



# BASIC POINT

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## Resilience and inclusion

*Translated by Hajnalka Kiss*

Sociology of education has always interpreted school-related issues from a multidisciplinary point of view; therefore, it is not surprising that nowadays we encounter the psychological term “resilience” more and more frequently in connection with the topic of schooling.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the approach of sociology of education also covers the term “inclusion,” which derives from the world of practical pedagogy and widely pervades social policies. We believe that the successful fighting ability of an individual, their “emotional flexibility” (resilience) and their acts realized during the process of mutual acceptance in the community (inclusion) influence each other and form an inseparable unity – especially in the world of education. In order to prove this, a brief description of both theories is provided here, emphasizing those points where they connect. This provided a basis for a research, where inclusivity serves as a kind of theoretical framework for the respective aspects of resilience. The research presented primarily illustrates how the shared segments of the scientific approaches to resilience and inclusion are outlined. Utilizing the interviews concerning the lives of university students from different backgrounds, the research presents the analysis of those (external) factors that can be understood as the meeting points of the theory of resilience and inclusion. Half of the interviewees are part of two disadvantaged groups at the same time: the Roma/Gypsy minority, and people of low social status. Additional 16 students were interviewed, composing the control group. Interpreting the attitude and behavior of the school and the family, based on both aspects mentioned in the title, we will be able to understand the psychological and sociological explanation for the educational success of young people from disadvantaged groups. In the case of the interviews of those university students that are considered resilient, the research also examines whether there is a connection that could account for successful educational careers with the external factors of resilience and the typical characteristics of an inclusive environment simultaneously. This would justify the place of the theoretical system of inclusion in the analytical context of resilience. This research achieved its fundamental goal, since it was able to prove – although based on a small sample – that the practical implementations of the theoretical model of inclusion outlined by us have a strong influence on the fulfillment of resilience. There are clearly

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1 Simultaneously with this volume, the thematic issue (2015/1) of the specialized journal called Transylvanian Society (*Erdélyi Társadalom*) was published, which contains studies concerned with the topic of resilience, discussing it mainly from a sociological point of view. Hereinafter references to the content of certain articles may appear, adjusted to the analytical focus of this text.

some areas, where the inclusive approach can have a breakthrough and appear in such a proportion that allows for it to influence the lives of disadvantaged people. This also justifies the need for and the value of an inclusive educational environment.

## Embedding the terms utilized

The research area of resilience has an almost five decade-long past in the international scientific discourse. During this period, several different approaches and definitions have come to light, aiming at the comprehension of this complex phenomenon (Masten, 2008). The goal of this study is not to explore the integrity of these different approaches, but to bring into focus those kinds of perceptions of resilience that in turn can be connected to the theoretical framework of inclusion. In compliance with this, while unfolding and presenting the phenomenon of resilience below, some of its aspects that are relevant to inclusion will be highlighted.

The research area of resilience within the field psychology – primarily developmental psychology – is based on those phenomena where in spite of the negative impacts threatening adaptation and development, a positive outcome was realized in the life of an individual or a whole group. In other words, the central topic of the psychological analysis of resilience is composed of the research of different phenomena, where a successful struggle and adjustment took place in the life of the individual, in spite of the chronic stress-generating and traumatizing circumstances and hardships (Masten, 2001, 2008; Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000; Zautra, Hall and Murray, 2010). Researchers that deal with the topic aim at revealing those underlying mechanisms that contribute to the successful fulfillment of the “emotional flexibility and resistance”<sup>2</sup> of an individual or a group. The mapping of those factors that have a key role in resilience leads to the possibility of the development of measures and strategies – maybe even on a social level – which could promote the appearance and development of resilience in different situations beset by difficulties (Masten, 2001; Masten and Wright, 2010).

Resilience is a complex phenomenon, and its explanations can be revealed with the employment of different research aspects. The primary question of researchers is whether resilience is the result of a process generated by inner qualities (e.g., personality, genes, IQ) or dynamic external effects (e.g., socio-economic status, cultural environment, system of personal relations) (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000; Zautra, Hall and Murray, 2010). One part of the research unfolds around the individual explanation of resilience, which is mainly concerned with the inner factors of the individual in the process of revealing the reasons for resilience.<sup>3</sup> As opposed to this, the other part of the research

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- 2 The illustrative expression of emotional resistance or flexibility is a frequently used synonym of resilience, indicating the ability of an individual, a group or a community to prevent, reduce or overcome difficulties and their harmful consequences (Grotberg, 1996 in Ceglédi, 2012).
  - 3 Research focusing on the inner quality of the individual does not necessarily exclude the dynamic impact of external factors to resilience, only emphasizes individual characteristics as the starting point and central topic of analysis. Such theories include the psychobiological approach to resilience (Feder et al., 2010), the approach focusing on genes and environment (Lemery-Chalfant, 2010), and the cognitive, affective, and behavioral approach to resilience (Mayer and Faber, 2010; Skodol, 2010; Rafaeli and Hiller, 2010).

is based on the emphasis of the priority of external factors, explaining the relationship between the individual and resilience with contextual roots (Sameroff, 2005; Masten 2001, 2008; Masten and Wright, 2010). It seems that the majority of the research concerned with resilience represents an integrative point of view, describing resilience as a multidimensional phenomenon and the results of an interaction between internal (individual) and external (social and contextual) factors. The theoretical dissimilarities derive from the fact that different emphasis is put on internal and external factors. In the case of both approaches – regardless of whether the focus is on internal or external factors – resilience seems to have two poles. One pole is the so-called protective/promotive one, while the other one is called the pole of risk factors (Masten, 2001; Masten, 2008; Sameroff, 2005). Risk factors include every element that can be identified as a predictor of a negative and unwanted consequence. Protective/promotive factors are capable of compensating for risk factors, helping to fight against them as well as promoting successful adaptation (Masten, 2001, 2008; Masten and Wright, 2010).

The system of personal relations is the most important component of both external risk factors and external protective factors. Research analyzing the diverse environmental impacts identifies the different spaces of socialization – family,<sup>4</sup> school, identical age group, and neighborhood – as the fundamental factors of resilience. These environments and the attitudes or acts involved might be regarded as risk factors when they are dysfunctional, meaning that their negative impacts prevail. Their protective nature can be perceived when they are supportive, accessible, and present in the life of the individual with a positive connotation. Hence, external protective factors, focusing on successful educational advancement, include for instance a nurturing family environment, mentoring teachers, and the inclusive community of the same age group. Decisive personal relationships that can be linked to deviance<sup>5</sup> or result in rejection can be identified as external risk factors. These include the discriminative/prejudiced behavior of communities relevant in the life of the individual (identical age group, school, neighborhood). Furthermore, the lack of necessary human relations and the support provided by them can also be considered a risk factor. In addition to the system of human relations, external risk factors also include for instance low socio-economic status, poverty, and traumatic events (Perez, 2009; Sameroff, 2005; Masten 2001, 2008; Masten and Wright, 2010).

External risk factors and external protective factors are those segments of resilience that this study would like to integrate into the theoretical system of inclusivity.<sup>6</sup> It is crucial to pay special attention to external factors, because resilience is the results of complex interactions and processes that go beyond the individual. Processes that go beyond internal factors and play a significant role in the development of resilience can

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- 4 There is a brief description about the role of the family environment, which discusses those family impacts that result in or prevent the resilient and adaptive behavior of the individual (Fekete, 2015: 163). The author mentions the mother-child relationship, then the impact of the father, and finally the impact of social movements.
  - 5 The literature highlights the following deviances: psychiatric problems or addictions of the parents, domestic violence, and criminality.
  - 6 This study does not include the description of the internal risk factors and protective factors due to its nature. These factors are discussed for instance in the study of Rutter (1987), Benard (1995), and Sugland et al. (1993).

be identified in connection with close human relationships and social support (Rutter, 2007 in Masten and Wright, 2010). Furthermore, focusing on external factors seems to be a more productive strategy during the development of resilience, since a more extended and greater intervention can be realized through actions concentrating on contextual elements, as opposed to those approaches that only support and develop individual competences (Sameroff, 2005). In addition, emphasizing the internal factors may lead to a dangerous perspective that would result in a victim-blaming strategy,<sup>7</sup> due to the favored position of the individual. In light of the above, we can conclude that although the analysis of internal factors is an important aspect of resilience, focusing on the external factors seems to be more beneficial in terms of development and the avoidance of the victim-blaming strategy. Finally, the consistent improvement of the external factors (e.g., the creation of an inclusive space) allows for the development and successful implementation of interventions on the individual level, such as that of competences promoting resilience and facilitating the fulfillment of the internal protective factors. In the case of this dual point of view, the theory of inclusivity may serve as the framework of resilience. The external factors described by resilience and the elements that can be identified in the model of inclusion can be understood as meeting points and shared perspectives. The possibility of the integration of these two theories is supported by the fact that these two research areas use similar target groups in their analyses and share a final objective.<sup>8</sup>

Moving forward to the topic of inclusion, if we look back to the history of the term we can see that at the beginning it only implied the methods of the successful institutional education of people with disabilities. In other words, the term inclusive only applied to integrative (co-educational) pedagogic methods, where the environment would adapt in a supportive manner to those children and young adults who entered the community with different abilities and needs (Réthyné, 2004; Kópataki, 2004; Csányi and Perlusz, 2001). During the past one and a half decades both the scientific and political approach to the term have changed in many ways, all around the world. One change is that the range of individuals and groups that are in the focus of inclusion has expanded significantly, recognizing the fact that not only disabled people are threatened by exclusion without the personalized adjustment of the environment. Activities

7 Blaming the victims means a strategy where the individuals or groups are blamed and held responsible for their own situation, not taking into consideration any contextual reasons, such as socio-economic reasons (Ryan, 1974 in Arató, 2012).

8 The relationship between inclusive pedagogy and the theory of resilience was analyzed in the study of Makoelle és Malindi (2015) in South Africa. As opposed to the perspective of this study, the South African authors analyzed the diversified impact of the inclusive pedagogic system on disadvantaged students, examining the differences between the internal and external factors of resilience. So the starting point of the study was resilience, and it based the success of the inclusive pedagogic system on the features of resilience. In contrast, this study regards inclusivity – on a social and educational level – as a milestone in the development of resilience. In other words, the themes of resilience and inclusion were integrated into the work of Makoelle and Malindi (2015); nevertheless, their study suggests that the resilience factors of different individuals are going to determine the success of inclusivity, concentrating mainly on the internal factors (Makoelle and Malindi, 2015). This study examines these two themes from an opposite point of view and in the case of more than one person, claiming that the successful development of inclusivity is an essential condition for the fulfillment of resilience.

that can successfully facilitate inclusion have been increasingly extended to individuals who are frequently excluded from education, and consequently from society, due to various reasons (e.g., socio-cultural disadvantages or different linguistic and cultural backgrounds) (Hinz, 2002; Potts, 2002; Bárdossy, 2006). The other change is that nowadays inclusion is considered an important approach on the level of the society (social inclusion), this way replacing and supplementing the approach that uses the term social integration. This transformation is characterized by analysis of the term on the community and societal levels, and in turn proposing necessary answers in relation to policies, compensating for social exclusion (Percy and Smith, 2000; Atkinson, 2002; Giambona and Vassallo, 2012; Asumah and Nagel, 2014).

Facts and related practical experience revealed by the research show that it is essential for the realization of equality – which is one of the most important principals of democracy – that documents regulating the operation of a given field name the groups of people threatened by exclusion, and also define the methods of paying special attention to them.<sup>9</sup> The constant growth of groups in the focus of inclusive practices and the expansion of related fields can draw attention to the fact that it is necessary to analyze the creation of inclusive environment and establish a model for it. The establishment of this model can be assisted by successful practical experiences of inclusion. Furthermore, the adaptation of these experiences would ensure the prevention of exclusion on an everyday level as well.

In relation with the topic of resilience, it is important to emphasize the changing approach behind the expansion of inclusion, which is becoming more and more democratic and characterized by reciprocity. During the preceding process of integration (acceptance), the emphasis was on the individual whose integration was helped by society, although it was not necessarily done by changing the conditions, but rather expecting the individual to adjust. In contrast, the essence of the approach of inclusion is that the focus of the integration process is on the environment itself: if the environment is able to react appropriately to the demands and needs of those who live in it, then everybody's mutual acceptance will be successful. This latter approach suggests that the primary aim of inclusion is to make the eco-social environment inclusive, by focusing on interventions that support the resilience of those people or groups who are threatened by exclusion.

Analyzing inclusivity in the context of education, a movement spreading in the higher education of the United States, is an excellent example, which emphasizes inclusion in connection with diversity, as it relates to people primarily coming from different cultures or ethnic groups (Williams et al., 2005). The movement, going beyond the term of inclusion, has introduced the term "Inclusive Excellence," focusing on the priority of adjusting the environment. They emphasize that every member participating in education (especially higher education) should change their approach and act together in order to ensure the acceptance of individual diversity. They highlight the fact that the appreciation, integration and success of diversity are inseparable from and a guarantee

9 Hence, the expansion of the term inclusion was aided by the fact that the European Union has used the term "social inclusion" in its legal and strategic documents since the launch of the Lisbon Strategy (2000). (PresidencyConclusions - LISBON EUROPEAN COUNCIL, 23 and 24 March 2000. [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/00100-r1.eno.htm](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/00100-r1.eno.htm), accessed on: 19 October, 2014)

of “excellence.” Consequently, the realization of “Inclusive Excellence” requires the process of institutional development, where integration of those who are threatened by exclusion involves deliberate transformation of the environment, making it “friendly.” The term “Inclusive Excellence” can be applied to an institutional development when in addition to equal participation and access, Diverse Learning Environments are created in a deliberate manner, extending measurable effectiveness to everyone. The transformation leads to a qualitative change for every member of the community and the institution as well. It represents an open and inclusive approach, based on which a high level of cultural and social competence can be realized, preparing everyone to mutually understand and accept each other, a quality that is useful later on, after university studies as well (Hurtado 2012). Inclusive Excellence states that the excellence (quality indicator) of a given institution depends on its ability to include its members and groups in the processes of cooperation, thus exploiting their knowledge and aiming at their excellent individual performance (Milem et al., 2005; Williams et al., 2005; Bauman et al., 2005). This is how a “friendly” environment becomes one that is appropriate for resilience.

In Hungary, at the beginning, the approach of inclusion emerged in the context of education, related to disabled students (Pethő, 2003; Papp, 2012). Similarly to how it happened in the international literature, the application of the term has been increasingly expanded in our country too, in terms of its target group as well as field of application. Analyzing the changes in education in light of our research question, we can notice those changes in education policy that happened after the millennium and focused on integration inevitably extended these pedagogic methods to other groups of students, resulting in successful co-education (Arató, 2013). An initiative affecting the whole of public education was launched in 2003. It wished to introduce the Pedagogic System of Integration (*IPR, Integrációs Pedagógiai Rendszer*) in schools and later in nurseries, making the institutional environment of students from socially disadvantaged families inclusive. In terms of the organization of education, the IPR has an integrative (co-educational) approach, while in terms of its content, it involves inclusion (mutual acceptance). This means that the IPR considers its activity as the process of institutional development, aiming at the fundamental transformation of the environment. The IPR indicates the essential initial conditions for co-education, the required tools for mutual acceptance during the process, and expected results during the output phase – all of which are needed for transformation. It considers the transformation of the institutional environment a result that affects the successful educational advancement (resilience) of the student group in focus (disadvantaged students), while promoting the inclusive attitude of those in the same space.

The models of inclusivity have been created based on the approach and practical experiences of inclusion, such as the Inclusive Excellence in American higher education or the IPR in Hungarian public education (Varga, 2014c). If we analyze the components of the inclusive space described in these models, we can see that there are some elements that are identified as “external” factors in the topic of resilience. Evidently, all of the models that have been created in order to put inclusion to practice, embrace those components as well that unfold the essential characteristics of successful external support – which are also needed for resilience – during the process of making the environ-

ment inclusive.<sup>10</sup> Hence, they also highlight the sensitivity and positive attitude of those in the inclusive space, the methodological preparedness of supporting people, which is manifested in personalized acts and contents, and the cooperative approach that helps involve additional partners, extending the necessary network of support. The emergence of all of these factors together makes the environment “friendly” to a certain extent, depending on the quantity and intensity of the elements. In other words, the more complex and developed the inclusive space is, the greater the likelihood of successful inclusion will be. The previously highlighted elements of the model of inclusion can also be identified as the external “protective” compensatory factor of resilience.<sup>11</sup> The common elements of inclusion and resilience reinforce the claim that there are some external factors in the fulfillment of resilience, which can be created in communal spaces and whose existence has a strong influence on the success of the individual in coping with the situation, compensating for personal disadvantages.

*Based on the above, we can see that both resilience and inclusion focus on the social environment of an individual or a group, considering it to be a fundamental factor in personal fulfillment and in the process of solving different problems. The mutually accepting attitude and behavior of people in the social space, preparedness to react to individual demands, and the existence of a wide-ranging network of cooperation are all regarded as supportive factors by both theories. In addition, it was evident during the examination that*

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- 10 The characteristics are the following: inclusive space and the material environment that require open and free spaces and resources, generating mutual cooperation, and the form of these depend on the individuals in the space. Appreciation of diversity is an important aspect because it is the cornerstone of inclusion, describing every member of its process, which further means the positive attitude of people in the common space, overshadowing negative stereotypes. The preparedness of those people who realize the process ensures the success of the activities that are essential for the application of the inclusive approach. Aspect of institutional pedagogic services include the apprehension and assistance of individual learning processes as well as personalized contents and activities. Cooperation and partnership emphasizes the importance of people, groups, and institutions (inside or outside the inclusive space) acting together. Finally, we should mention the aspect of constant renewal, which is a condition for and a feature of the creation of an inclusive environment because it does not regard the effort for inclusion as a one-time intervention, but as a continuously measured and evaluated reform that employs as many resources as possible for its activities on the institutional level (Varga, 2014C).
- 11 There are some institutions that are less successful in educational advancement and have poorer results than the national average (e.g., in case of different national or international competency tests), most probably due to the composition of their students (for instance, if there is a high percentage of disadvantaged students). If these institutions succeed, they would be labeled „resilient.“ „Resilient schools include those institutions whose students, due to their family backgrounds, belong to the lower quartile; however, their results, aggregated to the level of education, belong to the upper quartile” (Papp, 2014). Attila Z. Papp analyzed the background characteristics of the PISA database from a statistical point of view, presenting the resilient institutions in Hungary. (The abstract of the lecture delivered at the National Conference of Educational Research (*Országos Neveléstudományi Konferencia*) is available on the following link: [http://onk2014.unideb.hu/wp-content/program\\_vegleges/ONK\\_2014\\_kotet.pdf](http://onk2014.unideb.hu/wp-content/program_vegleges/ONK_2014_kotet.pdf) 99.) We can gather additional useful information through the filter of the system of inclusion, since we can reveal exactly those factors that are able to establish resilience in the world of education.



*both theories pay special attention to those individuals and groups who are disadvantaged in some way, and consequently are threatened by exclusion. Furthermore, both fields are motivated by their mutual aim to help people, groups, and communities to succeed, develop, fight, and adapt through various improvement activities, developed based on research results.*

## The focus of research

Analyzing the interviews of those university students who are considered resilient, the research examines whether there is a connection that could account for successful educational careers with the external factors of resilience and the typical characteristics of an inclusive environment simultaneously. And if there is such a connection, what is the nature of this connection? Furthermore, another aim is to reveal the differences between the lives of students from the resilient and control group, based on the aspects that examine the mutual segments of the theory of resilience and inclusion.

In this research the resilient test group was composed of university students who are members of the Wlilocki Henrik College (*WHSZ, Wlilocki Henrik Szakkollégium*) at the University of Pécs.<sup>12</sup> In the case of these students, educational success emerged in an environment full of multiple risk factors, since these students are part of two disadvantaged groups at the same time: Roma/Gypsy minority and people of low social status.<sup>13</sup> In light of the above, it can be said that the educational careers of the examined members of the student college show an atypical example, as opposed to the usually unsuccessful educational advancement of students from disadvantaged social groups.<sup>14</sup> As a result, they can

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- 12 Students of the student college, belonging to the resilient group, all come from socially disadvantaged groups, mostly belonging to the Roma/Gypsy community. The common feature of students studying different subjects at different faculties is that they all participate in the complex program of WHSZ that strengthens inclusivity (Varga, 2014a).
  - 13 Several researchers drew attention to the fact that social disadvantages can be aggravated if an individual belongs to a minority group, due to the negative social stereotypes associated with these groups (Cserti and Orsós, 2013; Neményi, 2013). These disadvantages were described, among others, by Perez et al. (2009) in the context of the examination of resilience, claiming that the main risk factors threatening the educational career are low socio-economic status and being a member of a minority group. This is precisely what is emphasized by the field of „intersectionality,” which uses this theory to examine the relationship between different social inequalities (due to ethnicity, gender, or class) and the related oppression and discrimination (Nagel and Asumah, 2014).
  - 14 A study was conducted concurrently with this research, which considers resilience as the „criteria for social survival” in the case of Roma people (Gyórbiró et al., 2015: 119). The study examines the Roma student college with the precondition that this type of institution has the ability to educate a group of Roma intellectuals, who can in turn change the disadvantaged characteristics of their community. The text is also interesting because it applies the topic of resilience to the level of the group instead of the individual, explaining why it is so important to promote resilience in the case of people with permanent disadvantages, especially the Roma community. According to the answers of the eight Roma students who were interviewed, the services of the student college contribute to the successful educational careers of students and promote their sensitivity to social issues.

be labeled resilient.<sup>15</sup> Besides resilient students, a control group was included in the research in order to satisfy a comparative analysis and to ensure the validity of the research. In order to assure reliability, the control group is composed of students that have similar proportions to the student of the student college in terms of gender, age, major and residence of parents. Therefore, the difference between the two analyzed groups is reflected in the distinctive qualifications and/or professions of the parents<sup>16</sup> (socio-economic status) and in ethnic origins (belonging to the minority/majority).

The hypothesis of the research is that in the case of resilient students, the successful educational career can be explained by external factors of resilience as well as the characteristics of inclusive environment that unfolds these factors. We can assume a connection, implying that the characteristics of the inclusive institutional environment can be identified in the life of resilient people to a great extent, as external compensatory/protective factors of the risk factors. This justifies the place of the theoretical system of inclusion in the analytical context of resilience. A further hypothesis is that the lives of university students regarded as resilient and the lives of the members of the control group are going to differ in terms of the amount and quality of the external risk factors and external protective factors. In the case of the resilient students, there will be more risk factors and more protective factors as well. The latter explains the successful educational career, emerging in spite of disadvantages, with the characteristics of inclusive institutional environment. As opposed to this, in the case of the control group, presumably there will be fewer risk factors, and it will be the protective factors of the family that compensate for them, instead of the characteristics of the inclusive institutional environment.

## The circumstances of the research

Altogether 32 university students<sup>17</sup> were interviewed,<sup>18</sup> and these interviews were analyzed in order to illustrate the connections between the theories of resilience and inclusivity, and to answer the questions of researchers. Other researchers in the country have already analyzed people from similar backgrounds, utilizing similar research tools in their analyses concerning resilience and the sociology of education. There are studies revealing the internal and external factors of resilience, similarly to the classical approaches (Ceglédi, 2012), and a recent study examines the topics of resilience and iden-

15 A student is resilient if he or she has to suffer disadvantages, which would indicate an unsuccessful educational path, but in spite of this, he or she achieves successful educational advancement (Perez et al., 2009; Masten, 2008).

16 Eight members of the control group have high socio-economic status, while eight other members have average socio-economic status, based on the qualifications, professions and incomes of their parents.

17 The university students are between 21 and 31 years of age, and attend undergraduate, post-graduate or Ph.D. programs at the university or participate in undivided trainings that offer a master's degree.

18 The interview included a brief introduction, the presentation of the family background and the description of the events that lead to the current educational status of the students.



**Bálint Rigó**  
Földrajz BA, WHSZ tag, PTE TTK

When I got into the university I joined the student college at once. I got into a new environment and a new town, and the student college – maybe not immediately, but really quickly – helped me make new relationships and fit into this new situation. I think it is really good that these relationships were made really fast, and the community helped a lot with this. In my opinion, the student college provides a lot of opportunities. I do not say, that I liked all the “opportunities” at all times, and that I did not wish sometimes that some of the programs would have not been compulsory, but subsequently I realized that these programs were also useful.

tity<sup>19</sup> (Máté, 2015). There are several studies that analyze the lives<sup>20</sup> of Roma/Gypsy university students and student colleges, serving as their backgrounds – we have already mentioned these in the previous chapters (Forray 2012, 2014; Varga 2013, 2014a, 2014b). This study – similarly to the mentioned studies in the country – analyzes the interviews given by university students, but it goes beyond the discourse of psychological resilience, utilizing the experiences of the approach and practice of inclusion in its analytical framework.

This research includes altogether 32 students, 16 of whom belong to the resilient group, while the other 16 students belong to the control group.

The analysis of the interviews given by the members of the resilient and control groups was helped by ATLAS-ti, a program that performs narrative content analysis. A code system was developed for the process of content analysis, which helped to reveal the connections between resilience, inclusivity and educational success. All of these were determined by the external factors, playing a role in the educational careers of the students. Regarding inclusion, the environment surrounding the student can be understood as an external factor, which can result in inclusion or exclusion, depending on its components (the existence or the lack of inclusivity factors) (Varga, 2014b). Regarding the analytical approach to resilience, the underlying factors of “inclusion” or “exclusion” can be regarded as external protective or external risk factors (Masten and Wright,

19 The author examines how the members of the test group, i.e., Roma graduates managed to take advantage of mobility, in spite of the often selective or discriminative influence of educational institutions. The author wishes to answer the various questions by analyzing the lives of resilient individuals. The paper primarily takes into account the impediments to the educational advancement of the test group, and states that resilient people have certain competences in common. Among these competences, risk-taking and the ability to search for solutions in case of a failed attempt are emphasized. The goal of these solutions is always to progress on the road of mobility that is recognized by the students. The study mentions the relationship between the family and the school, analyzing the stages of identity consolidation, which also characterizes the development of resilience (Dezső, 2015).

20 Here we would like to thank Katalin R. Forray, who provided us with her interviews, which she conducted with the resilient group of our research. We utilized these interviews in a secondary research.

2010). Regardless of which theoretical approach we choose to consider the external factors, there seems to be a positive and a negative pole in both cases, which can promote or hinder the educational advancement of a student.

Based on this train of thought, the external supporting (protective) and hindering (risk) factors have become the main analytical categories in the narrative code system. Within the external factors, the emphasis was on those participants<sup>21</sup>, whose appearance influenced the educational advancement of the interviewees somehow, either negatively (hindering it) or positively (supporting it). The analysis of these participants served as a system of criteria, which is included both in the theory of resilience and inclusion, and which can be regarded as a common segment of the two approaches.<sup>22</sup> Participants who have an external supporting or hindering role have been classified into the following four sub-categories: family, identical age group, school, and external people or organizations.<sup>23</sup>

## Results

The data<sup>24</sup> was collected with the help of ATLAS-ti from interviews of the two analyzed groups, and its evaluation was conducted by the SPSS independent-samples t-test analysis. The student category – meaning the membership of either the resilient or the control group – was the classifying variable in the analysis. Altogether eight variables were established, meaning the relative frequency of code words characterizing four participants of supportive and four participants of hindering nature. The analysis based on these eight variables showed significant differences between the two groups in the case of six of these variables (Table no. 7). This means that in spite of the small sample, the difference between these two groups is obvious in relation to the focus of our research, namely the theory of resilience and inclusion.

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21 The system of criteria accepted in the narrative content analysis means the evaluation of participants appearing in the descriptions of life stories, since we can conclude their psychological functions (e.g., safety) from the functions of their activities (in this case the supporting or hindering nature of their deeds) (László, 2005; Péley, 2002).

22 In the case of inclusivity, the inclusive or exclusive environment is characterized by the behavior of its members and their responses to the environment itself. The external factors defined by the field of resilience include groups or individuals who can be both risk or compensatory factors in the life of the interviewee.

23 While specifying the eight codes, we tried to ensure that they all fit into the theoretical system of resilience as well as inclusivity. Therefore, we divided the categories of participants with a hindering role according to the relevant elements of these two approaches. Furthermore, participants of the sub-categories have been assigned different functions, according to their activities and psychological influence, which represent the nature of external factors in both theories.

24 We calculated the relative frequency of code words in the ATLAS-ti program, based on the results of the coding process along the eight super codes (family/identical age group/school/external organizations, all characterized by both hindering and supportive nature).

Table no. 7 – the significant results of a comparative analysis conducted by the SPSS independent-samples t-test (N: 32).

Individuals of hindering nature		
<b>FAMILY</b>	t(30)=-4,101, p<,01	M(resi)= 5,25 (SE=1,263) M(control)=,06 (SE=0,63)
<b>SCHOOL</b>	t(30)=-5,27, p<,01	M(resi)= 4,56 (SE=1,446) M(control)=,81 (SE=,332)
<b>SAME AGE GROUP</b>	t(30)=-2,392, p<,01	M(resi)= 2,44 (SE=0,866) M(control)=, 31 (SE=,198)
<b>EXTERNAL people/ organizations</b>	t(30)=-1,983, p<,01	M(resi)= 2,44 (SE=1,025) M(control)=, 38 (SE=,18)
Individuals of supportive nature		
<b>SCHOOL</b>	t(30)=-4,342, p<,01	M(resi)= 17,63 (SE=2,895) M(control)=4,63 (SE=,763)
<b>EXTERNAL people/ organizations</b>	t(30)=-3,911 p<,01	M(resi)= 8,00 (SE=1,821) M(control)=,81 (SE=,245)

If we analyze the results in detail, we can see that there are significantly more individuals with a hindering role in the lives of resilient students, for all of the 4 sub-categories. In other words, the presence of those individuals who are likely to hinder educational advancement was much more prominent in the life of resilient students, in the case of every social environment – family, identical age group, school, other institutions – surrounding resilient people. This suggests that resilient university students had to overcome much more obstacles in the course of their educational careers than their fellow students, who have a higher social status. Moreover, they had to do it in the case of every social environment. It might be assumed that success goes hand in hand with the development of some kind of “topic sensitivity,” which helps the verbalization of the issue as well as the search for solutions in many cases.<sup>25</sup> The other significantly higher proportion also characterizes the resilient group. It appears for the protective and supportive participants, in the sub-category of school or external organizations/individuals. This result suggests that during the reminiscence of their personal history, resilient students felt that people accessible at school or belonging to other organizations were the ones who made every effort to support them and compensate for disadvantages in connection with their education.

<sup>25</sup> This advanced and diverse competence („fighting ability”), which aims at mobility, is discussed in an already mentioned study that analyzes the connection between resilience and inclusion. (Máté 2015)

These two statements – based on the significant differences – together suggest that if the family background is unable to support the educational career of students, and it is an unchangeable condition, than during the educational advancement students realize this problem and try to find somebody to rely on in their social environment. In this case, the lack of institutional support (or the support of a teacher, another adult or someone of the same age group) is a disadvantage in itself, which is aggravated even further by negative attitudes (discrimination). The lack of these two factors – the recognition and acceptance of the unchangeable condition of the family background and the support expected from the institution and people of the same age group – appeared to a significant extent in the interviews given by resilient students, who also reported acts of negative discrimination. The great amount of supportive/positive experiences coming from the institutional sphere shows the necessity of these supportive participants in the development of resilience. Presumably their role was so significant in the lives of resilient students that these students were able to overcome the obstacles that were present in every environment to a great extent. Their importance is also indicated in the interviews by the fact they were memorable, as resilient students recognized their determinative role in their educational career.

The results of the independent-sample t-test thus confirm the hypothesis related to the question of our research, which claims that there are more risk factors – hindering participants – in the lives of resilient students than in the lives of the members of control group. One part of the risk factors derive from the disadvantaged backgrounds of resilient students, which has been discussed in detail by the literature of the sociology of education in the past fifty years. Family conditions related to the disadvantaged socio-economic status were illustrated in graphic detail, moving on a wide scale. Furthermore, the active and passive activities of hindering participants connected to the family were also identifiable in the case of the resilient group. Analyzed from a different aspect, hindering appeared due to the acts of participants belonging to the family, through no fault of their own. This involved the lack of the expected financial or emotional support, or even deviant behavior within the family or family traumas. The theory of inclusion established its educational model precisely in order to compensate for the presumed disadvantages and deficiencies of the family background, which is emphasized in this study as well. In this model, family appears as a partner that helps the protective institutional environment to recognize those features of students that derive from the primary environment, in order to achieve some results based on these features and the family.

In the hindering categories of the school, identical age group, and the external participants, disadvantages deriving from the minority background were more prominent. It is important to emphasize that cultural diversity is a positive factor in an inclusive environment, having great potential. In contrast, belonging to a minority group means a disadvantage when the majority has a hostile attitude towards the group. This could be identified in the case of individuals from all of the three subcategories (family, identical age group, external), whose behavior was characterized by prejudice, discrimination and exclusion, according to the recollections of the interviewees. This phenomenon can be understood as an external risk factor of resilience and as the lack of inclusion. The positive attitude of the participants in the common environment is essential for the realization of inclusion, and it also requires the acceptance of diversity, and considering it

as valuable. The results of the research also suggest that the lack of these conditions is an important risk factor in relation to the success of educational advancement.

In the case of resilient students, besides the risk factors, we could identify much more protective factors – supportive participants – than in the case of the control group. The activities of the supportive participants appearing in the sub-category of school and external organizations were realized according to the conditions of the inclusive environment. In other words, there appeared some teachers who had supportive attitude and who were prepared to employ methods that could compensate for the disadvantages of students. Similarly, there were some organizations and individuals, which acted as the partners of families or schools and offered some services missing from the lives of resilient people.

The various hypotheses in connection with the control group have also been confirmed during the analysis. In the case of the members of the control group, fewer risk factors were identified. Besides, those compensatory factors were emphasized in their lives that were connected to the family, instead of the characteristics of the inclusive institutional environment. Furthermore, based on the qualitative analysis of the interviews given by the control group, it can be said that the family influenced the appearance of other protective factors, such as the supportive participants of the same age group or the school. All of this can be connected to the choice of a certain school. Families with higher socio-economic status deliberately sent their children to institutions that had the ability to create an environment promoting the idea of further education, involving the teachers as well as the students in this process. Masten (2008) has already described this, claiming that the protective role of the family involves creating a harmonious atmosphere at home, providing emotional support and extending to the choice of school.

The proportional difference of participants in the lives of the two groups can be clearly identified based on the significant values. In the case of the control group, there were very few or no risk factors and the hindering factors were related to participants outside the family. As for the protective factors, there were no significant differences between resilient and non-resilient people regarding the family, although there were still more supportive participants from the family in the case of the control group, based on the data ( $M(\text{kontroll})=6.06$   $SE=1.055$ ;  $M(\text{rezi})=4.63$   $SE=1.114$ ). This is a result worth of mentioning, since regarding resilient people, there are multiple risk factors and fewer protective and supportive family factors, while regarding the control group, the amount of risk factors is minimal, but the compensatory role of the family is still more significant.

After revealing and combining the scientific discourses of resilience and inclusion, our hypothesis was that an empirical research would also confirm the strong connection between these two fields. The results showed that a successful educational career can be explained by the external factors of resilience as well as the characteristics of the inclusive environment. Already at the beginning of the research – i.e., during the process of coding – the characteristics of the inclusive institutional environment could be identified to a great extent in the lives of resilient students. These protective factors belong to the category of supportive participants and compensate for the external risk factors. This served as *prima facie* evidence for the validity of the fundamental concept of this research. Proceeding with the analysis, the comparison of the two analyzed groups confirmed the assumption that the protective participants and compensatory

factors of disadvantaged students can be found primarily within the inclusive institutional environment. As a result, we can conclude that the supportive school and external organizations, which are both significantly outstanding factors, had determinative roles in the development of the successful educational careers of resilient students. In addition to comparable data, in the third step we examined the possible differences between the proportions of the risk factors and the protective segments with significant values and relating to the lives of resilient students, with the use of the SPSS paired-samples t-test. Based on the results of the paired-samples t-test, the dominance of the compensatory factors was identified. In other words, there were much more protective factors in the sub-category of the school and external organizations together ( $M=25.6$   $SE=3.27$ ) than in the sub-categories providing the risk factors ( $M=14.68$   $SE=2.65$ ;  $t(15)=-2.371$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). This proportion suggests that the prominent existence of inclusive institutional environment can compensate for multiple risk factors.<sup>26</sup> The recognition of this is significant, since it means that the model of inclusion can offer practical tools for the constant development of resilience.

We cannot disregard the fact that hindering factors were in the focus of every sub-category in the life of resilient students. This means that in many cases, the environment surrounding them lacked inclusivity. According to the qualitative analysis of the interviews given by the resilient group, both the incompleteness of inclusivity and the presence of the key participants compensating for it can be perceived. A typical situation that appeared in the interviews was when the behavior of the same age group was characterized by discrimination and prejudice. In contrast, there were some teachers, whose positive impact was decisive in the lives of the interviewees because most probably they compensated for problems deriving from the discriminating attitude of people from the same age group. Therefore, we can conclude that the emergence of complete inclusion, on the social and educational level as well, has probably a great impact on the development of resilience. Incomplete inclusion, however, can still overcome disadvantages deriving from social inequalities, based on its key elements and most significant participants.<sup>27</sup>

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26 Masten's study emphasized that protective factors can compensate for risk factors. Based on this research, the school was considered as one of the most important scenes of protective factors (Masten, 2008).

27 It has come up during the analysis that it might be beneficial to examine another control group, which would be composed of young people coming from a similar social background to that of the resilient students in this research, but having an unsuccessful education career (meaning that they are non-resilient). Their case could show how the lack or incompleteness of inclusion hinders the development of resilience. The presented research has not included the analysis of this non-resilient group, primarily because it focuses on university students, and it is a characteristic of the non-resilient group that its members do not go to university. In connection with this, it was impossible to solve the dilemma that the analysis of the interviews was conducted focusing on education, while it is exactly this aspect (school) that disappears from the lives of non-resilient students. Therefore, in the case of the non-resilient group, a different research tool should be used.



## Conclusion

On the whole, looking at the aspect of successful educational career, we can conclude that in the case of the control group members, who were raised in an environment of higher social status and had only a few risk factors in their lives, the main protective factor was the family. In contrast, in the case of resilient students, the numerous risk factors were primarily compensated by the school and external organizations. Although there were several hindering factors in the framework of the institution as well, the presence of numerous (or decisive) protective participants overrode their impact, compensating for the disadvantages. This was supported by the fact that there are several areas where inclusion can have a breakthrough and appear in such a proportion that allows for it to change the lives of disadvantaged people and promote their resilience.<sup>28</sup> This is why it is so important that those students, who are at a disadvantage during their educational career, are surrounded by an inclusive institutional environment that is as established as possible. Without that, resilience might develop only accidentally or not at all. The topic of resilience, stepping out of the world of psychology, draws attention to the fact that it is possible – on the level of the individual or groups – to break the “projected” barriers; nevertheless, the development of the internal fighting ability clearly needs external support. Inclusivity, whose nature has been revealed, along with its practical models, provides a complex system of tools for this. The question is whether the different social scenes – including educational policies, the ones who execute them and schools as well – are willing to act in order to develop and maintain resilience. This decision unquestionably involves a great responsibility, since we could see that resilience is accessible and sustainable with the help of an inclusive social environment that is characterized by mutual acceptance.

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<sup>28</sup> In the case of the examined resilient students, the student college is the core of their protective environment, which provides them with complex support embedded into the community. Hence, the presented research not only reveals the connections between resilience and inclusion, but also proves that the student college in Pécs, which was analyzed from several points of view, is truly characterized by the features of inclusion.

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