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Abstract. The study aimed to develop an explanation of family resilience processes among the aspiring middle-class in Jakarta Greater Area or JABODETABEK during the Covid-19 pandemic. The aspiring middle-class refers to a social class that is not yet a middle-class but will eventually achieve the middle-class status. How do the aspiring middle-class families bounce back from the crisis and become strong and healthy families and it could contribute to comprehending the commonly described social unit that is labeled for its vulnerabilities to any major shocks. This is a mixed-method study with a quantitative approach and enriched with qualitative data. The results showed that most participants come from an aspiring middle-class with a high value on the Family Resilience Assessment Scale (Sixbey, 2005). Furthermore, themes found are family belief system, family organizational pattern, problem-solving communication, health protocol adherence, and family economic condition. The study concluded that multidimensional factors enable the development process of family resilience. Governmental programs for developing family well-being and resilience can take advantage of this research, especially about the multidimensional factors that will be a noteworthy entry point for the intervention of family program enhancement.

Keywords: COVID-19, Family Resilience, Family Belief System, Family Organizing Patterns, Problem-Solving Communication

Research about resilience has been flourishing as a prevalent concept concerning individual differences when facing crises or problems. In Bahasa Indonesia, resilience is translated as *ketangguhan*, and in this study, *ketangguhan* is used to represent resilience for data collection measurement analysis. The study elaborates on resilience in the terminology of family resilience. Family resilience enlightened the academic world when human beings dealt with a deadly virus pandemic called COVID-19. COVID-19, coronavirus disease, was first recognized in December 2019 and spread fast worldwide. According to WHO Dashboard August 19th, 2021, confirmed cases of COVID-19 have reached 209,201,939 people, including a death number reached 4,309,467 (WHO, 2019). The world was slowly energized with scientific inventions for fighting COVID-19 as vaccine regimes started to be administered and accepted around the globe (WHO, 2022).

COVID-19 has proven to be a deadly contagious virus that has claimed millions of death and morbidity. World Health Organization (WHO) has mandated some behavioral changes to decrease adverse effects on human beings (WHO & R&D Blueprint, 2022). From mask mandates, social distancing, and crowd prevention, countries worldwide absorb the pandemic management for COVID-19 prevention. Consequently, especially in Indonesia, many households lost jobs and other economic resources, impoverishing, and family structures changed. Therefore, understanding the effects of a pandemic merely in economic terms is not enough. COVID-19 has enormously affected individuals and communities regarding experiences and how to deal with such a dreadful threat. (Ali, Foreman, Capasso, Jones, Tozan & DiClemente, 2020).

It is crucial to examine how the aspiring middle-class survives the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic situation. The study focuses on Indonesia aspiring middle-class, a vulnerable social category that is always on the brink due to the economic condition. Moreover, it is said that the Indonesian aspiring middle-class is very easily changed for the worst due to any significant shock. *The World Bank and the Australian Government* (2019) stated that there are more or less 115 million people classified as *the aspiring middle-class* in Indonesia.
Chmitorz et al. (2017) found that studies about individual and family resilience reflect a significant shift from trait paradigm into viewing resilience from a trajectory of change and adaptation. Some researchers (Bonanno, 2015; Chmitorz et al., 2017) help us define resilience in multidimensional and unidimensional concepts while emphasizing process and temporal aspects. Concurrently, the pandemic situation is mostly becoming a source of resilience processes. Understanding the processes means we will learn how crises and hardships drive individuals and families into adaptation and change in more detail and analytical.

Walsh (2003) developed family resilience concept as an extension of family functioning thoughts. Family crisis, economic problems, and problems of each family member, including dangerous and contagious diseases, can be a determinant for crushing a family and diminishing its power as the smallest social unit. However, many families can survive even in such a horrible pandemic as Covid-19. This is why we have to study family resilience in a mixed method.

Resilience is a psychological concept that originated from the research and theories of mental health (Walsh, 2003). Resilience involves a dynamic concept of enhanced adaptation and the
ability to recover from disruptive life challenges (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker (2000) also took some notes about the resilience concept that still needs empirical validation, especially about themes extracted from systematic review studies. These themes could be attributed to the theorization of a more analytical perception of resilience.

Primarily, resilience studies focus on the individual dimension. However, many findings showed that a child can grow fully in a dysfunctional family and become a healthy and happy adult, though the family continues to have a crisis. Walsh (2003) perceived that there is an interaction between factors within the family that supports individuals and family to be resilient and survive. Then we can see resilience could be applied to elaborating the family's risks and capacities to adapt to diverse situations. As the smallest social unit within a society, the family nurtures each member, socializes them with norms and values alongside its function of coping with problems and crises, decreasing dysfunctionalities, and enabling optimal adaptation of each member in order for individual and family to achieve resilience to be their embedded characteristic. This study measured family resilience through the individual unit; according to Walsh (2003), family resilience is generated through the processes of each family member's adaptation and, in the end, contributes back to the resilience of the family as a holistic unit.

The study used a framework of thinking from Walsh (1998, 2003). Walsh (1998, 2003) conceptualized family resilience based on three prominent aspects; family belief system, family organizational patterns, and problem-solving communication. The family belief system refers to the meaning attributed to challenges, positive outlook, transcendence, and spiritual aspects of family life. Family organizational patterns reflect flexibility, connectedness, and social support. In essence, the family manages Intra and extra-familial networks that can support the family during hardships and crises. Problem-solving communication consists of clarity, expression of communication openness, and collective problem-solving. The framework leads to an integrated understanding of family resilience.

The fundamental criticism of Walsh (1998, 2003) is the notion of the lack of empirical validation directly explaining Walsh's theory of family resilience (Sixbey, 2005). Sixbey (2005) then developed a measurement tool for family resilience based on Walsh’s theories (1998, 2003). This study completed testing of Walsh's
theory (1998, 2003) with findings around a description of family resilience of Indonesia's aspiring middle-class.

We also looked from a resilience point of view at the Covid-19 research context as part of the foundation for formulating the research question. Bozdag (2020) studied in Turkey about factors affecting psychological resilience during the pandemic and found depression, anxiety, and educational level were the most significant predictors. Meanwhile, Lee, Kang, and Yoo (2021) have found that in Korea, efficacy belief was the most influential and significant practice factor for the prevention of Covid-19. Beliefs as part of the components of resilience contribute significantly to safety during pandemic situations. Previously, McInnes and Roemer-Mahler (2017) have predicted that individuals should have high resilience to prepare for exposure to risks to survive the global crisis. Risk perception becomes an essential character. A study from Chen, Bi, Sun, and Bonanno (2022) about psychopathology and resilience in Hubei, China, during the first semester of the Covid-19 lockdown found that most people remained resilient. However, profoundly we can see the significance of context-level predictors such as stressful life events, community satisfaction, and family support to enlighten the comprehension of family resilience. It is noteworthy that we understand the basic concept of family resilience from Walsh (2012). She said that family resilience involves the potential for recovery, repair, and growth in families facing serious life challenges. Covid-19 has become one of the worst global crises humans have ever dealt with and directly affects families worldwide. In the context of Indonesia, especially in the aspiring middle-class, the knowledge from mixed-method research that explored how the aspiring middle-class survived Covid-19 will be worthwhile, in practical or theoretical terms. Thus, we conclude the research question of the study:

*How did the aspiring middle-class family resilience in Jabodetabek face the Covid-19 pandemic?*

The study aims to comprehensively explain family resilience of the aspiring middle-class in Jabodetabek facing the Covid-19 pandemic.

**Method**

The study approach was mixed method, with quantitative and qualitative methods proportionately. The quantitative approach was assigned to describe the significant components of family resilience. Meanwhile, the qualitative method has functioned as a data enhancement for the survey result. For the most part, the study
could be categorized as descriptive. The population of this study is Jabodetabek inhabitants. Jabodetabek consists of Jakarta as a megapolitan, surrounded by Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi at the outskirts. Sample characteristic is chosen with the criteria: an individual (male and female), has a job (a regular or freelance job), minimum monthly income IDR 3.000.000. The survey-based questionnaire collected 230 respondents from 5 areas of Jabodetabek. The individual represents himself or herself and also their family. The sample size was calculated based on Kerlinger and Lee (2000), who stated that bigger sample size would undoubtedly help the research achieve normality of the data distribution.

The study employed a family resilience assessment scale (FRAS) by Sixbey (2005), which was developed according to the theory of family resilience from Walsh (2002, 2003). The scale was adapted but maintained the original Likert Scale model. It has 29 items, and each statement has four options, 1 for strongly disagree, 2 for disagree, 3 for agree, and 4 for strongly agree. The reliability coefficient with Cronbach Alpha managed by Winstep Software showed a reliability coefficient of 0.94, and none of the items were removed. Measurement tool distributed through Google Form Link (https://forms.gle/kjLR2Ck9cqBbqTEx5)

Data enhancement with a qualitative approach was conducted through (1) in-depth interviews with 2 participants who have filled out the questionnaire and were chosen by the team's discussion and (2) data analysis procedures from translation, coding management, categorization, and thematization. This process was guided by the thematization model of Braun and Clarke (2006). The pattern found in this study helps comprehensively analyze the context of family resilience development, how the process happens, and the positive and negative factors in adaptation to facing hardships.

**Result**

The dominant profile of respondents in this study can be described as male and female, within the age range of 43 – 54 years old, married and already have children, and living in Jakarta.

Data analysis was conducted for family resilience and analyzed in detail with income, age, and marital status.
Table 1.1. Levels of family resilience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result shows that most respondents have a high level of family resilience; 63% of the total sample.

Table 1.2. Result of ANOVA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>728.285</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>364.143</td>
<td>2.373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2781.451</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>927.150</td>
<td>6.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>1286.915</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>428.972</td>
<td>2.838</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of variances (ANOVA) was conducted to examine how marital status, age and income influence family resilience. Both Age (F (3) = 6.39, p < 0.001) and Income (F (3) = 2.84, p < 0.05) were significant predictors for family resilience. However, marital status does not show similar result (p > 0.05). We conclude that age and income proven to be significant differentiating factors for family resilience unlike marital status.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted based on an interview guidance consists of questions about personal and social background, and the aspects of family resilience in accordance with Walsh (2003; 2012). After processing translation into verbatim, the data were managed through coding process. An inductive coding was applied to generate a set of patterns that emerge from the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). We generated 102 codes, 12 categories and 4 themes from the interview data.

Researchers interviewed 2 research informants. The first informant has the initials AN. AN is a housewife, 45 years old, and works as a teacher in a private school. AN has a husband who also works, AN and her husband help each other to support their family, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. AN and her husband struggled through the crisis of pandemic and also the fact that AN is a cancer survivor, although still, this family has a high level of family resilience.
AB, a middle-aged man, 54 years old, has 3 kids and he owns a cafe and some homes for rent. The pandemic harshly attacks his business and gives sheer effect for the family. A café cannot be operated and his rental home almost empty for months, due to the fact that its tenants became jobless or they have to go back to the countryside. He runs a coffee shop in front of his house and owns several shop houses. AB's income is not only from the coffee shop, but also from the shop. AB is the sole breadwinner in the family, because his wife does not work. As for AB and his family, we can say that the family has a high value of family resilience, the struggle is hard but anyhow, they have survived.

Family Belief System

Subject AN works as a preschool teacher who was highly affected by the pandemic in terms of working from home and social distancing. AN was always worried about getting infected with coronavirus because of her condition as a cancer survivor. She shares some worries with her family, but she tends to be "pasrah" or give herself up to whatever will come into her life.

“... though I feel sick due to my condition as a cancer survivor, I still need to work, I have to eat, my family has to eat, I do my best to earn money for my family”

Informant AB felt the same way. The pandemic has had a huge impact on his business. After 3-4 months of the pandemic, AB felt that he could not deny the existence of a pandemic or depend on his fear of Covid-19. He was reminded that his family, and his extended family, depend on him economically.

"Finally, I have a rational thought, I can't continue my fear. As long as I obey the rules from the government, I think I can survive the pandemic. My family and many people depend on my business, so I got up and tried to do my best. Yes, there are so many adaptations".

During the pandemic, AN conducted blended learning; a system which facilitate both online and offline learning at the same time. While teaching online, she also had to meet the parents at school to deliver students' tasks and evaluation. AN revealed that she needs to adapt really hard, because she is not used to online technology and it makes her feeling burdened beyond her capacity.

“... I have to survive this pandemic, Sis. I know it's not easy, but what else I can do”.

Family belief system is an integral part of family resilience concept. Walsh (in Becvar 2013) has stated clearly that family belief system strengthens every family to be able to bounce back from the crisis. AN depends on spirituality and
optimism. For AN, the relationship with God develops her resilience and becomes a positive outlook during the adversity of harsh pandemic. AB takes a bold step, he avoids his fear and appraises the situation. Thereby AB believes that this pandemic should be faced with a commitment of taking risks and continuing the businesses.

**Family Organizational Pattern**

Family organizational pattern in this research refers to the codes of how every member of family helps and takes care of each other. Walsh (in Becvar, 2013) said that a family with high value of resilience will be connected to each other, but they are open to change and mobilizes economic sources together as a unit. AN and AB showed their family organizational pattern clearly. AN stated that:

“... every family cannot hide from this pandemic, all we can do is being there for each other, we tried to contact every day, the hardest part is that many of us lost the job and becoming “pengangguran” (note: jobless person). We help others, with the strengths that we have, little by little.”

AB also stated that his family faced a tough situation, and that is why they have to be organized well. AB said:

“... all I think about is the continuation of education of every kid in my big family. Also, how we can survive within economic hardships. I help my family and they help me too, sometimes I think, all families connect in a unique way, but we support each other.”

**Problem Solving Communication**

AN since long has a firm belief that she cannot depend on anybody else but her (nuclear) family. She narrated that her survival depends on the family communication.

“I always talk with my husband, my kids, my big family, we are so worried about this corona, but all we can do is try all the things that can make us safe and still continue our life”.  

AB admitted that family has become his source of power and he works just for the sake of his family. This family factor drives him to cope with the worries or any burden that he has to endure. AB lost many customers, and it hit his business badly. His family at the onset of pandemic opposed AB’s plan to open the café. His family is afraid of the chances that it could spread the virus fast. However, the business cannot be stopped. Together with his big family, AB tried to find a better way of sustaining business in this scheme of social distancing and crowd-prevention.

"My brother did not accept the reasons that I still open my business during this pandemic."
But I talk to him with some logics, that either we die of virus or because we don't have money to buy some food. Slowly but sure, the café changes its way of doing business, we take more online orders and for some parts we let the guests coming and eating in our café. I cannot risk whoever, they are at stake if I stop the business completely.

Both informants reflected a strong sense of problem-solving communication. In the times of crisis, AN and AB sent clear messages to the family, that they have to face adversities and interact for the survival. Communication that is oriented towards problem-solving will be filled with empathy and discussions. For strengthening family resilience, the families and each member, practice a good communication skill and be the emphatic person for others.

**Health Protocol Adherence**

Besides family resilience themes, this study found theme like health protocol adherence. Health protocol adherence can be defined as compliance and adherence to the advice and treatment regime from health professionals. During pandemic AN and AB can take advantage of their family habits of complying towards the rules from Indonesian Government such as written in PPKM (Pemberlakuan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat or Community Activities Restrictions Enforcement) and its continuation.

AB revealed about habit in his extended family. They usually support each other by giving fruits and "jamu" (Indonesia's ancient natural medicinal herb). During a pandemic, this habit has been flourishing, and all the family members take time to seek information and convince one another that they will not forget to drink “jamu” as a daily intake. Besides health protocols, this habit helped a lot during the peak of Covid-19 and its variants. AB noted that:

‘’... I was happy that my big family obey government rules of social distancing, wearing mask and hand-washing. And also how they tried hard to stay healthy with vitamins and “jamu”...’’

AN thought that she is blessed with the sheer support, not just from the family but also colleagues, friends of family, even neighbors. She lives in a continuous milieu whom supporting each other for obeying health protocols. AN said that:

‘’Health protocol adherence has helped a lot during Covid crisis. I cannot imagine, how my family will end up once they were not complying to the health protocols’’

**Family Economic Condition**

Generally during pandemic, AN and other member of the community has
endured an endless hardship. From morbidities to the job loss and also economic downturn. However, they have some kind of network of support and help each other, for example by giving things or taking care of children and elderlies.

"Here in my RT (communities of neighbors), we support each other, if someone infected with Covid-19, and they have to be in isolation, we support with food and continuously ask his condition. So, we try to make everybody feel safe and think that together we could cope with any disaster. However, economic problems made us all in the community feel like paralyzed."

AN firmly believes that when she does good deed, keep trying on teaching although the circumstances did not support her, keep helping her neighbor and even in her difficulties, she is still lending a hand for whoever needs it, AN felt that she is strong enough to survive the pandemic.

AB said that:

"The condition of family economy turns out to be our source of strength. All the businesses during the first semester of Covid Pandemic have been bankrupted. And my business was badly injured. I tried very hard to save everything left, because we all need to eat, and there is nothing we can do but striving hard to make money."

Research team then managed all the data manually, from 182 inductive coding and 24 categories, it can be squished into 17 categories that covered 2 research subjects. The 17 categories listed as below:

1. Berdoa (pray)
2. Bersyukur (gratitude)
3. Penyintas kanker (Cancer survivor)
4. Cemas (worry)
5. Ekonomi
6. Kesehatan mental (mental health)
7. Komunikasi keluarga (family communication)
8. Kondisi keluarga (family condition)
9. Mengambil resiko (risk taking)
10. Membantu sesama keluarga besar (helping each other in family)
11. Optimis (Optimist)
13. Perubahan selama masa pandemic (changes during pandemic)
14. Sabar (patient)
15. Saling memahami sesama (understand each other)
16. Saling merawat anggota keluarga (taking care of each other in the family)
17. Taat protokol kesehatan (health protocols adherence)

The next step of data analysis was guided by Walsh's Theory of Family Resilience (1998, 2003) and concurrently inductive coding led us to perform perspective on other themes extracted from interview data. We found that 17 categories can be reduced into 5 themes described below:
The study has had 5 themes as significant findings: *family belief system, family organizational pattern, problem solving communication, health protocol adherence and family economic condition*. These 5 themes widening quantitative research results that showed 63% samples come from a family with a high level of family resilience. Meanwhile, controlled with demographic background, only age and income have a significant difference, but marital status proven to be insignificant. 5 themes from qualitative exploration helps us comprehending the processes of family unit to become resilient and surviving the pandemic.

**DISCUSSION**

The study result has reflected answers to research question about how does family resilience of the aspiring middleclass in Jakarta Greater Area facing Covid-19 Pandemic. Although the research result can be summarized that most of the aspiring middleclass in Jabodetabek categorized as social unit with high level of family resilience, but the general perspective should be delineated into more analytical point of view.

This study found, when controlled with 2 background factors, age and income, it can make a significant difference to family resilience. It goes along in accordance with study from Kim et.al., (2017) about families of elderly patients with dementia. The result showed that problematic behavior of elderly patients with dementia, directly and indirectly affect family adaptation process negatively or positively. It reflects the idea, that if an organization wants to develop a program of family resilience, the age factor should be considered within the family communication framework on how each family member will be intervened according to age assessment needs.

Bonanno et.al., (2015), who has built a framework on Trajectories of Positive Adjustment, said that researchers should look upon different age groups and their different resilience pattern in an aversive life circumstance. Different trajectories according to different age groups could be attributed mostly to how a researcher emphasizes on developmental paradigm and acute life events. In essence, family resilience cannot be detached from trajectories of age-specific pattern of adaptation during crisis or problematic times of a family. This kind of trajectory of positive adjustment has been pictured well too in a study about the psychological health of military children, how does family resilience of military family unit with parent.
deployed in a war zone (Lester et.al., 2013). Family resilience heavily induced by resilience processes on how distress of children could be handled side by side with adjustment within family.

Adaptation process of a family unit that has given result to unit as a whole coping with Covid-19, in this mixed-method research has been shown that one of the paths were coming from a strong family belief. Beliefs in this context is constituted by spirituality, family member mental health condition, risk-taking behavior and knowledge about pandemic. Spirituality manifested in praying, also patience and beliefs, about how do they survive by acceptance of pandemic as something that certainly will go away. Mental health proved to be a safeguard for every individual member in processing the situation in him or herself, without fear or anxiety that can hinder being dysfunctional in life. And knowledge about pandemic situation day by day has become a backbone of survival at the times of uncertainty brought by Corona Virus. A study by Martin (2012) on successful aging showed that mental health condition, cognitive decline and physical health has a significant role as part of the resilience process toward late adulthood years.

Family organizational pattern as an important dimension of family resilience implies a picture of how every family member support each other. The word “support” is meant to be behavior that proves real to whoever needs any help. Within the situation of pandemic, the aspiring middleclass living in a megapolitan and its vicinity, are constantly yearning for care and empathy from the nuclear and extended family. This study was proving that neighborhood and friendship are perceived as networks in general, but the real help is coming from a solid family unit, whom has the ability to adapt and help each other through crisis. In this context, the study from Zulfiani and Khaerani (2020) showed that family support is significant for developing adaptability for the future adolescence's life, especially career adaptability. As we know the adaptability indicates human-being strive towards his or her fight for alleviation of crisis.

The study found that problem solving communication contributes to the level of family resilience. Pearson et.al. (2008) in a study said that every family experiences macro problems in day-to-day endeavours. Responses to each macro issue or strategy also suggest ways that cultural groups relate to family problems differently.
How does family communicate the problem to each other, helping family members to find resolution which is based on common understanding. If we reflect it to the pandemic, we can see that the aspiring middleclass in Jabodetabek, can survive through pandemic by relying on the way family solving problems and coping with uncertainties. Problems such as economic downturn, job loss, sickness, significantly affected by family communication.

Another important finding from this study exhibit themes of health protocols adherence and family economic condition. Marks et.al. (2005) reminded us about adherence as the extent to which patients comply with recommended treatment regimes. In case of Covid-19, World Health Organization (WHO) and the Government of Indonesia decided to implement protocols of Covid-19 prevention. From mask mandate up to social distancing. Health protocol adherence in the study supports family resilience, and helping families stay safe. Although lots of families in Jabodetabek struggle between Work from Home and Work from Office, health protocol adherence enables people to stay healthy in the middle of Pandemic. The study from Salsabila and Diana (2021) indicated also that disciplinary character as part of adherence behaviour has significant correlation with family resilience.

Family economic condition implied in income factor has been becoming one major problem that directly affects family resilience. Although pandemic has been weakening sectors of economic, processes of adaptation continue and conversely, the more resilient a family, it will promote a raise in economic condition of each family member. A study by Ur Rahman et.al. (2021) has shown interrelation between resilience, socio-economic status and vulnerability of household during Covid-19 in Sichuan China. Ur Rahman (2021) also found that household resilience and economic condition relates in a bidirectional way. The common characteristic between this study and Ur Rahman (2021) is the notion that family economic condition determines vulnerability of family as an adapting unit and concomitantly, family resilience will be of value for a society to cope with any major shocks.

**Conclusion**

The study shed light on the concept of family resilience among aspiring middleclass in Jakarta Greater Area or Jabodetabek. Family resilience explains that some families are able to function well and
even thrive in the face of considerable stress such as Covid-19 pandemic. It has shown that level of family resilience could be referred to system of family beliefs, family organizational pattern and problem-solving types of family communication. In the study implied that concept of family resilience, as a concept that can explain process of adaptation within a family during crisis, should be added with two more variables, which is: health protocols adherence and family economic condition.

The biggest critic for resilience concept refers to the fact that the concept lacks sufficient conceptual and scientific precision to drive further inquiry (Bonanno, 2015). The concept of family resilience still holds utility if it is assigned as an umbrella construct that encompasses several phenomena. For example, the family resilience of the aspiring middle class can be best understood when we are able to include other factors such as economy and health behavior. At the end we can say that the aspiring middle class is a social and economic category that needs to be comprehended as a system, with its highly sensitivity to economic change and a pandemic situation like Covid-19. Then the adaptation process includes psychological resilience, economic and other social and cultural factors.

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