

ISBN: 978-9934-619-87-8



Coping Amid Disruption

Lessons on Resilience from Crisis and War

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY THE
**NATO STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS
CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE**



ISBN: 978-9934-619-87-8

Authors: Johannes Lindgren, Ola Svenonius, Angela Palmer, Giorgio Bertolin

Project Manager: Johannes Lindgren

Editor: Merle Anne Read

Design: Liene Pekuse

Riga, October 2026

NATO STRATCOM COE

11b Kalnciema iela

Riga LV1048, Latvia

www.stratcomcoe.org

Facebook: [stratcomcoe](https://www.facebook.com/stratcomcoe)

Twitter: [@stratcomcoe](https://twitter.com/stratcomcoe)

This publication does not represent the opinions or policies of NATO or NATO StratCom COE.

© All rights reserved by the NATO StratCom COE. Reports may not be copied, reproduced, distributed or publicly displayed without reference to the NATO StratCom COE. The views expressed here do not represent the views of NATO.

Coping Amid Disruption

Lessons on Resilience from Crisis and War

CONTENTS

Foreword	6
Executive summary	7
Key findings	7
Recommendations	7
Introduction	9
Aim and research questions	10
Methodology	10
Structure	12
The concept of resilience	13
Overview and summary	15
Concepts and their operationalisation	15
Design of the reviewed studies	17
Three levels of resilience	19
National resilience	19
Community resilience	23
Individual resilience	28
Concluding discussion	34
Using resilience to measure coping capabilities among a population	34
Promoting and challenging factors and their relationship with resilience	35
Future research	35
Appendix	37
Table A1 – Central concepts used in the study	37
Table A2 – Empirical concepts tested in the studies	37
Table A3 – National Resilience Assessment Scale (NRAS-25)	39

Table A4 – The conjoint community resilience assessment measure (CCRAM)	40
Table A5 – Brief resilience scale (BRS)	41
References	41
National resilience	42
Community resilience	43
Individual resilience	44
Endnotes	46

Foreword

This report is a joint effort led by the NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence in collaboration with the [Swedish Defence Research Agency](#) (FOI). In producing the report, I would especially like to thank Anneli Portman, Päivi Tampere and Isabelle Hernandez for providing their insights and expertise as part of the review process.

The report is published amidst widespread war, conflict, and societal crises, a period in which NATO and its allies are strengthening their capabilities to deter potential aggression and enhance collective defence. These efforts are, in part, devoted to resilience, as guided by Article 3 of the North Atlantic Treaty and defined as ‘the capacity to prepare for, resist, respond to and quickly recover from shocks and disruptions’.¹

These efforts are generally focused on institutional resilience, such as ensuring the continuity of critical services and functions in times of crisis or war, such as energy supplies or transportation systems

(as reflected in the NATO Baseline Requirements²). However, fostering resilience within civilian populations, namely the ability of ordinary citizens to endure and cope with crisis and war, has been given significantly less attention to date among NATO and its allies. Without this capability, NATO’s overall resilience would be significantly diminished.

The aim of this report is to examine resilience from the perspective of civilian populations, exploring how it can be understood and measured. We hope that the findings presented in this report will contribute to a broader understanding of civil resilience as a concept among policymakers and civil servants in national governments and NATO, while also providing a baseline for a future framework for understanding and assessing resilience among civil populations.

Johannes Lindgren, Project Manager

Executive summary

The aim of this report is to enhance understanding, via a limited literature review, on predicting and assessing civilian resilience in times of war and crisis. This review was undertaken against a backdrop of ongoing instability and geopolitical tensions, alongside the growing proximity of war for NATO allies

in Northern Europe. The findings of the review are intended to support civil servants, policy specialists and other stakeholders in predicting and assessing resilience, as well as to inform policymakers' efforts to strengthen resilience more broadly.

Key findings

1. Resilience in the context of civil populations is a complex, multidimensional concept encompassing a range of definitions and dimensions. It is often framed across three distinct levels: national, community and individual. While they are approached from different perspectives, all three levels describe a shared capacity – to cope with, withstand and adapt to unfolding disruptions.
2. The three resilience levels are conceptually and empirically complex, with inherent contradictions that complicate assessments and constrain the robustness of conclusions.
3. Community resilience appears to be a key determinant of both national and individual resilience.
4. Hope emerged as the single best promoter for all three levels of resilience.
5. Psychological distress and perceived threat or sense of danger were the most prominent recurrent challenging factors across all three levels of resilience.
6. Applying these findings to develop a framework for measuring resilience is challenging due to lack of established causal relationships between indicators that are part of the resilience construct and factors that are associated with resilience. However:
7. If an assessment is to be conducted, individual and community resilience, together with factors which promote it (i.e., hope) and those that undermine it (i.e., psychological distress), serve as appropriate points of departure.

Recommendations

Recommendations for assessing resilience

- *Incorporate hope as an indicator of resilience.* Across the assessed studies, hope was consistently associated with high resilience levels across all three dimensions of resilience. This suggests that hope may serve as a valuable indicator of resilience.
- *Include parameters of community resilience to predict and assess resilience levels.* In doing this, researchers and practitioners should define which elements constitute the concept of community resilience and distinguish them from factors that may influence it.

- *Individual resilience is key to understanding coping processes.* When assessing coping within populations, individual resilience should be included alongside other relevant factors. However, its conceptual inconsistency should be taken into account, and the most appropriate and valid measurement scale selected accordingly.
- *Resilience scales should be adapted to sociopolitical contexts.* When using existing scales to measure resilience, in particular

national resilience scales, they should be tailored to specific national contexts. This may include, for instance, incorporating national polling data and established population-level protective factors.

- *Conduct longitudinal studies showcasing resilience levels over time.* This review shows that resilience levels may vary over time during a disruption – thus to capture this, longitudinal studies should be conducted.

Recommendations for policymakers

- *Prioritise building community resilience.* Efforts to strengthen resilience should focus on the community level by enhancing collective capacities, efficacy and resources such as social support and shared communal assets, thereby fostering collective efficacy. This is particularly important, as these factors influence levels of national resilience. Individuals trust and support government institutions during periods of disruption.
- *Foster hope without amplifying perceived threat.* Promoting hope in the face of adversity appears to be a key component of

a resilient population. The challenge here lies in raising awareness of risks and encouraging preparedness without framing the threat as overwhelming.

- *Address psychological distress within the population.* Psychological distress consistently emerged as a barrier to resilience. During periods of disruption, individuals are liable to experience anxiety, depression and other forms of distress, making it essential to develop strategies that support coping and psychological well-being.

Introduction

The security environment of the mid-2020s, characterised by an increasingly unstable and unpredictable global order, underscores the need for a broad societal capacity across entire populations to withstand future crises and the possibility of war. Lessons learned from conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East – where civilians have been deliberately targeted as part of military strategies – as well as crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic, demonstrate that preparedness must extend beyond public institutions and the military.³ Instead, it must encompass society as a whole, including individual citizens. In the absence of resilient and prepared populations, societies become more vulnerable and less capable of enduring disruption.

Consequently, allies must both develop strategies to strengthen population-level capabilities and establish mechanisms to anticipate resilience levels before a disruption, and assess these during an ongoing disruption. Such capabilities may include, for example, psychological resilience sufficient to withstand the stress of sustained missile attacks, power outages or prolonged separation from family and social networks.⁴ It may also involve maintaining societal functioning during crises – such as remaining in-country, continuing to work despite security risks and avoiding behaviours that undermine national resilience, including the spread of false or misleading information.⁵ In essence, the aim is to improve our understanding of the factors that enable cohesive populations in the midst of disruption.

Against this backdrop, there is a clear need for means to assess the capabilities of civil populations both before and during disruptions, in order to enhance societal preparedness. In this context, the concept of resilience offers a useful lens through which to understand a population's capacity to cope with and withstand disruptions.

In several allied states, such as Finland, Sweden and Baltic States, the resilience of the population in the context of war and crisis is treated as a high priority. These countries not only share geographical proximity to Russia but a common approach to 'total' or 'comprehensive' defence, which integrates the civil population, the private sector, public institutions and the defence forces. For example, Finland defines psychological resilience as the 'ability of individuals, communities and society to withstand the stress caused by crisis situations and to recover from their impacts'.⁶ Psychological resilience is regarded as one of several essential functions of society within the country's national security strategy.⁷ Similarly, Latvia's State Defence Concept emphasises that every resident should 'acquire and enhance the knowledge and skills to be able to protect not only themselves but also their family, community and country during times of crisis and war'.⁸ In Sweden, long-standing preparedness efforts include providing all residents with information on how to prepare for and respond to crises or war, offering practical guidance on sheltering, household preparedness and managing anxiety.⁹

Within NATO, the resilience of civil populations in the context of war and crisis is not clearly outlined as part of a broader whole-of-society capability framework. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that primary responsibility for populations rests with individual nation states rather than the Alliance itself. Instead, NATO's civil preparedness efforts tend to focus on institutional and sectorial resilience. This is reflected in its definition of resilience as the 'individual and collective capacity to prepare for, resist, respond to and quickly recover from shocks and disruption, and to ensure the continuity of the Alliance's activities'.¹⁰ In practice, this is operationalised through the Seven Baseline Requirements, which form part of NATO's civil preparedness planning and review cycle.¹¹ These requirements include areas such as resilient energy supplies, food and water systems, and trans-

portation infrastructure. However, these do not explicitly address the capabilities of populations themselves, although recent NATO scientific work has highlighted the importance of strengthening partnerships between states and citizens.¹² On the military side, resilience is often framed through the concept of ‘Layered Resilience’, which emphasises interdependencies between military and civilian systems,

particularly the military’s reliance on civilian infrastructure and societal resilience.¹³

Given the absence of an overarching NATO framework for assessing the resilience of civil populations in war or crisis, this report aims to shed light on current research relevant to assess and ultimately enhance the resilience of domestic populations within the Alliance.

Aim and research questions

This report reviews research mainly published between 2018 and 2024 on the resilience of general populations in the context of crises and/or war. It examines resilience at national, community and individual levels, with a focus on how it is conceptualised and operationalised, and identifies factors which promote or hinder it. The objective is to propose approaches for assessing civil population resilience for allied states and to provide broader guidance to NATO and national governments.

The analysis is guided by the following research questions:

RQ 1: How is national, community and individual resilience among civil populations in the context of war and crisis conceptualised and operationalised in existing research?

RQ 2: What variables promote or challenge resilience on different levels?

RQ 3: How can these findings be used to measure and conceptualise resilience of civil populations for allies and NATO?

Methodology

To address the research questions, this report presents a limited literature review of existing research assessing individual, community and national resilience during crisis and/or war.^{14,15}

Given the purpose and scope of this review, several predefined features have guided the research:

1. The review is limited to original research and review articles published in academic journals that either examine resilience as a concept or assess resilience levels and associated factors. The retrieval search period begins in 2018, a period in which there was a big increase in empirical research

on this topic.¹⁶ Interest in resilience intensified following the COVID-19 pandemic,¹⁷ the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022¹⁸ and the Israel–Gaza war after 7 October 2023.¹⁹ The review covers works published up to and including 2024, *although selected publications outside this time frame were also included* where necessary to support conceptual clarification or historical tracing of specific ideas.

2. The review focuses on resilience in the specific context of crises and war (or close proximity to it), rather than so-called ‘everyday resilience’ or post-crisis coping. While resilience may naturally be expressed in daily behaviour or in response to individu-

- al hardship, the crisis and conflict settings addressed in this review differ in scope, as they affect large segments of society simultaneously. Accordingly, sources that do not address resilience in large-scale crisis or war contexts were excluded.
3. The review is limited to the resilience of civil populations on national, community and individual levels. Articles focusing on the

Research design

The literature search was performed in the academic databases of Web of Science and ProQuest. The search was specified through limiting selection based on title and abstract. The term *resilience* had to be in the title and *population* AND crisis OR war in the abstract (wild cards were used to capture variations of these terms). To enhance the robustness of the search strategy, a complementary search was also undertaken in which *population* was replaced with keywords such as *citizen**, *resident**, *civil**, *psychological* and *cognitive*. In total, **48** research and review articles were identified and analysed.

Each article was reviewed using a combination of manual analysis and AI-assisted tools, primarily Google's [Notebook LM](#), Anthropic's [Claude](#) and [Elicit](#). The AI-assisted review focused on: (A) describing the nature of the research (i.e., study design, context and methodology); (B) identifying how resilience is defined, conceptualised and operationalised;

resilience of institutions, state entities, defence forces and military personnel, companies or other comparable entities were excluded.

4. The review includes only articles that use national, community or individual resilience as the dependent variable, or which explicitly assess the three resilience levels or the conceptualisation of resilience.

and (C) identifying and analysing factors that promote or hinder resilience.

The review is structured around three levels of analysis: individual, community and national. In line with Research Question 2, findings are summarised in terms of 'promoting factors', 'mixed results', and 'challenging factors' associated with resilience at each level (see Table 1). For example, when most studies indicate a positive association between a given factor and a specific resilience level, it is categorised as a promoting factor. Within each subsection of the "[Three levels of resilience](#)" chapter, factors are presented according to these categories.

It should be noted that not all factors examined in the literature are included in this review. Instead, the review focuses on factors investigated in at least 3–5 separate articles to ensure that findings are supported by a sufficient evidence base. A list of the definitions of the factors is provided in the Appendix.

Promoting factors	Variables that consistently demonstrate a positive association across most studies (roughly 75%) per resilience level.
Mixed results	Variables that do not consistently demonstrate either a positive or negative association across most studies or any clear association at all.
Challenging factors	Variables that consistently demonstrate a negative association across most studies (roughly 75%) per resilience level.

Table 1. Methodological construct for categorising variables

It is important to note that the categorisation of variables into distinct groups is not clear-cut. This is due to three factors. First, the included studies vary considerably in design, with some employing qualitative approaches and others quantitative methods, and with resilience being operationalised in different ways. This variation complicated direct comparison and limits the extent to which findings can be generalised. Second, many studies included multiple dependent variables, which made the analysis and classification of individual findings more complex. Third, in some

instances a lack of clear distinction between indicators of resilience and factors tested for correlation raises questions about the precision of the reported findings.

That said, this approach was considered the most practical way to present factors that may strengthen or suppress the resilience of civil populations. Without categorising factors according to their relationship with resilience, it would have been difficult to adequately answer Research Question 2.

Limitations

This report has three distinct limitations.

1. It is based on a limited review and therefore did not capture the full breadth of research in the field, but rather provides a snapshot of the existing literature (see page 10-11). A broader search strategy using additional databases, alternative keywords, a wider time frame and a different inclusion criterion would likely generate different results.
2. The scope of this review includes both crisis and war contexts, which differ in several ways and may limit comparability of findings across studies. Still, these were

deliberately combined in order to provide a more robust evidence base.

3. It is not self-evident that resilience is the most appropriate concept for understanding the conditions under which civil populations can withstand shocks or disruption. Future research should therefore also consider alternative concepts such as 'resistance', 'resolve' or 'coping', and compare findings across these different analytical frameworks.

Structure

This report is composed of four parts, plus an appendix. The first part examines the overarching concept of resilience, including its development between 2018 and 2024, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and how it can be defined within the social sciences and in the context of crisis and war. The second part summarises the key findings of the review. The third part presents the analysis across three

levels: national, community and individual resilience. The fourth part discusses the findings and considers their applicability for measuring the capabilities of general populations in the context of crisis and war. The Appendix outlines key concepts used in the study along with central measurement scales of resilience levels.

The concept of resilience

Interest in resilience research has grown substantially in recent years. A search of the Web of Science database for publications with the term resilience in the title returned 2,636 articles published in 2018. By 2024 the figure had risen 7,781 publications (Figure 1).²⁰

Overall the search identified 58,624 articles, with more than half published between 2018-2024 the past four years.²¹ This rapid growth demonstrates the increasing prominence of resilience as a research topic across multiple disciplines.²²

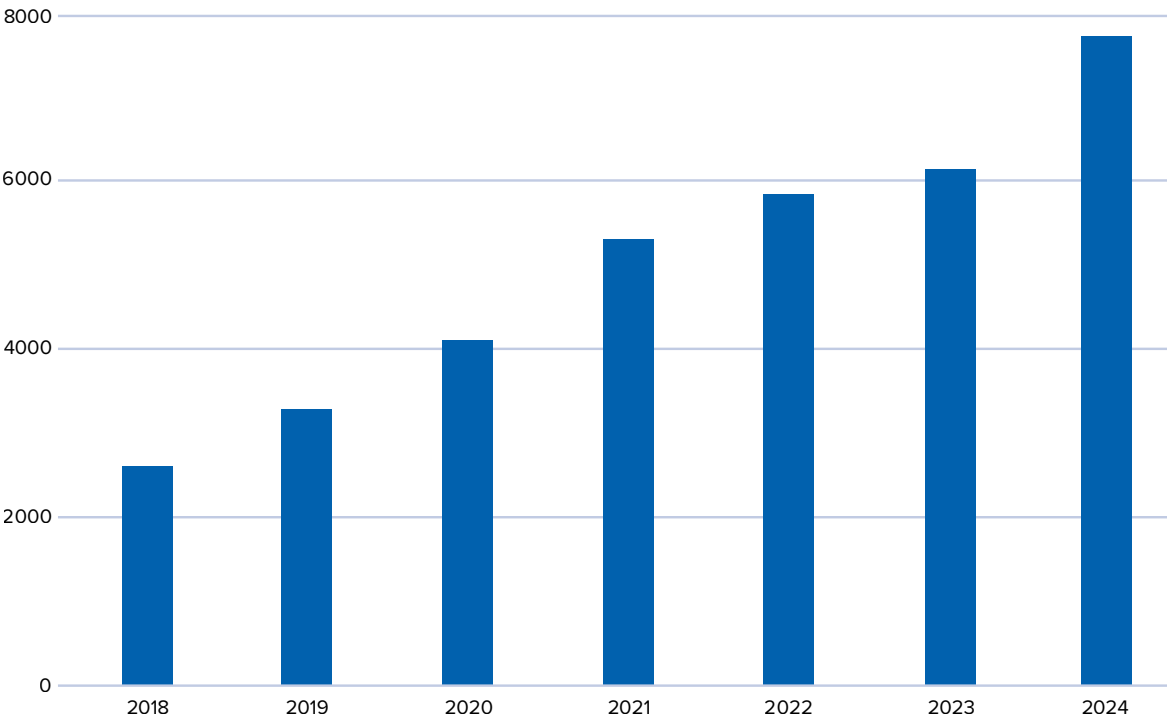


Figure 1. Number of journal articles with resilience in the title in Web of Science, 2018–24

Resilience research spans a wide range of academic fields. Environmental sciences account for the largest share of publications, followed by psychiatry, public health and psychology. Research includes topics such as urban resilience – ‘a city’s ability to resist exogenous shocks and recover from them’²³ – and the resilience of healthcare systems, supply chains, biological systems and marine ecosystems.

A search for studies published between 2018 and 2024 that combined *resilience* with *crisis*, *war* or *conflict* yielded 2,188 articles after excluding research areas outside the scope of this review, primarily engineering and environmental sciences.²⁴ Approximately 40%

of these publications examined the COVID-19 pandemic to some extent, suggesting that the pandemic significantly accelerated interest in resilience within the social sciences.²⁵

Despite the rapid expansion of the literature, resilience remains a concept that is difficult to define. According to Raetze et al.,²⁶ more than 900 definitions of resilience have been identified across the scientific literature, reflecting its application across numerous disciplines. The concept originated in physics, where it refers to the maximum amount of energy a material can absorb within its elastic limit without undergoing permanent deformation.²⁷

Within the social sciences, one of the most common definitions describes resilience as:

*The capacity of an individual, group, or society to successfully cope with adversities of various kinds and to recover as quickly as possible to normal functioning after the event is over.*²⁸

This review is primarily concerned with the first element of this definition – *the capacity to cope during a disruption*. The focus is therefore on resilience as the ability to withstand and adapt to crises and war as they unfold, rather than on post-event recovery. This perspective is consistent with research that conceptualises resilience as a dynamic process occurring throughout exposure to stressful or disruptive events rather than as a fixed

end state.²⁹ At the same time, *resilience is often not assessed longitudinally but rather at a single point in time, thus not reflecting the dynamic part of the concept*.

Furthermore, the literature also conceptualises resilience across multiple levels of analysis, including the individual, family, community and society.³⁰ Distinguishing between these levels is important because resilience is shaped by reciprocal relationships: individual capacities influence the resilience of communities and societies, while societal and community characteristics, in turn, shape the resilience of individuals.³¹

Drawing on the most influential contributions to the literature, this review adopts a three-level typology consisting of national (societal), community and individual resilience.

Overview and summary

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on national, community and individual resilience. It summarises how these concepts are defined and operationalised in

the studies reviewed and outlines the methodological characteristics and research design employed across the evidence base.

Concepts and their operationalisation

Conceptually and empirically, the three levels of resilience share important similarities but also exhibit distinct differences (Table 2).

National resilience	Community resilience	Individual resilience
Ability/belief in the ability of an entire society to cope with, adapt to or withstand disruption.	Collective adaptive capacity of a community to prepare for, respond to and withstand a disruption.	Capacity of individuals to manage, adapt to and recover from adversity.
Measurements: Trust in and support for the government and state institutions; perceptions of social justice, social cohesion and solidarity.	Measurements: Trust, confidence and belief in the community’s ability to act; social cohesion among residents; awareness of contingency planning and available support; and community identity and sense of belonging.	Measurements: Cognitive and behavioural strategies individuals use to cope with and manage the demands of stressful conditions.

Table 2. Resilience levels and their meaning

National resilience refers to the capacity of a society to cope with and withstand disruption, as well as citizens’ perceptions of their nation’s ability to manage adversity. Across the reviewed literature, it is primarily the latter understanding that is assessed. Rather than looking at objective societal capabilities, *studies typically examine the relationship between individuals and the state through perceptions of societal capabilities*, trust in public institutions and perceptions of national solidarity and social justice.

Overall, the operationalisation of national resilience raises questions about its relationship to coping. High trust in government or confidence in public institutions does not necessarily translate into greater resilience among the pop-

ulation. Moreover several indicators are inherently political, as they reflect support for the incumbent government, which may vary according to individuals’ political preferences rather than their capacity to cope with crisis or war.

Community resilience focuses on the capacity of communities to maintain cohesion, adapt collectively and continue functioning during periods of disruption, such as armed conflict or the COVID-19 pandemic. It is commonly conceptualised as a form of collective adaptive capacity. Indicators typically include trust, collective efficacy, community identity and attachment, confidence in local leadership, preparedness and organisational capacity.

Like national resilience, community resilience is primarily measured through perceptions rather than observed behaviour or objective capabilities. Across many studies, however, in contrast to national resilience, community resilience consistently demonstrates positive associations with individual resilience. This suggests that strong community resilience may positively enhance the ability of individuals to cope during disruptions.

One challenge in measuring community resilience is the overlap between the construct itself and the factors tested for correlation with it. This issue is also evident, although to a lesser extent, in measures of individual resilience. For example, a usual part of the construct of community resilience is that the conceptual distinctions between hope and confidence in the community's ability to overcome adversity are often blurred. Widely used instruments such as the CCRAM-10 (see Table A4 in the Appendix) contain several items that, although phrased differently, largely capture respondents' confidence in future outcomes. Consequently, it is not always clear whether studies are measuring constructs of resilience itself or closely related psychological constructs, which may limit the external validity of their findings.

Individual resilience is generally defined as an individual's capacity to adapt to, manage and recover from adversity. Compared with national and community resilience, it places greater emphasis on personal psychological characteristics including emotional regula-

tion, self-efficacy, psychological well-being and personal competence. Of the three levels reviewed, individual resilience is arguably the construct most closely directly related to *understanding how civil populations cope during crises and war*, as it focuses on the personal resources and behaviours that enable individuals to manage internal and external demands.

As with the other resilience levels, individual resilience is typically operationalised using quantitative measurement scales or qualitative thematic frameworks, reflecting its multidimensional nature. A recurring challenge, more notable for community resilience than the other two, is the conceptual overlap between individual resilience and many of the variables used to explain it. For example, adaptive coping is frequently treated as an external predictor despite sharing substantial conceptual similarities with individual resilience itself, making it difficult to isolate it as a distinct construct.

Overall, an important observation across all three levels is that resilience *is measured predominantly through subjective perceptions rather than objective capabilities*. The studies reviewed largely assess how individuals perceive their own resilience, the resilience of their communities and the resilience of their nation. While these perceptions are important, relatively little research directly measures objective societal capacities or capabilities at the national or community level. This distinction should be borne in mind when interpreting the findings presented in this report.

Design of the reviewed studies

Overall, research interest in resilience across the individual, community and national levels has increased substantially over the past decade. This growth has been driven largely by a rise in large-scale crises, including terrorism, armed conflict, environmental and economic stressors, and the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as by a broader shift in how researchers conceptualise human responses

to adversity (Ballada et al., 2022; Blanc et al., 2021).

The literature reviewed comprises 48 unique academic publications (Table 3). Some articles examine resilience at more than one level and were therefore reviewed multiple times. As a result, the total number of studies included within each resilience level exceeds the number of unique total publications.

Number of studies	Geographical context	Disruptive context	Type of study
11 (Ben-Dor et al., 2002; Canetti et al., 2014; Cohen et al., 2013; Comes, 2016; Karalekas, 2022; Kimhi et al., 2019; Leykin et al., 2013; Norris et al., 2008; O’Sullivan et al., 2014; Shevell & Denov 2021; Smith et al., 2008)	N/A	N/A	Framework or conceptual/theoretical base
10 (Eshel et al., 2020, 2025 ^a ; Joachim et al., 2024; Kaim et al., 2024; Kimhi et al., 2024 ^b ; Marciano et al., 2024 ^a , 2024 ^b ; Rapaport et al., 2018; Saar-Ashkenazy et al., 2024; Shapira, 2022)	Israel & Palestine	Acute: Israel–Gaza war Chronic: Long-term conflict	Quantitative
10 (Ballada et al., 2022; Burke et al., 2024; Callueng et al., 2020; Chin et al., 2023; Godara et al., 2021; Li & Hu, 2022; Montero-López Lena et al., 2023; Yıldırım & Arslan, 2020; Zhang & Shay, 2018; Zhuang et al., 2024).	Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, Israel, Jamaica, Mexico, Philippines, Turkey, United States	Acute: COVID-19 pandemic Acute: Hurricane Matthew (US)	Mixed

9 (Baran et al., 2024; Giordano et al., 2024; Kimhi et al., 2023, 2024a; Korostelina, 2020; Koubová & Kimhi, 2024; Kuppenko et al., 2023; Kurapov et al., 2023; Olcese et al., 2024)	Czech Republic, Estonia, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine	Acute: Ukraine–Russia war Chronic: Long-term conflict	Mixed
4 (Blanc et al., 2021; Rizzi et al., 2023; Schäfer et al., 2024; Schwarzer, 2024)	N/A	N/A	Literature review
2 (Faulkner et al., 2018; Kimhi & Eshel, 2012)	Israel, United Kingdom	Long-standing threats	Quantitative
1 (Khullar et al., 2019)	Kuwait	Acute: Iraqi invasion of Kuwait	Qualitative
1 (Yang et al., 2021)	Korea	N/A ^b	Quantitative

Table 3. Overview of reviewed studies

^a This article was published and available in 2024 but published in the journal in 2025.

^b Used only for conceptual purposes.

This literature can mainly be broadly grouped into three categories: (1) framework-oriented and conceptual studies, (2) war and armed conflicts relating to Israel and Palestine, as well as Ukraine and neighbouring country studies, and (3) the COVID-19 pandemic. The studies differ in whether they examine resilience as a concept, during acute or chronic disruptions or in the threat of a disruption. Acute disruptions include events such as the Israel–Gaza war³² and the COVID-19 pandemic, while chronic disruptions include prolonged or low-intensity conflicts, such as the Russia–Ukraine conflict since 2014 and the security situation in Israel prior to 7 October 2023.

National resilience

The review includes 17 studies examining national resilience. Most focus on war and armed conflict, with the majority centred on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and the Israel–Gaza war. Consequently, many of the measurement frameworks and indicators have been developed specifically for the Israeli context, and the findings are largely based on the perceptions of

Most studies are empirical, and of those most employ quantitative methods. These quantitative studies primarily use cross-sectional surveys to examine resilience among both the general population and specific population groups. The review also includes qualitative studies, conceptual papers and literature reviews. The qualitative research draws on for example interviews, focus groups and case studies to explore resilience in greater depth. A smaller number of studies employ longitudinal designs, enabling the examination of resilience over multiple periods of time. The population groups studied are diverse, ranging from nationally representative samples to specific groups such as evacuees, healthcare workers and university students.

the Israeli population. The review also includes studies conducted in Ukraine and neighbouring countries, as well as research examining national resilience during the COVID-19 pandemic in countries including Brazil and the Philippines, providing a broader perspective on national resilience across different settings.

Community resilience

The review includes 17 studies examining community resilience. These studies span a range of disruptive contexts, including armed conflict, natural hazards and the COVID-19 pandemic. They were conducted in dif-

ferent geographical contexts including China, Israel, Ukraine and neighbouring countries as well Italy and Jamaica. A substantial number of articles are conceptual and framework-based.

Individual resilience

The review includes 21 studies examining individual resilience. These studies cover a wide range of disruptive contexts, with war and armed conflict representing the most common analytical setting. Overall, the literature is more geographically and contextually

diverse than the national resilience literature. Most studies focus on acute disruptions characterised by immediate threat, high intensity and, in many cases, exposure to violence or other severe stressors.

Three levels of resilience

This chapter presents a review of the three resilience levels. Each section is organised into: (A) conceptual definition and oper-

ationalisation, (B) promoting and challenging factors and (C) a brief discussion on the findings.

National resilience

The concept of national resilience

In general, the definition of national resilience³³ can roughly be grouped into two different areas of understanding:

(1) The ability of society to cope with and withstand crises and adversities through adaptation, while maintaining its values and institutions (Canetti et al., 2014; Eshel et al., 2020; Kimhi et al., 2019). The definition of society varies but includes both the capacity of individuals and communities as well as the entire nation (Canetti et al., 2014; Eshel et al., 2020; Kaim et al., 2024; Kimhi et al., 2024a, 2024b; Marciano et al., 2024b).

(2) The perceived national ability to cope with, and endure successfully, adversities and/or recover quickly and restore normal functioning following a disaster or experience positive changes following a disruption (Ballada et al., 2022; Eshel et al., 2025; Kimhi et al., 2024b; Schäfer et al., 2024).

Even though the first definition outlines national resilience is the ‘ability of society to cope’, the studies *do not examine actual state or institutional resilience*. Instead, almost all the empirical studies view the concept as a political-psychological construct and with assessments serving as a form of measurement of the social contract (Ballada et al., 2022).

The concept is further operationalised for measurement purposes in several of the studies examined. For the quantitative studies, a majority were inspired by or based on the *National Resilience Assessment Scale* (NRAS-25), which was developed by Kimhi et al. (2019) (Table 4). In the development of the scale, inspiration was gathered from previous studies on national resilience, including a study by Ben-Dor et al. (2002) which introduces four social components, including patriotism, optimism, social integration and trust in political and public institutions, all of which are attributed to the concept of national resilience. Some studies use condensed versions

of the scale, comprising 17, 13 or 10 items rather than the original 25. One study conducted in the Philippines amid COVID-19 also adapted

it specifically to a COVID-19 context.³⁴ Other studies use mental health metrics or individual resilience metrics.

Identification with my state	Measures confidence in national leadership, patriotism and perceptions of societal coping.
Solidarity and social justice	Measures perceptions of social relations, solidarity, social tensions and social justice.
Trust in national institutions	Measures trust in central national institutions such as the education system and the judicial system.

Table 4. Theoretical dimensions of the National Resilience Assessment Scale (NRAS-25) (see Table A3 in the Appendix for the full table)
Derived from Kimhi et al. (2019).

Factors influencing national resilience

Promoting factors	Mixed results	Challenging factors
Community resilience	Sense of danger ^a	Perceived threat
Hope	Individual resilience	Distress
Quality of life/well-being	Demographics: education, religiosity, gender and age	

Table 5. Summary of factors tested in relation to national resilience grouped into the three analytical categories
^a The articles reviewed for national resilience treat sense of danger and perceived threat mostly as two different concepts in contrast to how they are viewed in literature for community and individual resilience.

Promoting factors

Community resilience

Community resilience showed often the strongest correlation with national resilience when examined in contexts such as the COVID-19 pandemic in Israel, the Philippines and Brazil (Ballada et al., 2022). The results also hold for Israeli society during the Israel–Gaza

war (Kaim et al., 2024; Kimhi et al., 2024b). This is unsurprising as the more people experience support and crisis response in their local community, they also tend to believe that hardships can be overcome at the national level (Ballada et al., 2022).

Hope

Hope was shown to have the strongest relationship in a study in Ukraine and five neighbouring states, where it was found to be the best single best promoter of societal resilience (Kimhi et al., 2024a). Ukraine, the only country at war, showed the highest degree of hope and societal resilience compared to its neighbouring states. Hope was also identified as an important factor in the view of Ukraine as a resilient nation by Ukrainians themselves

(Korostelina, 2020). It was a consistent associative variable with national resilience in Israel (Kaim et al., 2024; Marciano et al., 2024b). In one study the level of hope was less associated with societal resilience for the group of evacuees currently displaced from their homes in southern and northern regions of Israel for five months, when compared to the general Hebrew-speaking population (Marciano et al., 2024b).

Quality of life/well-being

Quality of life or subjective well-being also played an important part for resilience levels throughout the studies, for example amid COVID-19 in Brazil and the Philippines (Ballada et al., 2022). In a comparative study between several European countries in the context of

Russia's invasion of Ukraine, it was noted that Ukrainian respondents had the highest levels of societal resilience but the comparatively lowest level of well-being (although a general positive correlation was identified, but much weaker than that of the neighbouring states).

Factors with mixed results

Sense of danger

Sense of danger showed mostly a negative correlation with national resilience – thus, when individuals feel unsafe their belief in a nation's capacity to deal with a disruption declines. This was the case in almost all studies measur-

ing sense of danger although exceptions exist, most notably the study on Russia's war in Ukraine. In that study perceived danger created a form of positive awakening among Polish and Ukrainian respondents (Kimhi et al., 2024a).

Individual resilience

Individual resilience showed mostly a positive relationship with national resilience, for example amid the COVID-19 pandemic in the Philippines, Brazil and Israel (Ballada et al., 2022) and among Israeli kibbutz members facing continuous security threats (Eshel et al., 2020). Thus, it seems that an individual's personal strength or self-belief also mirrors a greater belief in the strength of the nation. At the

same time, other studies give different results. For example, a study comparing the general population with evacuees in Israel showed that individual resilience had a significant association with societal resilience for the evacuees but not for the general population (Marciano et al., 2024b). Here the researchers suggested that residents in high-risk areas might have higher inherent individual resilience.

Demographics

Demographical variables showed overall a mixed correlation with national resilience. This was the case for age, educational level and gender. In regard to education level, most studies found no significant correlation with community resilience. In some, though, a negative or non-significant correlation with solidarity was identified (Ballada et al., 2022; Kimhi et al., 2024b). Older age mostly seems to be a promoter of higher national resilience in some studies. This was the case in both the Philippines and Brazil and to some extent in Israel (Ballada et al., 2022; Kimhi et al., 2024b). Another example is gender where in most studies it did not seem to be a significant predictor, although in a few studies being female indicated lower national resilience levels (Ballada et al., 2022; Callueng

et al., 2020; Eshel et al., 2020; Kaim et al., 2024; Kimhi et al., 2024a, 2024b).

Religion seemed in several cases to be positively linked to higher national resilience, as in the Philippines during COVID-19 (Callueng et al., 2020) and among the Hebrew-speaking community in Israel (Kimhi et al., 2019). At the same time, negative associations were also identified, for example during the Israel–Gaza war where higher religiosity had the strongest relationship with low trust in state institutions (Kimhi et al., 2024b).

Overall, one should be careful regarding what type of conclusions can be drawn, given that demographics are highly contextual and culturally unique, which limits generalisability to other cultural contexts.

Challenging factors

Perceived threat

Perceived threat was shown in most studies to have a negative relationship with national resilience (e.g. Ballada et al., 2022; Callueng et al., 2020; Kaim et al., 2024). The results might be explained by the fact that the

more real a person perceives a threat to be, the more it indicates for that person that the nation's capacity to deal with it might be insufficient.

Distress

Levels of distress also tended to show negative correlations with national resilience. One example is in the Philippines during COVID-19 where the more people felt tension and had feelings of worthlessness, the lower the national resilience they reported (Callueng et al., 2020). This was also found among Israeli evacuees who reported both lower societal resilience and higher distress than the general population of Israel (Marciano et al., 2024b) and amid a political crisis in Israel (Marciano et al., 2024a).

A few studies, however, showed different results. In Kimhi et al. (2024b), where the authors measured national resilience in Israel

during the first week of the Israel–Gaza war, the result showed exactly the opposite trend. In other words, the higher the distress symptoms, the higher the levels of national/societal resilience. In another study (Kimhi et al., 2024a), distress showed as a positive predictor in Poland and Lithuania while negative in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. And Ukrainian respondents showed the highest levels of distress symptoms comparatively to neighbouring countries but at the same time the highest level of national resilience. Thus, despite most studies indicating a negative relationship between higher levels of distress and higher national resilience, some studies conducted amid war showed the opposite result.

Duration and type of disruption

Apart from the variables that were tested alongside national resilience in different studies, some authors also looked into (1) how the different forms of disruptions potentially affect resilience levels and (2) how the duration of the disruption might affect national resilience levels.

In Israel, Eshel et al. (2025) conducted a longitudinal study measuring national resilience in relation to several events such as the Israel–Gaza war, different periods of the COVID-19 pandemic and political crises. The study found that the level of national resilience was significantly higher during the initial days of the Israel–Gaza war in 2023 compared to ten previously investigated time points with the exception of the onset of COVID-19 (which was similar to the initial days of the Israel–Gaza war). This might indicate that the greater the trauma or the extent of the disruption, the greater the levels of national resilience. The study also demonstrated that the national resilience levels on average were lower the

further into the pandemic the study was conducted. Similar results were also documented in relation to the Israel–Gaza war where societal resilience levels declined over time (Kaim et al., 2024). These findings might indicate that the 'rally around the flag' effect might occur in the initial phase of a disruption but that it might be relatively short-lived or decline over time.

A third aspect worth noting is previous experiences of terror/war. Kimhi et al. (2019) found that previous experiences in the last year (terror/war) were negatively associated with national resilience, meaning that people that had been exposed to terror/war to a lower extent during the last year scored higher on the societal/national resilience scale. This stands in contrast to another study that was made using the same scale comparing Brazil, the Philippines and Israel (Ballada et al., 2022). In this study the researchers predicted that Israel would have the highest levels of resilience given its long history of facing continuous disruption – which was also the case.

Discussion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the study of national resilience in the selected articles.

1. An established measurement scale (NRAS) is used in several studies albeit with slight modifications.
2. While measurement methods are consistent, they have been developed for and applied within a specific (Israeli) context. Thus, their applicability to other NATO contexts might be limited given the cultural and social differences among countries. To overcome this, indicators adapted to a local or regional context would need to be developed. This was done by Callueng et al. (2020), who altered indicators so they were adapted to the political system of the Philippines and focused indicators specifically on the COVID-19 pandemic.
3. The factors included in the scale are not necessarily inherently tied to coping with adversity (the concept's original premise). Just because there is high

trust in the government or the justice system does not necessarily mean that people in a society are capable of coping with a disruption. Some of these indicators, such as trust in the prime minister, can instead be equated to opinion polls reflecting the popularity (or support) of political parties and party leaders. However, when these variables are contextualised with factors related to coping, like hope or individual resilience, they gain additional value.

4. Psychological distress seems mostly to be a challenger for national resilience, although some studies point in an opposite direction that it can actually strengthen resilience. This might be due to a form of 'rally around the flag' effect (temporary higher support for a national government/leadership during a crisis/emergency) sometimes commonplace in the beginning of a disruption. This was shown in some longitudinal studies where resilience levels seemed to peak early in the disruption.

Community resilience

The concept of community resilience

Community resilience, like national resilience, is not defined in a single uniform way. At its most general, the term refers to the capacity of a collective to cope with and recover from adversity. The term is frequently used alongside or sometimes in partial overlap with other concepts such as social resilience, collective resilience, persistent resilience, family resilience and national resilience (Shevell and Denov, 2021). Community resilience is distinguished by a focus on the meso-level, going beyond the isolated individual and the abstract nation, to examine how trust, reciprocity, leadership and shared action are organised.

The reviewed studies show that although there is a common formula for how to review resilience, it conceals some differences among studies, which can be grouped into two main clusters:

1. Studies using the ability-based approach: this treats community resilience as a capability of a given community, such as a local administration, a social group, a network or a family. This capability is shown by the different resources that a community possesses, which could include for example infrastructure, economic resources, values, social capital, shared life experiences, people and an emergency preparedness in order to be able to adapt to in times of disruption.

tions (see for example Burke et al., 2024; Cohen et al., 2013; Norris et al., 2008; Rapaport et al., 2018).

2. Studies using the process-driven approach: this also to some extent views resilience as a set of resources, with the difference that these studies emphasise more the interaction between these resources. Norris et al. (2008), one of the most referenced studies in our review, do not view resilience as a static outcome but that of a process connecting existing resource to a certain outcome. Faulkner et al. (2018) also view resilience as more than the sum of certain capacities, but rather highlight their internal links and interaction.

With regard to the operationalisation of community resilience as a form of framework, two notable points can be made. First, some articles are purely theoretical (e.g. Comes, 2016; Norris et al., 2008), while others aim to apply the framework empirically or develop it inductively based on collected data (Co-

hen et al., 2013; O’Sullivan et al., 2014). The empirical studies more often than not use the ability-based approach, viewing community resilience as a set of resources that can be measured. Second, and like national resilience, although community resilience is viewed as consisting of several objective resources, such as emergency preparedness capacities and economic resources, the research designs are mainly based on measuring perceptions. The scale most commonly used is the ‘conjoint community resilience assessment measure’ (CCRAM), developed by Leykin et al. (2013) and Cohen et al. (2013). It is used to estimate the ability of a community to be resilient amid a disruption. The theoretical dimensions behind it are inspired by other authors in the review, including Norris et al. (2008). The scale consists of five dimensions: leadership, collective efficacy, preparedness, place attachment and social trust (see Table 6). Variations of these dimensions reoccur in several studies in our review, for example Faulkner et al. (2018), Shapira (2022), Zhang and Shay (2018) and Zhuang et al. (2024).

Leadership	Collective efficacy	Preparedness	Place attachment	Social trust
Includes six items representing general faith in decision-makers, faith in local leaders, perception of fairness in local service provision and functioning of community.	Includes five items representing support, involvement in the community and mutual assistance.	Includes four items representing family and community acquaintance, and perceptions of preparedness for emergencies.	Includes four items referring to emotional attachment to the community, sense of belonging, pride in community and ideological identification with the community.	Includes two items representing trust and quality of relationship between members of the community.

Table 6. Theoretical dimensions of the conjoint community resilience assessment measure (CCRAM)
Derived from Leykin et al. (2008).

Table 6 shows that the dominant measurement logic combines relational and organisational dimensions. Questions are broad and cover features of the collective environment: whether people trust one another, whether leaders are trustworthy, whether the community is perceived as prepared and whether res-

idents feel attached to the place and to each other. This is one of the strengths of the field. At the same time, it also creates conceptual tensions because several of these dimensions are both components of resilience and explanatory factors that supposedly generate it.

Factors influencing community resilience

Promoting factors	Mixed results	Challenging factors
Social support	Demographics: age, gender and religiosity	Distress symptoms
Hope		Perceived threat and sense of danger
Leadership and trust in governance		
Community identity and place attachment		
Individual resilience		
Well-being and quality of life		

Table 7. Summary of factors tested in relation to community resilience grouped into the three analytical categories

Promoting factors

Social support

Social support is visible as an important factor across different settings. In Israeli border communities, confidence in community solidarity and support is one of the strongest correlations with community resilience (Shapira, 2022). Among Ukrainian refugees in Italy, social support was perceived as a very important resource for many participants as it con-

nects to different sources in the community; emotional support in particular was valued highly (Olcese et al., 2024). Furthermore, in Israel, rural communities were found to be more resilient compared to urban and suburban communities, which the researchers argue has to do with stronger resources inherent in rural communities (Rapaport et al., 2018).

Hope

A second recurrent promoter is hope. In the quantitative literature, hope is often the strongest promoter of resilience across societal and community levels (Kimhi et al., 2023;

Koubová and Kimhi, 2024). In these studies, hope functions as a motivational bridge between exposure to danger and continued collective agency.

Leadership and trust in governance

Across the studies, leadership and trust in it is associated with community resilience. In the survey literature, respondents who trust local leaders and perceive their communities as able to act together report higher community resilience (Shapira, 2022; Eshel et al., 2020). In the qualitative case studies, this pattern takes a more organisational form. Burke et al. (2024)

show that stability was created throughout communities in Jamaica by supporting initiatives to strengthen good governance, and among communities at risk in the UK it seems that leadership is important but that it has to come from the community and be generated from it – rather than conferred on it by people outside the community (Faulkner et al., 2018).

Community identity and place attachment

Several studies show that resilience grows when people become part of a meaningful collective (Faulkner et al., 2018). In the US during Hurricane Matthew, community identification positively predicted community

resilience and it also showed a strong connection to action taking – thus creating preconditions for a robust handling of a disruption (Zhang & Shay, 2018).

These findings matter because they show that community resilience is not reducible to resource stocks. Shared identity can it-

Individual resilience

The relationship between individual resilience and community resilience is consistently positive in the studies examined. In the comparative war-survey literature it is viewed as a factor tested for correlation with community resilience amid wartime, which is shown to

Well-being and quality of life

Well-being and quality of life showed overall positive associations with community resilience. In the war literature one can note that for example in both Poland and Ukraine well-being was the second-best predictor of community resilience after hope (Kimhi et al., 2023). In another study of Ukraine (and neighbouring countries) the Ukrainians reported the comparatively lowest level of well-being

self be a resource, especially when it supports cooperation and emotional endurance.

be of positive association (Eshel et al., 2020; Kimhi et al., 2023; Koubová and Kimhi, 2024). Thus, an individual's own ability to cope is important for the capacity of the whole community.

but at the same time the highest level of resilience, which differed from the neighbouring countries not at war, where in some well-being was the top predictor (Kimhi et al., 2024a). Perhaps not so strange given the extreme living conditions Ukrainians find themselves in. Still, well-being showed a positive relationship overall in Ukraine as well, just not as strongly as in the other countries.

Factors with mixed results

Demographics

Demographic variables produce the least consistent findings across the work reviewed. Age is positively associated with resilience in certain studies, but non-significant or inconsistent in others (Cohen et al., 2013; Koubová & Kimhi, 2024; Rapaport et al., 2018; Zhuang et al., 2024). *Gender* effects are likewise unstable. Some found that being male was a significant predictor of higher community resilience and some female, but overall, there was no statistically significant impact (Cohen et al., 2013; Leykin et al., 2013; Shapira, 2022). Religiosity appears mostly as a positive predictor among the quantitative sources. Among

the qualitative works it sometimes shows as a form of support although in some instances no association was identified, for example among Ukrainians in some of the studies (Kimhi et al., 2023; Olcese et al., 2024; Shapira, 2022).

The broader point is that demographic variables rarely explain much on their own. Their effects are usually mediated by social position, type of disruption, available support and the scale at which resilience is measured. The field is therefore right to treat them cautiously.

Challenging factors

Distress symptoms

Psychological distress is found to be a suppressive variable for community resilience across the reviewed literature. Anxiety, depression and broader mental-health burden are repeatedly associated with lower resilience or with weakened community resilience (Kimhi et al., 2023; Koubová & Kimhi, 2024; Shapira, 2022; Zhuang et al., 2024). In the Israeli longitudinal literature, poorer mental health tracks

lower community resilience over time (Shapira, 2022). In post-invasion Ukraine, distress is widespread and deeply entangled with war exposure, uncertainty and displacement (Kimhi et al., 2024a). With this being said, there are nuances to be added. First, it is doubtful to what extent distress might predict community resilience. In one study its prediction fades when compared to other variables (Koubová &

Kimhi, 2024). Second, in another study there was no significant correlation between stress symptoms and community resilience among Ukrainians, and compared to their neighbours

Perceived threat/sense of danger

A second robust negative factor is perceived threat or sense of danger. In border and war settings, heightened perceptions of danger are consistently associated with lower community resilience (Eshel et al., 2020; Kimhi et al., 2023; Koubová and Kimhi, 2024). Immediate and overwhelming threats result in declining confidence in collective coping.

At the same time, the reviewed works also suggest that threat or danger is not me-

Ukrainians simultaneously reported the highest levels of distress symptoms and the highest levels of community resilience (Kimhi et al., 2024a).

chanically disorganising. Under some conditions, severe danger can produce solidarity, patriotism or intensified support. In Ukraine the citizens reported the highest sense of danger along with the highest community resilience levels and hope (Kimhi et al., 2024a). The overall pattern nevertheless remains negative: once threat undermines confidence in leadership, support and continuity, community resilience declines.

Discussion

First, the field faces a *conceptual boundary problem*: several of the variables treated as variables associated with community resilience are also part of what resilience is said to consist of. Leadership, collective efficacy, place attachment and trust are in some cases treated as both components or indicators and as variables tested for correlation (e.g. Eshel et al., 2020; Shapira, 2022). This is not merely a semantic inconvenience. It affects what kinds of explanations are possible. If resilience is measured partly through trust and cohesion, then findings that trust and cohesion correlate with resilience must be interpreted carefully. In some cases, the differences in the inherent meaning between the items of construct and the factors tested for association can be distinguished, but in some cases not. This makes the results difficult to interpret.

Second, the literature consists mostly of cross-sectional studies about perceptions, whose external validity beyond each measurement's contextual conditions is debatable. This is particularly true for war and crisis contexts, where data collection is more difficult than normally is the case. How can we, for example, measure trust in a war setting, where 'rally around the flag' mechanisms are clearly at play? Qualitative studies about group cohesion and coping, on the other hand, provide deeper descriptions but generally do not establish causal relationships. The field is effective at identifying clusters of variables associated with resilience, and at showing how communities narrate and organise coping. It seems less capable of determining what actually builds resilience over time. For a field with strong policy ambitions, this remains a central limitation.

Individual resilience

The concept of individual resilience

Individual resilience refers to an individual's capacity to cope with, adapt to and recover from adversity, including war, natural disasters or other major stressors. It is commonly understood as the ability to regain or maintain previous levels of functioning following events by successfully responding to challenging circumstances (Kimhi et al., 2023).

The literature conceptualises individual resilience in several ways. Earlier research primarily viewed resilience as an inherent personality trait, whereas more recent work considers it a dynamic process or a measurable outcome that can develop over time and be influenced by individual and environmental factors. Despite these different perspectives, there is broad agreement that individual resilience reflects the ability to successfully manage, adapt to and recover from adversity. Accordingly, individual resilience is framed in three ways: as an outcome, a dynamic process or capacity (or trait).

1. Resilience as an outcome: the dominant analytical perspective conceptualises individual resilience as a positive outcome following exposure to adversity, rather than as an inherent personal characteristic (Schäfer et al., 2024; Schwarzer, 2024). It is typically defined as the maintenance or rapid recovery of mental health and functioning during or after exposure to a crisis (Schäfer et al., 2024). From this perspective, factors such as optimism, self-efficacy and social support are viewed as resilience resources that contribute to, but are distinct from, resilience itself, which is reflected in successful adaptation or recovery (Baran et al., 2024; Godara et al., 2021; Schäfer et al., 2024; Smith et al., 2008).

2. Resilience as a dynamic process: this perspective views resilience as an ongoing process of adaptation that results from interactions between individuals and their environment (Chin et al., 2023; Giordano et al., 2024; Schwarzer, 2024). Here, interactions between an individual and their environment activate adaptive mechanisms that enable the mobilisation of available resources in response to crises (Schwarzer, 2024).
3. Resilience as a capacity (or trait): a more traditional psychological perspective defines individual resilience as an inherent capacity or personal strength that enables individuals to 'bounce back' from difficult experiences (Blanc et al., 2021; Godara, 2021; Schwarzer, 2024; Yıldırım & Arslan, 2020). From this perspective, resilience is considered a relatively stable characteristic that supports recovery, learning and personal growth.

Two closely related concepts within individual resilience are psychological resilience and cognitive resilience. While overlapping, these capture distinct dimensions of adaptation to adversity. Psychological resilience refers to the capacity to maintain or regain mental health and positive functioning in the face of stress or trauma, with particular emphasis on emotional regulation and cognitive flexibility (Joachim et al., 2024). Cognitive resilience, by contrast, describes the ability to sustain cognitive performance – such as memory, attention and executive functioning – despite neurological changes, such as injury, pathology or ageing (Yang et al., 2021). Individual resilience is a broader construct that encompasses these psychological and cognitive dimensions, alongside physical health, social resources and behavioural adaptation.

Measuring individual resilience

Individual resilience is measured using a variety of approaches, including quantitative psychometric scales, statistical modelling of mental health trajectories and qualitative thematic analysis of lived experience (Table

8). Qualitative studies most commonly rely on validated self-reporting instruments that translate subjective psychological constructs into numerical data.

Scale	Measure	Context
Connor-Davidson resilience scale (CD-RISC)	Resilience as a unitary construct	War/conflict/pandemic
Brief resilience scale (BRS)	Resilience as a unitary construct	War/conflict
Sense of coherence (SOC)	Critical internal psychological resource	Conflict/trauma
Assessment batteries (anxiety/depression/CPTSD)	Psychological well-being	War/conflict/displacement
Inclusion/loneliness/self-esteem constructs	Psychological well-being	War/conflict/displacement

Table 8. Individual resilience assessment scales

One of the most widely used analytical tools is the Connor-Davidson resilience scale (CD-RISC), a 25-item self-reporting measure assessing perceived ability to cope with stress, adapt to change and bounce back from adversity. It captures multiple dimensions of resilience, including personal competence, trust in one’s instincts, acceptance of change, perceived control and spiritual influences. In several studies included in this review, CD-RISC is used to assess resilience as a context-dependent response to active crises (Li & Hu, 2022; Saar-Ashkenazy et al., 2024).

The brief resilience scale (BRS) is also frequently applied. This six-item instrument measures the perceived ability to ‘bounce back’ from stress, providing a simple indicator of recovery using a Likert-scale format (see [Table A5](#) in the Appendix) (Smith et al., 2008). While CD-RISC is typically used to capture resilience-related traits and resources that enable coping, BRS focuses more directly on resilience outcomes, particularly recovery to prior levels of functioning following stress (Smith et al., 2008).

Despite their widespread use, these measurement approaches present conceptual and methodological limitations. Self-reporting can introduce bias, including social desirability effects, and resilience often overlaps with related constructs such as self-efficacy, locus of control and meaning-making, *making it difficult to isolate the specific contributions of a certain construct to that of resilience levels*. (Blanc et al., 2021; Kimhi et al., 2023; Schäfer et al., 2024). Many studies also assess individual factors in isolation, limiting evidence on their combined or incremental predictive value.

In addition, scale-based measures provide only a static ‘snapshot’ of what is often a dynamic adaptation process over time (Giordano et al., 2024; Kimhi et al., 2023). In cross-national research, measurement validity can be further constrained by issues of measurement invariance, where identical scale items may function differently across cultural and societal contexts, limiting the reliability of direct cross-national comparisons (Ballada et al., 2020).

Factors influencing individual resilience

Promoting factors	Mixed results	Challenging factors
Hope	Sense of danger/ perceived threats	Psychological distress symptoms
Social support	Demographics	Maladaptive coping strategies
Community resilience		Social isolation and 'atomisation'
Adaptive coping and emotion regulation		
Self-efficacy/sense of control		

Table 9. Summary of factors tested in relation to individual resilience grouped into the three analytical categories

Promoting factors

Hope

Across studies of individual resilience, hope is consistently identified as a factor positively associated with it. Evidence from different contexts, including adults in Turkey and Chinese university students during the COVID-19 pandemic, shows that hope and optimism are linked to more effective coping and post-traumatic psychological growth (Li & Hu, 2022; Yıldırım & Arslan, 2020). In this sense, hope functions as a robust correlating varia-

ble across different societies. It is identified as a future orientation that enables individuals to endure hardships by focusing attention on eventual recovery (Giordano et al., 2024). Individuals with higher dispositional hope therefore tend to demonstrate stronger recovery capacity and improved mental health outcomes following exposure to stress or trauma (Yıldırım & Arslan, 2020).

Social support

Social support is a key external resource that buffers stress and strengthens resilience across crises such as war, pandemics and economic instability (Godara et al., 2021; Schwarzer, 2024; Yıldırım & Arslan, 2020). Perceived social support – particularly the expectation that help is available – is one of

the strongest correlates of resilience across family, peer and community levels (Schäfer et al., 2024). These effects operate through emotional and practical assistance, reinforcing self-efficacy and social capital, especially within close family and peer networks (Joachim et al., 2024; Khullar et al., 2019).

Community resilience

Community resources strengthen individual resilience through shared support, social ties and collective coping mechanisms (Baran et al., 2024). Collective efficacy or 'communal mastery' can reduce distress and enhance agency through shared responsibility and coordinated action (Baran et al., 2024; Khullar et al., 2019). Peer networks reduce

isolation and provide emotional and practical support (Rizzi et al., 2023), while evidence from conflict settings, such as Ukrainian youth during the 2022 invasion, shows community support as a key protective mechanism, enabling mutual support and strengthening long-term well-being (Giordano et al., 2024).

Adaptive coping and emotion regulation

Adaptive coping and emotion regulation are central mechanisms of resilience under conditions of sustained or overlapping stressors (Schäfer et al., 2024). Problem-focused coping and active engagement are consistently associated with higher resilience (Saar-Ashkenazy et al., 2024). Cognitive emotion regulation, especially cognitive reapprais-

al, supports resilience by enabling individuals to reinterpret stressors in more manageable or constructive ways (Li & Hu, 2022). Across both pandemic and conflict settings, post-traumatic growth has been associated with more adaptive coping and positive reappraisal of adversity (Giordano et al., 2024; Li & Hu, 2022).

Self-efficacy/sense of control

Self-efficacy and a sense of control are key internal coping resources across crises such as conflicts and pandemics (Khullar et al., 2019; Schwarzer, 2024). As expressions of personal agency, these are associated with better psychological well-being and lower distress (Yildirim & Arslan, 2020). Higher perceived control and personal mastery are consistently linked to stronger resilience outcomes, including lower distress following conflict exposure (Schwarzer, 2024). During the COVID-19 pan-

demic, self-efficacy also supported adaptive behaviours such as adherence to protective measures, illustrating how perceived control can improve functioning even in highly constrained environments (Khullar et al., 2019; Yıldırım & Arslan, 2020). More broadly, a sense of control helps individuals interpret adverse events as manageable challenges rather than overwhelming threats, even when objective control is limited (Khullar et al., 2019).

Factors with mixed results

Sense of danger/perceived threats

Perceived danger and threat show mixed effects on resilience due to their context-dependent relationship with available coping resources (Joachim et al., 2024; Schäfer et al., 2024). Lower perceived danger is generally associated with better post-traumatic recovery, while higher perceived threat is linked to increased psychological distress and lower

resilience across individual, community and societal levels (Kupenko et al., 2023; Marciano et al., 2024b). However, effects are non-linear: perceived threat both shapes and is shaped by resilience, helping explain why resilient individuals may report lower perceived danger even under high exposure (Kurapov et al., 2023; Schwarzer, 2024).

Demographics

Demographic factors such as age and education show mixed and often inconsistent associations with individual resilience. Their effects vary depending on context, including cultural setting, type of crisis and population characteristics. Education is frequently as-

sumed to be a protective factor, but empirical findings are inconsistent. For example, across OECD studies, education shows a significant association with resilient outcomes in 44.6% of effect estimates, while 47% show no significant relationship (Schäfer et al., 2024).

Challenging factors

Psychological distress symptoms

Psychological distress symptoms – particularly anxiety, depression and general distress – directly constrain individual resilience by reducing cognitive and emotional capacity for effective coping (Blanc et al., 2021; Marciano et al., 2024b). These symptoms impair emotional regulation, decision-making and

perceived coping ability, producing a cumulative ‘wear and tear’ effect that erodes key resilience resources such as self-efficacy over time (Schwarzer, 2024). In high-intensity and prolonged crises such as armed conflict, distress is associated with disturbances in self-organisation (DSO), including impaired

emotional regulation, disrupted self-concept and relational difficulties that undermine adaptation capacity (Kurapov et al., 2023). Evidence from Ukraine and other conflict settings shows a consistent association between higher distress, lower resilience and increased

Maladaptive coping strategies

Maladaptive coping strategies weaken resilience by offering short-term relief while undermining longer-term adaptation. Avoidance, disengagement and emotional suppression are associated with higher risks of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress (Blanc et al., 2021; Godara et al., 2021; Li & Hu, 2022). These strategies are particularly prevalent in displaced or highly uncertain contexts, where withdrawal or denial can become

Social isolation and 'atomisation'

Social isolation and 'atomisation' – the breakdown or absence of social ties – significantly reduces individual resilience by removing critical sources of emotional, informational and practical support (Khullar et al., 2019; Kuppenko et al., 2023). In policy terms, isolation functions as a vulnerability multiplier, increasing perceived threat while limiting access to coping resources and creating a 'psychological vacuum' that intensifies distress (Joachim

et al., 2024). In some contexts, even social support may amplify distress through a 'pressure-cooker' effect, where shared trauma intensifies rather than alleviates psychological burden (Schwarzer, 2024).

persistent and increase psychological strain (Baran et al., 2024; Chin et al., 2023; Giordano et al., 2024). Coping effectiveness is highly context dependent: strategies that are generally adaptive may become counterproductive under conditions of limited control, such as conflict or displacement, where acceptance or cognitive reappraisal are more effective (Li & Hu, 2022; Schäfer et al., 2024).

et al., 2024). In displaced or crisis-affected populations, prolonged isolation combined with uncertainty can shift coping strategies towards short-term survival, delaying recovery and limiting long-term adaptation (Baran et al., 2024; Blanc et al., 2021; Rizzi et al., 2023). While self-reliance may help in the short term, 'atomised' coping is generally maladaptive due to lack of social buffering capacity (Kuppenko et al., 2023).

Discussion

This analysis demonstrates that individual resilience has transitioned from being understood as a static personal trait to being conceptualised as a dynamic, context-dependent process and an outcome of successful adaptation to adversity. This shift reframes individual resilience as an active mechanism shaped by the interaction between individuals and their environment, rather than a passive response to stress.

From a measurement and policy perspective, individual resilience is most useful as a mediating construct that helps explain differences between objective exposure to stressors and subjective psychological outcomes. Rather than simply identifying distress or pathology, resilience-based approaches capture the extent to which individuals can mobilise internal resources – such as self-efficacy, optimism and personal mastery – to cope with and recover from disruptive events.

Across the reviewed literature, four key findings emerge:

1. Hope as a core enabling factor: hope is consistently identified as a central correlate of individual resilience, supporting goal orientation, planning and sustained engagement under conditions of adversity.
2. Agency through coping and self-efficacy: individual resilience is strongly associated with active coping strategies, including problem-focused coping and cognitive reappraisal. These are reinforced by self-efficacy and perceived control, which support individuals' belief in their ability to manage and respond to challenges.
3. Resilience paradoxes: the relationship between distress, exposure and resilience is not straightforward. High psychological distress can coexist with resilience, particularly in extreme contexts such as armed conflict. In some cases exposure to stress may also strengthen adaptive capacity through 'stress inoculation', depending on its intensity and manageability.
4. Methodological convergence on self-reporting measurement: the literature draws on a mixed-methods approach combining cross-sectional surveys, longitudinal designs and qualitative analysis. However, individual resilience is most commonly operationalised through self-reporting scales assessing perceived ability to cope, adapt and recover from adversity.

Concluding discussion

This report aimed to develop a deeper understanding of how to predict and assess capabilities among civil populations through conducting a limited literature review on resilience in this context. This was done against the backdrop of unfolding crises and wars globally

and the proximity of war for NATO allies creating the need for understanding vulnerabilities and strengths among the population, and ultimately to gain knowledge on what creates a resilient population. Several conclusions are outlined below.

Using resilience to measure coping capabilities among a population

Resilience in the context of civil populations is a complex, multidimensional concept encompassing a range of definitions and dimensions. It is often framed across three distinct levels: national, community and individual. While approached from different perspectives, these levels all seek to describe a shared capacity – to cope with, withstand and adapt to unfolding disruptions.

Overall, using resilience as a concept and empirical instrument has several limitations:

First and foremost, the concept appears somewhat tautological because of the conceptual overlap between the *explanans* and the *explanandum*, that is, between the dependent and independent variables. Both the concept and its measurement are complex and sometimes contradictory in both its conceptual and empirical nature. This is particularly true for community resilience, where this overlap complicates assessments and limits viable conclusion.

Second, some measurements, especially of national resilience, are highly contextual and difficult to adapt across different cultural contexts, given that it is manifested differently across various contexts and cultures.³⁵ This is also true for community resilience, as communities have a more prominent role in certain cultural contexts than in others.

Third, the studies mostly rely on self-reported scales and depend on individuals' subjective assessment of themselves, their community and their society. The field lacks studies employing observational metrics tied to behaviour during a disruption, such as the extent to which people took vaccines during COVID-19 or the number of people assisting their community or continuing to go to work amid war. Such data could be compared to subjective attitudes, but are lacking.

Predicting human behaviour and isolating certain variables is notoriously difficult. The strengths of the studies are instead shown when integrated with variables related to personal coping and when the three levels are compared to each other. Furthermore, the fact that the studies have mostly been conducted amid crises or war is a strength, as it shows people's attitudes when it matters most (although every disruption is different and thus findings may not be transferable). Thus, we believe there is value in using these concepts and findings to assist future assessments of coping capabilities among a civil population group. A good starting point for future studies would be to use individual and community resilience along with measurements of hope and suppressing factors such as psychological distress (see recommendations in full in the executive summary).

Promoting and challenging factors and their relationship with resilience

Overall, the results show that there are multiple factors that might promote or challenge resilience on all levels. Of these, hope stands out as a solid promoter of resilience on all levels, while *psychological distress and sense of danger or perceived threat* were viewed as consistent challenges.

For *national resilience*, quality of life and community resilience were consistent promoters, whereas distress and perceived threat were identified as challengers. Individual resilience was mostly positively associated with national resilience, although not always. Generally, though, one can draw the conclusion that an individual's personal strength or self-belief reflects a belief in the strength of the nation. For *community resilience*, several factors, including social support, leadership, community identity and external institutional support, were identified as promoters. There were also several challengers, including subjective elements such as distress, perceived stress and sense of danger. For *individual resilience*, hope, social support, community

resilience and self-efficacy were factors that consistently promoted resilience, while psychological distress, sense of danger and social isolation were among the factors that challenged individual resilience.

An important caveat in the resilience research is the apparent contradictions between research results (and observed reality). Several studies showed surprising and counterintuitive data with respect to psychological distress and perceived threat. Despite the fact that these have been consistently shown to affect resilience negatively across several studies, real world experience has shown that distress and higher levels of perceived threat can coexist with resilience. This has been evident in the wake of the 2022 invasion of Ukraine, where the population reported high levels of psychological distress and a sense of danger, while simultaneously exhibiting high levels of resilience and hope (Kimhi et al., 2023). Here, intense suffering coexists with a determination to survive and the desire for individuals to continue to have agency over their lives (ibid.).

Future research

In terms of future research, there are several areas that would be beneficial to study.

1. Studying the implications of strategic communications amid crisis and war, and attitudes/responses towards messaging aimed at strengthening citizens' resolve, would be interesting and rewarding for StratCom professionals.
2. Many of the reviewed studies saw resilience as a dynamic process but did not measure it across time. More comparative longitudinal studies would therefore be highly interesting. This is also true for qualitative work on why this might be the case. Longitudinal or even quasi-experimental studies could provide more accurate estimates of causal relationships between variables.
3. Some of the examined studies looked into different population segments and their resilience levels, and found differences between evacuees and the general Hebrew-speaking population of Israel. Studies in other contexts investigating different societal groups would add to the general knowledge of the field.
4. Future research should examine the importance of communities in relation to coping

and individual resilience in highly individualised societies, where such studies hitherto have been scarce.

5. To go deeper in studying the mechanism of resilience and its relation to psychological distress would be of interest to the whole field.

In conclusion, resilience of civil populations is a difficult and complex construct to comprehend. It is dynamic and can shift over time; it is contextual; it is measured very differently across studies; it means different things depending on the level of analysis; and it is not always clear-cut what elements are part of the concept and which are external to it. At the same time, it should be treated as an essential part of any nation's strategy to build a credible defence. If neglected, national and international capabilities to withstand disruptions might be severely weakened.

Appendix

Table A1 – Central concepts used in the study

Acute disruption	Acute disruption in the context of resilience refers to an abrupt, severe and largely unforeseen event that causes significant disturbances to individuals, organisations or systems. In this context, resilience is understood as the individual and collective capacity to absorb, adapt to and recover from such shocks. ^a
Chronic disruption	Chronic disruption refers to prolonged, persistent or recurring conditions characterised by ongoing and often unpredictable adversity that disrupts normal activities. ^b Such conditions lack a clearly defined end-point and generate sustained uncertainty.
Crisis	A crisis is an unforeseen event that ‘produces or leads to a dangerous situation affecting a person, community, society, or planet’. ^c
Coping	Coping represents the ‘efforts to manage stress that change over time and are shaped by the adaptational context out of which it is generated’. ^d It is dynamic and evolves in response to changing situational demands.

^a Melbourne Centre for Cities, and the University of Melbourne. City Resilience. [Acute Shocks and Chronic Stresses for Melbourne](#). n.d.

^b Sarah K. Schäfer, Angela M. Kunzler, Raffael Kalisch, Oliver Tüscher and Klaus Lieb. ‘[Trajectories of Resilience and Mental Distress to Global Major Disruptions](#)’. Trends in Cognitive Sciences 26, no. 12 (2022): 1171–89.

^c Allison Hahn. ‘[Crisis](#)’. EBSCO. 2020.

^d Richard S. Lazarus. ‘[Coping Theory and Research: Past, Present, and Future](#)’. Psychosomatic Medicine 55, no. 3 (1993): 234–47.

Table A2 – Empirical concepts tested in the studies

Adaptive coping and emotion regulation	Psychological mechanisms that enable individuals both to maintain or regain mental health in the face of complex and overlapping societal stressors as well as manage or moderate external and internal demands that exceed their personal resources (Rizzi et al., 2023; Schäfer et al., 2024).
Community identity and place attachment	An individual’s perceived relationship and attachment to their community (Zhang & Shay, 2018) which can take the form of place attachment, an emotional connection to their neighbourhood or city (Norris et al., 2008).

Hope	Can generally be viewed as a ‘positive emotional state’, a ‘can-do spirit’ or a ‘process of mutual encouragement’ used to provide motivation and pathway-oriented thinking necessary to manage profound adversity (Ho et al., 2022; Kaim et al., 2024; Yıldırım& Arslan, 2020).
Income or socioeconomic status	Defined differently across studies, but includes for example the subjective assessment of family income relative to national average (Ballada et al., 2022) and the absence of financial stress or poverty (Schäfer et al., 2024).
Maladaptive coping strategies	Short-term relief measures during disruptions such as avoidance, disengagement and emotional suppression (Baran et al., 2024; Li & Hu 2022).
Psychological distress	Typically defined as manifestations of anxiety and depression or other broader mental-health problems. Depressive symptoms include pervasive low mood, feelings of loneliness, a lack of interest in the world, sense of worthlessness or hopelessness (Kimhi et al., 2023). Anxiety symptoms include nervousness, feelings of tension, restlessness and physiological hyper-arousal (ibid.).
Quality of life or subjective well-being	Often clustered together and measures subjective assessment of an individual’s current living condition and life-quality (Ballada et al., 2022; Kimhi & Eshel, 2012).
Self-efficacy and a sense of control	The belief in one’s ability to manage challenges contexts such as conflict, war and pandemics (Khullar et al., 2019; Schwarzer, 2024). As forms of personal agency, this ability enables individuals to view adversity as controllable, and promote better psychological health and subjective well-being (Yıldırım & Arslan, 2020).
Sense of danger and perceived threat	Perceived threat can be viewed as an emotional response which forms part of an individual’s stress response. It is a negative psychological emotion that results from a harm that has not yet occurred but is possible (Kimhi & Eshel, 2012). Sense of danger is also focused on the fear of danger but is more general and provides estimations of, for example, how unsafe life might become in general (Kimhi & Eshel, 2012).
Social isolation and ‘atomisation’	Can be understood as the breakdown of social ties. Considered major risk factors for mental illness, increasing vulnerability to long-term disorders such as PTSD by removing essential emotional and practical support (Khullar et al., 2019; Kuppenko et al., 2023).
Social support	Often referred to as social interaction providing actual assistance to individuals. Often distinguished between actual received support and perceived support (Norris et al., 2008).

Table A3 – National Resilience Assessment Scale (NRAS-25)

Identification with my state	(1) Confidence in the prime minister and the government The prime minister and the government show high leadership ability during this time of uncertainty I believe that my government will make the right decision during a time of crisis During a national crisis, society in my country will back up government decisions and those of the prime minister (2) Patriotism I have full confidence in the fighting ability of my country's army I have full confidence in the ability of the security forces of my country to protect our population I love my country and I am proud of it My country is my home and I don't intend to leave it I believe that in my country there is a good future for me and my children (3) Societies coping with crisis My society has coped well with past crises and will cope well with future crises Despite controversies in peacetime, society in my country always unites during crisis time Although we had many wars in the past, society in my country has the ability to cope, if necessary, with another war I am optimistic about the future of my country
Solidarity and social justice	1. Social relations between the different groups in my country are good 2. In my society there is a high level of social solidarity (mutual assistance and concern for one another) 3. The expression 'man is wolf to man' is characteristic of my society 4. Social tension within my society is low 5. In my society there is a reasonable level of social justice

Trust in national institutions	1. Trust in the welfare system 2. Trust in the parliament 3. Trust in the education system 4. Trust in the health system 5. Trust in the social security system
Trust in public justice	1. Trust in the media 2. Trust in the judicial system

Derived from Kimhi et al. (2019).

Table A4 – The conjoint community resilience assessment measure (CCRAM)^a

1. The municipal authority (regional council) of my town functions well
2. There is mutual assistance and concern for others in my town
3. My town is organised for emergency situations
4. I am proud to tell others where I live
5. The relations between the various groups in my town are good
6. I have faith in the decision-makers in the municipal authority (regional council)
7. I can depend on people in my town to come to my assistance in a crisis
8. The residents of my town are acquainted with their role in an emergency situation
9. I feel a sense of belonging to my town
10. There is trust among the residents of my town
11. In my town, appropriate attention is given to the needs of children
12. There are people in my town who can assist in coping with an emergency
13. In my town there are sufficient public protection facilities (such as shelters)
14. I remain in this town for ideological reasons

15. I have faith in the ability of the elected/nominated head of my town to lead the transit from routine to emergency management of the town
16. I believe in the ability of my community to overcome an emergency situation
17. My family and I are acquainted with the emergency system of my town (to be activated in times of emergency)
18. I would be sorry to leave the town where I live
19. The municipal authority (regional council) provides its services fairly
20. The residents of my town are greatly involved in what is happening in the community
21. The residents of my town will continue to receive municipal services during an emergency situation

^a Derived from Leykin et al. (2013). The original scale consists of 28 items; however, we were not able to retrieve the remaining 7.

Table A5 – Brief resilience scale (BRS)

I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times
I have a hard time making it through stressful events
It does not take me long to recover from a stressful event
It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens
I usually come through difficult times with little trouble
I tend to take a long time to get over setbacks in my life

Derived from Smith et al. (2008).

References

National resilience

- 1 Ballada, Christine Joy A., John Jamir Benzon R. Aruta, Carmelo M. Callueng, Benedict G. Antazo, Shaul Kimhi, Maurício Reinert, Yohanan Eshel et al. 2022. [‘Bouncing Back from COVID-19: Individual and Ecological Factors Influence National Resilience in Adults from Israel, the Philippines, and Brazil’](#). *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 32(3): 452–75.
- 2 Ben-Dor, Gabriel, Ami Pedahzur, Daphna Canetti and Eran Zaidise. 2002. ‘The Role of Public Opinion in Israel’s National Security’. *American Jewish Congress: Congress Monthly* 69: 13–15.
- 3 Blanc, Judite, Anthony Briggs, Azizi Seixas, Marvin Reid, Girardin Jean-Louis and Seithikurippu R. Pandi-Perumal. 2021. [‘Addressing Psychological Resilience during the Coronavirus Disease 2019 Pandemic: A Rapid Review’](#). *Current Opinion in Psychiatry* 34.
- 4 Callueng, Carmelo, John Jamir Benzon R Aruta, Benedict G Antazo and Alelie Briones-Diato. 2020. [‘Measurement and Antecedents of National Resilience in Filipino Adults during Coronavirus Crisis’](#). *Journal of Community Psychology* 48(8): 2608–24.
- 5 Canetti, Daphna, Israel Waismel-Manor, Naor Cohen and Carmit Rapaport. 2014. ‘What Does National Resilience Mean in a Democracy? Evidence from the United States and Israel’. *Armed Forces & Society* 40(3): 504–20.
- 6 Eshel, Y., H. Marciano, S. Kimhi, A. Kaim, M.S. Tov and B. Adini. 2025. [‘National Resilience Rise following the Hamas Invasion of Southern Israel as an Indicator of Collective Post-traumatic Growth’](#). *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 105.
- 7 Eshel, Youhana, Kimhi Shaul, and Marciano Hadas. 2020. [‘Predictors of National and Community Resilience of Israeli Border Inhabitants Threatened by War and Terror’](#). *Community Mental Health Journal* 56(8): 1480–88.
- 8 Kaim, Arielle, Maya Siman Tov, Shaul Kimhi, Hadas Marciano, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 2024. [‘A Longitudinal Study of Societal Resilience and Its Predictors during the Israel-Gaza War’](#). *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being* 16(3): 1479.
- 9 Karalekas, Dean. 2022. ‘Taiwan and the Software of War: Learning Resilience from Ukraine’. *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations* 8(3): 481–518.
- 10 Kimhi, Shaul, and Yohanan Eshel. 2012. ‘Determinants of Students’ Perceptions of Conventional and Unconventional War Threats’. *Democracy and Security* 8(3): 228–46.
- 11 Kimhi, Shaul, Yohanan Eshel, Mooli Lahad and Dimitry Leykin. 2019. [‘National Resilience: A New Self-Report Assessment Scale’](#). *Community Mental Health Journal* 55(4): 721.
- 12 Kimhi, Shaul, Arielle Kaim, Dalia Bankauskaite, Maria Baran, Tomasz Baran, Yohannan Eshel, Salome Dumbadze et al. 2024a. [‘A Full-scale Russian Invasion of Ukraine in 2022: Resilience and Coping within and beyond Ukraine’](#). *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being* 16, no. 3 (2024): 1005.
- 13 Kimhi, S., H. Marciano, Y. Eshel and B. Adini. 2024b. [‘Measuring National Resilience: Israel in the First Week of the Gaza War’](#). *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 102.
- 14 Korostelina, Karina V. 2020. [‘National Resilience to Protracted Violence in Ukraine’](#). *Peace and Conflict Studies* 27(2). (21 February 2025).

15 Marciano, Hadas, Shaul Kimhi, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 2024a. [‘Impact of Prolonged Social Crisis on Resilience and Coping Indicators’](#). *PLoS One* 19(8): e0305542.

16 Marciano, H., S. Kimhi, Y. Eshel and B. Adini. 2024b. [‘Resilience and Coping during Protracted Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of](#)

[General and Evacuees Populations’](#). *Israel Journal of Health Policy Research* 13(1).

17 Schäfer, Sarah K., Max Supke, Corinna Kausmann, Lea M. Schaubruch, Klaus Lieb and Caroline Cohrdes. 2024. [‘A Systematic Review of Individual, Social, and Societal Resilience Factors in Response to Societal Challenges and Crises’](#). *Communications Psychology* 2(1): 92.

Community resilience

18 Burke, Olivene, Shinique Walters, Kaedi Burke, Vanessa Ellis Colley, Roger Bent and Lori Henry. 2024. [‘Community Engagement in Rural and Urban Marginalized Communities in Jamaica: Building Community Resilience in Crisis’](#). *Community Development* 56(2): 257–75.

19 Cohen, Odeya, Dima Leykin, Mooli Lahad, Avishay Goldberg and Limor Aharonson-Daniel. 2013. [‘The Conjoint Community Resiliency Assessment Measure as a Baseline for Profiling and Predicting Community Resilience for Emergencies’](#). *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 80(9): 1732–41.

20 Comes, Tina. 2016. [‘Designing for Networked Community Resilience’](#). *Procedia Engineering* 159: 6–11.

21 Eshel, Youhana, Kimhi Shaul and Marciano Hadas. 2020. [‘Predictors of National and Community Resilience of Israeli Border Inhabitants Threatened by War and Terror’](#). *Community Mental Health Journal* 56(8): 1480–88.

22 Faulkner, Lucy, Katrina Brown and Tara Quinn. 2018. [‘Analyzing Community Resilience as an Emergent Property of Dynamic Social-Ecological Systems’](#). *Ecology and Society* 23(1): art24.

23 Kimhi, Shaul, Maria Baran, Tomasz Baran, Krzysztof Kaniasty, Hadas Marciano, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 2023. [‘Prediction of Societal and Community Resilience among Ukrainian and Polish Populations during the Russian War against Ukraine’](#). *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 93: 103792.

Kimhi, Shaul, Arielle Kaim, Dalia Bankauskaite, Maria Baran, Tomasz Baran, Yohanan Eshel, Salome Dumbadze et al. 2024a. [‘A Full-Scale Russian Invasion of Ukraine in 2022: Resilience and Coping within and beyond Ukraine’](#). *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being* 16(3).

24 Koubová, Alice, and Shaul Kimhi. 2024. [‘Prediction of Individual, Community and Societal Resilience in the Czech Republic Compared to Slovakia during the War in Ukraine’](#). *BMC Public Health* 24(1): 583.

25 Leykin, Dmitry, Mooli Lahad, Odeya Cohen, Avishay Goldberg and Limor Aharonson-Daniel. 2013. [‘Conjoint Community Resiliency Assessment Measure-28/10 Items \(CCRAM28 and CCRAM10\): A Self-report Tool for Assessing Community Resilience’](#). *American Journal of Community Psychology* 52(3–4): 313–23.

Norris, Fran H., Susan P. Stevens, Betty Pfefferbaum, Karen F. Wyche and Rose L. Pfefferbaum. 2008. [‘Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capacities, and Strategy for Disaster Readiness’](#). *American Journal of Community Psychology* 41(1): 127–50.

26 Olcese, Martina, Paola Cardinali, Andrew P. Camilleri and Laura Migliorini. 2024. [‘Feeling Community during War: Community Resilience of Ukrainian Women Refugees in Italy’](#). *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 25(4): 1857–75.

27 O’Sullivan, Tracey L., Craig E. Kuziemsky, Wayne Corneil, Louise Lemyre and Zeno

Franco. 2014. 'The EnRiCH Community Resilience Framework for High-Risk Populations'. *PLOS Currents Disasters*.

28 Rapaport, Carmit, Tzipi Hornik-Lurie, Odeya Cohen, Mooli Lahad, Dima Leykin and Limor Aharonson-Daniel. 2018. 'The Relationship between Community Type and Community Resilience'. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 31: 470–77.

29 Shapira, Stav. 2022. 'Trajectories of Community Resilience over a Multi-Crisis Period: A Repeated Cross-Sectional Study among Small Rural Communities in Southern Israel'. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 76: 103006.

Individual resilience

33 Ballada, Christine Joy A., John Jamir Benzon R. Aruta, Carmelo M. Callueng, Benedict G. Antazo, Shaul Kimhi, Maurício Reinert, Yohanan Eshel et al. 2022. 'Bouncing Back from COVID-19: Individual and Ecological Factors Influence National Resilience in Adults from Israel, the Philippines, and Brazil'. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 32(3): 452–75.

34 Baran, Maria, Halina Grzymała-Moszczyńska, Marcelina Zjawieńska, Larysa Sugay, Irena Pujso, Yuliia Ovsienko, Viktoriia Naritsa, Julia Niedziałek and Marta Boczkowska. 2024. 'Superhero in a Skirt: Psychological Resilience of Ukrainian Refugee Women in Poland. A Thematic Analysis'. *International Journal of Clinical and Health Psychology* 24(4): 100506.

35 Blanc, Judite, Anthony Q. Briggs, Azi zi A. Seixas, Marvin Reid, Girardin Jean-Louis and Seithikurippu R. Pandi-Perumal. 2021. 'Addressing Psychological Resilience during the Coronavirus Disease 2019 Pandemic: A Rapid Review'. *Current Opinion in Psychiatry* 34(1): 29–35.

36 Chin, J., J. Di Maio, T. Weeraratne, K.M. Kennedy, L.K. Oliver, M. Bouchard, D. Malhotra et al. 2023. 'Resilience in Adolescence dur-

30 Shevell, Meaghan C., and Myriam S. Denov. 2021. 'A Multidimensional Model of Resilience: Family, Community, National, Global and Intergenerational Resilience'. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 119: 1.

31 Zhang, Xiaochen Angela, and Ronen Shay. 2018. 'An Examination of Antecedents to Perceived Community Resilience in Disaster Postcrisis Communication'. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 96(1): 264–87.

32 Zhuang, Xiaoyu, Qin Li, Susu Liu and Jieming Mo. 2024. 'Forbearance Coping, Community Resilience, Family Resilience and Mental Health during the Post-Pandemic in China: A Moderated Mediation Model'. *Psychiatry Investigation* 21(12): 1349–59.

ing the COVID-19 Crisis in Canada'. *BMC Public Health* 23: 1–18.

37 Giordano, Francesca, Shannon Lipscomb, Philip Jefferies, Kyong-Ah Kwon and Marianna Giammarchi. 2024. 'Resilience Processes among Ukrainian Youth Preparing to Build Resilience with Peers during the Ukraine-Russia War'. *Frontiers in Psychology* 15.

38 Godara, Malvika, Sarita Silveira, Hannah Matthäus, Christine Heim, Manuel Voelke, Martin Hecht, Elisabeth B. Binder and Tania Singer. 2021. 'Investigating Differential Effects of Socioemotional and Mindfulness-Based Online Interventions on Mental Health, Resilience and Social Capacities during the COVID-19 Pandemic: The Study Protocol'. *PLoS One* 16(11).

39 Joachim, M.V., D.A. Joachim, L. Korn, Y. Shapiro, A. Laviv and A. Zigdon. 2024. 'Emotional Resilience and Sense of Danger among Doctors in Hospitals during Periods of Heightened Tensions and Warfare in Israel'. *Israel Journal of Health Policy Research* 13(1).

40 Khullar, Neha, Nicholas C. Scull, Saima F. Bhatti, Andrew Wah and Fay Al-Zouman. 2019. 'Resistance and Resilience during the 1990 Iraqi Occupation of Kuwait: A Qualitative

Study. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 25(1): 24–36.

41 Kimhi, Shaul, Maria Baran, Tomasz Baran, Krzysztof Kaniasty, Hadas Marciano, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 2023. **'Prediction of Societal and Community Resilience among Ukrainian and Polish Populations during the Russian War against Ukraine'**. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 93: 103792.

42 Kupenko, Olena, Andriana Kostenko, Larysa Kalchenko, Olena Pehota and Oleksandr Kubatko. 2023. **'Resilience and Vulnerability of a Person in a Community in the Context of Military Events'**. *Problems and Perspectives in Management* 21(1): 154–68.

43 Kurapov, Anton, Argyroula Kalaitzaki, Vladyslava Keller, Ivan Danyliuk and Tobias Kowatsch. 2023. **'The Mental Health Impact of the Ongoing Russian-Ukrainian War 6 Months after the Russian Invasion of Ukraine'**. *Frontiers in Psychiatry* 14: 1134780.

44 Li, Qi, and Jinsheng Hu. 2022. **'Post-traumatic Growth and Psychological Resilience during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Serial Mediation Model'**. *Frontiers in Psychiatry* 13: 780807.

45 Marciano, Hadas, Shaul Kimhi, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 2024b. **'Resilience and Coping during Protracted Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of General and Evacuees Populations'**. *Israel Journal of Health Policy Research* 13(1): 56.

46 Montero-López Lena, María, Pilar Alonso-Reyes, Verónica Montes-de-Oca Zavala, Alejandro Zamudio and Darío Guajardo. 2023. **'Psychological Coping and Resilience to COVID-19 in Mexico: Evidence from a National Sample'**. *Journal of Aging and Health* 35(10): 781–89.

47 Rizzi, Damiano, Giulia Ciuffo, Marta Landoni, Matteo Mangiagalli and Chiara Ionio. 2023. **'Psychological and Environmental Factors Influencing Resilience among Ukrainian Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: A Systematic Review of Coping Strategies and Risk**

and Protective Factors'. *Frontiers in Psychology* 14: 1266125.

48 Saar-Ashkenazy, Rotem, Ofir Ben-Yaakov, Jonathan Guez and Yoav S. Bergman. 2024. **'Resilience and Loss during the Iron-Swords War: The Importance of Coping Strategies'**. *Journal of Loss and Trauma* 31(3–4): 561–78.

49 Schäfer, Sarah K., Max Supke, Corinna Kausmann, Lea M. Schaubruch, Klaus Lieb and Caroline Cohrdes. 2024. **'A Systematic Review of Individual, Social, and Societal Resilience Factors in Response to Societal Challenges and Crises'**. *Communications Psychology* 2(1): 92.

50 Schwarzer, Ralf. 2024. **'Stress, Resilience, and Coping Resources in the Context of War, Terror, and Migration'**. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* 57: 101393.

51 Smith, Bruce W., Jeanne Dalen, Kathryn Wiggins, Erin Tooley, Paulette Christopher and Jennifer Bernard. 2008. **'The Brief Resilience Scale: Assessing the Ability to Bounce Back'**. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine* 15(3): 194–200.

52 Yang, Ji Su, Ye Jin Jeon, Ga Bin Lee, Hyeon Chang Kim and Sun Jae Jung. 2001. **'The Association between Psychological Resilience and Cognitive Function in Longitudinal Data: Results from the Community Follow-up Survey'**. *Journal of Affective Disorders*.

53 Yıldırım, Murat, and Gökmen Arslan. 2020. **'Exploring the Associations between Resilience, Dispositional Hope, Preventive Behaviours, Subjective Well-Being, and Psychological Health among Adults during Early Stage of COVID-19'**. *Current Psychology* 41(8): 5712–22.

Endnotes

- 1 NATO. 'Resilience, Civil Preparedness and Article 3'. 2024.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency. *Building Resilience for the Future – Lessons from Ukraine*. 2023.
- 4 Finnish Government, Ministry of Defence. *Security Strategy for Society: Government Resolution*. 2025.
- 5 Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency. *In Case of Crisis or War: Important Information to All Residents of Sweden*. 2024.
- 6 Finnish Government, Ministry of Defence. *Security Strategy for Society*.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ministry of Defence, Latvia. *The State Defence Concept*. 2023.
- 9 Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency. *In Case of Crisis or War*.
- 10 NATO. 'Resilience, Civil Preparedness and Article 3'.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 NATO Science and Technology Organisation (STO). *Resilience. NATO Chief Scientist Research Report*. 2025.
- 13 CIMIC COE. '7.1. Layered Resilience'. CIMIC COE. 2026.
- 14 For the review we use the APA reference system, while the rest of the report uses a Chicago-style reference system using endnotes.
- 15 In Grant and Booth's terminology, this is a narrative, state-of-the-art review. Maria J. Grant and Andrew Booth. 'A Typology of Reviews: An Analysis of 14 Review Types and Associated Methodologies'. *Health Information & Libraries Journal* 26, no. 2 (2009): 91–108.
- 16 Artem Artyukhov, Artur Lapidus, Olha Yeremenko, Nadiia Artyukhova and Olena Churikanova. 'Educational Resilience through the Armed Conflicts: A Bibliometric Analysis'. *Business Ethics and Leadership* 8, no. 2 (2024): 164–83.
- 17 Irina D. Turgel and Olga A. Chernova. 'COVID-19 and Regional Resilience: Trends, Priorities, and the Geography of Research'. *Journal of Safety Science and Resilience* 5, no. 3 (2024): 295–305.
- 18 Gulsanna Mamedieva and Donald Moynihan. 'Digital Resilience in Wartime: The Case of Ukraine'. *Public Administration Review* 83, no. 6 (2023): 1512–16.
- 19 Arielle Kaim, Maya Siman Tov, Shaul Kimhi, Hadas Marciano, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 'A Longitudinal Study of Societal Resilience and Its Predictors during the Israel-Gaza War'. *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being* 16, no. 3 (2024): 1479–96.
- 20 Search in Web of Science for resilience in the title, 27 April 2026 (excluding findings in 2026).
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Jingru Xu, Baochen Yang and Chunlai Yuan. 'The Impact of Supply Chain Digitalization on Urban Resilience: Do Industrial Chain Resilience, Green Total Factor Productivity and Innovation Matter?'. *Energy Economics* 145 (May 2025): 108443.
- 24 Search in Web of Science for resilience in the title and war or cris* or conflict in the abstract, 10 June 2026.
- 25 Search in Web of Science for resilience in the title and war or cris* or conflict and covid* in the abstract, 10 June 2026.

26 Sebastian Raetze, Stephanie Duchek, M. Travis Maynard and Michael Wohlgemuth. 'Resilience in Organization-Related Research: An Integrative Conceptual Review across Disciplines and Levels of Analysis'. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 107, no. 6 (2022): 867–97.

27 D. Roylance. 'Stress-Strain Curves'. 23 August 2001.

28 Shaul Kimhi, Hadas Marciano, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 'Measuring National Resilience: Israel in the First Week of the Gaza War'. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 102 (September 2024): 102018.; Alice Koubová and Shaul Kimhi. 'Prediction of Individual, Community and Societal Resilience in the Czech Republic Compared to Slovakia during the War in Ukraine'. *BMC Public Health* 24, no. 1 (2024): 583.; Hadas Marciano, Shaul Kimhi, Yohanan Eshel and Bruria Adini. 'Impact of Prolonged Social Crisis on Resilience and Coping Indicators'. *PLoS One* 19, no. 8 (2024a): e0305542.; Kaim et al., 'Longitudinal Study'.

29 Daphna Canetti, Israel Waismel-Manor, Naor Cohen and Carmit Rapaport. 'What Does National Resilience Mean in a Democracy? Evidence from the United States and Israel'. *Armed Forces & Society* 40, no. 3 (2014): 504–20.

30 Koubová and Kimhi, 'Prediction of Individual, Community and Societal Resilience'.

31 Christine Joy A. Ballada, John Jamir Benzon R. Aruta, Carmelo M. Callueng et al. 'Bouncing Back from COVID-19: Individual and Ecological Factors Influence National Resilience in Adults from Israel, the Philippines, and Brazil'. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 32, no. 3 (2022): 452–75.

32 By the Israel-Gaza war we refer to the armed conflict between Israel and Gaza that began on 7 October 2023.

33 The selected studies use the concept of both national and societal resilience to describe the phenomena under examination. These are to a large extent used interchangeably and no clear difference can be noted. In

this review the term national resilience is employed since it is used most often in the studies reviewed (unless quoting or referring to an article that uses 'societal resilience').

34 Carmelo Callueng, John Jamir Benzon R. Aruta, Benedict G. Antazo and Alelie Briones-Diato. 'Measurement and Antecedents of National Resilience in Filipino Adults during Coronavirus Crisis'. *Journal of Community Psychology* 48, no. 8 (2020): 2608–24.

35 Francesca Giordano, Shannon Lipscomb, Philip Jefferies, Kyong-Ah Kwon, and Marianna Giammarchi. 'Resilience Processes among Ukrainian Youth Preparing to Build Resilience with Peers during the Ukraine-Russia War'. *Frontiers in Psychology* 15 (February 2024).



www.stratcomcoe.org | @stratcomcoe | info@stratcomcoe.org