

Book Review

Dimitrova, R., & Wiium, N. (2021) (Eds.). *Handbook of positive youth development. Advancing research, policy, and practice in global contexts*. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-70262-5

Review of the Book: Handbook of Positive Youth Development: Critical insights on youth potential from the Mainstream to the Global South

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Abstract

The Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework promotes a vision of youth based on their strengths. This paper is a review the *Handbook of positive youth development. Advancing research, policy, and practice in global contexts.* This review expands on the core themes of the Handbook by delving into challenges for PYD research as it moves forward to reach populations that have been systematically excluded from mainstream academia. It is proposed that the publication of this book, and its valuable contributions to youth research and policy, is a timely opportunity to highlight the mismatch between youth possibilities in developed and developing contexts, as it is the Handbook's aim to decrease the gap between mainstream and Global South youth psychology.

Keywords: Positive Youth Development; developed countries; Global South; book review.

Table of Contents

Contents of the Handbook Challenges for PYD in the Global South References



Psychological Thought, 2023, Vol. 16(1), 186-198, https://doi.org/10.37708/psyct.v16i1.777

Received: 2022-09-20. Accepted: 2023-01-16. Published (VoR): 2023-04-30.

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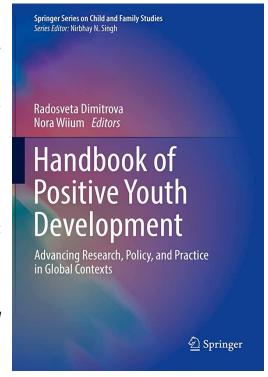


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The traditional conception of youth in the psychological literature characterizes this life stage as

one that is turbulent, stressful, and perilous. It is as a period to beware of, and which entails for the young individual an inevitable need to be fixed in one way or another. In contrast with this negative view, the Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework promotes a "strength-based vision" of youth (Lerner et al., 2005). Building on multiple roots and perspectives (e.g., lifespan psychology, demographic trends and changes, epigenetics), and particularly on developmental system theory (Griffiths & Tabery, 2013), PYD seeks that young people, put simply, thrive (Lerner et al., 2005).

This paper, first and foremost, is a review the Handbook of positive youth development. Advancing research, policy, and practice in global contexts, from editors Radosveta Dimitrova and Nora Wiium



(Dimitrova & Wiium, 2021). The second section expands on the core themes of the Handbook by delving into challenges for PYD research as it moves forward to reach populations that have been systematically excluded from mainstream academia. These challenges are addressed because one of the contributions that stand out from the Handbook is testing the PYD framework beyond samples from White, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic (WEIRD) countries. This is thus deemed an opportunity to highlight the mismatch between youth possibilities in developed and developing contexts, in keeping with the Handbook's aim to decrease the gap between mainstream and Global South youth psychology.

Contents of the Handbook

Currently, one of the most prevalent research approaches in the PYD framework is the Cs model, that is, factors that reinforce and promote positive development in youth. The 5Cs model includes character, confidence, competence, connection, and caring (e.g., Dvorsky et al., 2019); the 6Cs model adds contribution, and the 7Cs model adds creativity. The rapid acceptance and accumulation of evidence in favor of the PYD perspective in the last two decades is much needed and indisputable. This is demonstrated by the multiplication of literature and research, as expected in developed countries, but this is also true for countries of the Global South. In this sense, the *Handbook of Positive Youth Development* constitutes a milestone and a guiding lighthouse in this knowledge-building journey.

The *Handbook of Positive Youth Development* showcases theory, research, and practice from 38 countries. In the foreword of the Handbook, Daniel Shek underscores the importance of testing the applicability of the PYD framework to promote the well-being of youth in populations other than WEIRD samples. Indeed, throughout 37 chapters, the researchers that contribute to this Handbook are committed to expanding this evaluation of the PYD outside Western, developed countries. Participants comprise a combined population of 22,083 adolescents and emerging adults from a wide range of cultural contexts around the world.

The Handbook provides valuable and updated insights into the field of adolescent and emerging adult well-being; this is relevant knowledge that can inform academic and applied settings alike. The chapters that compose this Handbook vary in the elements from the PYD framework (i.e., whether using the 5Cs, 6Cs or 7Cs model) that are more prominent for each study or intervention conducted. For this reason, students, academics, researchers, practitioners, and policy makers can find in this Handbook a vast selection of PYD advances, approaches, and discussions on both generalizable and context-specific findings.

This Handbook is divided in two parts. Part I is called *Positive Youth Development in global contexts*, and it contains 17 chapters with the most recent PYD conceptualizations, including the 7Cs model. Table 1 displays the chapter overview of Part I, which includes research in youth and young adults in the Americas, namely, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Belize, and Brazil.

Table 1.

Chapter overview of the Handbook of Positive Youth Development, Part I: Positive Youth Development in Global Contexts.

Charter reset as and title	A41	Ob a material accompanies of
Chapter number and title	Authors	Chapter summary
Handbook of Positive Youth	Radosveta Dimitrova &	Overview of the theoretical and
Development: Advancing the next	Nora Wiium	empirical contributions of the
generation of research, policy and		handbook to the field of youth well-
practice in global contexts		being.
2. The 7Cs and Developmental	Radosveta Dimitrova,	Evaluation of the psychometric and
Assets Models of Positive Youth	Danielle Fernandes,	practical features of the 7Cs model in
Development in India, Indonesia and	Sadia Malik, Angela	youth and emerging adults from India,
Pakistan	Suryani, Pasquale	Indonesia, and Pakistan.
	Musso & Nora Wiium	
3. The 7Cs of Positive Youth	Denisse Lisette	Evaluation of the 7Cs model in at-risk
Development in Colombia and Peru:	Manrique-Millones,	youth and emerging adults from
A promising model for reduction of	Claudia Patricia Pineda	Colombia and Peru.
risky behaviors among youth and	Marin , Rosa Bertha	
emerging adults	Millones-Rivalles &	
	Radosveta Dimitrova	
4. Promoting mindfulness through	Nor Ba'yah Abdul Kadir,	Applications of the 7Cs model to
the 7Cs of Positive Youth	Rusyda Helma Mohd &	enhance mindfulness among
Development in Malaysia	Radosveta Dimitrova	Malaysian emerging adults.
5. The Five Cs Model of Positive	Xixi Li, Shasha He &	Evaluation of fit of the Five Cs model
Youth Development and the PATHS	Bin-Bin Chen	to 15 Chinese PYD constructs
Project in Mainland China		developed in the PATHS Project with
		Chinese middle school students.
6. Positive Youth Development and	Russell Sarwar Kabir &	Study of the relationships between the
environmental concerns among	Nora Wiium	5Cs model and environmental
youth and emerging adults in Ghana		sustainability in emerging adults from
		Ghana.
7. Positive Youth Development and	Marcus Fagan, Darrell	Assessment of relationships between
the Big Five Personality Traits in	Hull, Emma I. Näslund-	the Five Cs model and the Big Five
youth from Belize	Hadley, Emily A. Brown,	personality traits in Belize youth.
	Brett G. Kellerstedt &	
	Ana Isabel Perret-Gentil	
	Paris	
8. Healthy lifestyle behaviors and the	Alejandra del Carmen	Evaluation of reliability, validity, and
5Cs of Positive Youth Development	Domínguez Espinosa,	associations of healthy lifestyle
in Mexico	Nora Wiium, Danielle	behaviors and the 5Cs model in
	Jackman & Laura	Mexican youth.
	Ferrer-Wreder	
9. The relationship between	Luciana Dutra-Thomé &	A literature review of contextual and
emerging adults and their parents as	Edna Lúcia Tinoco	relational aspects from family life that
PYD promotive factor in Brazil	Ponciano	contribute to PYD in Brazilian
		emerging adults.

10. Developmental assets, academic achievement and risky behaviors among Albanians in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia	Fitim Uka, Dashamir Bërxulli, Anisa Hasani, Besnik Peci, Genc Taravari & Nora Wiium	Application of the developmental assets model related to academic achievement and risky behaviors in Albanian youth from Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia.
11. Developmental assets and identity among emerging adults in Turkey	Ayfer Dost-Gözkan & Nora Wiium	Two empirical studies testing developmental assets and their relations to identity statuses and identity dimensions in Turkish emergent adults.
12. Social support among Slovene minority and Italian majority youth in Italy: Links with positive identity, social competence and academic achievement	Marianna Kosic, Nora Wiium & Radosveta Dimitrova	Evaluation of the influence of social support on academic achievement and the PYD framework in Sloveneminority and Italian-majority youth in Northern Italy.
13. Positive Youth Development and subjective happiness: Examining the mediating role of gratitude and optimism in Spanish emerging adults	Diego Gomez-Baya, Margarida Gaspar de Matos & Nora Wiium	Assessment of relationships between the 5Cs model and subjective happiness mediated by gratitude and optimism in Spanish emerging adults.
14. Positive Youth Development and resilience among youth in Iceland: The importance of social context and self-esteem for life satisfaction	Bryndis Bjork Asgeirsdottir & Inga Dora Sigfusdottir	Evaluation of associations between social experiences, self-esteem, and life satisfaction on general and victimized youth samples in Iceland.
15. Parental support, peer support and school connectedness as foundations for student engagement and academic achievement in Australian youth	Graham L. Bradley, Samantha Ferguson & Melanie J. Zimmer- Gembeck	Evaluation of associations between parental and peer support, and psychological connection to school in Australian youth.
16. The 5Cs of Positive Youth Development in New Zealand: Relations with hopeful expectations for the future and life satisfaction among emerging adults	Danielle Fernandes, Velichko Fetvadjev, Nora Wiium & Radosveta Dimitrova	Evaluation of the mediating role of the 5Cs in the relationship between strength and well-being in emerging adults from New Zealand.
17. Country and gender differences in developmental assets among youth and emerging adults in Ghana and Norway	Nora Wiium & Ana Kozina	A comparison of gender differences in developmental assets among youth and emerging adults in Ghana and Norway.
18. Positive Youth Development in Bulgaria, Italy, Norway, and Romania: Testing the factorial structure and measurement invariance of the 5Cs	Radosveta Dimitrova, Carmen Buzea, Nora Wiium, Marianna Kosic, Delia Stefenel & Bin-Bin Chen	Psychometric assessment and measurement invariance of the 5Cs model in Eastern (Bulgaria and Romania), Southern (Italy) and Northern European (Norway) samples.

Part II of this Handbook is titled *Positive Youth Development applications and interventions*. As shown in Table 2, Part II comprises 18 chapters that draw on longitudinal studies, literature



reviews and intervention programs to provide evidence –in keeping with Daniel Shek's comment– of the applicability of the PYD framework in non-WEIRD samples. Countries from the Americas included in the chapters of Part II are Colombia, Jamaica, Canada, and the United States.

Table 2.

Chapter overview of the Handbook of Positive Youth Development, Part II: Positive Youth Development Applications and Interventions

Applications and Interventions		
Chapter number and title	Authors	Chapter summary
19. International collaboration in	Jennifer E. Lansford, Lei	Overview and examples of
the study of Positive Youth	Chang, Kirby Deater-	contributions of international
Development	Deckard, Laura Di Giunta,	collaborative research for the
	Kenneth A. Dodge1, Patrick	understanding of PYD.
	S. Malone, Paul Oburu,	
	Concetta Pastorelli, Ann T.	
	Skinner, Emma Sorbring,	
	Laurence Steinberg, Sombat	
	Tapanya, Liliana Maria Uribe	
	Tirado, Liane Peña Alampay,	
	Suha M. Al-Hassan, Dario	
	Bacchini & Marc H. Bornstein	
20. Positive Youth Development	Darrell M. Hull, Sara F.	A longitudinal field trial that
in Jamaica: Latent growth of self-	Ferguson, Marcus A. Fagan	examines latent growth trajectories
efficacy and youth assets	& Emily A. Brown	of career decision self-efficacy and
		youth assets among Not active in
		Education, Employment, or Training
		opportunities (NEET) youth in
		Jamaica.
21. Leadership development of	Dawn Bremner & Kelly	Application of PYD constructs to the
Zulu male youth in a South	Schwartz	development of youth leadership in
African township		eight male emerging adults who
		participated in a year-long mentoring
		program in South Africa.
22. Social emotional learning	Ana Kozina	A literature review and case study of
program from a Positive Youth		the combined application of PYD and
Development perspective in		Social and Emotional Learning (SEL)
Slovenia		models as prevention and
		intervention strategies to address
		youth development in Slovenia.
23. The trajectories of Positive	Goda Kaniušonytė & Inga	A longitudinal four-wave study and a
Youth Development in Lithuania:	Truskauskaitė-Kunevičienė	quasi-experimental four-time point
Evidence from community and		intervention study testing the
intervention settings		changes of the 5Cs in youth from
		Lithuania.

24. Positive Youth Development through student engagement: Associations with well-being	Katja Upadyaya & Katariina Salmela-Aro	A review of evidence regarding positive development and well-being through student engagement in higher education and employment in adolescents.
25. Capitalizing on classroom climate to promote positive development	Hanna Ginner Hau, Laura Ferrer-Wreder & Mara Allodi Westling	Report on the Goals, Attitudes, and Values in School (GAVIS) research program in Sweden that addresses PYD and classroom climate.
26. Youth participation in the Dream School Program in Norway: An application of a logic model of the six Cs of Positive Youth Development	Torill Bogsnes Larsen & Ingrid Holsen	Application of a logic PYD model to the Dream School program in Norwegian schools, focusing on the 6Cs of the PYD model and the involvement of peer mentors in this program.
27. The cultural adaptation of interventions to promote Positive Development: The preschool edition of PATHS® in Sweden	Laura Ferrer-Wreder, Lilianne Eninger, Tina M. Olsson, Mina Sedem, Mara Allodi Westling & Hanna Ginner Hau	Implementation of Positive Development interventions nationwide in preschool population in Sweden, addressing the importance of cultural adaptation in the process.
28. Another way out: A Positive Youth Development approach to the study of violent radicalization in Québec, Canada	Diana Miconi & Cécile Rousseau	Findings from a project that applied the PYD approach to the study of countering violent radicalization in Canadian youth.
29. Engaging marginalized youth in Positive Development: The Changing Lives Program	Kyle Eichas, Marilyn J. Montgomery, Alan Meca, Arlen J. Garcia & Arlene Garcia	Connections between the PYD framework and group processes in the Changing Lives Program's participatory transformative intervention model in disenfranchised youth in the USA.
30. Family processes and competence in a Positive Youth Development context: Perspectives for African American youth	Anthony G. James, Amity L. Noltemeyer, Drewcilla Roberts & Kevin R. Bush	Application of the competence development from the PYD models and family processes in African American Youth.
31. Teaching mothers and fathers about how children develop: Parenting knowledge and practices	Kelsey McKee, Natasha J. Cabrera, Avery Hennigar, Diletta Mittone, Guadalupe Díaz & Stephanie M. Reich	Review of empirical evidence regarding the positive effects on parenting knowledge on PYD.
32. Promoting Positive Youth Development through healthy middle school environments	Joie Acosta, Matthew Chinman & Andrea Phillips	Review of evidence supporting the development and implementation of school interventions to promote positive youth development.
33. Promoting Positive Youth Development through scouting	Jun Wang, Paul A. Chase & Brian M. Burkhard	Report of a mixed-methods longitudinal evaluation project promoting PYD, particularly character development, in the Boy



		Scouts of America programs.
34. Social change and the dynamic family transmission of youth vocational competence	Oana Negru Subtirica & Gabriel Badescu	An inter-disciplinary analysis of how inter-generational transmission of vocational competence in families shape the 5Cs for youth development in the global social and political context.
35. Positive Youth Development in the digital age: Expanding PYD to include digital settings	Katherine M. Ross & Patrick H. Tolan	A proposal to integrate digital settings into PYD models, measures, and practices.
36. From prevention and intervention research to promotion of Positive Youth Development: Implications for global research, policy and practice with ethnically diverse youth	Emilie Phillips Smith, Maria Angela Mattar Yunes & Chris Fradkin	An analysis of PYD from the lens of resiliency, positive psychology, and prevention/intervention science to advance these frameworks.
37. The Morning sun shines brightly: Positive Youth Development in a global context	John G. Geldhof, Svea G. Olsen & Asia A. Thogmartin	A review of key issues of PYD research, policy and practice, and the advance of the PYD framework towards a global outreach.

Challenges for PYD in the Global South

Elsewhere, one of the authors of this review (Orellana, 2016) has questioned the usual analytical route of mainstream Developmental Psychology when applied to what he named *Inhospitable Societies*. A concept built on the Salvadorian and the overall Central American contexts, an inhospitable society distorts or impedes the progress of most of its habitants' life cycle due to features such as structural violence and social inequality. In these peculiar circumstances, lineal stages or "normative and non-normative developmental trends" must be problematized. In terms of developmental consequences, and thinking about PYD possibilities, an inhospitable society gives rise to *early adultization processes* and *improbably stable biographies* in youth, which in turn lead to a precarious old age. Orellana (2016) thus advocates for a critical approach in developmental psychology, questioning the local inertia of uncritically importing and teaching foreign developmental theories, along with their WEIRD biases. Constantly challenging mainstream development perspectives to propitiate the construction of situated knowledge requires that the PYD perspective is included in this epistemic scrutiny.

The PYD perspective, as developed throughout the Handbook, highlights relevant critical epistemic considerations for underdeveloped and precarious contexts, including those in Latin America (see Chapter 3, applications of PYD with at-risk youth in Colombia and Peru). Yet



despite the local academic eagerness to keep up with the pace of the dominant research in youth research, in inhospitable societies, dealing with the bottom of Maslow's pyramid of needs (i.e., basic survival needs, security) occupies most of the nights of the scholars' imagination and the days of the youth themselves. This is not gratuitous negativity. Well-intended efforts in line with the PYD approach –such as the 2018 United Nations Development Program national report that remarked the resilience of Salvadoran youth (UNDP, 2018) and proposed a "new architecture of public policy" in favor of youth- have rapidly passed to oblivion. To this day, gangs, unemployment, violence, and forced displacement and illegal migration mark the everyday life of most boys and girls in El Salvador and other hostile Latin American contexts. According to Orellana (2018), children and adolescents in these conditions face "expiration processes": Emulating the use-and-discard culture of the neoliberal framework, youth suffer accelerated systematic obsolescence processes due to living in conditions of generalized vulnerability. Three intertwined and chronic expiration processes have been identified in this regard: annihilation (infanticide, homicide), expulsion (social exclusion, religious and digital evasion, internal forced displacement, and illegal migration) and exploitation (sexual abuse, forced maternity, child labor, physical punishment).

In this sense, the Cs models, the core analytical resource of the PYD perspective, can incur in the construction of a hard-to-accomplish-in-real life idealistic type of youth (see also the demanding *Developmental Assets Model* of Scales et al., 2017). Expectedly, the cumulative operationalization struggles had rapidly led to look for "very short" ways of measure all that "positiveness" (Geldhof et al., 2014). The 7Cs model, as defined above, covers a lot of ground: Competence, confidence, character, caring, connection, contribution, and creativity. The 7Cs model suggests a profile of a good-spirited and mature-enough youth able and willing to give back to society. There is no question about the importance of these seven Cs for improving youth's quality of life. The tricky part for youth in inhospitable societies, however, is that they must keep pushing against all odds, and the vital risk they face derive from institutions, culture, harsh circumstances, and even their own loved ones. The 7Cs coexist with contextual pressures, but some contexts impose more existential burdens than others to their youth. Inhospitable societies therefore suggest one more C for the PYD: Courage.

Courage refers to bravery, resilience, persistence, tenacity, and perseverance. It refers to consistency –a C within another C–, maybe grit (Duckworth et al. 2007). Courage is seen in adolescents and young adults who face sexual abuse and unwanted teen pregnancies inside

their own homes and communities; who resist gang involvement or desist from these groups at the risk of losing their lives; who work to support themselves and their families while they study (sometimes without electricity nor wifi signal in the house), and with no guarantee that a diploma will bring a decent job; and who embrace their LGBTI identity despite the hate openly manifested by their heavily religious and conservative social spheres. Youth courage in inhospitable societies means to do what you have to do –hopefully, with some competence, confidence, character, caring, connection, contribution, and creativity— with the few resources that you have, despite the overwhelming reality that constantly and objectively reminds you that you will be lucky if you thrive.

Moreover, a critical and tailored approach to youth psychology in the Global South requires that we avoid triumphalism on an always-positive understanding of PYD, and that we remain mindful of the maladaptive potential of positive traits. In this sense, it becomes relevant to highlight the "crack" in the PYD perspective related to the maladaptive possibilities of the C of caring. Caring constitutes one of the most rigid gender imperatives for girls and women in underdeveloped and conservative societies. A research of our own on emotional symptoms at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic in a Salvadoran sample (Orellana & Orellana, 2020) found that these imperatives of caring for others exacerbated for women during the pandemic, often at the expense of their own well-being and safety. On a different front, in a sample of Norway students, Geldhof et al. (2019) found positive associations between caring and anxiety and depressive symptoms, as well as a weaker relation with mental well-being, when others Cs are involved (more about the link about PYD and anxiety in Kozina et al., 2021). The authors dispute the "more-is-better approach" of PYD and remark that some permutations among the Cs and that each C by itself "carries a latent potential for promoting maladaptive developmental outcomes" (p. 7). In 2020, Norway occupied the first position in the Human Development Index ranking of UNDP, while El Salvador were situated in the 124th position (see http://hdr.undp.org/en). If this caring-anxiety link is true for students from a country in a highly advantaged position, what can be expected for students in underdeveloped contexts? This question remains largely unanswered, but the Handbook leads the way in addressing it by ensuring that the PYD framework is responsive to the cultural context in which it is applied (chapters 19 to 37, see Table 2).

There is still a long way to go, for scholars and policymakers globally, to aid youth in building for themselves a "hopeful future marked by positive contributions to self, family, community, and civil society" (Lerner et al., 2005, p. 12). The PYD perspective applied to inhospitable societies



can be a renewed theoretical and practical tool to identify overlooked youth strengths and resources against adversity. The PYD approach encourages both parting from vacuous, edulcorated local views of the youth, and challenging pessimistic youth development approaches that scholars, as immersed as may be in the same inhospitable conjuncture, tend to stand on and reiterate. Dimitrova and Wiium (2021), editors of the Handbook, have included findings from the Global South and specifically Latin America (see chapters 7, 8, 9, and 20). This emerging evidence, alongside similar work in the region (e.g., Tirrell et al., 2019) on PYD-related topics, shows us that there is still a lot of knowledge to discover and disseminate in the region, lessons to learn and epistemic drowsiness to shake. This book is also an interpellation to scholars to see –with evidence, proper contextualization, and critical attitude–, the full glass of water of youth and its dialectical empty-full undiscovered possibilities. In this challenge, the *Handbook of Positive Youth Development* is a bridge, a map, and a horizon. It is an invaluable collective reminder that youth are more than a threat or a problem to manage, and that our work to help them thrive should be guided by youth's own voices.

Funding/Financial Support

The authors have no funding to report

Other Support/Acknowledgement

The authors have no support to report.

Competing Interests

The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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