

Making it against the odds

Paper prepared for edited volume on 'Positive Youth Development in Global contexts of Social and Economic change'

Making it against the odds:

A Developmental-Contextual Approach to the Study of Resilience

Ingrid Schoon

University College London, Institute of Education

WZB - Berlin Social Science Center

I.Schoon@ioe.ac.uk

Abstract

This chapter introduces an ecological life course approach to the study of positive youth development (PYD), examining the factors and processes enabling young people to withstand the impact of socio-economic adversity, especially in the aftermath of the 2008 Global Recession, also drawing on lessons from previous economic downturns. A developmental-contextual systems of resilience is presented that conceptualises the developmental and contextual influences on the manifestation of individual adaptation in the face of adversity. It is argued that to support young people in the transition to independent adulthood the role of the context and institutional policies are vital, as is the need to build supportive and sustainable relationships between individuals and their immediate and wider context.

Key words: The Great Recession, transition from school to work, risk and resilience

1. Introduction

The 2008 Great Recession, like the economic downturns before that, significantly affected education and employment opportunities, especially for young people between 16 and 24 years embarking on the transition to adult life (Ashton & Bynner, 2011; Jenkins, Brandolini, Micklewright, & Nolan, 2011). Young people on the cusp of independent adulthood are generally entering a make-or-break period in their lives in which external shocks have the potential to create diverging destinies (Grusky, Western & Wimer 2012; Settersten, Furstenberg & Rumbaut 2005). Against the backdrop of a global economic decline and changing employment opportunities, there is increasing uncertainty regarding anticipated pathways into the labour market (Blossfeld, 2005; Gutman & Schoon, 2012; Jenkins, Brandolini, Micklewright, & Nolan, 2013). Moreover, young people's perception of the economic climate can impact on their aspirations and motivation regarding extended education participation (Archer & Yamashita 2003), either providing an incentive to invest in the accumulation of skills if they think they need additional skills to succeed in a competitive labour market, or discouraging them from continuing in education and pushing them into paid employment as soon as possible to avoid unnecessary expenditure on training which might not pay off. Yet, young people who disengage and withdraw from efforts to enhance their skills and capabilities either through education and training or through paid work, may flounder in an ever more competitive labour market (Schoon, 2014; Vuolo, Staff, & Mortimer, 2012). The critical period of skills acquisition through education and work may then, instead of leading to a job and the foundations of independent adulthood, give way to school drop-out, labour market drift and the problematic status of inactivity, or 'Not in Education Employment or Training (NEET)' (Bynner & Parsons, 2002), which in turn may carry with it long term 'scarring' effects regarding future job prospects and progression

Making it against the odds

(Arulampalam, Gregg, & Gregory, 2001; Clark, Georgellis, & Sanfey, 2001; Dieckhoff, 2011).

The wider social context clearly plays an important role in shaping opportunities as well as young people's motivation and aspirations for the future and their subsequent behaviour in the transition from school-to-work. The role of the context is also evident in the fact that the effects of the recession on young people's transition experiences can vary for different countries, reflecting different institutional structures and support for young people (Heinz, 2009). For example, while countries such as Germany or Austria with strong links between the education system and employers experienced lower levels of youth unemployment in the aftermath of the 2008 recession, other countries encountered youth unemployment rates of over 35%, in particular Southern European countries, such as Spain, which are characterised by a more rigid labour market and high dependency of young people on their families for support (Bell & Blanchflower, 2011). Countries with a more liberal transition regime and a highly flexible labour market, such as the UK or the US, experienced youth unemployment rates of around 20%.

To gain a better understanding of how to support young people in their transition to independent adulthood it is thus important to conceptualise the person-context relationship. What are the specific risk factors that undermine positive youth development, how do individuals respond to and interact with these risks, and what are the resources enabling young people to beat the odds, i.e. to make it despite exposure to adversity? This chapter introduces an ecological life course approach to the study of positive youth development (PYD), examining the factors and processes enabling young people to withstand the impact of socio-economic adversity, especially in the aftermath of the 2008 Global Recession, also drawing on lessons from previous economic downturns. A developmental-contextual systems of resilience (Schoon, 2006, 2012) is presented that conceptualises the developmental and

Making it against the odds

contextual influences on the manifestation of individual adaptation in the face of adversity, and a selective review of studies considering preventive strategies for young people at risk is provided.

The chapter is structured in three parts. First, a definition of resilience is given, highlighting how individual behaviour and adaptive capacities are shaped by contextual constraints. Second, the developmental-contextual model of resilience is introduced, conceptualizing the capacity for adaptation and self-transformation as a dynamic, socially interdependent, richly contextualised process which is circumscribed through interactions with multiple societal subsystems. Third, strategies of what can be done to foster and promote the ability to thrive in the face of adversity are discussed.

What is resilience?

The notion of resilience generally refers to the process of avoiding adverse outcomes, to maintain effective functioning, to recover, or doing better than expected when confronted with major assaults on the developmental process (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten, 2007, 2015; Michael Rutter, 2006). Pioneering studies following the lives of people thought to be at risk for unfavourable outcomes, such as children growing up with mentally ill parents (e.g. parents suffering from schizophrenia), and those who have been abused, neglected, or exposed to poverty and socio-economic disadvantage, observed great variations in functioning, including cases of positive adaptation despite the experience of even severe adversity (Antonovsky, 1987; Garmezy, 1974; Rutter, 1979; Werner & Smith, 1982). These observations of unexpected positive development in the face of adversity, which were confirmed in many subsequent studies examining exposure to poverty as well as natural disasters, institutionalisation, even exposure to war and terrorism (Betancourt, McBain, Newnham, & Brennan, 2013; Masten & Narayan, 2012; Rutter, 1998).

Making it against the odds

The observation of bouncing back despite extreme hardship, led to a paradigmatic shift in how researchers of human development began to view the causes and course of development, leading from a pathogenic to a transactional understanding, from a deficit model to models of assets and resources, and from a static to a dynamic perspective (Schoon, 2006, 2012). Historically most studies of development of at-risk individuals tried to understand adjustment problems as reflected in ill health or mental disorder, academic failure, behavioural problems, or motivational deficits. These pathogenic or deficit models failed to recognise a) the strengths and resources available to at-risk populations, b) the plasticity of human development and capacity for change; and c) the role of the larger social system in which development takes place and the dynamic interactions between individual and context. Trying to understand the processes and mechanisms that enable individuals to beat the odds, led to a shift towards dynamic multi-level system models, focusing on the possible assets and strengths within individuals and communities, and to the investigation of reciprocal person x environment transactions enabling positive adjustment despite the experience of adversity (Antonovsky, 1987; Cicchetti & Garmezy, 1993; Lerner et al., 2013; Masten, 2014).

Focusing on how to promote positive development among young people a set of ‘developmental assets’ has been identified, comprising characteristics of the individual (such as indicators of self-regulation, self-esteem, or school engagement) as well as characteristics of the wider social ecology, i.e. characteristics of the families, schools, and communities (such as warm and caring parent-child relationship, access to adult mentors, effective schools, support from teachers, as well as integration to the community) that can foster positive and healthy development (Benson, 2006; Scales et al., 2008; Theokas & Lerner, 2006). Similar ‘assets’ have been described in terms of a ‘short list’ (Masten, 2001, 2014), also highlighting the role of multiple influences from the individual, their families and the wider social context.

Making it against the odds

Although these lists capture a range of factors from the wider social context, the individual has remained the focus of attention, rather than both the environment and the individual. Positive adaptation is generally equated with the individual response to adversity – and how the individual has coped. Social-ecological theories of resilience however, have argued that it is not enough to ask, for example, how the child has adjusted to a challenging situation of the labour market; it is also important to know how the labour market has adapted their structures to meet the needs of the young person. Both halves of the person-environment equation are equally important, and resilient adaptation involves mutually beneficial individual-context relations (Lerner et al., 2013; Ungar, 2012).

A Developmental-Contextual Systems Model of Resilience

The interplay of structural conditions and individual adjustment can be conceptualised within a developmental-contextual system approach (Schoon, 2006, 2012). The framework is informed by ecological models of human development, taking into account the multiple interacting levels of influence ranging from the micro- to the macro-context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1989), the importance of timing and the wider socio-historical context in which development takes place (Elder, 1994, 1998), assumptions of human agency (Eccles et al., 1993; Bandura, 2001; Heckhausen, 1999) and human plasticity (Lerner, 1984, 1996). It is assumed that both individuals and their environments are potentially malleable, whereby individuals can shape their environment, which in turn influences them. The ecological perspective provides a heuristic for understanding how multiple levels of influence contribute to individual development and adjustment in a changing context, and seeks to describe, explain and optimize individual development in context.

Interdisciplinary orientation

Making it against the odds

The developmental-contextual systems model draws on theories from across disciplines, recognizing that complex problems, such as minimizing the impact of economic hardship and poverty and improving health, wellbeing and attainment for all, require the input from different fields (Schoon, 2015b). In his ecological systems theory, Bronfenbrenner (1979) identified the need for the non-reductionist analysis of individual behaviour requiring the simultaneous description of several spheres of influence, thereby moving beyond simple cause-and-effect explanations of behaviour. His system model is informed by the notion of self-regulating developing systems, which are open to and interact with their environment, which had been advanced by Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1968). Living systems are understood as a unified whole where most levels are interrelated and are characterised by self-activity and historicity. Development always reflects the current context as well as the history of a person's previous development, and their orientation to the future. Accordingly, resilience has to be understood as a dynamic process as human individuals and their contexts are always changing, and individual development is continually produced, sustained and changed by the socio-historical context experienced.

Social context

Human development cannot be separated from the social context. Individual and context are understood to mutually constitute each other through processes of co-regulation (Sameroff, 2010). The developing child is rooted within many inter-related systems, such as families, schools, and neighbourhoods, as well as the wider socio-historical context. Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1989) conceptualisation of context differentiates between the proximal environment, which is directly experienced by the individual (as for example the family environment), and more distal cultural and social value systems that have an indirect effect on the individual, often mediated by the more proximal context.

Making it against the odds

There is persistent evidence that the experience of economic hardship, i.e. lack of material resources, poverty, loss of employment, poor housing conditions are associated with adjustment problems (Yoshikawa, Aber, & Beardslee, 2012). For example, children born into less privileged families show, in general, lower levels of educational attainment (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Engle & Black, 2008; Schoon et al., 2002; Schoon, Jones, Cheng, & Maughan, 2012), self-confidence and educational achievement motivation (Duckworth & Schoon, 2012; Mortimer, Zhang, Hussemann, & Wu, 2014; Schoon, 2014), and young people from less privileged background are leaving education earlier and are less likely to continue in higher education than their more privileged peers (Schoon & Silbereisen, 2009; Settersten, Furstenberg, & Rumbaut, 2005; Shanahan, 2000).

The effects of economic hardship on young people's adjustment can be both direct and indirect, and operate at multiple levels, involving individual characteristics, relational factors (such as the quality of parent-child relationships) and institutional factors, relating to features of the wider social context, such as availability of child care, effective schools, secure neighbourhoods, education and employment opportunities. Explanations of these association refer to social inequalities in opportunities and life chances, to cumulative risk effects (DiPrete & Eirich, 2006), access to financial resources, time or energy of parents to invest in the education of their children (Guo & Harris, 2000), familiarity with the dominant culture, social networks and connections, or access to warm and supportive parenting (Conger, Conger, & Martin, 2010).

Yet, there is also evidence that not all individuals and families are affected in the same way, and some show resilience in the face of adversity. For example, in a path-breaking study of families in the Great Depression of the 1920s Glen Elder (1974/99) portrays the devastating impact of a global economic downturn on the capability of families to cope. Parents were confronted with poverty and lack of material resources, some fathers had to face

Making it against the odds

loss of employment and of the associated status and authority, while some mothers were forced to assume domestic dominance. Nonetheless, their children showed a considerable degree of resourcefulness. Some were pushed into early employment or household responsibility, often enabling them to gain more confidence, and some developed mixed or negative images of their stressed parents. Yet they managed well on the whole, especially if they were young enough not to take on the full duties of adults (in particular regarding family formation and parenthood) and old enough to have passed through critical early stages of development to assume pre-adult awareness and responsibilities.

Similarly, a study of families in the Iowa farming crisis demonstrates how an economic crisis can impact on families, affecting their material resources as well as socio-emotional relationships and interactions, which in turn influences their children's development (Conger & Elder, 1994). According to the family stress model economic hardship can trigger stress in the family system and compromise the effectiveness of parenting and family relationships, which in turn can contribute to adjustment problems in children (Conger et al., 1992). The study however also highlighted processes of resilience in the face of economic hardship that occurred in situations where the parents emotionally supported each other, demonstrated effective problem solving skills, and showed a sense of mastery and self-confidence that allowed them to persevere and reduce the level of economic stress (Conger & Conger, 2002).

A study of young people in England making the transition to adulthood during the 2008 economic recession showed that in addition to family hardship, living in a highly deprived neighbourhood, characterised by high levels of unemployment and low levels of resources was a significant risk factor, undermining young people's life chances (Schoon, 2014). However, the study also showed that parents, even if they experienced worklessness themselves, can motivate their children to achieve independent of their own precarious

Making it against the odds

situation (this applied in particular to parents with higher levels of education). The potential buffering effect of parental education and has also been reported in a study using the US longitudinal Youth Development Study to examine whether a positive familial context of achievement, as indicated by the parents' orientations to achievement when they were adolescents and the parent's educational attainment, will reduce the effects of economic hardship (Mortimer, Zhang, Hussemann & Wu, 2014). The findings suggest that parents with higher levels of education may be able to buffer the effects of economic hardship, and encourage their children in ways that are protective, irrespective of the immediate economic situation of the family.

Time and Timing

Time is another essential category in conceptualizing resilience. The notion of time concerns individual aspects such as the physiological changes and processes of maturation that occur with aging, as well as aspects of the wider social context that are external to the individual. Time is often treated as synonymous with chronological age, providing a frame of reference for the study of change over time. As children get older, they may react differently to environmental risks and may be more able to determine and evaluate how that change will influence them. As shown by Elder (1974/1999) the impact of economic hardship on young people's adjustment can vary by context, age, and the timing of adverse experiences. Furthermore, factors that may confer resilience at one time point or for one outcome may increase vulnerability at another time or another context. Thus, human development cannot be fully explained by restricting analysis to specific life stages, such as mid-childhood, adolescence or old age. It is only by following individuals over time that we can chart their developmental trajectories and pathways.

Beyond individual maturation processes, human lives are shaped by the particular social worlds and historical period encountered. For example, the birth year locates people in

Making it against the odds

specific birth cohorts and accordingly to particular social changes. The short history of the twentieth century is characterised by dramatic changes including violent swings of the economic cycle, rapid technological advances, two global wars, many regional conflicts, mass migration and natural disasters. Also in the more proximal level of the family environment there have been massive changes, with increasing number of children being born to cohabiting or single parents, or being exposed to experiences of family break-up and instability. Changes in the proximal and wider social context pose new situational demands, and bring with them changing opportunities and obstacles, influencing lives and developmental trajectories, as for example through changing expectations regarding the timing of developmental transitions.

For example, there are cultural norms and expectations about the timing of transitions: the right time to leave school, to get a job, to find a partner, and to start a family (Buchmann, 1989; Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Marini, 1984), although these norms can vary by cultural context. Normative, or 'on-time transitions' are 'culturally prepared' by socialization and institutional arrangements and are understood to be psychologically salutary. Those who are 'off-time,' i.e. too early or too late, are thought to be the target of negative social sanctions and to experience psychological strain (Heckhausen, 1999; Salmela-Aro, 2009).

For instance, since the 1970s the transition to adulthood has on aggregate become more prolonged due to extended education participation and delayed entry into employment and family formation (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Shanahan, 2000). Extended transitions characterised by participation in higher education and subsequent employment are considered to be 'optimal', while early transitions (such as early school leaving or parenthood) have been associated with problems in establishing oneself in the labor market or making the transition to independent living. The timing of transitions is thus important in determining their meaning and implications. Yet, not all young people are able to participate in higher

Making it against the odds

education, and there is persistent evidence to suggest that the preparation for adulthood has been elongated especially for those who can afford to invest in their education, while young people from less privileged background are leaving education earlier and are less likely to continue in higher education than their more privileged peers (Schoon & Silbereisen, 2009; Settersten et al., 2005).

Current debates are focused on a polarisation between an assumed ‘optimal’ pathway, involving higher education participation and a more problematic transition characterised by early school leaving and experiences of unemployment or NEET (Jones, 2002; Kerckhoff, 1993; McLanahan, 2004), driven by structural constraints. This debate does however not account for those young people who fall outside this dichotomy, a ‘forgotten middle’ (Roberts, 2011) who successfully balance the structural and individual resources available to them (Schoon, 2015a; Schoon & Lyons-Amos, forthcoming; Schulenberg & Schoon, 2012). Success in this context has been conceptualised in terms of objective (i.e. access to permanent employment and avoidance of long-term unemployment) as well as subjective indicators (levels of life satisfaction). For example, some young people succeeded to make the transition to continuous employment after leaving school early - either through learning on the job, or participating in vocational training or further (not higher) education – and they reported high levels of satisfaction with their lives.

Early transitions do not necessarily bring with them negative outcomes, and there is evidence to suggest that early transitions can be beneficial for certain individuals (Booth, Rustenbach, & McHale, 2008), especially if they offer a fit to individual preferences and resources. For example, the effects of early parenthood on well-being depend on marital status as well as other circumstances in life (Keeton, Perry-Jenkins, & Sayer, 2008; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2003; Woo & Raley, 2005), and early school leaving can lead to continuous employment and early financial independence. Indeed, a considerable number of

Making it against the odds

young people are able to turn round an initially problematic transition, such as early school leaving (Schoon & Duckworth, 2010) or early parenthood (Furstenberg, 2003; Schoon & Polek, 2011), avoid financial dependence, and lead a happy and satisfied life.

Person x environment interactions across time and contexts

Change for better or worse can occur across the entire life path, and is shaped by continuous interactions between a developing individual and a changing context. Each transition can offer opportunities for change and renewal (Elder, 1998; Schoon, 2006). Individual and context mutually constitute each other through processes of co-regulation that change over time. Developmental timing also plays a key role in resilience based theories and the effective design and implementation of interventions. Research on naturally occurring resilience suggests that there are critical windows of opportunity for change, especially when developmental processes, the context, and available opportunities converge to provide an opening for change (Masten, 2015). In particular early childhood and the preschool years have been identified as a period of high plasticity with great importance for the development of capabilities, laying the foundations for successful development (Kautz, Heckman, Diris, Ter Weel, & Borghans, 2014; Masten, 2014). Another example is the transition to adulthood, when brain development, motivation, mentoring, training, the assumption of new social roles, and other opportunities can provide opportunities to support positive redirection of the life course (Steinberg, 2014). Life transitions into different environments can facilitate a process of readjustment, a potential turning point, allowing for new opportunities and a change in behavioural patterns.

What can be done to promote positive development?

This last section of the paper discusses different strategies to support young people in their transition to adulthood, comprising efforts to build competencies, to support families, to

Making it against the odds

improve communities, and to eliminate or reduce risk. It is argued that efforts to promote resilience among young people have to focus both on both individual and contextual resources, provide developmentally appropriate support, create supportive and sustainable relationships, adopt a holistic approach, and offer stable and dependable structures to create opportunities for positive development.

Support for building competencies

As highlighted in the ‘short list’ of protective resources (Masten, 2014), research has identified a set of key competences that can promote positive development and effective functioning even in the face of adversity. These include problem solving, self-regulation, motivation, social skills, and metacognition. The relevance and importance of these, sometimes called ‘non-cognitive’ or ‘soft’ skills and their long-term benefits for developmental outcomes is now widely recognised (OECD, 2015). Indeed they form the core of the new OECD Key Competencies framework. Individual achievement motivation and self-regulation have also been identified to support young people making the transition from school to work in times of an economic downturn (Duckworth & Schoon, 2012; Mortimer et al., 2014; Schoon, 2014).

Significant advances in developmental prevention science have generated new interventions which aim to enhance competence and coping skills by working directly with children and young people in their social contexts, i.e., families, schools, communities, and peer groups (Catalano et al., 2012; France, Freiberg, & Homel, 2010; Masten, 2011; Pittman, Irby, Tolman, Yohalem, & Ferber, 2001; Yoshikawa et al., 2012). Here I want to emphasise in particular four types of interventions that have shown to be effective in improving the behaviour, attitudes, outlook and coping strategies of children and young people. They include mentoring, experience learning, outdoor activities and social and emotional learning

Making it against the odds

(Gutman & Schoon, 2013, 2015). There is consistent experimental evidence to show that these interventions can effectively promote positive and prevent problematic behaviours. These interventions focus on specific risk populations and specific outcomes, and the selection of appropriate intervention strategy should be based on a thorough assessment of the needs and resources of the school/community and the specific target group and/or problems areas in question.

For example, mentoring programs (such as Big Brothers Big Sisters (BB/BS) focus on at-risk children and young people who could use extra support and guidance in their lives (Herrera, Grossman, Kauh, & McMaken, 2011), although specific subgroups may be targeted such as those belonging to racial or ethnic minority groups. Mentoring programs can be implemented in a school or community context, and provide the opportunity to establish positive relationships with non-parental adults or older peers. Through an interconnected set of processes (addressing social-emotional and cognitive needs as well as identity formation) positive developmental trajectories can be promoted, improving outcomes across behavioral, social, emotional, and academic domains (DuBois, Portillo, Rhodes, Silverthorn, & Valentine, 2011). The benefits of participation in mentoring programs are apparent from early childhood to adolescence and thus not confined to a particular stage of development. Yet the benefits are fairly modest in size, and appear to work best for at-risk school-age children.

Service learning can be considered as a form of experiential learning, where reflection transforms experience into new and usable understanding (see Kolb, 1984, for Experiential Learning Model). For example, service learning is an educational approach that connects formal instruction with the opportunity to engage in meaningful community activities, providing a pragmatic, progressive learning experience (Billig, Moely, & Holland, 2009; Celio, Durlak, & Dymnicki, 2011). It can, for example involve for a group of children or young people to read ecological literature about pollution in class and then to engage in a

Making it against the odds

gardening project, or to clean up the streets in their neighbourhood, acquiring a better understanding of community needs, gaining problem solving skills, a better understanding of their own competencies and becoming socially engaged. If offered out of school, curricular approaches to service learning that emphasise reflection have better effects than non-curricular approaches.

Outdoor adventure programs, another form of experiential learning (Gass, 1993), have become increasingly popular in the past few decades. They involve direct and purposeful exposure to real life situations, such as rock climbing, orienteering or canoeing, which require problem-solving skills, dealing with the surrounding environment and the task at hand (Sheard & Golby, 2006). It represents a learning-by-challenge approach requiring participants to interpret and handle novel situations, and has been associated with an increase of feelings of self-competence. Most programs incorporate group activities. Many of the activities require communication and cooperation, which are intended to develop team work, social and interpersonal skills. Outdoor adventure programs provide a promising tool to promote the health and wellbeing of troubled young people, especially when they are coupled with therapeutic interventions.

Social and emotional learning (SEL) programs are characterised as the process of acquiring core competencies to recognize and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, appreciate the perspectives of others, establish and maintain positive relationships, make responsible decisions, and handle interpersonal situations constructively (CASEL (Collaborative for Academic, 2005). SEL is designed as a universal, school-based program with a comprehensive, coordinated approach that integrates competence promotion and youth development frameworks for reducing risk factors and fostering protective mechanisms for positive development (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011; Payton et al., 2008). SEL programs typically target multiple outcomes, are multi-year in duration,

Making it against the odds

coordinate school-based efforts with those in families and the larger community, and include environmental supports so that children have opportunities to practice positive behaviours and receive consistent reinforcement. They have shown to enhance positive outcomes for a universal school-aged population and may be particularly beneficial for younger children. They are easily and effectively administered by school staff.

The evidence suggests that interventions aiming to address relational processes and competencies can be effective. The most important consideration in the implementation of any intervention program, however, is its execution (Gutman & Schoon, 2013, 2015). Well-executed programs are informed by developmental theory, are universal, aimed at the general population, provide structure and limits that are developmentally appropriate, create supportive and enduring relationships and a sense of belonging, involve parents, teacher and the wider community, are conducted by high quality and well-trained staff, have clear goals, rules and sanctions, are sustainable and provide continued support over a longer time – they offer ‘somewhere to go to, something to do, and someone to talk to’ (John Bynner & Feinstein, 2004).

The Parenting of Parents

The importance of parents and effective parenting has consistently been shown in resilience research, and the family constitutes the single most important contextual influence, especially during the early years (Masten & Monn, 2015). In programs to foster resilience there must always be a consideration of the family environment, and the support for effective parenting. Yet, while developmental science has produced a lot of knowledge about what parents should and should not do, there is very little attention to how parents might be helped to sustain positive parenting in difficult situations and over time, especially when they are highly stressed themselves (Sunya S. Luthar & Ciciolla, 2015). Parents, in particular mothers who

Making it against the odds

are facing chronic poverty and lack of resources, are also experiencing major mental health problems, such as depression, anxiety and substance abuse. Indeed maternal or parental distress is a potential mediating process through which socio-economic disadvantage affects parenting behaviour, which in turn affects children's outcomes (R. D. Conger, Conger, & Martin, 2010; Mensah & Kiernan, 2010; Schoon, Hope, Ross, & Duckworth, 2010). Parents facing multiple adversities need support, and access to other adults that can help them to develop effective coping strategies. More needs to be done to create dependable and mutually supportive relationships which can be sustained over time and in different contexts, i.e. in the family, the workplace, in clinics and neighbourhoods.

Yet reaching out to those most in need is a major challenge in itself. All too often families or individuals in greatest need receive the least support, although adequate material benefits and support would be vital to their well-being. One critical aspect of living in hardship are high levels of isolation and anxiety, and the way in which services are provided is as important as what is provided. Services need to be based on trust and respect in order to be effective (Bartley, 2006). One of the critical aspects of service provision is to offer a space, where people in hard-pressed neighbourhoods feel welcome and listened to, without being patronised or judged. Services must rid themselves of the perception that those in hardship and poverty are of less moral and social worth (Jones, Burström, Martilla, Canvin, & Whitehead, 2006; Schoon & Bartley, 2008). Well-designed services, offering for example activities with people who share similar experiences, can provide opportunities for clients to build self-esteem and confidence, to identify skills and aptitudes, and play a key role in acknowledging and releasing often hidden capabilities.

Improve communities

Making it against the odds

Bringing the living standards of the worst-off closer to the average will bring with it a fairer distribution of resources and opportunities. Yet, it is not just a question of commodities or goods people have, but what these enable them to do (Sen, 1993). Changes in the physical or social environment should increase the choices available, open up new possibilities, enhance the space and enjoyment of functioning. Living in poverty not simply means not having enough money, it also means being excluded from normal social interactions in society. Poorer families are more likely to live in places where facilities and services have been stripped away and are often unable to access even essential services such as health care, child care, and education (Kemp & al., 2005; Townsend & Gordon, 2002). Improving these services, making the regeneration of poor areas a priority, building up the local infrastructure and preventing ghettoisation, would be key steps towards a fairer society (Bartley, Schoon, Mitchel, & Blane, 2006; Jones et al., 2006; Schoon & Bartely, 2008). A stable community, where facilities such as effective schools, libraries, parks, and leisure centres provide opportunities for education, sports, hobbies and social activities, invite participation in community life, thereby encouraging the ability to learn, to acquire skills, and enabling a neighbourhood to become a community.

Eliminate or reduce risk

Last, but not least, there has to be a reduction of the risk factors that undermine children's development. The costs of allowing children to grow up in poverty are enormous (Yoshikawa et al., 2012). Children growing up in families experiencing poverty and adverse living conditions, such as poor housing, do less well in school, show more behaviour problems, experience more mental health problems, more problems in establishing themselves in the labour market, and are less likely to be engaged in society than their more privileged peers.

Making it against the odds

In the UK in 2013-14 there were 3.7 million children living in poverty (DWP, 2015). That's 28 per cent of children, or 9 in a classroom of 30. Child poverty reduced dramatically between 1998 and 2011 when 1.1 million children were lifted out of poverty. Since 2010, child poverty figures have flat-lined. Given the persistence of poverty even in a highly developed country such as the UK, it is essential to do something about it. A basic requirement is for families to be able to live on the wages they earn, and to have a safe home. Yet, wages especially for low-skilled jobs have declined since the 1970s – a trend that needs to be reversed. Since the 1970s, on the background of continued economic growth, the incomes of the poorest fifth have increased by just 16%, while incomes of the richest fifth have soared by 95% (Mishel & Shierholz, 2013), and wealth being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands (Piketty, 2014).

There is evidence to suggest that increases in income among poor families can have beneficial effects regarding educational and behavioural outcomes, as well as the mental health of children. For example, a quasi-experimental study in North Carolina's Great Smoky Mountains reported on experiences among Cherokee Indians who opened a casino in their reservation and decided to distribute a proportion of the profits equally among its 8,000 members (Costello, Compton, Keeler, & Angold, 2003). Before the casino opened, children living in poor families had four times more psychiatric symptoms than those who were not poor. After the opening the level of mental health problems among those who were lifted out of poverty fell to that of those who were never poor. Follow up studies of the same sample showed that these effects persisted into adulthood (Costello, Erkanli, Copeland, & Angold, 2010), and that an additional \$4000 per year for the poorest households increased educational attainment by one year at age 21, and reduced the chances of committing a minor crime by 22 percent for 16 and 17 year olds (Akee, Copeland, Keeler, Angold, & Costello, 2010). Improving the income and living conditions of poor families with children can thus go a long

Making it against the odds

way in reducing the risk of adjustment problems and poor health. Moreover the study showed that the timing and duration of the intervention mattered: children who were youngest and had the longest exposure to increased family income showed the largest effects.

Generally, the evidence suggests that programs and policies that directly reduce poverty, such as childhood allowances and tax credits, conditional cash transfer and income supplement programs can be effective, although their effect differs by developmental period and degree of poverty-related risk highlighting the contextual dependency of individual adjustment (Yoshikawa et al., 2012).

Another leverage to reduce risks for young people in the transition to independent adulthood are national labour market and welfare policies. For example, in the UK and the USA the dominant view is that it is the individual's responsibility to invest in their education, which will in turn influence their prospects for employment. Following a neo-classical belief in the power of the market both countries are characterised by a very flexible labour market with minimal restrictions on how employers recruit, train and use employees. Moreover, both countries did not develop an effective system of vocational training, and the government was not charged with providing job opportunities (Ashton, forthcoming). Young people are expected to build up their skills and find their own jobs. When the Great Recession hit, young people in both countries suffered most, and the youth unemployment rate reached about 20%. **In Southern European countries the situation of young people was arguably exacerbated by extremely low levels of welfare provision for young people in these countries.** Across most countries the least qualified and most disadvantaged were hit hardest by unemployment, while their more privileged peers continued or re-entered higher education to acquire further qualifications. Those who did find jobs were often trapped in low skilled, low paid and/or temporary jobs, with no or little prospect for promotion (Bell & Blanchflower, 2011).

Making it against the odds

In Germany however, the impact of the Great Recession on young people was somehow buffered through a ‘social partnership’ approach, where labour market issues are negotiated between strong employer associations, trade unions and the state, and the availability of a dual education and training system preparing young people for the world of work in close collaboration between education institutions and employers (Ashton, forthcoming). **In the dual education and vocational training system the relationship between employers and labour market entrants is actively managed, both in terms of the way in which young people are matched with the requirements of firms, and in terms of the skills which they are taught.**

The German government responded proactively to the impact of the global economic crisis: the dual education and training system provided shelter from unemployment, and the government reduced both employee and employer unemployment insurance contributions, subsidized short-time work, increased staffing in the public employment service and provided funding for training. As a result Germany became one of the exceptions, and youth unemployment fell from 13.5% in 2005/7 to 11% in 2009 (Bell & Blanchflower, 2011).

There is thus nothing inevitable about labour market outcomes, and national institutions and policies play an important role in shaping young people’s experience of the transition from school to work. The measures introduced by the German government are of course not beyond criticism, and even those young people on the relatively protected and advantaged pathways through higher education to the professions may confront increasing transition difficulties as career opportunities close down or are replaced by unpaid internships. Moreover, school leavers with entry requirements for university are competing with less qualified school leavers for the most prestigious apprenticeships, making it more difficult for those with lower level qualifications to obtain an apprenticeship and to enter the dual system (Thelen, 2014).

Making it against the odds

To support the transition to independence among young people it is thus necessary to create viable career pathways for those with and those without academic qualifications. Even in countries with high participation rates in higher education such as the USA, only about 40 percent obtain either an associate's or bachelor's degree by their mid-twenties (Symonds, Schwartz & Ferguson, 2011). Following the recent global recession, there are now increasing concerns regarding how to prepare young people for the transition to independence (Settersten & Ray, 2010). There are questions regarding the value of a degree, prolonged education periods without income, rising student debt. Moreover, the fastest job growth is likely among occupations that require an associate's degree or a post-secondary vocational award (Symonds et al., 2011), and among lower skilled occupations in caring, health and leisure (UKCES, 2014). Interestingly, in the USA 27 percent of people with post-secondary licenses or certificates—credentials short of an associate's degree—are reported to earn more than the average bachelor's degree recipient (Holzer & Lerman, 2009). Across most western countries there is now evidence of underemployment among graduates, i.e. employed workers with a degree are in jobs that do not require higher education (Fogg & Harrington, 2012; ONS, 2013).

Leaving education relatively early with a good post-secondary qualification and engaging in continuous full-time employment might thus not necessarily be a bad strategy - if there are jobs available that pay a decent salary and provide prospects for promotion. Income earned through longer-term full-time employment enables financial independence, the move into one's own home, and supporting one's own family at an earlier pace than among those who continue in higher education. What is required is the creation and provision of pathways to prosperity among future workers at every education level (Symonds et al., 2011). Young people have to carve their pathways to adulthood based on the resources and opportunities that are available to them. Not all young people can or want to pursue an academic career,

Making it against the odds

and many young people fail to achieve their ambitious educational goals. After spending several years in higher education they leave without qualifications, are left unprepared for alternative pathways, and struggle to establish themselves in the labour market (Rosenbaum, 2001; Schneider & Stevenson, 1999; Symonds, Schwartz, & Ferguson, 2011). What is required is the creation of viable career pathways and the provision of effective career advice and information, aiming to create and match opportunities to the needs of the developing young person.

Conclusion

The developmental-contextual approach to the study of resilience avoids simplistic individual-focused interventions, which do not account for the wider social context in which the developing individual is embedded. It takes a holistic approach, considering the multi-dimensional forces and relationships between individuals, their families, their neighbourhoods and wider social context. It recognises that risk factors cumulate over time, making it difficult to pinpoint one single factor or causal mechanism. It highlights the importance of timing and the design of developmentally appropriate and sustainable interventions. Change for better or worse can occur across the entire life course, suggesting that it is never too early or too late to intervene. Moreover, disadvantaged families and their children are highly diverse, rendering the quality of the implementation and service delivery a crucial issue. To be effective, interventions should be community-based and provide integrated service delivery, building up resources and sustainable relationships from inside the community, thereby strengthening the social fabric (Schoon, 2006; Schoon & Bartley, 2008; Schoon & Bynner, 2003). In addition, the recognition that developmental processes are profoundly affected by the wider social context draws the attention to the role of public policies and practices that influence the nature of the environment, and thus can have significant effects on the development of children, young people and their families (Lerner et

Making it against the odds

al., 2013; Ungar, 2012). Providing effective child care, education, and employment opportunities are basic requirements for families, children and young people to thrive. There is not one major factor that enables individuals to cope with adversity. What is important is the combination of multiple influences that make a difference, and social policy and structures that create opportunities and resources, optimizing the life chances for all.

References

- Akee, R. K. Q., Copeland, W. E., Keeler, G., Angold, A., & Costello, E. J. (2010). Parents' Incomes and Children's Outcomes: A Quasi-Experiment Using Transfer Payments from Casino Profits. *American Economic Journal-Applied Economics*, 2(1), 86-115. doi:10.1057/app.2.1.86
- Antonovsky, A. (1987). *Unraveling the mystery of health: how people manage stress and stay well* (1st ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Arulampalam, W., Gregg, P., & Gregory, M. (2001). Unemployment scarring. *Economic Journal*, 111(475), F577-F584. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://WOS:000172525300001
- Ashton, D., & Bynner, J. (2011). Labour Market, Employment and Skills. In M. E. J. Wadsworth & J. Bynner (Eds.), *A Companion to Life Course Studies. The social and historical context of the British birth cohort studies*. London: Routledge.
- Ashton, D. N. (forthcoming). Globalization and its impact on the political, economic and labour market aspects of transition. In I. Schoon & J. Bynner (Eds.), *Young People's Development and the Great Recession: Uncertain Transitions and Precarious Futures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Making it against the odds

Bartley, M. (Ed.) (2006). *Capability and resilience: Beating the odds*. London: University College London. Department of Epidemiology and Public Health.

Bartley, M., Schoon, I., Mitchel, R., & Blane, D. (2006). Resilience as an asset for healthy development. In A. Morgan & E. Ziglio (Eds.), *Health Assets and the social determinants of health*.: WHO publication.

Bell, D. N. F., & Blanchflower, D. G. (2011). Young people and the Great Recession. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 27(2), 241-267. doi:10.1093/oxrep/grr011

Benson, P. L. (2006). *All kids are our kids: What communities must do to raise caring and responsible children and adolescents* San Francisco Jossey-Bass.

Betancourt, T. S., McBain, R., Newnham, E. A., & Brennan, R. T. (2013). Trajectories of Internalizing Problems in War-Affected Sierra Leonean Youth: Examining Conflict and Postconflict Factors. *Child Development*, 84(2), 455-470. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01861.x

Billig, S. H., Moely, B. E., & Holland, B. A. (2009). *Developing Practice Standards and Guidelines for Improving Service-Learning and Community Engagement* (Vol. Book Series: Advances in Service-Learning Research): Creating Our Identities in Service-Learning and Community Engagement.

Blossfeld, H. P. (2005). *Globalization, uncertainty and youth in society*. London: Routledge.

Booth, A., Rustenbach, E., & McHale, S. (2008). Early family transitions and depressive symptom changes from adolescence to early adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70(1), 3-14. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://WOS:000253314900001

Bradley, R., & Corwyn, R. (2002). Socioeconomic status and child development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 371-399.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development : experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Making it against the odds

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development:

Research perspectives *Developmental Psychology*, 22, 723-742.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1989). Ecological systems theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Six theories of child development: Revised formulations and current issues* (pp. 187-250). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Buchmann, M. C. (1989). *The Script of Life in Modern Society: Entry Into Adulthood in a Changing World*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Buchmann, M. C., & Kriesi, I. (2011). Transition to Adulthood in Europe *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol 37 (Vol. 37, pp. 481-503).

Bynner, J., & Feinstein, L. (2004). The importance of developmental trajectories in mid-childhood: effects on adult outcomes in the UK 1970 Birth Cohort. *Child Development*, 75.

Bynner, J., & Parsons, S. (2002). Social exclusion and the transition from school to work: The case of young people not in education, employment, or training (NEET). *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 60(2), 289-309. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://000174764500007

CASEL (Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning). (2005). *Safe and sound: An educational leader's guide to evidence-based social and emotional learning programs— Illinois edition*. <http://www.casel.org>. Retrieved from <http://static1.squarespace.com/static/513f79f9e4b05ce7b70e9673/t/5331c141e4b0fba62007694a/1395769665836/safe-and-sound-il-edition.pdf>

Catalano, R., Fagan, A., Gavin, L., Greenberg, M., Irwin, C. J., Ross, D., & Shek, D. (2012). Worldwide application of prevention science in adolescent health. *Lancet*, 379(9826), 1653-1661. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60238-4. Epub 2012 Apr 25

Making it against the odds

- Celio, C. I., Durlak, J., & Dymnicki, A. (2011). A meta-analysis of the impact of service-learning on students. *Journal of Experiential Education*, 34(2), 164-181.
- Cicchetti, D., & Garmezy, N. (1993). Prospects and promises in the study of resilience. *Development and Psychopathology*, 5, 497-502.
- Clark, A. E., Georgellis, Y., & Sanfey, P. (2001). Scarring: The psychological impact of past unemployment. *Economica*, 68(270), 221-241. doi:10.1111/1468-0335.00243
- Conger, R. D., & Conger, K. J. (2002). Resilience in Midwestern families: Selected findings from the first decade of a prospective, longitudinal study. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 64(2), 361-373. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://000175261700008
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., Elder, G. H., Lorenz, F. O., Simons, R. L., & Whitbeck, L. B. (1992). A Family Process Model of Economic Hardship and Adjustment of Early Adolescent Boys. *Child Development*, 63(3), 526-541. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://A1992HW84500002
- Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., & Martin, M. J. (2010). Socioeconomic Status, Family Processes, and Individual Development. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 72(3), 685-704. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00725.x
- Conger, R. D., & Elder, G. H. (1994). *Families in troubled times: Adapting to change in rural America* New York: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Costello, E. J., Compton, S. N., Keeler, G., & Angold, A. (2003). Relationships between poverty and psychopathology - A natural experiment. *Jama-Journal of the American Medical Association*, 290(15), 2023-2029. doi:10.1001/jama.290.15.2023
- Costello, E. J., Erkanli, A., Copeland, W., & Angold, A. (2010). Association of Family Income Supplements in Adolescence With Development of Psychiatric and Substance Use Disorders in Adulthood Among an American Indian Population. *Jama-Journal of the American Medical Association*, 303(19), 1954-1960. doi:10.1001/jama.2010.621

Making it against the odds

- Dieckhoff, M. (2011). The effect of unemployment on subsequent job quality in Europe: A comparative study of four countries. *Acta Sociologica*, 54(3), 233-249.
doi:10.1177/0001699311412798
- DuBois, D. L., Portillo, N., Rhodes, J. E., Silverthorn, N., & Valentine, J. C. (2011). How Effective Are Mentoring Programs for Youth? A Systematic Assessment of the Evidence. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 12(2), 57-91.
doi:10.1177/1529100611414806
- Duckworth, K., & Schoon, I. (2012). Beating the odds: Exploring the impact of social risk on young people's school-to-work transitions during recession in the UK. *National Institute Economic Review*, 222(October), 38-51.
- Durlak, J. A., Weissberg, R. P., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. B. (2011). The Impact of Enhancing Students' Social and Emotional Learning: A Meta-Analysis of School-Based Universal Interventions. *Child Development*, 82(1), 405-432.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01564.x
- DWP. (2015). *Households below average income*. Retrieved from London:
- Elder, G. H. (1974/1999). *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience*. Bolder, Co: Westview Press.
- Elder, G. H. (1994). Time, human agency, and social change: Perspectives on the life course. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57, 4-15.
- Elder, G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development*, 69(1), 1-12. doi:DOI: 10.2307/1132065
- Engle, P. L., & Black, M. M. (2008). The effect of poverty on child development and educational outcomes *Ann NY Acad Sci*, 1136(1), 243-256.
doi:10.1196/annals.1425.023

Making it against the odds

- France, A., Freiberg, K., & Homel, R. (2010). Beyond Risk Factors: Towards a Holistic Prevention Paradigm for Children and Young People. *British Journal of Social Work, UK*.
- Furstenberg, F. F. (2003). Teenage Childbearing as a Public Issue and Private Concern. *Annual Review of Sociology, 29*, 23-29.
- Garnezy, N. (1974). The study of competence in children at risk for severe psychopathology. In E. J. Anthony & C. Koupernik (Eds.), *The child in his family: Children at psychiatric risk* (Vol. 3, pp. 77-97). New York: Wiley.
- Gass, M. A. (1993). *Adventure therapy* Kendall: Hunt Publishing Company.
- Gutman, L., & Schoon, I. (2013). *The impact of non-cognitive skills on outcomes for young people. A literature review*. Education Endowment Foundation in collaboration with the Cabinet Office. http://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/uploads/pdf/Non-cognitive_skills_literature_review.pdf
- Gutman, L., & Schoon, I. (2015). Preventive interventions for children and adolescents: A review of meta-analytic evidence. *The European Psychologist, 20*(4), 231-214.
doi:10.1027/1016-9040/a000232
- Gutman, L. M., & Schoon, I. (2012). Correlates and consequences of uncertainty in career aspirations: Gender differences among adolescents in England. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 80*(3), 608-618. doi:10.1016/j.jvb.2012.02.002
- Heckhausen, J. (1999). *Developmental regulation in adulthood: age-normative and sociostructural constraints as adaptive challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heinz, W. R. (2009). Structure and agency in transition research. *Journal of Education and Work. Special issue: Continuity and change in 40 years of school to work transitions, 22*, 391-404.

Making it against the odds

- Herrera, C., Grossman, J. B., Kauh, T. J., & McMaken, J. (2011). Mentoring in Schools: An Impact Study of Big Brothers Big Sisters School-Based Mentoring. *Child Development, 82*(1), 346-361. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01559.x
- Jenkins, S., Brandolini, A., Micklewright, J., & Nolan, B. (2013). *The Great Recession and the Distribution of Household Income* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, C., Burström, B., Martilla, A., Canvin, K., & Whitehead, M. (2006). Studying social policy and resilience in families facing adversity in different welfare state contexts - the case of Britain and Sweden. *International Journal of Health Services, 36*, 425-442.
- Jones, G. (2002). *The youth divide: diverging paths to adulthood*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Kautz, T., Heckman, J. J., Diris, R., Ter Weel, B., & Borghans, L. (2014). *Fostering and measuring skills: Improving cognitive and non-cognitive skills to promote lifetime success*. OECD Publishing. http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/fostering-and-measuring-skills_5jxsr7vr78f7-en%3Fcrawler%3Dtrue
- Kemp, P., & al., e. (2005). *Routes out of poverty: a research review*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Kerckhoff, A. C. (1993). *Diverging pathways: social structure and career deflections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning. Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- <http://academic.regis.edu/ed205/kolb.pdf>.
- Lerner, R. M. (1984). *On the nature of human plasticity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Making it against the odds

- Lerner, R. M. (1996). Relative plasticity, integration, temporality, and diversity in human development: A developmental contextual perspective about theory, process, and method. *Developmental Psychology*, 32(4), 781-786. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://A1996UW86900021
- Lerner, R. M., Agans, J. P., Arbeit, M. R., Chase, P. A., Weiner, M. B., Schmid, K. L., & Warren, A. E. A. (2013). Resilience and positive youth development: A relational developmental systems model. In S. Goldstein & R. B. Brooks (Eds.), *Handbook of resilience in children* (pp. 293-308). New York: Springer.
- Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The construct of resilience: A critical evaluation and guidelines for future work. *Child Development*, 71(3), 543-562. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://000088659900001
- Luthar, S. S., & Ciciolla, L. (2015). Who Mothers Mommy? Factors That Contribute to Mothers' Well-Being. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(12), 1812-1823. doi:10.1037/dev0000051
- Marini, M. M. (1984). Age and sequencing norms in the transition to adulthood. *Social Forces*, 63(1), 229-244. doi:10.2307/2578867
- Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic - Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*, 56(3), 227-238. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://000170458900004
- Masten, A. S. (2007). Resilience in developing systems: Progress and promise as the fourth wave rises. *Development and Psychopathology*, 19(3), 921-930. doi:10.1017/s0954579407000442
- Masten, A. S. (2011). Resilience in children threatened by extreme adversity: Frameworks for research, practice, and translational synergy. *Development and Psychopathology*, 23(2), 493-506. doi:10.1017/s0954579411000198
- Masten, A. S. (2014). *Ordinary magic: Resilience in development*. New York: Guilford.

Making it against the odds

- Masten, A. S. (2015). Pathways to Integrated Resilience Science. *Psychological Inquiry*, 26(2), 187-196. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://WOS:000356239100005
- Masten, A. S., & Monn, A. R. (2015). Child and Family Resilience: A Call for Integrated Science, Practice, and Professional Training. *Family Relations*, 64(1), 5-21.
doi:10.1111/fare.12103
- Masten, A. S., & Narayan, A. J. (2012). Child Development in the Context of Disaster, War, and Terrorism: Pathways of Risk and Resilience. In S. T. Fiske, D. L. Schacter, & S. E. Taylor (Eds.), *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol 63 (Vol. 63, pp. 227-257).
- McLanahan, S. (2004). Diverging destinies: How children are faring under the second demographic transition. *Demography*, 41(4), 607-627. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://000225330300001
- Mensah, F. K., & Kiernan, K. E. (2010). Parents' mental health and children's cognitive and social development. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 45(11), 1023-1035. doi:10.1007/s00127-009-0137-y
- Mishel, L., & Shierholz, H. (2013). A lost decade, not a burst bubble: the declining living standards of middle-class households in the US and Britain. In G. Kelly & J. Bernstein (Eds.), *The squeezed middle. The pressure on ordinary workers in America and Britain* (pp. 17-30). Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Mortimer, J. T., Zhang, L., Hussemann, J., & Wu, C.-Y. (2014). Parental economic hardship and children's achievement orientations *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, 5, 105-128.
- Nomaguchi, K. M., & Milkie, M. A. (2003). Costs and rewards of children: The effects of becoming a parent on adults' lives. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(2), 356-374.
doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2003.00356.x

- OECD. (2015). *Skills for social progress. The power of social and emotional skills*. Retrieved from OECD Skills publishing. http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/skills-for-social-progress_9789264226159-en
- Payton, J., Weissberg, R. P., Durlak, J. A., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. B., et al. (2008). *The positive impact of social and emotional learning for kindergarten to eighth-grade students: Findings from three scientific reviews*. Retrieved from Chicago:
- Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University.
- Pittman, K., Irby, M., Tolman, J., Yohalem, N., & Ferber, T. (2001). *Preventing Problems, Promoting Development, Encouraging Engagement: Competing priorities or Inseparable Goals?* Takoma Park, MD: The Forum of Youth Investment, International Youth Foundation.
- Rosenbaum, J. (2001). *Beyond college for all: Career paths for the forgotten half*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Rutter, M. (1979). Protective factors in children's responses to stress and disadvantage. In M. W. Kent & J. E. Rolf (Eds.), *Primary prevention of psychopathology: Social competence in children* (pp. 49-62). Hanover, NH: Universty Press of New England.
- Rutter, M. (1998). Developmental catch-up, and deficit, following adoption after severe global early privation. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines*, 39(4), 465-476. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://000073501100004
- Rutter, M. (2006). Implications of Resilience Concepts for Scientific Understanding. *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, 1094(1), 1-12. doi:10.1196/annals.1376.002

Making it against the odds

- Salmela-Aro, K. (2009). Personal goals and well-being during critical life transitions: The four C's-Channelling, choice, co-agency and compensation. *Advances in Life Course Research, 14*(1-2), 63-73. doi:10.1016/j.alcr.2009.03.003
- Scales, P. C., Benson, P. L., Moore, K. A., Lippman, L., Brown, B., & Zaff, J. F. (2008). Promoting Equal Developmental Opportunity and Outcomes Among America's Children and Youth: Results from the National Promises Study. *Journal of Primary Prevention, 29*(2), 121-144. doi:10.1007/s10935-008-0129-9
- Schneider, B., & Stevenson, D. (1999). *The ambitious generation: America's teenagers, motivated but directionless*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Schoon, I. (2006). *Risk and Resilience: Adaptations in Changing Times* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schoon, I. (2012). Temporal and contextual dimensions to individual positive development: A developmental-contextual systems model of resilience. In M. Ungar (Ed.), *The social ecology of resilience: culture, context, resources, and meaning* (pp. 143-156). New York: Springer.
- Schoon, I. (2014). Parental worklessness and the experience of NEET among their offspring. Evidence from the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE). *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies, 6*(6), 129-150.
- Schoon, I. (2015a). Diverse pathways: Rethinking the transition to adulthood. In P. R. Amato, A. Booth, S. McHale, & J. Van Hook (Eds.), *Families in an era of increasing inequality. Diverging destinies* (pp. 115-136). London: Springer.
- Schoon, I. (2015b). Let's work together: Towards interdisciplinary collaboration. *Research in Human Development, 12*(3-4), 350-355. doi:10.1080/15427609.2015.1068050
- Schoon, I., & Bartley, M. (2008). The role of human capability and resilience. *Psychologist, 21*(1), 24-27. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://WOS:000253857600018

Making it against the odds

Schoon, I., & Bynner, J. (2003). Risk and Resilience in the Life Course: Implications for interventions and social policies. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 6(1), 21-31.

Schoon, I., Bynner, J., Joshi, H., Parsons, S., Wiggins, R. D., & Sacker, A. (2002). The influence of context, timing, and duration of risk experiences for the passage from childhood to midadulthood. *Child Development*, 73(5), 1486-1504. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://000178291200012

Schoon, I., & Duckworth, K. (2010). Leaving School Early - and Making It! Evidence From Two British Birth Cohorts. *European Psychologist*, 15(4), 283-292.
doi:10.1027/1016-9040/a000063

Schoon, I., Hope, S., Ross, A., & Duckworth, K. (2010). Family hardship and children's development: the early years *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, 1(3), 209-222.

Schoon, I., Jones, E., Cheng, H., & Maughan, B. (2012). Family hardship, family instability, and cognitive development. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 66(8), 716-722. doi:10.1136/jech.2010.121228

Schoon, I., & Lyons-Amos, M. (forthcoming). A socio-ecological model of agency. The role of psycho-social and socio-economic resources in shaping education and employment transitions in England. *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*

Schoon, I., & Polek, E. (2011). Pathways to economic wellbeing among teenage mothers in Great Britain *European Psychologist*, 16, 11-20.

Schoon, I., & Silbereisen, K. R. (Eds.). (2009). *Transitions from School to Work: Globalisation, Individualisation, and Patterns of Diversity*. New York Cambridge University Press.

Schulenberg, J. E., & Schoon, I. (2012). The transition to adulthood in the UK, the US, and Finland: Differential social role pathways, their predictors and correlates. *Longitudinal and Life Course Studies*, 3(2), 164-172.

Making it against the odds

- Sen, A. (1993). Capability and well-being. In M. Nussbaum & A. Sen (Eds.), *The Quality of Life* (pp. 30-53). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Settersten, R. A., Furstenberg, F. F., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2005). *On the frontier of adulthood: Theory, research, and public policy*. Chicago, Ill. ; London: University of Chicago Press.
- Shanahan, M. J. (2000). Pathways to adulthood in changing societies: Variability and mechanisms in life course perspective. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 667-692.
- Sheard, M., & Golby, J. (2006). The efficacy of an outdoor adventure education curriculum on selected aspects of positive psychological development. *Journal of Experiential Education*, 29(2), 187-209. doi:10.1177/105382590602900208
- Steinberg, L. (2014). *The age of opportunity: Lessons from the new science of adolescence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Symonds, W. C., Schwartz, R. B., & Ferguson, R. (2011). *Pathways to Prosperity: Meeting the Challenge of Preparing Young Americans for the 21st Century*. Harvard: Harvard Graduate School of Education.
- http://www.gse.harvard.edu/news_events/features/2011/Pathways_to_Prosperty_Feb_2011.pdf.
- Thelen, K. (2014). *Varieties of liberalization and the new politics of social solidarity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Theokas, C., & Lerner, R. M. (2006). Observed ecological assets in families, schools, and neighbourhoods: Conceptualization, measurement and relations with positive and negative developmental outcomes. *Applied Developmental Science*, 10(2), 61-74.
- Townsend, P., & Gordon, D. (Eds.). (2002). *World Poverty: New policies to defeat an old enemy*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Making it against the odds

Ungar, M. (2012). Annual Research Review: What is resilience within the social ecology of human development. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(4), 348-366.

doi:10.1111/jcpp.12025

Vuolo, M., Staff, J., & Mortimer, J. T. (2012). Weathering the Great Recession: Psychological and Behavioral Trajectories in the Transition From School to Work.

Developmental Psychology, 48(6), 1759-1773. doi:10.1037/a0026047

Werner, E. E., & Smith, R. S. (1982). *Vulnerable but invincible: a longitudinal study of resilient children*. New York ; London: McGraw-Hill.

Woo, H., & Raley, R. K. (2005). A small extension to "Costs and rewards of children: The effects of becoming a parent on adults' lives". *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(1),

216-221. doi:10.1111/j.0022-2445.2005.00016.x

Yoshikawa, H., Aber, J. L., & Beardslee, W. R. (2012). The Effects of Poverty on the Mental, Emotional, and Behavioral Health of Children and Youth Implications for Prevention.

American Psychologist, 67(4), 272-284. doi:10.1037/a0028015