014). For example, in the United States, youth is the population most victimized by violent crimes committed by unrelated adults in the community (Morgan & Kena, 2017). From the perspective of youth living in Chicago, adults in the community encourage violence among youth and torture those who belong to opposing gangs (Moore et al., 2014). Globally, the values of violent groups are internalized in poor and marginalized youth, who consider these groups to be the only viable survival option (Hoffman et al., 2011).

Community violence extends to the police; according to a 2004 study in high-poverty communities in the United States, black youth expect violence from the police (Friedman et al., 2004). Violence is reinforced by community authority figures who are seen to prevent youth from

legally accessing resources and leave them with no other alternative than to adopt a criminal lifestyle (Hammond & Arias, 2011). IAPSRS volunteers maintained that the state staff and policy-makers who are responsible for helping marginalized youth are further marginalizing them through criminalization and labeling. Specifically, the volunteers believed that a number of authority figures sometimes criminalize the youth of certain families:

I can remember a manager of a governmental organization had come to visit our Science House. One of the youths in the house served him tea, and he started admiring her and saying how good she was. Then he told us not to allow the Fiuuj [a tribe in Iran] youths to come to the Science House. We told him that the girl who served you tea, belongs to these families. (Vishka)

However, the majority of the youths in this study described their relationships with adults in their community as neutral:

They have nothing to do with me. (Tahereh)

Only a few youths described their relationships with nonfamilial adults as “very bad”:

[Relationships with adults in the community] Very bad ... [Adults in the community tell me] lady, I want to give you my phone number ... pretty woman ... (Sima)

They swear if they are not older. If they are older [above 20 years old], they fight. (Nazanin)

6.5. Relationships With Community Organizations

Community organizations or groups can compensate for the absence of positive relationships with family members or friends. Because youth participate in gangs to address their survival needs, including belonging and money-making, these community-based organizations need to serve as an alternative source for fulfilling youth’s needs (Van Hoorn et al., 2014). Involving youth in community organization activities that help to solve social problems can positively affect youth empowerment, resilience, and identity (Zimmerman et al., 2017). The participation of youth in group activities of community organizations can promote their resilience by facilitating the development of healthy connections. It can also help them to control their anger and violence (Bulanda & McCrea, 2013). According to Herwitz (2005), “[c]ollectively

memorializing those lost to community violence is a remedy for the rage bred by chronic injustice and the silencing of those oppressed by authority-caused violence” (p. 5).

The relationships IAPSRS volunteers have developed with the youths in this study appear to be the most important service this NGO is providing. When asked about the first thing she thinks in the morning, Mana immediately replied:

Aunt Jaleh [an IAPSRS volunteer]; the name of Aunt Jaleh gives me strength.

She continued:

When I was in the foster home, they were bad women; they would put us in the rooms and closed the doors. However, Aunt Jaleh cares so much, I give my life for her. My mother and father is Aunt Jaleh, My God is aunt Jaleh, When I eat salt, I do not break the saltshaker [I value people who help me out and like me]. Even my parents [uncle] are not good with me; Aunt Jaleh is an angel. She is very kind.

Although the majority of the youths in this study considered their relationships with their parents as their most important relationships, they rely on IAPSRS volunteers the most for resolving their problems. The reason for their reliance on IAPSRS volunteers is that this organization has resources their families do not and would not be able to access without IAPSRS’s help. Additionally, for two of the youths, the relationships with the volunteers were most important than those with their family members. These two youths wanted to see the volunteers first when they face problems.

Everybody is bad with me except Aunt Jaleh; She is my role model. (Mana)

One of the IAPSRS volunteers, when talking about a successful youth (Kambiz), pointed to the importance of relationships with community-based organizations in youth resilience:

If I want to omit something from his [Kambiz’s] life and say that he would be trapped in poverty without it, it is the social support that he has received here. It was not school or work or university. If we omit them [school, work, or university] as well, it would be too bad. However, the most important was the IAPSRS social support and approval because there are so many people who have not studied, but they are millionaires; however, they have received an approval and identity somewhere. (Hamid)

Hamid continued to explain how relationships with IAPSRS volunteers helped Kambiz to be resilient and protect him against offending:

I think I told you last time that youths in marginalized areas get involved in stealing cell phones. When they get arrested, in the court, they say that they have stolen five cellphones. Since the principle is that all people are innocent, they get forgiven and pay only the price of five cellphones, and they do not even get sentenced. In this way they lose almost no money and make about 400 million toman [Iranian currency] if they steal 20 cellphones. They make lots of money and open a shop, and nobody knows what they have done. However, Kambiz said that I do not want to get involved in this. Although so many of my friends were asking me to join them in stealing the phones. I did not want to get involved, although he had the physical ability and he knew how to do it and had seen it. The reason that he did not want to do it was that he did not want Hamid [IAPSRS volunteer] to stop talking to him or Elaheh [IAPSRS volunteer], he did not want that people in IAPSRS dismiss him, he felt the need for support and approval from a social base.

Relationships with IAPSRS have been particularly important for Mana. She depicts her future and her dreams with one of the IAPSRS volunteers (Aunt Jaleh) in her drawing:



Figure 6.2. Mana's drawing

This is the house that I want to be in with aunt Jaleh [an IAPSRS volunteer]. I want it to be simple. Simple is even more than enough for me. (Mana)

Sarah explained how relationships with IAPSRS volunteers compensate for the loss of her father:

I did not know myself, and there was no one I could be comfortable with. When I lost my dad, I was not even talking to anyone. I was feeling sad day and night and being regretful. However, there are some people that I can be comfortable with. Now I have people that I can talk to them about my feelings and problems. Most of them are in the Science House and are my aunts and uncles [IAPSRS volunteers] who I can share my life stories with. I love them very much.

An IAPSRS volunteer further explained how the relationships with volunteers had influenced the lives and decision of other youths:

One of the youths told me he and a number of other youths in marginalized areas were asked to beati a number of people to receive food [bananas] and money. I told him if he

was going to beat them, he should not talk to me again. After a few hours, I asked him what he did, and he said that he gotten the banana and threw the batons away. However, this kid was in connection with me and was listening to me. (Reza)

Mana also explains the critical impact of IAPSRS volunteers on her life:

If I go back to foster home, I will not be able to see my family. Only aunt Sonia [IAPSRS volunteer] comes to see me. God takes care of aunt Sonia; she has a beautiful heart; God takes care of her. I was thinking last night that if I listen to what she says, I will get what I want because she is older than me; she knows more; she faces lots of difficulties at work.

When asked about her source of hope, Nastaran replied:

Hopes that men and women at the Science House give me.

6.6. Synthesis

The youths in Tehran's marginalized areas were the sources of knowledge in this research. I aimed to learn from them how they define and understand their resilience and what promotes or hinders it. From the perspective of the youth interviewed for this research, their relationships are the critical factor that defines, determines, and fuels their resilience. These relationships are sources of strength and hope for these youth. Resilient youth are those who have strong relationships with caring family members, friends, or IAPSRS volunteers.

Of these relationships, family members are the youths' most important sources of resilience, and typically those whom they want to see first when they face difficulties. Caring family members can help these youths to cope despite difficulties, be hopeful, study well, and succeed in their life. At the same time, family members can be the most serious impediment to the development of resilience. If youths are trapped in unhealthy, abusive, or uncaring family relationship, their talents are not able to help them. Abusive family members, especially parents, can force these youths to become involved in criminal activities and substance abuse. Families in marginalized areas are more likely to have less time and education to care for youths. They cannot spend time with their children due to their long work hours. Furthermore, in many cases, they force their children to work outside the home and, in this way, expose them to many risks, such as sexual

abuse and exploitation, that impede the development of resilience. Youths who have experienced abuse and exploitation are more likely to become violent.

The importance of family relationships is a critical lesson for Iranian policy-makers. They need to recognize and understand that the personal attributes of youth are not the defining factor in their resilience. The youth may not be responsible for deteriorating family relationships and delinquent behaviour; rather, the intersectionality of family background, ethnicity, youth's social position, and context determine their coping skills. Family relationships contextualized in poverty often undermine youth resilience, and neither family relationships nor poverty improve through sentencing and excluding criminalized youth from society.

A number of youths in this study claimed that non-familial community members do not impact their resilience. A few youths, however, reported that they had received bad treatments from adult community members. IAPSRS volunteers claimed that a number of people criminalize the youths who have certain family name and associated with certain tribes.

Another source of resilience for the youths in this study is their relationships with their friends. By talking to their friends, they can share their sadness and more easily survive in stressful situations. Similar to family members, friends can be role models for these youths, and this is what makes friendship a double-edged sword. Friends can help youths maintain their mental health. At the same time, delinquent friends can negatively impact youths' health using approval mechanisms. In other words, friends can encourage delinquent behaviours by giving approval to youths who crave it. Poor youth are more likely than middle-class youth to be exposed to environmental risks and family abuse, and they are also more likely to cope with their difficult situation by being violent. As the number of abused and criminalized youths increase in a community, many have no option other than to spend their time with criminalized friends who share the same social problems.

The third key factor in the development of resilience is relationships with members of community organizations (e.g., IAPSRS volunteers). Although they are more emotionally connected to their family members and friends, the youths largely rely on IAPSRS volunteers to help solve their problems. This community organization has more resources than family members and friends to provide these youths with financial and mental health assistance when they need it.

The critical role of the community organization for marginalized youth has significant policy implications. Poor, marginalized youth cannot rely on either state or family for their well-

being, so they must depend on community organizations. In the context of poverty and marginalization in developing countries, policy-makers need to support these community organizations to promote youth resilience.

The marginalized youths and IAPSRS volunteers' understanding of resilience points to the importance of anti-oppressive perspectives on resilience (Moosa-Mitha, 2015). According to these perspectives, personal and relational factors that influence marginalized youth resilience are formed by unequal social relations, structures, and resources (Bottrell, 2009). Youths' access to meaningful resources and relationships determine their resilience (Ungar, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2015, 2018; Ungar & Liebenberg, 2011) and social inequalities must be addressed to improve youth resilience (Bottrell, 2009).

7. “There is happiness, difficulty exists, but there is still happiness and hope”: Personal Factors in Youth Resilience

7.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses marginalized youths’ perspectives on personal factors of resilience. According to the youths in this study, hope, spirituality, theatre, music, and sport were critical to their resilience. However, these personal aspects of resilience are profoundly impacted by society’s inequalities and the socio-economic conditions of the community.

7.2. Hope

Hope is a predictive factor for resilience (Luthans et al., 2006). It is a cognitive construct consisting of two elements: the conceptualization of goals and the generation of directions for achieving those goals (Sünbül & Çekici, 2018). As goals direct behaviours, people need to have confidence they can produce and use pathways to achieve their goals (Snyder, 2002). In other words, hope is the belief in the capacity to generate pathways to reach goals and the successful use of those pathways (Masten, 2004). This process is called pathways thinking and is characterized by affirming internal messages, such as ‘there is a way for doing this, and I will find it’ (Snyder et al., 1998). Therefore, agency is the motivational element of hope (Sünbül & Çekici, 2018).

Hope promotes resilience in individuals (Evangelista et al., 2003). When they expect a positive outcome, individuals are motivated to cope despite stressful conditions. Hopefulness can help people to identify meaningful goals and to problem solve, so they achieve these goals (Masten, 2001). Hopeful individuals regularly make plans for achieving their goals and then implement them. They are more satisfied with their lives than hopeless individuals (Kirmani et al., 2015). Individuals who have a feeling of considerable hope interpret difficulties as challenges rather than threats and have the motivation to find pathways to achieve their goals and resolve problems. Therefore, hopefulness can be considered a means of achieving resilience (Kirmani et al., 2015; Sünbül & Çekici, 2018). Hope is also defined as having an expectation of success and optimism. According to this definition, hope urges the individual to face problems and cope despite adversity (Gottschalk, 1974). Hope is the belief in the prospect of a positive outcome and is a

cognitive process through which the probability of reaching goals is evaluated (Godfrey, 1987). Being hopeful positively influences an individual's well-being and resilience. Hope gives meaning to individuals' lives and affects their thoughts as they expect good experiences to replace adverse ones. In this way, hope helps to protect youth against risks by developing positive and meaningful (goal-oriented) expectations (thoughts) towards the future and by promoting resilience despite adverse experiences (Masten, 2001). Quantitative studies show hope can promote resilience, particularly among disadvantaged youth. According to these studies, hope is a predictor of resilience in youth (Sünbül & Çekici, 2018). Other studies also show a positive correlation between hope and resilience (Collins, 2009; Deb & Arora, 2008; Gupta & Suman, 2004; Luthans et al., 2006).

7.2.1. Marginalized Youths' Resilience and Hope

A number of studies reveal that hope promotes resilience in marginalized youth. According to Seligma (1998), hopeful youths have a desire for a better life, and this goal compels them to use support systems, in addition to personal coping strategies, despite adversities. Another study on low-income African American youth resilience showed hope in youth is influenced by their relationships, spirituality, education, the fulfillment of their basic needs, and the belief that they are going to achieve their goals (Wagnild & Young, 1993). The study also found that hope increases youth resilience and strength to cope in spite of economic and social challenges.

Marginalized youths in this study also identified hope as a critical factor in their resilience. Shahrzad indicated,

Resilience is hope and proud. It is not related to being successful in exams or competitions or doing other good things.

Nastaran said,

The one who loses her hope, energy, and motivation loses her resilience and the one who is scared of facing problems.

In response to a question about what hinders youth resilience, Sheyda said,

Getting tired from life and becoming hopeless.

Razieh, an IAPSRS volunteer, also noted,

The resilient is the one who can overcome any bad situations, do not lose her hope, tries for changing the situation, and does not give up.

When they were asked what gives them hope, the youths talked about their inner conversations. Roghayeh, for example, encouraged herself to *be strong*. Nazanin said,

There is happiness, difficulty exists, but there is still happiness and hope.

Sarah indicated,

There will be another time, with the hope that I will be with my sister, I like my sister very much; however, my brother-in-law does not allow us to have any relationships.

In response to the question about how she keeps healthy, Shadi replied,

Studying and giving myself hope, because I have nobody who can give me hope.

Reza (an IAPSRs volunteer) also indicated that resilience is about hope and perseverance:

We had a youth who ranked third in the robotics competitions, and on the same day that he was competing, he was invited from the University of Qazvin to study there. On the competition day, his robot fell on the floor and broke into pieces. He started fixing it while crying; he did not ask why it happened; he was a comeback youth. He knew and had learned that he had to do his work while crying, and he was able to do it and ranked third on that day. A middle-class youth might not have been able to do it.

The youths in this study indicated their dreams and future goals give them hope and help them stay resilient. When Paria asked what gives her hope, she said,

I think about the future.

While explaining her resilience, Sarah talked about her future goals:

My first decision is to defeat the Malekabad Science House and get the [running] championship medal. My second decision is to become successful in my studies and study in a Spanish university and fulfill all my mom and sisters' wishes and become a very big runner and eat lots of Indian sweets, and the most important is to make uncle Farhad [an IAPSRs volunteer] and other teachers proud of me.

Ziba said she was dreaming of marriage, indicating that thinking about marriage makes her feel good. In her opinion, failure in love and marriage can hinder youth resilience. All of her relatives married at a very young age (12-13 years old). She also encouraged me to get married, believing that both she and I could continue studying after marriage. She indicated that her friend Tara was 14 years old and married. Tara was her role model. Ziba indicated her friend's husband

was very nice and cared for Tara. Thinking about her own resilience, Ziba crafted her friend's husband using playdough:



Figure 7.1. Ziba's art craft

Ziba hoped that she could receive money from her future husband to open a cosmetics shop. For her, a resilient youth is one who marries. Her pathway to resilience was to marry and to collect money:

We collect money. We throw money to the hook; we throw ten toman in the hook every day. We study. I like always and always one husband to protect me; he gives you money, and you buy cosmetics and sell them. We will buy a house with my husband ... Husbands also buy jewelry for their wives. Some kids are 15-16 [years old] and have good fortune; they marry soon; they buy a house soon.

Maryam stated that her pathway to resilience was thinking about good things:

I think more about things that I like. When I lose my hope and energy, I think about good things.

For Nastaran, resilience was about perseverance and hope:

... non-resilient is the one who gives up in life. For example, if your relatives force you to marry, you give up, get married, or escape, you are no longer resilient.

Shohreh, similar to a few other youths, was dreaming of her house in the future:

I want to have a big house with two rooms, backyard, garden, and flowers:



Figure 7.2. Shohreh's drawing

Narges made a globe by playdough, saying

This is where everybody can live and advance, and many of them dream of becoming an engineer:



Figure 7.3. Narges's art craft

The majority of the youths had a good feeling about the future. Only one had no feelings toward the future, while another youth (Shahzad) expressed fears about the future, as she had just lost her friend:

I do not think about the future, I fear, my friend was thinking about the future and died. She was saying let's use lotion every day; it will be good for our wedding. I like to go to university, but I do not have hope.

7.2.2. *Hope, Studying, and Employment*

The youths in this study discussed the impediments that hold them back from studying and achieving their desired employment as obstacles in the pathways towards their resilience. For example, Paria believed that challenging courses and difficulties with registering at school hinder youth resilience. Nastaran said that the non-resilient is

the one who fails the university entrance exam 10 times and studies again; then, she/he does not get anywhere and does not change her/his major.

Shadi also said,

I liked to be a physician from my childhood; however, my science and mathematics are not good.

For these youths, the pathway to resilience was studying. They believed that studying would help them to escape poverty and achieve their desired employment. When Roghayeh thought about her future job, she felt good, believing she can overcome difficulties. She drew a picture of a gym where she was teaching girls how to play soccer:



Figure 7.4. Roghayeh's drawing

I think about kinesiology, about being a coach. I want to become a gym coach. When all kids come to the gym, I will give them exercises and will teach them how to kick the ball correctly; when I think about it, I feel good.

In response to the question about what hinders youth resilience, Sheyda replied,
Being kicked out of school because of being playful.

The youths in this study believed that difficult courses hindered their resilience. For example, Golnar identified difficult exams as an obstacle in her resilience pathway. Paria also said,

Tests are too difficult.

After losing her mother, Shohreh was not able to study as much as required, and, for this reason, she was finding it challenging to stay resilient. Narges identified the pathways to her resilience:

I should study, continue my work, do gymnastics so that I can get somewhere.

Maryam said,

I should study and try as much as I can.

Paria also indicated,

I should study well and have good marks in practical and general courses.

For the youths in this study, studying was one of the signs of resilience. For example, Tahereh maintained,

The one who is a good student is resilient.

Shohreh made a similar statement, indicating that a resilient youth is *the one who studies*. Nastaran expressed the same thought this way:

Resilient is the one who continues her/his studies or continues what she/he has in her mind.

You enjoy it a lot when you continue what you like.

Sima believed that her friend Nastaran (another youth in the study) was resilient because she studied hard:

Nastaran is resilient; she studies and tries. I try less. However, I am smart; I can memorize phone numbers fast. However, I am playful.

Paria also indicated that her friend Samira is resilient because she studies intensely, indicating that she herself did not have as much time for studying:

Samira studies a lot. She spends lots of time studying. She is not similar to us; if there are several kids at home, you have to do the chores, and you do not have enough time to study.

When Samira arrives home, she has lots of time to study.

Other youth had similar ideas about resilience and studying. Paria indicated,

The one who studies well is resilient.

In answer to the same question about what makes a youth resilient, Maryam had a similar response:

The one whose marks are always [100%] 20. The one who always tries, fails, but tries again.

Studying was the first thing that Tahereh thought about in the morning.

Youth had different answers to the question about the career they wanted to pursue. Narges said she wanted to become a gymnastic teacher and was planning to teach for free and help marginalized children at the beginning of her career. Farideh was dreaming of becoming a doctor in the future, and her two drawings were both of a doctor and an ambulance:



Figure 7.5. Farideh's drawing 1

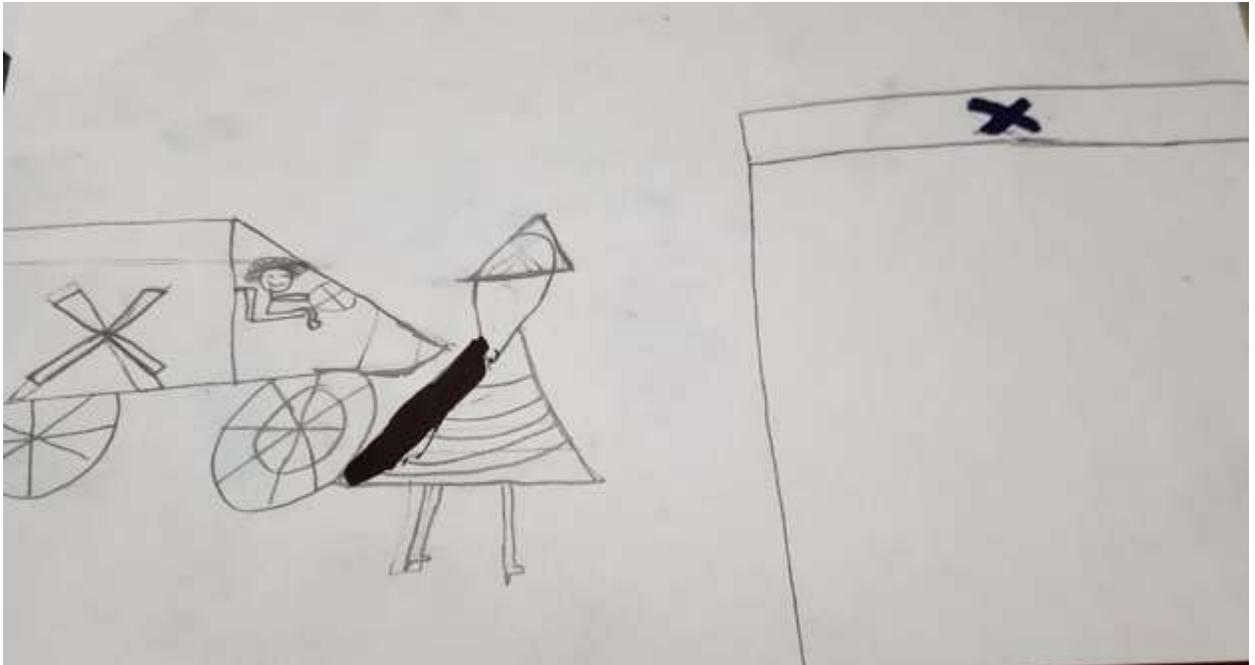


Figure 7.7. Farideh's drawing 2

Tahereh was thinking of traveling around the world and becoming a world explorer. In her drawing, she depicted herself holding the globe in her hands, and her art craft was a globe with airplanes traveling around it:



Figure 7.8. Tahereh's drawing

Sheyda was thinking of becoming a teacher, and this was what gave her hope to study more and be resilient. She drew a school and herself as a teacher:



Figure 7.9. Sheyda's drawing

Shahrzad was dreaming of becoming a graphic Artist, hoping to study for this job and acquire the required skills. Thinking about this job gave her hope. She drew beautiful flowers to demonstrate her art skills:



Figure 7.10. Shahrzad's drawing

Reza (an IAPSRS volunteer) believed that school and studying were critical to youth resilience. However, formal education, in her view, could not help all marginalized youth:

Formal education is good for Mina, but sometimes it is better for some youths not go to school. This [Not going to school] can become a threat turning to an opportunity. They can concentrate on the work that they like and do not study unrelated and irrelevant materials. If they know the skills in Iran, nobody tells them that you do not have their certificate. For example, somebody knows the photoshop skills, he/she can work. The youth who knows programming can work, although not officially, but he can get projects. There cannot be a single prescription. Somebody like Mina needs to study. Theatre helped Saman and Hesam. In general, however, we can say that school is an important element in youth resilience and success.

According to Reza, because formal education is irrelevant to the socio-economic position of many marginalized youths as explained in the first chapter, vocational training can enhance

youth resilience and help them to achieve their goals and attain employment. For this reason, IAPSRs organizes vocational training classes, in addition to educational courses, for marginalized youths. Although free education is provided to Iranian youths by law, marginalized and affluent youths cannot equally benefit from it, as many marginalized youths cannot attend school because they have to work outside the home. They are also excluded at school because of irrelevant school culture and educational materials, as explained in previous chapters.

7.2.3. Hope as a Socio-Economic Factor

In addition to being a personal characteristic, hope can be viewed as a social phenomenon. Society can be both a source of social inequalities and of social opportunities by providing resources that make social mobility possible. As individuals experience possibilities and opportunities in society, their hope increases. Otherwise, they feel trapped by their adverse social conditions and lose direction, purpose, and meaning in their lives (Mcclintock, 2015). Hopeful youth can find more meaningful directions and cope despite difficult circumstances by perceiving social resources and opportunities in society. Otherwise, they may feel they have no control over their lives and cannot escape poverty or other adversities, which may lead to disappointment, depression, and aggression. Hope as a mechanism that induces the belief that difficulties can be overcome helps youth to cope by using society's resources (Mcclintock, 2015). However, in marginalized areas where access to resources is limited, the "direction" element of hope is difficult to develop. In other words, it is challenging for marginalized youth to generate pathways for reaching their goals because resources are not available to them (Sünbül & Çekici, 2018).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the state provides free elementary and postsecondary education, and free postsecondary education is provided to people who pass nationwide entrance exams to public universities. The youths in this study recognized this opportunity and hoped that studying would help them to obtain employment and escape poverty. Many youths depicted their future job when they were asked to think about resilience. Sarah said,

Studying gives me hope.

Mana also said,

If I study, I will have a good future. If I stay with my family, there will be no future.

Shahrzad said,

If you go to university, you can make a name.

When Sheyda was asked what feeling she had towards the future, she replied,

the university feeling, the feeling of being a teacher.

Vahideh replied,

I like to study humanities at high school very much. However, my marks are not good.

Many youths in this study indicated that financial problems could hinder their resilience, as these problems prevent them from concentrating on their studies. For example, Vahideh said she could not spend enough time studying because of her family's financial problems and the expectation that she would contribute to her family's income. As previously mentioned, schools in marginalized areas have fewer resources than schools in communities with better socio-economic conditions. Furthermore, access to schools is more limited in marginalized areas. Therefore, youths in marginalized communities have less access to the resources they require to change their social class. Free education gives them the potential to generate pathways to reach their desired goals and employment; however, limited access to educational resources in marginalized areas, along with their obligation to work outside the home, does not allow them to benefit from the state's expenditure in education.

7.2.4. Hope and the Importance of Relationships

Youths' relationships also give them hope (Wagnild & Young, 1993). When Nazanin was asked what gives her hope, she replied,

I think about somebody [the boy that she loves] and become calm.

Sima replied,

I think about aunt Jila [an IAPSRS volunteer]. She is my love.

Ziba replied,

My friend "Maria" gives me hope.

Nastaran replied,

Hopes that men and women at the Science House [IAPSRS volunteers] give me.

Many other youths also indicated that aunt Jila has been critical to their hope and resilience. A few of them named other volunteers as their source of hope. IAPSRS volunteers have knowledge about resources, such as free education, that the youth can access in society, and they can also provide them with resources that donors have contributed.

Roghayeh explained how the Science House and the NGO volunteers give her hope. Her art was a small story about her life and thoughts written on the workshop whiteboard. The whiteboard was behind a curtain. She allowed me to take a photo of the whiteboard:

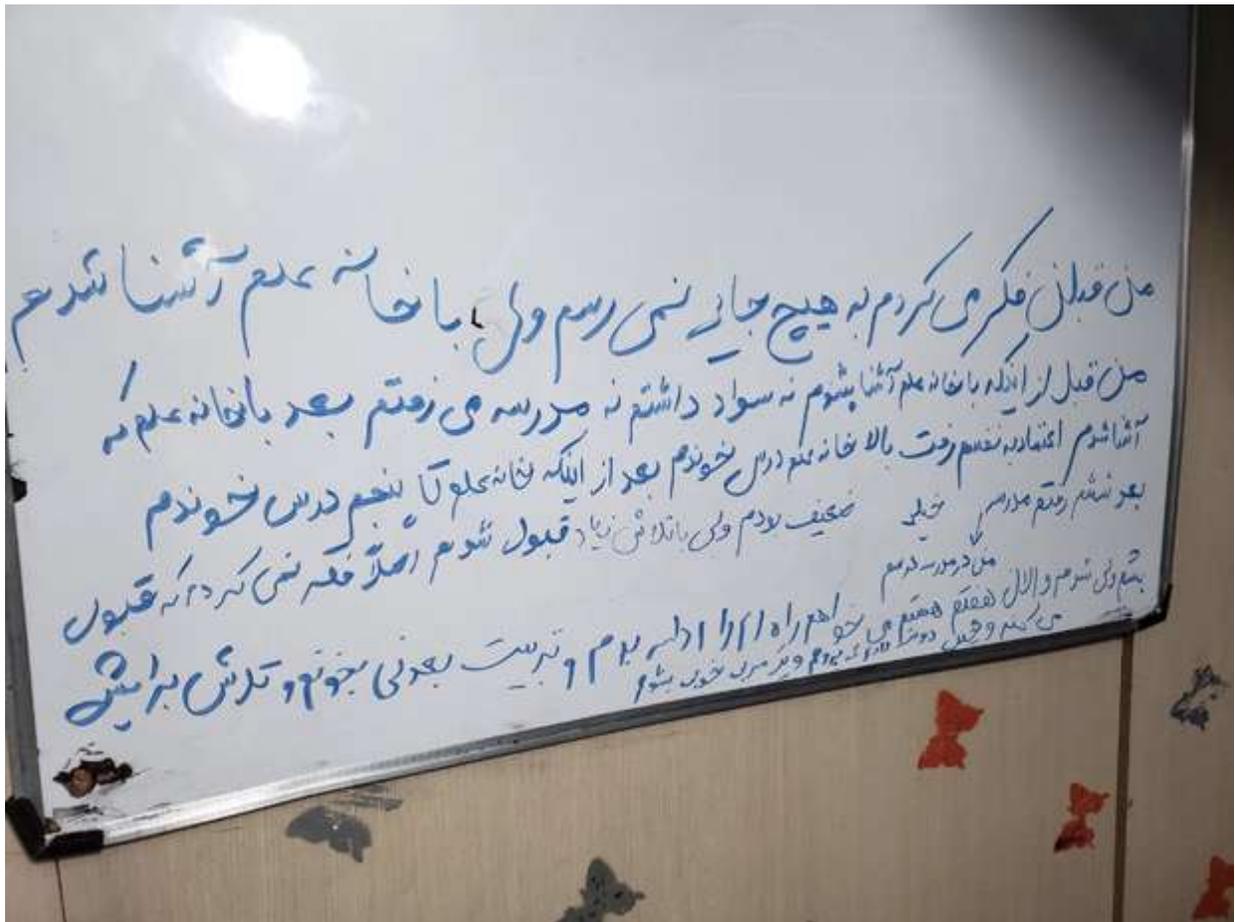


Figure 7.11. Roghayeh's story

I previously thought that I would never get anywhere until I came to the Science House. Before coming here, I was illiterate and would not go to school. Then I came here, and my self-confidence went up. I started to study here and then went to grade 5 and 6. My marks were not good at school and tried a lot to pass the courses. I never thought that I would be

able to do it, but I made it, and I am now in grade 7. I want to continue my pathway and study kinesiology and become a very good gym coach. (Roghayeh)

Sarah also explained how the IAPSRS founder and volunteers are her sources of hope and inspiration:

I want to become similar to the father Sharmin [the founder of IAPSRS] and help and love all children in the world. I like to become similar to aunt Zarrin [an IAPSRS volunteer] and have effective relationships with everyone. I like to be similar to uncle Nima [an IAPSRS volunteer] and say kind things to small kids and make them happy. I want to be similar to uncle Farhad and have confidence and hope that there will be a future.

However, among relationships, relationships with parents are the most critical source of hope for the youths in this study, as explained in the previous chapter. For example, Nastaran indicated,

My parents, especially my mom, gives me hope.

Sarah said that her sister gives her hope. Where family members are absent or are abusive, relationships with IAPSRS volunteers become the alternative source of hope for the marginalized youths in this study.

7.3. Spirituality

Spirituality can be defined as a belief in a metaphysical power influencing the world, which is not necessarily a part of one's existence. It can also be defined as the quest for interpreting life and giving it purpose and meaning (Connor et al., 2003; Decker, 1993; King et al., 1999). Spirituality positively influences the resilience of disadvantaged youth (Calhoun et al., 2000; King et al., 1999; Waysmann et al., 2001). Examples of how spirituality can promote resilience include when people feel spiritual support and connection and grow mentally stronger by thinking about God's love and through prayers. Spiritual surrender is another example where people do what they can and hope that God will take care of the rest (Pargament et al., 2004). Spirituality can also help with interpreting life experiences and giving them meaning and, in this way, assists with moving past traumatic experiences (Koenig, 2006).

Some youths in this study referred to spirituality as religion and their relationship with God. Others indicated that religion is not important to them:

It is not important for me, because my dad was not even Muslim [religious], you need to be covered and pray, I do not like it. I have a Christian friend who says that there is no heaven and hell. (Sarah)

Nastaran also mentioned that she does not like the Hijab but fasting and praying are important to her. However, the youths believe in God and pray to God when they face difficulties. For example, Shahrzad said,

I rely on God to be able to go through difficulties.

Roghayeh also said,

God is the first one that I think about when I face difficulties.

The first things that Mana thinks about in the morning is God, and Shohreh asks God to give her strength to get up. Ziba indicated,

I love God and prophets. I ask God to keep us safe all the time, especially when we are driving.

Spirituality also influences youths' hope. Spiritual surrender is an aspect of spirituality that can affect hopefulness when one thinks God can help with problems that may seem impossible to solve and there is a power beyond worldly forces that can influence everything and change problems (Pargament et al., 2004). There is a verse in the Quran that says the one who does not have hope in God's help does not have faith (12:87, Oxford World's Classics Edition); there are other verses about spiritual surrender (Tawakkol) for believers (3:122, 3:160, 5:11; 9:51, 14:11, Oxford World's Classics edition). While talking about her resilience, Shahrzad said,

I lost one of my friends a while ago. However, I have tawakkol [spiritual surrender and relying on God]. As much hope as you would have, the better.

7.4. Sport, Music, and Theatre

7.4.1. Sport

Research has shown that sport enhances youth strength and resilience (Eime et al., 2013; Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005). Sport, mainly team sport, helps to develop protective factors, such as self-confidence, trust, positive relationships, feelings of membership, and conflict resolution skills, all of which contribute to youth resilience (Hall, 2011; Johns et al., 2014). Youths active in sport

have a better quality of life than youths who do not participate (Lam et al., 2013; Snyder et al., 2010).

Many youths in this study rely on sport to maintain their resilience. For example, Sheyda indicated that playing volleyball is a pathway to her resilience. Sima said she runs to stay resilient, while explaining how she ranked second in the IAPSRS running competitions:

Running, I was running in the Society competitions, somebody pushed me, and I became the second.

Although sport can promote youth resilience, many youths in marginalized communities, where they are exposed to many risks, do not have recreational facilities (Xu et al., 2009). If communities with lower socio-economic status cannot access recreational resources, youth who are exposed to higher socio-economic risks are deprived of resources that could enhance their resilience (Wagstaff, 2015). As mentioned in the previous chapter, in addition to the inadequate access to recreational services, many youths in marginalized areas do not have identity documents, which impedes their access to the few available facilities. Furthermore, having to work outside the home means they do not have time or money to buy memberships in recreational facilities. However, IAPSRS has created sports facilities in marginalized areas, allowing youths to participate in sports activities without the need for an identity card or money. Youths in Tehran's marginalized areas can also participate in the competitions organized by this organization. IAPSRS volunteers indicated that marginalized youths who used to participate in violent fights and use cold weapons had changed their lifestyle and behavioural choices after joining the IAPSRS soccer league:

Playing in the league has allowed them [marginalized youth] to release their anger, learn teamwork, and develop positive relationships. Furthermore, they start to take their coach as a model, resulting in changing their lifestyle and participating in the IAPSRS educational classes. (Razieh)

Sports activities also allowed marginalized youth to become more hopeful and feel valued. When they participate in sports activities, they feel more included in society and as if they are being treated similarly to youths in more affluent areas.

7.4.2. Music and Singing

Music group work can be emancipatory for marginalized youth and promote their resilience. Creative self-expression can help them feel relief and have fun (Pestano, 2016), and music can have therapeutic effects, helping them to cope (Pasiali, 2012) and relieve stress (Boehlig et al., 2008). Furthermore, music can help youth to regulate their own behaviour and cope with everyday life challenges, such as the pressure of studying (Beengle et al., 2007). Music-making can also promote cooperation, a sense of responsibility, delayed gratification, the establishment of interpersonal relationships, and social development and resilience (McClung, 2000). Therefore, music can help to enhance marginalized youths' adaptation system and resilience (Pasiali, 2012). Many youths in this study indicated they considered music as a pathway to their resilience, giving them hope. For example, Vahideh, in response to what gives her hope and helps her to promote her resilience said,

I sing in the bathroom; it does not matter; I just start to sing loud.

She also dreams of becoming a musician, and this dream gives her energy and hope in difficulties:

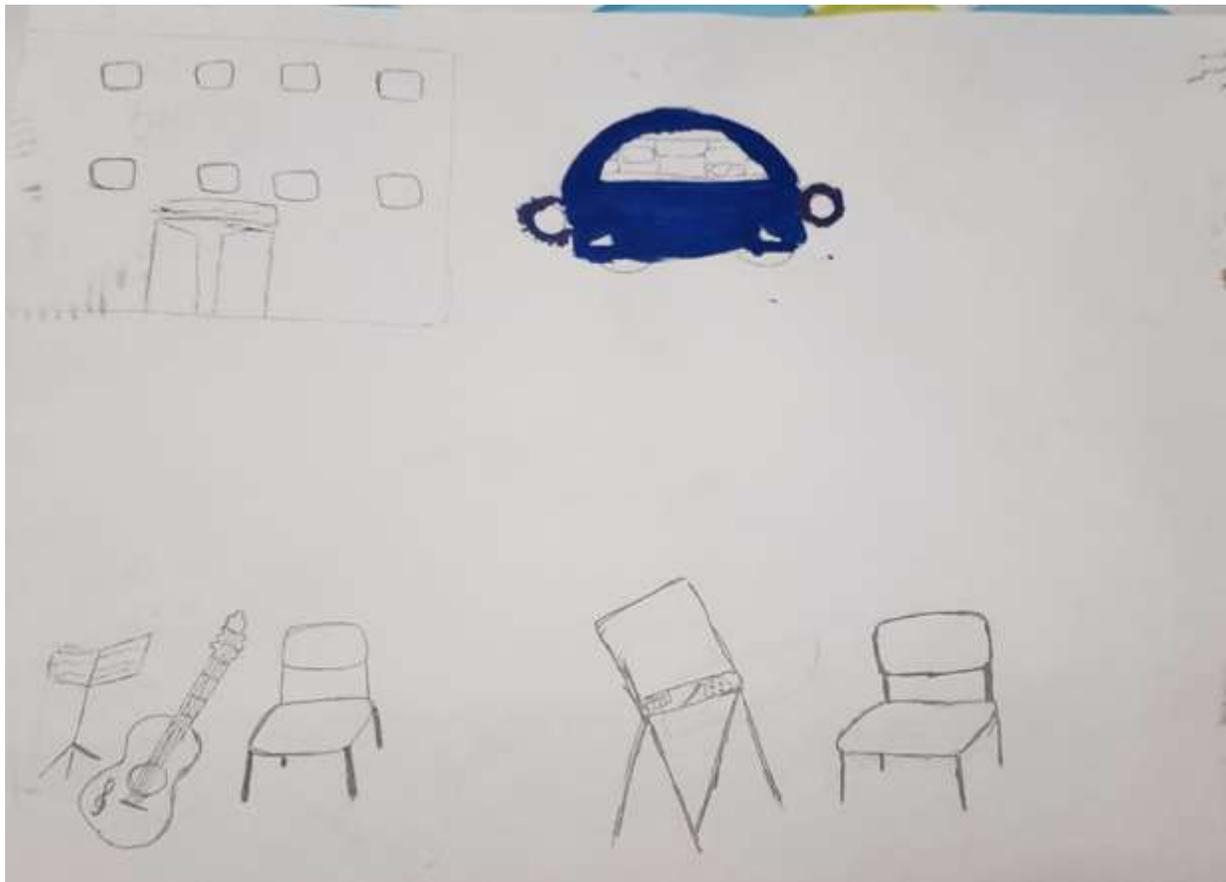


Figure 7.12. Vahideh's drawing

Vahideh, however, was not sure how she could fulfill her dream, as she did not know whether she needed to study arts or humanities at high school. School counselors had told her she had to choose her major at high school according to her marks. She did not think she had good marks and was not sure if she could be successful.

7.4.3. Theatre

Research shows theatre strengthens mental resilience and self-efficacy by decreasing youths' stress levels. Theatre allows youth to be self-expressive and creative, develop communication skills, and learn cooperation (Pendzik, 2008). The use of theatre in therapy enhances personal awareness and allows the expression of emotions while creating a secure environment (Harari, 2015). It can replicate reality, produce change, help with recovery from trauma, and provide a sense of emotional relief (Harari, 2015; Pendzik, 1994; Trayes, 2012).

Youth who have had traumatic experiences are reluctant to talk about their feelings, believing that nothing can help with their issues. These youths tend to suppress their emotions, as remembering their traumatic experience is similar to living through it again. However, survivors of traumatic experiences need to express their feelings to recover. Therapy using theatre can help these people to express their feelings and, with the help of a therapist or counselor, they will be able to deal with the adverse effects of remembering the experience (Harari, 2015). Assertion training can also help people who cannot express their emotions, including anger (Corey, 1998).

IAPSRS organizes theatre classes for marginalized youth. The founder of this organization has a doctoral degree in drama, and many of IAPSRS activities are associated with theatre. For example, Vishka (IAPSRS volunteer) indicated that when abused youths come to IAPSRS, they are not able to express their troubles, and volunteers cannot identify their problems to help them. These youths participate in theatre therapy classes, which enable them to talk about their traumatic experiences, such as rape. Sharing their experience allows the IAPSRS volunteers to report the case to the police and other organizations and to provide required counseling to the abused youth. Reza (IAPSRS volunteer) believed that theatre helps with youth resilience by releasing their anger and providing them with social support:

Saman did not study. However, he worked on theatre. Theatre allowed the release of anger about his community. Because he was talented, he got encouraged by those occupying social positions [middle-class people] irrelevant to him. Thousands saw his theatre of people, and he got encouraged and was honoured because of it.

Reza continued:

Saman's friend, Hesam, was also good in theatre. He knew so many skills in this field. He received admission in the field of theatre directory from a university. However, he is now on educational leave because of his work. He is planning to leave Iran. He moved forward in the formal education system and finished high school with lots of difficulties and got admission from the university in the field of theatre directing. He was even the director of my work, and we were working together. He also received social support here [IAPSRS] and through theatre.

A number of youths in this study had also participated in theatre classes and performed for large audiences. Nastaran and Sarah indicated they enjoyed their experience with theatre. From their perspective, theatre helps them to release their stress and feel hopeful about their future. They

also enjoyed the social support and encouragement they received from their audience and, as a result, feel stronger.

7.5. Synthesis

Contrary to mainstream research on resilience, which focuses on personal factors, the findings of this research show that even personal factors are influenced by socio-economic factors. In fact, personal factors are formed by social structures and socio-economic factors. At the same time, youths have agency. They can impact their resilience within the framework of their community's structure using the resources the community provides to them, such as free education.

Resilience and hope for the youths in this study are shaped by the resources to which they have access. Their dreams are impacted by social structures they can perceive and, as they grow up, they may gain a better understanding of the resources available to them and change their goals and their definition of resilience accordingly. Currently, their definition of resilience is based on using the resources to which they have access; at the same time, they are influenced by the mainstream views on resilience. They expect themselves to study regardless of the socio-economic problems they experience in their everyday life. Although official education is free for youths, not all of them can benefit from it, as it is not accessible to all youths in culturally meaningful ways. For this reason, many marginalized youths are excluded at school or cannot attend school at all.

Similar to education, theatre, sport, and music can promote youth resilience and hope. However, marginalized youth do not have the same access to resilience resources as affluent youths. Theatre, sport, and music classes are more widely available in the city's more developed areas, where youths can afford to attend these classes. IAPSRS organizes a few classes for marginalized youths, providing resources they could not otherwise access. Furthermore, youths' relationship with IAPSRS volunteers is a source of hope for them.

The findings of this research highlight the importance of community resources and structural forces in marginalized youth resilience. To promote youth resilience, inequalities in the society need to be addressed, and community resources need to be improved and provided in culturally meaningful ways.

8. Conclusion

The youths in Tehran's marginalized areas and IAPSRS volunteers were the sources of knowledge in this research. The youths in this study participated in art workshops and qualitative interviews and shared their experience of resilience while making art. The majority of the youths in this research did not distinguish between resilient and non-resilient youth. Rather, they indicated resilience depends on the social context that youths are experiencing. Resilience and hope for the youths in this study are shaped by the resources to which they have access. Their dreams are impacted by the social structures they can perceive.

There are few laws and programs supporting youth in Iran. Although education is free for Iranian youth, the quality of schools is lower in marginalized areas. Youth in these areas have hunger problems and cannot concentrate in classes. Furthermore, schools and the context of educational books are irrelevant to youth's culture and context. Schools' principals expect youth to be polite and on time and do their homework. However, many marginalized youth cannot adopt mainstream social norms. They have to work outside and do not have enough time to study. Furthermore, due to the lack of identity documents, many marginalized youth do not have access to resources, such as education and sport. Even CBOs and international organizations cannot provide adequate support to youth in severe socio-economic conditions, as more resources and less output is expected in these areas.

IAPSRS volunteers maintained that youth resilience depends on their social problems and community resources. Reza (an IAPSRS volunteer), for example, indicated no single prescription exists for resilience because each youth has their own problems and talents. According to him, resilience also depends on IAPSRS's capabilities; one youth can have moderate success with the capabilities and resources that IAPSRS can offer, but if IAPSRS was more capable, then the same youth might be more successful. The problems these youths face are also different. Youths who have been exposed to drugs and so many other problems might not be able to recover. In severe socio-economic conditions where access to resources is limited, youth resilience is reduced to being alive. Socio-economic factors are also important because they influence other resilience factors. Therefore, the definition of resilience in marginalized areas needs to draw on the complexity of youth experiences of inequalities, relationships, and their lack of access to resources

as well as take into account behaviours they adopt to cope with adversity and deprivation. Figure 8.1 shows the interrelationship among the factors that influence youth resilience.

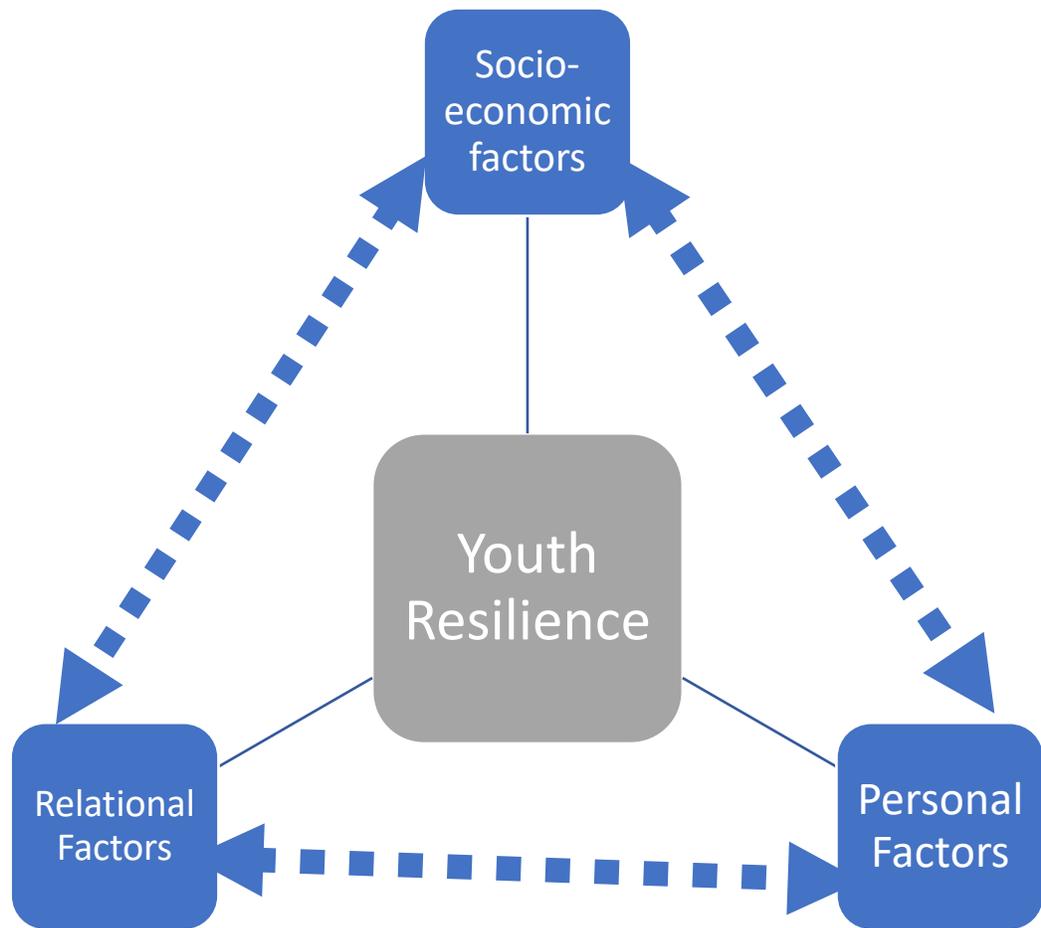


Figure 8.1. Youth resilience factors

According to IAPSRS volunteers, there are also different pathways to youth resilience, depending on youths' interests, problems, talents, and community resources. Sometimes studying and education help youth. However, in many cases, school and education further exclude marginalized youths and take away their pride and hope by humiliating them and ignoring their disadvantaged social context. Again, there is no single prescription for pathways to resilience. Studying, theatre, and music can help youth. From the youths' perspective, factors that influence

their resilience are their relationships and personal factors, such as hope, which are influenced by socio-economic factors or their access to resources.

CBOs in marginalized communities need to meet youth survival needs to prevent them from joining criminal organizations to address their needs. Services related to physical and mental health, education, and employment help youth to escape poverty and stay resilient. IAPSRS provide Tehran's marginalized youth with free sport facilities, English, music, theatre, and educational classes, apprentice programs, and Science House. Among these services, IAPSRS volunteers' relationships with youth and resources they provide to youth were the most important from youth's perspectives.

The findings of this research are consistent with anti-oppressive literature and theories (Moosa-Mitha, 2015; Ungar, 2018) and have critical lessons for Iranian policy-makers. Youth's personal factors do not define their resilience. The intersectionality of youth's socio-economic position, including access to resources, ethnicity, race, and place of residence (which can prevent them from accessing resources) determines their resilience. To promote youth resilience, community resources need to be provided in culturally meaningful ways, and inequalities in the society need to be addressed. Social control and punishment exacerbate youth violence and reinforce inequality and marginalization. These findings, however, are not consistent with mainstream and liberal frameworks on youth resilience, which focuses on personal factors, blaming youth for the problems and categorizing them to resilient and non-resilient. As mentioned before, this research findings are according to anti-oppressive and ecological perspectives on resilience, (Balfour and Comack, 2014; Ungar, 2018), which are both critical and difference-centred. They acknowledge the role of both social structures and agency in youth resilience, maintaining that youths' actions and choices are formed by these structures and marginalized youth multiple voices and experiences are critical to understanding their resilience (Moosa-Mitha, 2015).

Furthermore, policy-makers need to understand youths' social context and different cultural needs when enacting and interpreting laws and designing program for youth to avoid reinforcing inequalities and oppression. Services promote youth resilience that are provided in culturally meaningful ways. The findings of this research highlight the need to design programs and policies that alleviate youth poverty, reduce socio-economic inequalities, and recognize the complexity of youth's experiences and social position.

8.1. Strengths and Limitations of Research

Visual research is used to reflect unheard voices in policy discourses and to facilitate group learning and collective action. It also contributes to changes in people's awareness, which can result in changes in social policies and processes (De Lange et al., 2007; Ennew, 2000). Visual methods can be creative ways to understand the experiences of marginalized populations, empower them to tell their stories and express their needs, and promote social change (Mitchell et al., 2011).

Visual methods are viewed as precious tools for empowering marginalized communities that have been socially, economically, and politically excluded. These research methods can help these communities to promote change within society (Bober, 2011). Visual research with youth relies on the knowledge and experiences of communities with respect to generating changes within them and transforming realities (Bober, 2011; Fals-Borda, 1979). Visual research relies on youth experiences and knowledge to inform and create policy solutions. It is important not to essentialize youth experiences, as youth may experience marginalization differently due to their age, environmental, relational, personal, and other factors. Arts-based methods rely on understanding youths' diverse experiences. Therefore, they suit anti-oppressive and postcolonial research, which focuses on the diversity of experiences.

Arts-based methods can also help youth to describe experiences related to violence. Children's experiences of violence can inform policies (Stuart, 2007). Janzen and Janzen (2000) also believe that arts-based methods can have therapeutic effects for youth by giving meaning to experiences that are troubling them. These methods also empower participants to communicate their experiences, concerns, and needs to others and to influence policy-making (Wang & Burris, 1994). For example, in the Peru-Mejur association project in Peru, the women who drew their families' experiences and problems developed stronger self-esteem and worked together to solve problems in their community (Wang & Burris, 1994).

The youths in this study expressed that they had enjoyed talking about their experiences and followed up with me to provide more information if needed. They indicated they would like to conduct a similar research project for youth when they get older. Two of the participants had not yet learned to read or write, and they liked the art-making process. The youths welcomed the opportunity to present in a community workshop at the end of the project and to discuss policies and programs that would enhance youth resilience. The participants expressed that they felt their

opinions were important and were happy they were contributing to a research project. Through art, these youths were able to talk about the context of their lives, which can help inform policy and programs for youth. At the end of the project, policy-makers who have been selected in consultation with IAPSRS will be invited to a community workshop where the youth art from this research will be presented. At the workshop, the youths will talk about their art and experiences and participate in discussions about youth policies and programs.

This project also helped with a cultural and contextual understanding of marginalized youth resilience in Tehran and contributed to the resilience literature. This research represented many “firsts”. It was among the first anti-oppressive and postcolonial studies in Iran. It was also among the first studies to take a community-based participatory approach, where youth experiences are the source of knowledge and communities are considered to be experts in their own lives. Finally, it was one of the first studies in Iran to use an arts-based method.

Among the limitations of doing visual or any other type of research with youth is participants being subjected to undue influence and unequal power (Bober, 2011). It is important to respect youth autonomy and knowledge when conducting research with them. Neglecting youth wisdom and mistreating them reinforces the unequal relationships that anti-oppressive research aims to eliminate. In this research, the youth participants freely commented on questions during interviews and talked about how they would like their data to be disseminated. They were also free to choose the medium they could use to express their opinions. Another constraint of visual research is that it is time-consuming, and researchers may not have enough time or resources to recruit many people (Hare et al., 2018). Therefore, we cannot assure that the diverse voices of all marginalized youths were shared and represented by the participants in this research, and more research may need to be conducted to share the voices of more youth.

Furthermore, with current welfare state retrenchment and extra emphasis on neo-liberal policies, individuality, and responsabilization, the societal structures and policies that support marginalized people are neglected by the state (Brodie, 1955; Comack, 2014). Using research methods, such as visual methods, that emphasize empowerment may reinforce and perpetuate neo-liberal policies. In other words, if research processes focus on individual responsibility, they may reinforce the retrenchment of the community and state’s responsibilities and the responsabilization of individuals who need social support (Brooks & Poudrier, 2014; Minkler, 2000; Petersen, 2003).

Finally, this research could not find meaningful data related to age and gender. Future research may be needed to assess different cultural impacts of gender and age on Tehran's marginalized youth resilience, as cultures can differently impact people based on their gender and age.

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Appendix A. Recruitment Poster and Information Letters



**PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR
RESEARCH IN**

Youth Resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas

Participants are needed to take part in a study of youth resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas.

You must be 12–18 years old to participate.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to answer a number of questions about your resilience and participate in an art workshop and draw pictures related to your resilience. You do not need to be an artist to participate in the art workshop.

Your participation would involve one initial interview that will take 45 minutes, an art workshop that will take 2 hours, and an interview after the art workshop that will take 45 minutes.

In appreciation for your time, you will receive *drawing materials*.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study, please contact:

Rezvan Ostadali

(Department of Sociology)

Email: Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca

This study has been reviewed by and received approval through, the Research Ethics Office, University of Saskatchewan.



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Information Sheet for Youth Research Participants
(to be distributed to potential participants)
Youth resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas

Purpose

You are invited to take part in a research study on youth resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas. You must be 12–18 years old to participate. This research will be done in the Science House. The purpose of this research is to understand the meaning of resilience from the point of view of youth in Tehran's marginalized areas.

Consent and Participation:

If you decide to participate in this study, a student researcher will meet with you and your guardian to review and sign consent (permission) forms. These forms will show that you understand the risks and benefits of the research and what you will be asked to do. Your participation is voluntary (You can choose to do it, but it is not required). You can withdraw your consent at any time during the research. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be invited to attend an art workshop and will be interviewed before and after the workshop. After signing the consent forms, you will be invited to talk about experiences related to your resilience. If you feel uncomfortable at any time during or after the interview, you can talk to the IAPSRS counsellor or ask the student researcher or other IAPSRS volunteers to arrange a visit with another counsellor. This first interview will take about 45 minutes.

After the first interview is completed, you will be invited to attend an art workshop on a later day. The art workshop will be organized in the Science House and will take about two hours. In the art workshop, you will be given colour pencils, markers, and other drawing materials to draw pictures about your life and resilience. After the end of the workshop, you will be interviewed for about 45 minutes to discuss the art that you have made. The interview will be done in a private

room in the Science House. During the interview, you will be invited to talk about the picture that you have made and how it is related to your resilience. The purpose of this interview is to understand the meaning of resilience from the youth points of view.

Potential Risks:

There are no known risks to you from participating in this research; however, discussing life experiences may make you feel uncomfortable. If you feel uncomfortable during or after the interviews, you can talk to the IAPSRS counsellor or ask the student researcher or other IAPSRS volunteers to arrange a visit with another counsellor. You can also withdraw from the study at any time.

Potential Benefits:

The information that you provide during this research may help IAPSRS to design more youth-informed programs. The information that you provide will also contribute to the knowledge about youth resilience.

Compensation:

You will be able to keep all drawing materials that you get in the art workshop. Fruits and snacks will be given to all youth at the Science House on the day of the workshop.

Your participation is voluntary (you can choose to do it, but is not mandatory). You can answer only those questions that you are comfortable answering. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort. If you withdraw from the study at any time, any data that you have given to me will be destroyed.

Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your access to services or how you will be treated.

If you decide to remove any pieces of the information that you have given to me, that piece of information or the entire interview will be destroyed.

Please note that any participants under the age of 18 also require the written consent (permission) of parents or guardians, as well as their own written consent.

I will write down and translate the interviews into English and will keep the information confidential.

Consent forms will be stored separately from the written version of interviews. Your real name and details of where you live will not be used in the study reports and results. Any information that may allow the identification of participants will be deleted and will not be used in reports or presentations.

The information collected from interviews and art workshops (except any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and posters that will be used in community presentations

The research data, including drawings, and transcripts will be used by the researcher to understand how you cope and will be stored in a secure location at the University of Saskatchewan. Five years after the end of the project, all data will be destroyed (shredded and deleted electronically using software that allows the deletion of data beyond recovery).

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask at any point. You can contact the researcher at any time during or after the end of the study at Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca. You can also contact the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Office at ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975.

Information Sheet for Parents/Guardians of Research Participants Under 18 Years of Age
(to be distributed to potential participants)

Youth resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas

Purpose

Your son/daughter/youth is invited to participate in a research project on how youth in Tehran's marginalized areas cope with difficulties in their community. Individuals must be 12–18 years old to participate. This research will be conducted in the Science House. The purpose of this research is to understand what resilience means from the perspectives of the youth in Tehran's marginalized areas. In this research, resilience will be studied as a capacity to do well despite adverse experiences.

Consent and Participation:

If your son/daughter/youth decides to participate in this study, a student researcher will meet with you and your son/daughter/youth to review and sign an informed consent form. Your son/daughter/youth will also be asked to sign an informed assent form. These forms will show that you understand the risks and benefits of the research and what your son/daughter/youth will be asked to do. Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw your consent at any time. In this study, youth will participate in an art workshop and will be interviewed before and after the workshop. After signing the consent forms, youth will be asked to talk about experiences related to their resilience. If your son/daughter/youth feels uncomfortable at any time during or after the interview, they can talk to the IAPSRS counsellor or ask the student researcher or other IAPSRS volunteers to arrange a visit with another counsellor. This initial interview will take about 45 minutes. After the initial interview is completed, youth will be asked to participate in an art workshop on a later day. The art workshop will be organized in the Science House and will take about two hours. In the art workshop, youth will be provided with colour pencils, markers, and other drawing materials to draw pictures about their life and resilience. After the end of the workshop, they will be interviewed for about 45 minutes to discuss the art that they have made.

The interview will be conducted in a private room in the Science House. During the interview, your son/daughter/youth will be invited to talk about the picture that they have made and how it is related to their resilience. The purpose of this interview is to understand the meaning of resilience from the youth perspective and the factors that promote or undermine their resilience.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to you or your son/daughter/youth from participating in this research; however, discussing life experiences may cause emotional distress to the participant. If your son/daughter/youth feel uncomfortable during or after the interviews, they can talk to the IAPSRS counsellor or ask the student researcher or other IAPSRS volunteers to arrange a visit with another counsellor. They can also withdraw from the study at any time.

Potential Benefits:

The information that your son/daughter/youth provides during this research may help IAPSRS to design more youth-informed programs. It will also help IAPSRS in its negotiations with the government to receive more resources for marginalized communities and can result in policy change. The information that your son/daughter/youth provides will contribute to the knowledge and literature on youth resilience.

Compensation:

Participants in the art workshop will be able to keep the drawing materials provided to them. Furthermore, fruits and snacks will be provided to all youth (participants and non-participants) at the Science House on the day of the workshop.

Your son's/daughter's/youth's participation is voluntary and they can answer only those questions that they are comfortable answering. They may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort. If they withdraw from the study at any time, any data that they have provided will be destroyed.

Whether your son/daughter/youth chooses to participate or not will have no effect on their access to services or how they will be treated.

If you or your son/daughter/youth decide to remove any pieces of the information that they have provided to the researcher, that piece of information or the entire interview will be destroyed.

Consent forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts. All participants' real names and details of where they live will not be used in the dissemination of results. Any information that may allow the identification of participants will be deleted and will not be used in reports, publications, or presentations.

The information collected from interviews and art workshops (except any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and posters that will be used in community presentations held to influence policy change. I will transcribe and translate the interviews into English and will keep the information confidential.

The research data, including drawings, and transcripts, will be used by the researcher to understand how youth cope and will be stored in a secure location at the University of Saskatchewan. Five years after the end of the project, all data will be destroyed (shredded and deleted electronically using software that allows the deletion of data beyond recovery).

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask at any point. You can contact the researcher at any time during or after the end of the project at Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca. You can also contact the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Office at ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975.

Information Sheet for IAPSRS Volunteers
Youth resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas

Purpose

You are invited to participate in a research project on youth resilience in Tehran's marginalized areas to understand the meaning of resilience from the perspective of youth. We also want to know about the factors that can promote or hinder resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized communities.

Consent and Participation:

After signing the consent form, you will be asked to talk about issues related to youth resilience, such as prevention or intervention programs. The interview will take about 45 minutes and will be conducted in the Science House. The purpose of these interviews is to understand the role of contextual factors, such as culture and the community socio-economic situations, in youth resilience. In this research, resilience will be studied as a capacity to do well despite adverse experiences and to access resources in culturally meaningful ways.

Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable answering. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time without explanation or penalty of any sort. If you withdraw from the study at any time, any data that you have provided will be destroyed.

Potential Benefits:

The information that you provide during this research will help IAPSRS to design more youth-informed programs. It will also help IAPSRS in its negotiations with the government to receive more resources for marginalized communities and can result in policy change. The information that you provide will contribute to the knowledge and literature on youth resilience.

Confidentiality and Dissemination:

Consent forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts. The participants' real names will not be used in the dissemination of results. Any information that may allow the identification of participants will be deleted and will not be used in reports, publications, or presentations.

The information collected from interviews (except any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and posters that will be used in community presentations. I will transcribe and translate the interviews into English and will keep the information confidential.

The research data, including audio-recorded interviews and transcripts, will be used by the researcher to understand the factors that influence youth resilience and will be stored in a secure location at the University of Saskatchewan. Five years after the end of the project, all data will be destroyed (shredded and deleted electronically using software that allows the deletion of data beyond recovery).

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask at any point. You can contact the researcher at any time during or after the end of the project at Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca. You can also contact the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Office at ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975.

Appendix B. Consent Forms and the Transcript Release Form

Consent Form - Youth (Interviews and Art Workshop)

You are invited to take part in a research study:

Youth Resilience in Tehran's marginalized Areas

Researcher(s): Rezvan Ostadali, PhD student, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca, email: Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Carolyn Brooks, Department of Sociology, email: carolyn.brooks@usask.ca

Purpose(s) and Goal(s) of the Study:

The purpose of this study is to understand the meaning of resilience from point of view of youth in Tehran's marginalized communities. The main research questions are: what is the meaning of resilience from the point of view of youth in Tehran's marginalized areas? What social and cultural factors influence youth resilience from the point of view of youth in marginalized areas?

The goals of this research are to document: a) the meaning of resilience from the point of view of the youth living in Tehran's marginalized areas; b) individual, relational, and cultural factors that influence youth resilience; and c) to describe existing programs that are available to youth in the community.

Procedures:

First interview: The first interview will take about 45 minutes and will be done in the Science House. You will be asked to talk about experiences related to your resilience. Your responses to the interview questions will be audio-recorded. However, you will have the option to ask that your responses not be audio-recorded.

Art workshop: The art workshop will be organized in the Science House and will take about two hours. In the art workshop, you will be given colour pencils, markers, and other drawing materials to draw pictures about your life and resilience. The drawings that you produce will be

collected and discussed with you in an interview after the end of the workshop. The drawings will be scanned and stored in a password protected file. Your drawings (without any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and presentations. This art workshop will give you an opportunity to think about yourself and to identify your strengths and the difficulties that you may have faced in your pathways toward resilience.

Final interview: After the end of the workshop, you will be interviewed for about 45 minutes to discuss the art that you have made. The interview will be done in a private room in the Science House. During the interview, you will be invited to talk about the picture that you have made and how it is related to your resilience. The purpose of the interview is to understand the meaning of resilience from the youth points of view. Your responses to the interview questions will be audio-recorded. However, you will have the option to ask that your responses not be audio-recorded. You can also have the recording device turned off at any time without giving a reason.

Please feel free to ask any questions about the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or expected risks to you from participating in this research; however, discussing life experiences may cause emotional distress. If you feel uncomfortable during or after the interviews, you can talk to the IAPSRS counsellor or ask the student researcher or other IAPSRS volunteers to arrange a visit with another counsellor. You can also withdraw from the study at any time.

Potential Benefits:

The information that you provide during this research may help IAPSRS to design more youth-informed programs. The information that you provide will also contribute to the knowledge about youth resilience.

Compensation:

You can keep all drawing materials that you get in the art workshop. Fruits and snacks will also be given to all youth at the Science House on the day of the workshop.

Confidentiality (keeping information private):

Consent (permission) forms will be stored separately from interview transcripts (written versions). The youth real names and details of where they live will not be used in the study results and reports. Any information that may allow the identification of participants will be deleted and will not be used in reports, journals, or presentations.

The information collected from interviews and art workshops (except any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and posters that will be used in community presentations. I will transcribe (write down) and translate the interviews into English and will keep the information confidential.

Storage of Data:

The drawings will be collected in a binder. The binder will be stored in a locked cabinet. The scanned versions of the drawings and the interview data will be stored in a password-protected laptop. The backup of the data will be stored in a password-protected external hard drive. Both the laptop and external hard drive will be stored in a locked cabinet. Consent (permission) forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts (written versions).

Five years after the end of the project, all data will be destroyed (shredded and deleted electronically using a software that allows the deletion of data beyond recovery).

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary (You can choose to do it, but it is not required) and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable answering. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort. If you withdraw from the study at any time, any data that you have given to me will be destroyed. Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your access to services or how you will be treated.

After interviews are written down, you will be invited to review the written versions of interviews and sign a release form. However, you can decide to remove any pieces of the information or change them until January 2021.

If you decide to remove any pieces of the information that you have given to me, that piece of information or the entire interview will be destroyed.

Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply for two years, until January 2021. After this date, it is possible that the study results have been released and it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

Follow up:

To get study results, please contact the researcher using the information at the top of page 1. You can also contact the volunteers at the Science House.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to ask at any point. You can contact the researcher at any time during or after the end of the project using the information at the top of page 1;

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board on (date). Any questions about your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office at ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free: (888) 966-2975.

Consent to participate

Your signature below shows that you have read and understood the description given. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered. I consent to take part in the study. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date
_____	_____	
Researcher's Signature	Date	

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and the researcher will take a copy.

Consent Form - Guardians (Interviews and Art Workshop)

Your son/daughter or the youth to whom you are providing care is invited to participate in a research study:

Youth Resilience in Tehran's marginalized Areas

Researcher(s): Rezvan Ostadali, PhD student, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca, email: Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Carolyn Brooks, Department of Sociology, email: carolyn.brooks@usask.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

The purpose of this study is to understand the meaning of resilience and the barriers and enablers to resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized communities. The main research question

s are: What is the meaning of resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized areas? What social, cultural, and environmental factors influence youth resilience from the perspective of youth in marginalized areas?

The objectives of this research are to document and analyze: a) the meaning of resilience from the perspective of the youth living in Tehran's marginalized areas; b) individual, relational, socio-economic factors that support or hinder youth resilience; and c) to describe existing resources and programs that are available to youth in the community.

Procedures:

Initial interview: The initial interview will take about 45 minutes and will be conducted in the Science House. The purpose of this interview is to understand youth experiences regarding resilience. Your son/daughter/youth will be asked to talk about experiences related to their

resilience. They can also have the recording device turned off at any time without giving a reason.

Art workshop: The art workshop will be organized in the Science House and will take about two hours. The art workshop will allow your son/daughter/youth to think about themselves, their experiences, and how their experiences have influenced their resilience. In the art workshop, participants will be provided with colour pencils, markers, and other drawing materials to draw pictures about their lives and their resilience. The drawings that youth produce will be collected and discussed with them in an interview after the end of the workshop. The drawings will be scanned and stored in a password protected file. These drawings (without any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and conferences. This art workshop will provide your son/daughter/youth with an opportunity to think about themselves, and to identify their strategies of resilience and the obstacles that they have faced in their pathways toward resilience.

Final interview: After the end of the workshop, your son/daughter/youth will be interviewed for about 45 minutes to discuss the art that they have made. The interviews will be conducted in a private room in the Science House. During interviews, your son/daughter/youth will be invited to talk about the picture they have made and how it is related to their resilience. The purpose of these interviews is to understand the meaning of resilience from the youth perspective and the factors that promote or undermine their resilience. They can also have the recording device turned off at any time without giving a reason.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to you or your son/daughter/youth from participating in this research; however, discussing life experiences may cause emotional distress to participants. If your son/daughter/youth feel uncomfortable during or after the interviews, they can talk to the IAPSRS counsellor or ask the student researcher or other IAPSRS volunteers to arrange a visit with another counsellor. They can also withdraw from the study at any time.

Potential Benefits:

The information that the youth provide during this research may help IAPSRS to design more youth-informed programs. It will also help IAPSRS in its negotiations with the government to receive more resources for the marginalized communities and can result in policy change.

Compensation:

Participants in the art workshop will be able to keep all the drawing materials provided to them. Furthermore, fruits and snacks will be provided to all youth (participants and non-participants) at the Science House on the day of the workshop.

Confidentiality:

Consent forms will be stored separately from interview transcripts. The youth and other participants' real names and the details of where they live will not be used in the dissemination of results. Any information that may allow the identification of participants will be deleted and will not be used in reports, publications, or presentations.

The information collected from interviews and art workshops (except any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and posters that will be used in community presentations. I will transcribe and translate the interviews into English and will keep the information confidential.

Storage of Data:

The drawings will be collected in a binder. The binder will be stored in a locked cabinet. The scanned versions of the drawings and the interview data will be stored in a password-protected laptop. The backup of the data will be stored in a password-protected external hard drive. Both the laptop and external hard drive will be stored in a locked cabinet. Consent forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts.

Five years after the end of the project, all data will be destroyed (shredded and deleted electronically using a software that allows the deletion of data beyond recovery).

Right to Withdraw:

Your son's/daughter's/youth's participation in this study is voluntary, and they can answer only those questions that they are comfortable answering. They may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort. If they withdraw from the study at any time, any data that they have provided will be destroyed.

Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your son's/daughter's/youth's access to services or how they will be treated.

After interviews are transcribed, youth will be invited to review the transcripts and sign a transcript release form. However, they can decide to remove any pieces of the information or provide revisions until January 2021.

If the youth decides to remove any pieces of the information that they have provided to the researcher, that piece of information or the entire interview will be destroyed.

Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply for two years, until January 2021. After this date, it is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

Follow up:

To obtain results from the study, please contact the researcher using the information at the top of page 1. You can also contact the volunteers at the Science House.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask at any point. You can contact the researcher at any time during or after the end of the project using the information at the top of page 1.

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board on (date). Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office at ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free: (888) 966-2975.

Consent to participate

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the description provided. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered. I consent for my youth to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Guardian	Signature	Date

Name of Participant		

_____	_____	
Researcher's Signature	Date	

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and the researcher will take a copy.

Consent Form - IAPSRS Volunteers (Interview)

You are invited to participate in a research study:

Youth Resilience in Tehran's marginalized Areas

Researcher(s): Rezvan Ostadali, PhD student, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, phone: Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca, e-mail: Rezvan.ostadali@usask.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Carolyn Brooks, Department of Sociology, e-mail: carolyn.brooks@usask.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

The purpose of this study is to understand the meaning of resilience and the barriers and enablers to resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized communities. The main research questions are: what is the meaning of resilience from the perspective of youth in Tehran's marginalized areas? What social, cultural, and environmental factors influence youth resilience from the perspective of youth in marginalized areas?

The objectives of this research are to document and analyze: a) the meaning of resilience from the perspective of the youth living in Tehran's marginalized areas; b) individual, relational, and socio-economic factors that support or hinder youth resilience; and c) to describe existing resources and programs that are available to youth in the community.

Procedures:

The interview will take about 45 minutes and will be conducted in the Science House. The purpose of these interviews is to understand the role of contextual factors, such as culture and the community socio-economic situations, in youth resilience. You will be asked to talk about issues related to youth resilience, such as prevention or intervention programs. Your responses to the interview questions will be audio-recorded. However, you will have the option to ask that your

responses not be audio-recorded. You can also have the recording device turned off at any time without giving a reason.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to you from participating in this research.

Potential Benefits:

The information that you provide during this research will help IAPSRS to design more youth-informed programs. It will also help IAPSRS in its negotiations with the government to receive more resources for marginalized communities and can result in policy change. The information that you provide will contribute to the knowledge and literature on youth resilience.

Confidentiality:

Consent forms will be stored separately from interview transcripts. The participants' real names will not be used in the dissemination of results. Any information that may allow the identification of participants will be deleted and will not be used in reports, publications, or presentations. The information collected from interviews (except any identifying information) will be used in scholarly journals, books, reports, and posters that will be used in community presentations. I will transcribe and translate the interviews into English and will keep the information confidential.

Storage of Data:

The interview data will be stored in a password-protected laptop. The backup of the data will be stored in a password-protected external hard drive. Both the laptop and external hard drive will be stored in a locked cabinet. Consent forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts.

Five years after the end of the project, all data will be destroyed (shredded and deleted electronically using software that allows the deletion of data beyond recovery).

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable answering. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort. If you withdraw from the study at any time, any data that you have provided will be destroyed.

After interviews are transcribed, you will be invited to review the transcripts and sign a transcript release form. However, you can decide to remove any pieces of the information or provide revisions until January 2021.

If you decide to remove any pieces of the information that you have provided to the researcher, that piece of information or the entire interview will be destroyed.

Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply for two years, until January 2021. After this date, it is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

Follow up:

To obtain results from the study, please contact the researcher using the information at the top of page 1. The results will be also provided to IAPSRS in the form of reports and other materials, as determined by the IAPSRS advisory group.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to ask at any point. You can contact the researcher at any time during or after the end of the project using the information at the top of page 1.

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board on (date). Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office at ethics.office@usask.ca or (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free: (888) 966-2975.

Consent to participate

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the description provided. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date
_____	_____	
Researcher's Signature	Date	

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and the researcher will take a copy.

TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM-Interview

To be distributed and signed prior to beginning the interview.

Please complete one of the following sections as appropriate and sign the form:

I, _____, have been offered the opportunity to review the complete transcript of the interview in the study Youth Resilience in Tehran's Marginalized Areas, and I do not wish to review the transcript.

I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with Rezvan Ostadali. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to Rezvan Ostadali to be used in the manner described in the Consent Form. I have received a copy of this Data/Transcript Release Form for my own records.

Name of Participant Date

Signature of Participant Signature of researcher

Appendix C. Interview Guides

Youth Interview Guide-Initial Interview

This interview guide will be reviewed with the IAPSRS advisory group and volunteers to ensure that the language and terms are appropriate and comprehensible for the youth. These questions are translated from Persian to English, and their interview will be conducted in Persian.

I will ask the youth whether they are comfortable with recording their voice. If they are not comfortable, I will take notes and will review the notes with them at the end of the interview. I will ask the youth to introduce themselves. They can share information that they are comfortable with and can stop talking at any time.

What is the first thing that you think about when you wake up in the morning? (Different questions may be asked depending on how the youth respond to this question. Examples are provided below:)

How do you start your day? What is the first thing that you need to do after you wake up?

Do you feel happy when you wake up in the morning and think about starting a new day?

Are you currently working?

What do you think about your job?

What do you enjoy about your job?

What difficulties are you facing in your job?

Is there anything that would make your job easier?

Do you know what resilience is?

Do you like art?

What are do you like?

What art do you think that you will make in the workshop?

Researcher: Do not worry about the art or the quality of the art that you are going to make. You will not be evaluated on the quality of your art.

Youth Interview Guide-Final Interview

This interview guide will be reviewed with the IAPSRS advisory group and volunteers to ensure that the language and terms are appropriate and comprehensible for the youth. These questions are translated from Persian to English, and the interview will be conducted in Persian.

What gives you hope when facing difficulties?

Is there anybody you can rely on to help you solve your problems?

Who do you want to see first when you face difficulty?

What are the most important relationships in your life?

How do other youth treat you in the community?

How do adults other than your family treat you in the community?

Do you have somebody that you consider a role model? Can you talk about them?

- 1.1.Can you talk about your relationships with your family and friends?
2. What programs or resources are available for youth in the community?
 - 2.1.Do you think that you have access to the same resources or supports that youth in other areas of Tehran have access to?
 - 2.2.Do you feel safe in your community?
 - 2.3.Is spirituality important to you?
 - 2.4.Are there any activities that you would enjoy doing in your community?
3. What do you think about your future? Do you feel secure about your future?
 - 3.1.What career do you want to have in the future?
 - 3.2.What do you need to do to be able to get the job that you want?
 - 3.3.Do you see any obstacles for finding the job that you want in the future?
4. If you were able to change anything in your life, what would it be?
5. How do you define youth doing well?
 - 5.1.What does being healthy mean to you and others in your family and community?
 - 5.2.What do you do, and others you know do, to keep healthy mentally, physically, emotionally, and spiritually?
 - 5.3.What is success for you? And what do you consider as a failure?

6. Do youth in trouble have access to the programs that they need?
 - 6.1. In your opinion, what causes youth trouble/addictions/crime?
 - 6.2. Do people who are responsible for the safety of the community respect the youth who live there?
7. Would you like to provide any explanation about this drawing and how it is related to your resilience?
8. Do you have any thoughts about the art workshop or this research that you would like to share with me?
 - 8.1. If you were to conduct research on youth, what would you conduct research on?
 - 8.2. How would you like to see the information from the study shared?

IAPSRS Volunteers/Managers Interview Guide

1. A number of questions have already been discussed with several volunteers. The study will be introduced, and its purpose will be specified, to understand their perspective on youth resilience in marginalized areas and risk factors and resources available to the youth in the community.
2. It will be mentioned to the volunteers that the interview will be audio-recorded to ensure accuracy.
3. The student researcher is an IAPSRS volunteer and knows other volunteers well. However, a few demographic questions will be asked:
I already know about your contribution to IAPSRS and the community. To record some of the information in the research, I would like to ask a few questions about you:
 - 3.1. What IAPSRS committees have you participated in?
 - 3.2. How long have you been volunteering for IAPSRS?
 - 3.3. What goals have you been pursuing in volunteering for IAPSRS?
 - 3.4. What problems have you been facing when helping children in the community?
 - 3.5. What resources have you been benefiting from with respect to helping children?
4. What is the meaning of resilience in your opinion?
 - 4.1. How is the concept of resilience relevant to the youth you work with?
 - 4.2. Do you categorize youth as at-risk youth or resilient youth?
5. What factors from your perspective influence youth resilience or risk?
 - 5.1. From your perspective, can both personal and socio-economic factors affect youth resilience? If yes, which one is more important?
 - 5.2. What is the most important personal or socio-economic factor in youth resilience?
 - 5.3. Do you think that the community culture can influence youth resilience?
 - 5.4. What do you think about the role of a youth's socio-economic situation in their resilience?
 - 5.5. How does the participation of youth in forced labour influence their resilience or risk?
 - 5.6. What do you think about the role of age, gender, and race in youth resilience?

6. What do you think about youth policies and programs, including justice, education, and subsidy systems?
 - 6.1. Do you think that intervention or prevention strategies have been effective in youth resilience?
 - 6.2. Are intervention or prevention programs different for girls and boys?
 - 6.3. What suggestions do you have for improving intervention or prevention programs?

7. How would you like research with Tehran's marginalized youth to be conducted?
 - 7.1. How would you like the study to be designed and the knowledge produced to be disseminated?
 - 7.2. Have you had the chance to review the interview questions for youth when questions were shared with the IAPSRS research advisory group?
 - 7.3. Are there any questions that you would like to add or remove?
 - 7.4. Do you have any other opinions that you would like to share with us?