

## ADOLESCENTS AT THE CROSSROADS OF IDENTITY: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF SELF-UNDERSTANDING AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

Hellen Lie Grace Ghautama<sup>1\*</sup>, Tina Hayati Dahlan<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (Indonesia)*

<sup>2</sup>*Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (Indonesia)*

\*) email: [hellenlie@upi.edu](mailto:hellenlie@upi.edu)

---

### Abstract

Adolescence is a complex transition period, where individuals face challenges in establishing self-identity and adjusting to the social environment. Social support and self-acceptance play a crucial role in adolescent emotional well-being. This study aims to analyze how these two factors contribute to adolescent emotional well-being, using a case study approach through interviews and observations of a female adolescent respondent. The results of the study indicate that peers play an important role in the process of adolescent identity search. However, when an adolescent experiences social isolation or difficulty in establishing relationships with peer groups, their emotional well-being can be disrupted. Respondents in this study experienced feelings of alienation from their peers in the school environment, but still had emotional support from a best friend since childhood. This social support has been shown to be an important factor in helping adolescents cope with stress and build self-confidence. In addition, self-acceptance is also an important element in adolescent emotional well-being. Respondents showed that despite facing social and academic challenges, they were able to develop effective coping mechanisms through drawing activities. Creative expressions such as drawing not only function as psychological defense mechanisms, but also as tools to improve emotional well-being by diverting negative emotions into more constructive forms. This study underlines the importance of quality social support and strengthening self-acceptance for adolescents in dealing with psychological challenges. Therefore, parents and educators are advised to encourage adolescents' participation in creative activities and provide ongoing emotional support to improve their emotional well-being.

**Keywords:** Adolescents, emotional well-being, social support, self-acceptance, coping mechanisms.

---

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a critical developmental stage marked by rapid biological, psychological, and social changes. While this transition provides opportunities for growth and self-exploration, it also places adolescents at heightened risk for emotional difficulties. Emotional well-being during adolescence is particularly crucial, as it shapes psychological adjustment, coping capacity, and long-term mental health trajectories. Emotional well-being generally refers to an individual's capacity to experience positive emotions, regulate negative affect, and function adaptively when confronted with developmental and environmental stressors.

One of the central developmental tasks during adolescence is identity formation. According to Erikson's psychosocial theory, adolescents navigate the stage of identity versus role confusion, actively exploring personal values, social roles, and future aspirations to construct a coherent sense of self (Papalia, 2021). Santrock (2019) emphasizes that this identity development process is deeply embedded within social

contexts, particularly peer relationships. As adolescents increasingly orient toward peers rather than parents, acceptance, belonging, and social validation become central determinants of emotional experience.

A substantial body of empirical evidence demonstrates that peer support plays a critical protective role in adolescent emotional well-being. Research consistently shows that supportive peer relationships are associated with lower levels of depression and anxiety, higher self-esteem, and more adaptive coping strategies. Butler et al. (2022) found that high levels of peer support can compensate for low family and school support, functioning as an equivalent protective factor for adolescents' psychological well-being. Similarly, Mitchell et al. (2024), across eight independent samples, confirmed positive associations between social support and adaptive coping strategies, alongside negative associations with depressive symptoms.

These protective effects of peer support have been documented across a wide range of populations and social contexts. Evidence indicates that peer support contributes to improved emotional well-being not only among adolescents, but also among university students, non-student young adults, and individuals from ethnic and sexual minority groups. Richard et al. (2022) demonstrated that peer support is associated with higher levels of happiness, self-esteem, and adaptive coping, alongside reduced symptoms of depression and anxiety across diverse demographic groups. Similar protective patterns have been observed across different age groups and health conditions, suggesting that the mental health benefits of peer support are not limited to a single developmental stage or context (Yeo et al., 2025). Moreover, Butler et al. (2022) found that peer support can function as a protective factor comparable in strength to family or school support, with particularly pronounced effects among children and adolescents.

Importantly, these benefits have been identified in multiple settings, including digital environments, healthcare contexts, and community-based support systems, highlighting the versatility of peer relationships as a psychosocial resource. Nevertheless, critical evaluations of the literature caution that despite promising findings, a substantial proportion of peer support studies rely on designs of limited methodological rigor. Cooper et al. (2023) emphasize the need for more robust and theory-driven research to strengthen causal inferences regarding the protective role of peer support in mental health outcomes.

At the same time, peer influence represents a powerful and complex developmental force. Peer relationships can foster positive emotional and behavioral development, but they can also contribute to maladaptive outcomes depending on context and relationship quality. Research suggests that peer influence is a pervasive force shaping adolescent attitudes and behaviors, with effects varying across developmental stages (Laursen et al., 2021). Adolescents' heightened sensitivity to social information creates a "window of vulnerability and opportunity," making them

particularly responsive to peer feedback and social cues (Sahi et al., 2023). Experimental and observational studies indicate that exposure to peers can elicit both positive and negative behavioral changes, with younger adolescents showing greater susceptibility to social influence (Molleman et al., 2021). Importantly, Allen et al. (2024) argue that intense peer connections are not inherently harmful but rather represent a critical and often adaptive component of healthy development.

Developmental evidence further suggests that adolescents are particularly vulnerable to these negative effects due to heightened sensitivity to social evaluation and ongoing neurodevelopmental processes that amplify the emotional salience of peer experiences (Sahi et al., 2023). Longitudinal and developmental studies indicate that repeated negative peer interactions may disrupt critical social-cognitive processes, thereby increasing the likelihood of internalizing problems such as anxiety and depression over time (Andrews et al., 2020). More recent research emphasizes that persistent loneliness can create self-reinforcing cycles of social withdrawal, further exacerbate psychological vulnerability and hinder emotional recovery (Endedijk et al., 2021). Although the precise magnitude of these long-term risks continues to require further empirical clarification, the convergence of findings across diverse studies underscores the critical importance of positive and supportive peer relationships during adolescence.

In addition to external social resources, self-acceptance represents a crucial internal psychological factor supporting adolescent emotional well-being. Self-acceptance refers to an individual's capacity to acknowledge and embrace personal strengths, limitations, and emotional experiences without excessive self-judgment. A substantial body of research consistently confirms its central role in psychological health and emotional adjustment. Foundational work by Ryff et al. (1995) identified self-acceptance as a core dimension of psychological well-being, establishing its theoretical importance within positive psychological functioning.

More recent empirical evidence further underscores the protective role of self-acceptance in adolescent mental health. Ruan et al. (2023) found that lower levels of self-acceptance are associated with higher symptoms of depression and anxiety, highlighting its role as a vulnerability factor when impaired. Similarly, research by Serey et al. (2025) demonstrated that adaptive emotional regulation strategies centered on acceptance are consistently linked to higher life satisfaction, happiness, and self-esteem, while simultaneously serving as protective factors against depression and anxiety.

The robustness of these associations is reinforced by studies demonstrating the explanatory power of self-acceptance for broader well-being outcomes. Voltmer et al. (2023) identified self-acceptance as a key psychological resource underpinning emotional well-being, while Morales-Rodríguez et al. (2020) reported that self-acceptance accounted for a substantial proportion of variance (58.6%) in psychological well-being indicators. Beyond mental health outcomes alone, Ng et al.

(2020) further demonstrated that higher self-acceptance is associated with reduced mortality risk and increased longevity, emphasizing its significance as a fundamental psychological resource across the lifespan.

Despite extensive quantitative evidence linking peer support and self-acceptance to adolescent well-being, fewer studies have examined how adolescents subjectively experience these factors in their daily lives, particularly when facing peer exclusion or social isolation. Moreover, the role of creative coping mechanisms, such as drawing and other forms of artistic expression, remains underexplored in adolescent emotional well-being research. Qualitative approaches, especially in-depth case studies, are therefore essential to capture the nuanced ways adolescents integrate social support and self-acceptance to cope with emotional challenges.

Based on this gap, the present study aims to explore the role of social support and self-acceptance in adolescent emotional well-being through a qualitative case study of a female adolescent. By examining her lived experiences of peer relationships, emotional challenges, and creative coping strategies, this study seeks to deepen understanding of how external and internal resources interact to support emotional well-being during adolescence. The findings are expected to contribute to developmental psychology literature and offer practical insights for parents and educators in fostering adolescents' emotional health.

---

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. The subject of the study was a female adolescent (15 years old) who experienced challenges in social and emotional aspects. Data collection techniques used included in-depth interviews and participant observation.

In-depth interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner to comprehensively explore the subject's experiences related to social interactions, self-acceptance, and coping strategies applied. Participatory observation was conducted in the respondent's social environment, including at school and other daily activities, in order to directly understand the dynamics of social interactions experienced.

The data obtained were analyzed using a thematic approach to identify patterns and meanings that emerged in the subject's experience. The validity of the data was strengthened by literature review and also comparing the results of interviews and observations. The results of this study provide in-depth insight into the role of social support and self-acceptance in improving the emotional well-being of adolescents.

---

## **3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

In adolescence, one of the important roles is peers. As in Papalia (2021), peers and gender play a role in the process of searching for identity. Peers are a source of affection, sympathy, understanding, and moral guidance; a place to experiment; and

an environment to achieve independence and freedom from parents. According to Vygotsky in Kalat (2016), through his theory of social cognitive development, social interaction plays a very important role in the cognitive and emotional development of adolescents. On the other hand, it turns out that forming a friendship in adolescence is also not easy, sometimes a teenager feels isolated and does not get the friendship group he needs. One of the findings that emerged in the interview was the feeling of female adolescent respondents who often felt isolated at school, especially in their interactions with female friends who considered them "weird". Based on the results of the interview, the female respondent said "In class, I'm not too close to my friends, especially the girls, because they already think I'm weird, right, and I'm not the type of person who is easily subdued, so my friendship with them in class just flows as it is, as long as we don't hurt each other."

Furthermore, in the following conversation, the female respondent also said, "Actually, I'm not the type of person who is easily bullied, even though I'm not in a group in class, but I'm more of an indifferent person. I usually don't respond to other people's bullying, instead from there I often introspect and it can be a motivation." From the results of the interview, the respondent showed resilience to bullying and preferred to remain "indifferent", but this feeling of alienation still had an impact on her emotional well-being, where the lack of deep social relationships could still reduce emotional quality. Villora's research (2020) shows that although adolescents may have high resilience, lack of social support can lead to feelings of alienation that impact their emotional well-being.

In a subsequent interview, the female respondent also said, "Now I prefer to be friends with boys and friends outside my class, because they are more enjoyable. The girls in my class are in gangs, circles, so I feel uncomfortable." Research by Weerman (2018) shows that friendship not only functions as a source of emotional support, but also as an arena where social norms and behavior are formed and learned. In the interview, the phenomenon of "circles" or social groups formed among adolescents is very relevant, because they can influence the dynamics of friendship and overall social behavior. Furthermore, according to Selman's theory in Papalia (2014), friendship plays an important role in the formation of adolescent social relationships. Adolescents begin to understand friendship as an ongoing relationship that involves commitment and trust. In this case, although the respondent felt isolated from her female friends at school, in a subsequent interview, she said that she still had enough emotional support from a close friend, her best friend from elementary school. In the interview, the female respondent said, "She is my closest friend since 1st grade of elementary school, and until now I still have a good relationship with her. Maybe because we both have a hobby of drawing, and we like to support and motivate each other, we like to share our feelings..."

Although her social support is generally limited, deep interaction with one person who provides social support can provide strength to overcome loneliness and increase

self-confidence. As in the study of Schriber & Guyer (2016), even though an adolescent may not have many friends, support from one close friend can have a significant positive impact on their emotional well-being. Research by Jacob (2023) shows that social cognitive development during adolescence is greatly influenced by social interaction, which includes the ability to recognize emotions and interact effectively with others. Another study by Tuersunniyazi (2023) emphasized that family support can also reduce the risk of negative impacts and can moderate the relationship between stress and bullying.

This adolescent respondent also stated that she felt upset and angry when she felt unappreciated or when her academic results did not meet her expectations. Respondents said, "I feel sad when it's like now, all my PTS scores are ruined, really sad. Even though I feel like my potential is great and I'm capable, but in reality it's far from what I imagined. I feel worse when I realize that I have great potential, but I don't want to use my abilities optimally so the results are so sad, that's where I feel bad. Finally I like to blame myself, why am I like this? Why do I have to be lazy, why am I so bad? even though actually I'm capable and very capable."

These negative feelings lead to feelings of inferiority, where sometimes the respondent feels like blaming herself. However, she has an effective coping strategy through her hobby of drawing, which provides an opportunity to express her feelings and gain self-satisfaction. Drawing becomes a channel of expression that gives her peace and helps her overcome negative feelings. As the respondent said, "When I was really bored with my condition, my grades at school dropped, my friends avoided me, finally I poured it all out into my hobby, which is drawing, even though there were a lot of assignments, when I was in a condition like that I still vented it through drawing."

The female adolescent respondent used various strategies to deal with the stress and discomfort of her feelings. One of them, the respondent used a coping method. In this case, drawing functions as an emotional coping strategy that distracts adolescents from feelings of anger and frustration (Syahril et al., 2024).

This shows how creative activities can be an effective coping mechanism, helping adolescents manage negative emotions that arise due to academic failure or dissatisfaction with themselves. Fauziyyah's (2020) research states that drawing activities for children are believed to be an effective form of emotional channeling and drawing activities can also be a form of therapy that helps children channel their emotions that they have been suppressing in their subconscious.

Furthermore, Ambarsarie (2019) in Ekayamti (2023) states that stress coping is an action to overcome, reduce, or even eliminate stress. Meida & Ariana's (2021) research also states that in the context of adolescents, the use of adaptive coping strategies, such as drawing, can be positively related to their mental health and psychological well-being. Respondents' statements about drawing as a way to manage their emotions can also be associated with sublimation (a defense mechanism initiated by Sigmund Freud). In Aulia & Prabowo (2023), individuals who

develop positive coping strategies, including sublimation, show higher levels of psychological well-being. Where negative emotions are diverted through creative expression, such as drawing, instead of expressing them directly (Elyasi et al., 2021). Sublimation not only functions as a defense mechanism, but also as a tool for self-development (Tay et al., 2019). This reflects an effort to cope with stress and anxiety in a more constructive way.

Furthermore, adolescents who face various emotional stress challenges are very important to develop self-regulation. In Blair & Raver (2015), it is explained that individuals who have good self-regulation skills tend to be able to deal with negative feelings in a healthier and more adaptive way. Bustamante's research (2019) also said that adolescents can channel emotions through art which is part of the self-regulation process, so that adolescents can learn to recognize and manage their feelings.

Feelings of kindness, competence, and higher morality compared to others can be a positive encouragement for individuals to become more confident and respect themselves. However, in the context of adolescents, especially girls, they begin to experience problems with self-esteem and self-confidence as they enter adolescence (Wade & Tavris, 2016). Adolescent self-esteem is greatly influenced by how they assess themselves in various aspects of life. The ability to regulate emotions and self-esteem also have a significant relationship, as in Gomez (2018), adolescents who are able to regulate their emotions well tend to have higher self-esteem. Hoffmann (2016) in Kartika & Tjakrawiralaksana (2021) also emphasized that involvement in creative activities can help adolescents develop a positive self-identity, which contributes to increased overall self-esteem.

---

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

The adolescent respondents interviewed by the author shared the difficulties they faced both in academics and social relations, but they also showed satisfaction with their drawing skills which became a strength in self-acceptance. This is an effort by an adolescent to understand themselves which is part of a healthy and important process and becomes a foundation for facing the challenges of their adolescent life.

Adolescents try to find who they are in the context of broader social relationships. Social support received from close friends provides a solid foundation for adolescents to build a clearer social and personal identity. With close friends who support and accept them unconditionally, these adolescents are able to feel more accepted and appreciated, which strengthens self-acceptance and reduces feelings of alienation.

The ability of adolescents to divert negative emotions and uncomfortable feelings through creative expressions such as drawing is also one of the best ways to overcome emotional challenges in a more constructive way and improve adolescent psychological well-being. Adolescents can channel their energy and strength, focus on developing talents, maximize the development of self-regulation skills, and get

social support from both family and peers to overcome the emotional challenges they are feeling. Therefore, it is important for parents and educators to pay attention to and encourage adolescent participation in creative activities such as art, music, sports, and other positive activities as a way to support positive adolescent self-development.

---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges the support and guidance of academic supervisors, as well as the cooperation of all participants involved in this research. Appreciation is also extended to colleagues and family members for their encouragement and support throughout the completion of this study.

---

## REFERENCES

- Allen, J. P., Loeb, E. L., Kansky, J., & Davis, A. A. (2020). Beyond susceptibility: Openness to peer influence is predicted by adaptive social relationships. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 46(3), 180-189. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025420922616> (Original work published 2022)
- Andrews, J. L., Ahmed, S. P., & Blakemore, S. J. (2021). Navigating the social environment in adolescence: The role of social brain development. *Biological psychiatry*, 89(2), 109-118. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsych.2020.09.012>
- Aulia, P. R., & Prabowo, A. (2023). Kesejahteraan psikologis dan mekanisme pertahanan pada anak dengan orang tua bercerai. *Cognicia*, 11(2), 125–132. <https://doi.org/10.22219/cognicia.v11i2.28512>
- Basuki, M. K. S., Saputri, M. D., & Iswinarti, I. (2024). Peer Influence on Adolescent Development: A Systematic Review. *International Journal of Research Publication and Reviews*, 5(5), 8692–8696. <https://doi.org/10.55248/gengpi.5.0524.1341>
- Blair, Clancy and C. Cybele Raver. (2015). *School Readiness and Self-Regulation: A Developmental Psychobiological Approach*. New York: NYU.
- Butler, N., Quigg, Z., Bates, R. *et al*. The Contributing Role of Family, School, and Peer Supportive Relationships in Protecting the Mental Wellbeing of Children and Adolescents. *School Mental Health* 14, 776–788 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-022-09502-9>
- Cooper, R.E., Saunders, K.R.K., Greenburgh, A. *et al*. The effectiveness, implementation, and experiences of peer support approaches for mental health: a systematic umbrella review. *BMC Med* 22, 72 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12916-024-03260-y>
- Ekayanti, E., Betty Mulyati, S., Keperawatan, J., Pemerintah Kabupaten Ngawi, A., & Bhakti Husada Mulia Madiun, S. (2023). Gambaran Strategi Coping dalam Menghadapi Stres Pada Remaja Kalas 12 IPA SMA Negeri 1 Ngawi Overview of Coping Strategies in Dealing with Stress in Teenagers Class 12 Science SMA

- Negeri 1 Ngawi. In *CAKRA MEDIKA Media Publikasi Penelitian* (Vol. 10, Issue 1).
- Endedijk, H. M., Breeman, L. D., van Lissa, C. J., Hendrickx, M. M. H. G., den Boer, L., & Mainhard, T. (2021). The Teacher's Invisible Hand: A Meta-Analysis of the Relevance of Teacher–Student Relationship Quality for Peer Relationships and the Contribution of Student Behavior. *Review of Educational Research*, 92(3), 370–412. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543211051428>.
- Elyasi, F., Hosseininejad, S. M., Parkoohi, P. I., Kamali, M., Azizi, M., Karimi, N., Moalemkolae, N. M., & Ghajar, M. (2021). The relationship between defense mechanisms and nurses' occupational burnout: A cross-sectional study. *Iranian Journal of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences*, 14(4). <https://doi.org/10.5812/ijpbs.106716>
- Escribano, D., Lapuente, F. J., Cuesta, J. A., Dunbar, R. I. M., & Sánchez, A. (2023). Stability of the personal relationship networks in a longitudinal study of middle school students. *Scientific Reports*, 13(1). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-023-41787-x>
- Fauziyyah, S. A., & Putri, Y. E. (2020). Art Therapy Sebagai Penyaluran Emosi Anak. *Featured Research 109 SCHOULID: Indonesian Journal of School Counseling*, 5(3), 109–114. <https://doi.org/10.1007/08972011>
- Gomez, T., Quiñones-Camacho, L., & Davis, E. (2018). Building a Sense of Self: The Link between Emotion Regulation and Self-Esteem in Young Adults. *UC Riverside Undergraduate Research Journal Submit*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.5070/rj5121039160>
- Guerra-Bustamante, J., León-Del-Barco, B., Yuste-Tosina, R., López-Ramos, V. M., & Mendo-Lázaro, S. (2019). Emotional intelligence and psychological well-being in adolescents. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16(10). <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16101720>
- Jacob L, Reddy K J, Neuro-biological background of social cognitive development in adolescence. *IP Indian J Neurosci* 2023;9(3):118-121
- Kalat, James W. (2016). *Introduction to Psychology*. Cengage learning.
- Kartika, A., & Tjakrawiralaksana, M. A. (2021). Efektivitas online group CBT pada stres dan coping strategy remaja perempuan yang terdampak covid-19. *Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi Terapan*, 9(2), 179–190. <https://doi.org/10.22219/jipt.v9i2.15023>
- Laursen, B., & Veenstra, R. (2021). Toward understanding the functions of peer influence: A summary and synthesis of recent empirical research. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 31(4), 889–907. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12606>
- Martínez-Líbano, J., Axel Kosch Serey, & Guillermo Barahona-Fuentes. (2025). Emotional Regulation and Subjective Well-Being in Adolescents: A Systematic Review. *Mental Health: Global Challenges Journal*, 8(1), 14–26. <https://doi.org/10.56508/mhgcj.v8i1.240>

- Meida G Z & Atika Dian Ariana. (2021). *Hubungan antara Self-Esteem dengan Strategi Coping Remaja yang mengalami Kekerasan Emosional masa Kanak*. <http://e-journal.unair.ac.id/index.php/BRPKM>
- Mitchell, A., Johnson, C. L., Schroeder, E., Ng, G. W., & Booker, J. A. (2025). Social support is fundamentally important for mental health among adolescents and emerging adults: Evidence across relationships and phases of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 35(1), e13046. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.13046>
- Morales-Rodríguez, F. M., Espigares-López, I., Brown, T., & Pérez-Mármol, J. M. (2020). The Relationship between Psychological Well-Being and Psychosocial Factors in University Students. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(13), 4778. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17134778>
- Morningstar, M., Grannis, C., Mattson, W. I., & Nelson, E. E. (2019). Associations between adolescents' social re-orientation toward peers over caregivers and neural response to teenage faces. *Frontiers in Behavioral Neuroscience*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fnbeh.2019.00108>
- Molleman, Lucas., Ciranka, Simon., Wouter van den Bos; Social influence in adolescence as a double-edged sword. *Proc Biol Sci* 1 June 2022; 289 (1977): 20220045. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2022.0045>
- Ng, R., Allore, H. G., & Levy, B. R. (2020). Self-Acceptance and Interdependence Promote Longevity: Evidence From a 20-year Prospective Cohort Study. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(16), 5980. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17165980>
- Papalia, D. E., Gabriela Martoreli. (2021). *Experience Human Development*. McGraw-Hill Education.
- Richard J, Rebinsky R, Suresh R, *et al*. Scoping review to evaluate the effects of peer support on the mental health of young adults. *BMJ Open* 2022;12:e061336. doi: 10.1136/bmjopen-2022-061336
- Ruan, Q.-N., Shen, G.-H., Yang, J.-S., & Yan, W.-J. (2023). The interplay of self-acceptance, social comparison and attributional style in adolescent mental health: cross-sectional study. *BJPsych Open*, 9(6), e202. doi:10.1192/bjo.2023.594
- Sahi, R. S., Eisenberger, N. I., & Silvers, J. A. (2023). Peer facilitation of emotion regulation in adolescence. *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience*, 62, 101262. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcn.2023.101262>.
- Santrock, J. W. (2019). *Adolescence (17th ed.)*. New York: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Schriber, R. A., & Guyer, A. E. (2016). Adolescent neurobiological susceptibility to social context. In *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience* (Vol. 19, pp. 1–18). Elsevier Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcn.2015.12.009>

- Syahril, M. F., Ifiandra, I., & Alwi, N. M. (2024). Kecenderungan Mekanisme Pertahanan Diri Remaja dalam Situasi Konflik, Cemas, dan Frustrasi. *JURNAL BIMBINGAN DAN KONSELING AR-RAHMAN*, 10(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.31602/jbkr.v10i1.11302>
- Tay, A. K., Riley, A., Islam, R., Welton-Mitchell, C., Duchesne, B., Waters, V., Varner, A., Moussa, B., Mahmudul Alam, A. N. M., Elshazly, M. A., Silove, D., & Ventevogel, P. (2019). The culture, mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Rohingya refugees: A systematic review. In *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences* (Vol. 28, Issue 5, pp. 489–494). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045796019000192>
- Tuersunniyazi, M., Tong, M., Wang, L., Zhang, S., Lu, Y., & Shi, H. (2023). Daily Chronic Stressors in Combination with Resilience Are Associated with Adolescent School Bullying and the Mediating Role of Depressive Symptoms. *Future*, 1(2), 46–60. <https://doi.org/10.3390/future1020007>
- Víllora, B., Larrañaga, E., Yubero, S., Alfaro, A., & Navarro, R. (2020). Relations among poly-bullying victimization, subjective well-being and resilience in a sample of late adolescents. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(2). <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17020590>
- Voltmer, K., & von Salisch, M. (2024). Promoting Subjective Well-Being and a Sustainable Lifestyle in Children and Youth by Strengthening Their Personal Psychological Resources. *Sustainability*, 16(1), 134. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su16010134>.
- Wade, Carole & Carol Tavris .(2016). *Psychology 12th Edition*. Pearson.
- Weerman, F. M., Wilcox, P., & Sullivan, C. J. (2018). The Short-Term Dynamics of Peers and Delinquent Behavior: An Analysis of Bi-weekly Changes Within a High School Student Network. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 34(2), 431–463. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-017-9340-2>
- Willoughby, T., Heffer, T., van Noordt, S., Desjardins, J., Segalowitz, S., & Schmidt, L. (2021). An ERP investigation of children and adolescents' sensitivity to wins and losses during a peer observation manipulation. *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience*, 51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcn.2021.100995>
- Yeo G, Fortuna KL, Lansford JE, Rudolph KD. The effects of digital peer support interventions on physical and mental health: a review and meta-analysis. *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences*. 2025;34:e9. doi:10.1017/S2045796024000854