

Changing Adolescence Programme

briefing paper

TIME TRENDS IN PARENTING AND
OUTCOMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE



Q: Has parenting changed over recent decades? Do parents supervise and control their offspring more or less closely than they used to? Do they show more or less parental involvement? Spend more or less time caring for young people, in conversation and joint activities? Can changes in parenting explain the rise in adolescent problem behaviour?

Notes on this briefing paper series

The Nuffield Foundation has a longstanding interest in understanding and improving outcomes for young people. Evidence suggests that young people's emotional and behavioural problems have risen significantly in recent decades. Why is this so and what are the implications?

To answer these questions, the Foundation supported a series of groundbreaking reviews on various aspects of social change and adolescent experiences in order to reveal some of the changes in young people's lives today. This briefing paper summarises the results of one of these reviews, including discussion points that arose in a seminar to debate the emerging findings. The project, led by Professor Frances Gardner, was *Has parenting changed over recent decades? Can changes in parenting explain time trends in adolescent problem behaviour?* (Gardner F, Collishaw S, Maughan B and Scott J, Nuffield Foundation Grant No. 33673).

This paper also draws on a Nuffield Foundation New Career Development Fellowship awarded to Dr Stephan Collishaw (Nuffield Foundation Grant No. 16291), and two earlier Foundation awards on time trends in mental health awarded to Professor Barbara Maughan and colleagues (Grant No. 12027 and 6385).

For details of other publications from the [Changing Adolescence Programme](#), please go to www.nuffieldfoundation.org

To cite this Briefing Paper, please use the format:

Nuffield Foundation (2009) *Time trends in parenting and outcomes for young people*
London: Nuffield Foundation

Written by Ann Hagell - ahagell@nuffieldfoundation.org



The period from 1970 to the end of the 1990s saw a rise in behaviour problems by young people. Over the same period there were dramatic changes in family size and structure, and in the working lives of parents. Understandably, people have questioned whether there is a link between these trends.

Debates have raged over a possible decline in family values and structures, the implications of working parents, the role of fathers, or the length of time children spend in day-care. But are these concerns well-founded? What evidence do we have for thinking that parenting is changing? And what do any changes actually mean for young people, especially those aged between 10 and 20 years old?

What do we mean by parenting of adolescents?

When we think of parenting, we often think of small children. But families are still a very important part of the lives of teenagers and young people. From the point when children can walk down a street on their own, catch a bus, and find their own way home, there is a change in the skills required from their parents. Parenting moves to being about aiding independence and helping young people to exercise that independence sensibly. Parents need to balance their children's needs for autonomy with a need to provide structure, protection and boundaries.

Teenagers can – and should – escape from the family home; they spend much of their time elsewhere, and they are open to peer group and community influences in a way their younger siblings are not. They are active agents and their perspectives and choices play an important part in what happens. Parenting adolescents is often seen as particularly challenging, with the new demands of puberty, peer influence and risky behaviour. In some ways today's adolescents are introduced to elements of growing up at an earlier age than previous generations; in other ways the period of semi-dependence on their own families lasts for longer than it has done at times in the past.¹ The transition from

¹ Coleman and Hendry 1999; Mortimer and Larson, 2002; Furstenberg *et al.*, 2005.



child to adult can take longer now, and this means that parenting may also go on for longer.

In this Briefing Paper we look at parenting styles, behaviours and skills, at the level of day to day interactions, and explore how these may have changed over time, and whether these changes are correlated with changes in child problem behaviour. The studies we discuss focus particularly on monitoring and control, involvement, support and 'quality time' with children. Other aspects of parenting are, of course, just as important, but these areas were picked because they have been established as important for youth outcomes in previous research, and they are subject to much popular debate.



The project focused particularly on the relationship between parenting and behaviour problems in teenagers. As Figure 1 shows, parent-rated problems (e.g. lying, stealing, or disobedience) in the UK rose through the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, levelling out and falling slightly in the 2000s. We know that parenting styles influence the development of youth antisocial behaviour at an individual level.³ However this is the first study to examine whether there is evidence for change over time in parenting practices and relationships, and to explore whether these might explain generational changes in rates of adolescent problem behaviour.

The questions were addressed through review of published evidence, and analyses of two sets of UK nationally representative data. The first of these data sets was the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), with annual data on parenting reported by teenagers and their parents from 1994 onwards. The second data source comes from a related Nuffield-funded project – 'Youth Trends' – a study specifically designed to explore causes of trends in youth mental health. Youth Trends compares a large representative sample of 16 year olds (members of the 1970 British Cohort Study) studied in 1986 with a new representative sample of 700+ 16 year olds studied twenty years later, in 2006. Identical questions were used to assess parent-related behaviour problems and youth ratings of parenting behaviours in both studies.⁴

In this Briefing Paper, the results of the review and new analyses are summarised, and we begin to suggest some of the implications for how we think about parenting young people today.

Testing the evidence

As part of the Foundation's programme on social change and young people's well-being, Professor Frances Gardner, Dr Stephan Collishaw, Professor Barbara Maughan and Professor Jacqueline Scott, from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and King's College London, undertook a study of time trends in parenting.

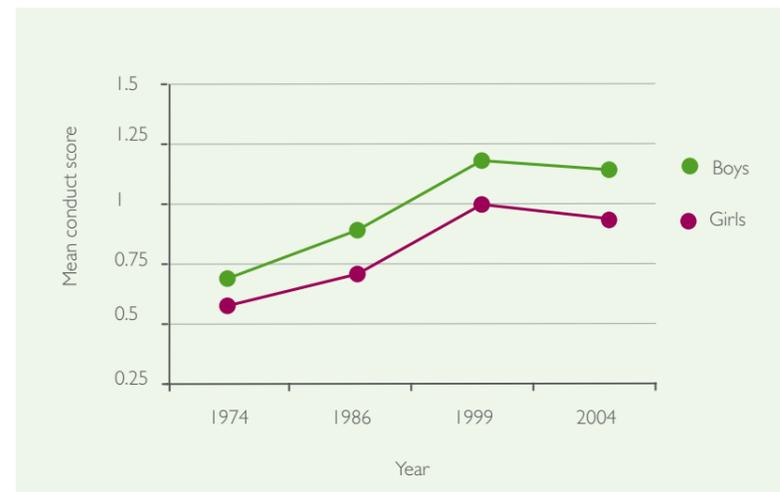


Figure 1. Trends in parent-rated problem behaviour in four nationally representative UK cohorts aged 15-16²

² Adapted from Collishaw *et al* (2004), with additional data collated for this project.

³ Eg, Loeber R (1990).

⁴ The Youth Trends study is led by Stephan Collishaw, University of Cardiff, with Andrew Pickles, University of Manchester, supported by a Nuffield Foundation Fellowship award.



What role do family circumstances play?

There is no doubt that there have been dramatic changes in family size and structures, and in the working lives of parents. Box 1 presents a brief outline of some of the main changes that have been seen in the circumstances of families over recent decades.

Key changes in families in the UK 1970s – 2000s⁵

- **Family formation: later and smaller** – there has been an overall trend to later childbearing, and to smaller families, with 84 births per 1,000 women aged 15-44 in 1971, decreasing to 56 by 2003. As a result, families have become smaller.
- **Family type: less marriage, more variation** – more parents cohabit, and fewer marry. The number of marriages dropped from 480,000 in 1972 to 306,000 by 2003 and divorce rose by about a third over the same period to 167,000 in 2003. The average age at first marriage increased from early 20s to 31 for men and 29 for women in 2003. Over the same period, cohabitation for women tripled to around 31% of 18-49 year olds. Although very few births happened outside marriage in the 1960s, by the early 2000s 41% of children were born to unmarried parents, mostly cohabitating couples.
- **Family restructuring: a more common experience** – the number of children under 16 experiencing divorce rose to just over a fifth of all children in 2003, although it peaked in the mid-1990s. Children increasingly experience a variety of different family structures, including step parents and siblings, and lone parents. The proportion of children living in lone-parent families tripled between 1972 and 2004, to 24%.
- **Maternal employment: increasing** – many more mothers now return to work outside the home early in their child's life. In 2003, 80% of mothers of children aged 11 or over were working at least part-time.
- **Family economic circumstances: more inequality?** – though now beginning to fall, rates of child poverty rose markedly between the mid-1970s and the early 2000s. Household income inequality grew in the 1980s and stabilised in the late 1990s.

Box 1. Key changes in families in the UK 1970s – 2000s⁵

⁵ Office of National Statistics (2009) *Social Trends 39*; Cabinet Office (2008): ONS historical data summarised at www.2as1.net/marriage_research_3.html, downloaded 27.4.09.



The role of divorce and family breakdown in increasing risk for behaviour problems has been debated at some length. Evidence certainly suggests that family breakdown correlates with poorer outcomes, but results from a number of large-scale longitudinal studies generally lead to the conclusion that family structure on its own does not *explain* the children's outcomes; it is what divorce and breakdown mean to the family atmosphere and family relations that matters.⁶ In fact, in separate analyses of UK cohort data, Collishaw et al showed youth behaviour problems rose within each of the different family types, not just in divorced families,⁷ though children from separated families continued to show higher levels of problems.

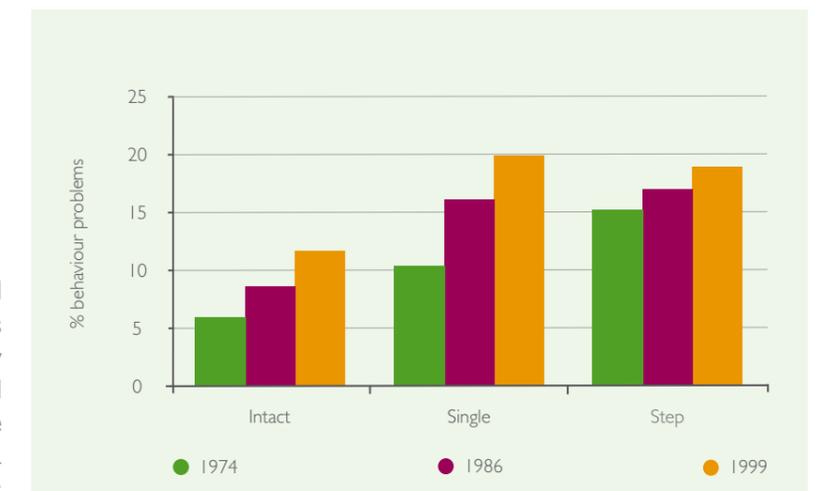


Figure 2. Parent-rated behaviour problems (% high scores) by family type and cohort. Evidence from three UK cohorts

If family structure is not the key, could it be that parenting practices and parent-child relationships have changed over time, and if so, can they account for changes in youth problem behaviour? Has the quality of parenting declined? Do we have any data that could answer this question?

Has parenting of adolescents changed over the last three decades?

For all the debate and discussion, there is a surprising lack of robust data on trends in parenting, particularly for adolescents. Gardner's review team explored the published data but found that there were no studies

⁶ Eg. Simons et al (1994).

⁷ Collishaw et al (2007).



across time based in the UK and dedicated to answering this question. But information could be drawn on from some rather varied sources to begin to piece together a story. To start with, evidence from social attitude surveys showed a systematic shift in parenting values over time, with a long-term change from valuing obedience to valuing autonomy more. However, although attitudes are important, research suggests that parenting behaviour has an even stronger influence on young peoples' development.

Time trends in supervising and monitoring

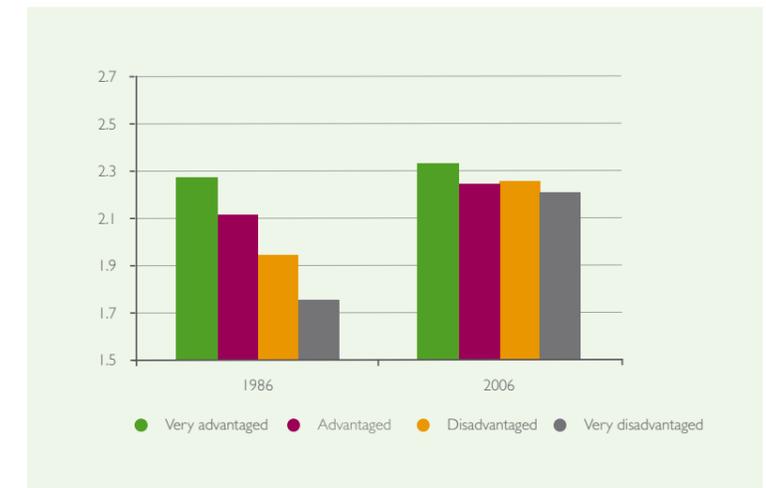
Published research indicates that parents today exert more control than in the past, restricting the range of out-of-home activities that children are able to engage in. But this relates to younger children. With older children we refer more to monitoring and supervision – do parents know where their teenagers are, and what they are doing? Can they stop them if they want to? More recently the notion of monitoring has been challenged; Swedish researchers have suggested that it is not so much an index of how active parents are in supervising their children, but reflects instead the quality of their relationship with their child – does the child feel confident and close enough to tell them?⁸ Either way, it represents a useful variable and – importantly – has actually been measured across time. Some key findings include:

- The Gardner et al review presented results from Collishaw's YouthTrends survey, showing that young people in 2006 reported that their parents more closely **monitored** their out-of-home activities than youth in 1986. For example, the proportion of parents who routinely asked their teenagers who they were with increased from 67% to 77% over this time; and the proportion of youth who said they actually told their parents who they were with also increased from 78% to 86%. Figure 3 shows how parental monitoring varied by social disadvantage and by cohort, but interestingly, also shows that differences by family type and income reduced over time. Social disadvantage was strongly related to parental monitoring in 1986, but not in 2006. Importantly too, technological change (mobile phones, for example) has increased the resources available for monitoring and the focus has changed, to include what young people are doing on-line as well as out of the house.

⁸ Stattin and Kerr (2000).

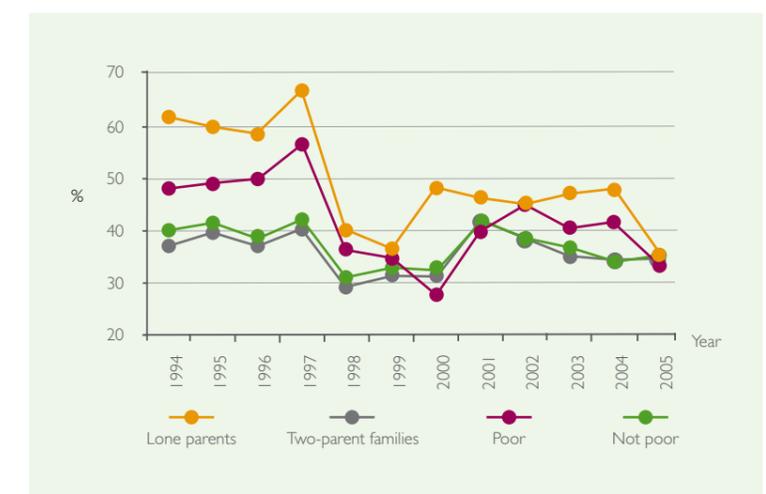


Figure 3. Parental monitoring score by social disadvantage and cohort (Youth Trends)⁹



- A similar pattern was shown in more detail throughout the 1990s, from the BHPS data, as illustrated in Figure 4. There appeared to be fewer young people **out late** without parents knowing where they were, and there was greater convergence between social groups in parental monitoring in more recent years.
- Parents' **expectations of good behaviour** also appear to have risen over this period. For example, between 1986 and 2006, the proportion of young people reporting that their parents expected them to do their homework increased from 90 to 95%, and that their parents expected them to be polite from 75% to 87%. On seven out of eight measures of parental expectations, significant increases were seen.

Figure 4. Youth out later than 9pm without parents knowing where – associations with lone parent status and poverty (BHPS 14-15 year olds)



⁹ Composite score made up of three youth-rated parent monitoring questions in Youth Trends.



- Looking at a different aspect of control and supervision, YouthTrends also showed that the proportion of young people being told off by parents was higher in 2006 than 1986, and young people with problem behaviour in 2006 were subject to greater control than children with the same levels of problems in 1986.

Time trends in parental involvement and responsiveness

Gardner *et al's* literature review concluded that there were no studies of time trends in parental responsiveness, warmth, or perceived support towards adolescents. Without direct measurement of the key constructs, this is a very difficult topic to investigate. However, two indirect measures of parental involvement that have been the subject of considerable public debate, are those of the amount of parents' time spent with children, and the frequency of shared family meals. In both cases they offer opportunities for fostering family cohesion and better quality parent-child relationships.

- Studies based on UK nationally representative time use surveys have found steady increases in **parents' time spent caring for children** (as a main activity) from about 20 minutes per day in the 1960s to about 70 minutes in the 1990s. This is echoed in a number of studies from other countries. However, although there is no indication that this pattern would differ for older age groups, the results tend not to be presented separately for children versus adolescents. This same difficulty exists in relation to data on **family mealtimes**. The literature review identified some tentative evidence of an overall decline in family meals since 1970s¹⁰ so the Gardner team undertook new analyses of meals from Youth Trends and the BHPS. This showed evidence of a decline in the proportion of teenagers reporting eating a family meal with their parents more than once a week, from 83% in 1986 to 72% in 2006. Interestingly, again, there were only small differences in the frequency of family meals in different income/SES groupings, and in different family types.
- Despite the slight decline in family meals, young people's ratings of how much **parental interest** they received was very similar in 1986 and 2006, in both cohorts a majority of the adolescents (66% and 67%) felt that their parents wanted to hear their ideas. Their own reports of the amount of 'quality time' spent with

¹⁰ Eg, Cheng *et al* 2007.



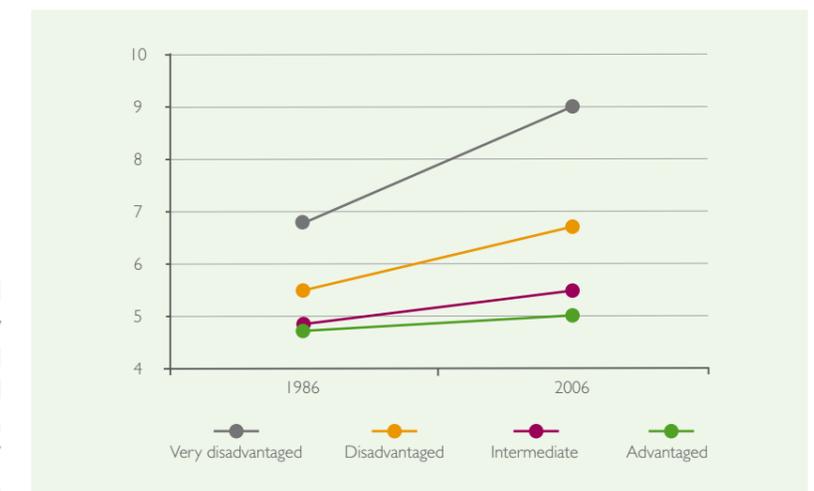
their parents, that is free time that they opted to spend together, increased between 1986 and 2000 ('most days' increasing from 23% to 30% for mothers, and from 10% to 13% for fathers).

Could trends in parenting account for trends in adolescent problem behaviour?

Overall, Gardner *et al* concluded that the evidence did not suggest an overall decline in parenting; rather there were encouraging signs of improvements in, for example, monitoring and supervision, and quality time spent together for this older age group. The only variable that showed the opposite tendency was family mealtimes. On balance, it thus seems extremely unlikely that the time trends in rates of youth problem behaviour that we described at the outset could be accounted for by a decline in the general quality of parenting.

That said, the Gardner *et al* review did draw attention to some interesting results that linked parents' own mental health to that of their teenagers. Secondary data analysis showed that there has been a general increase over the past twenty years in self-reported distress among parents,¹¹ and these increases in distress have affected single parents and parents on low incomes to a greater extent than they have other families.

Figure 5. Parental malaise score by degree of social disadvantage and cohort (Youth Trends, 16-17 year olds)



¹¹ The Malaise inventory in Youth Trends, and the General Health Questionnaire in BHPS.



This is a crucial finding, and one that requires more thought. Is parenting becoming more stressful? Parent emotional problems are critical for understanding links between social context, parenting, and children's outcomes. Parents may be finding the task more difficult, both because of the demands on parents of social change and elongated adolescence, and also because of rising levels of youth problem behaviour generally. Some parents seem to be showing more distress, and this may be negatively affecting some young people. Increasing rates of problems in parents could provide one small link in the chain, and it is one avenue of further research currently being addressed by the research team.



during that period was what children were eating (Joe's whole class was taller than their parents' classes had been at their age because of better diets).

So while parenting is very important at the individual level, something else seems to be operating on youth behaviour at the cohort level. The work summarised in this briefing paper was looking for explanations of a rise in behaviour problems in the last quarter of the 20th century, and deteriorating standards of parenting was not the explanation. One could argue that improved parenting could have been a *response* to a cohort of teenagers, some of whom were proving to be more difficult to manage at times. Indeed, the team's analyses of the Youth Trends data suggested that trends in problem behaviour would likely have been more marked had there not been the improvement in parenting observed in that study. Various other possibilities could be hypothesised. Parenting may have been improving but in the context of other influences working to make this period more challenging, such as the collapse of the youth labour market, changes in the neighbourhood and peer context, and increased financial dependence on family of origin.

Overall, the main findings are good news, and provide material for a more nuanced debate about how parenting has changed. They raise interesting questions that we need to answer about what is going on in families, and about how we need to provide positive and constructive support for parents who may have an increased need for it during changing times. We begin here to identify some discussion points for further debate, and potentially, further research:

- **The importance of different contexts for parenting.** One of the first discussion points to arise from this study concerned the possible role of the local neighbourhood in setting a context for parenting. If you are living in a safe, wealthy area, with low crime rates and strict schools, your parenting may take a different form compared to someone living in an under-resourced area with high crime rates, where you are concerned for the safety of your children. In the latter case you might try to be stricter and more controlling, to compensate; the meaning of your monitoring and supervising behaviours, for example, might be different in different situations.
- **The role of social norms and expectations.** This led us to consider the importance of the reinforcing effects when parenting norms are shared and applied consistently not just by parents but also by neighbours, schools, other adults, and employers. There is indeed some evidence that being a good parent of an adolescent is more effective if it fits in with the general

Discussion points

The first point that needs facing head on is the paradox that, according to the measures that were available in the Nuffield-funded analyses, parenting appears to have improved over a period when youth problem behaviour has worsened. What does this mean?

The most important thing to stress is that it does not mean that parenting does not matter. Decades of longitudinal research have shown us that, at the individual level, parenting is one of the most important predictors of children's outcomes. In the Youth Trends study undertaken by Collishaw there was a strong correlation between a family's parenting and their child's behaviour problems in both cohorts (1986 and 2006). We are making an important distinction here between the relationship between parents and their own child, and correlations at the level of the whole cohorts of young people aged 16 at different points in time. If we look at the population level, improvements in parenting do not seem to have been accompanied by improvements in the overall levels of behaviour problems – except perhaps until recently.

An analogy might help explain the difference between predicting cohort differences, and predicting individual outcomes. The one that we use most frequently is that of height. The best predictor of a child's height is his or her parents' height. Height is in fact around 80% inherited. However, in the first half of the 20th century, the height of the whole population of children rose by around 12 cms over a period of just a few decades.¹² This was obviously not driven by genetics; it related to improvements in nutrition. So at the individual level genetics was the best predictor of individual height (Joe still grew to look like his parents), but at the population level the most powerful cause operating on height

¹² Rutter M, Giller H and Hagell A (1998).



neighbourhood ethos, where everyone locally shares some values and styles.¹³ It could be hypothesised that this is a particularly adolescent issue, as adolescents are 'out there' in the local neighbourhood in a much more active way than primary school age children. How can we learn more about the role that the context for parenting plays in the story?

- **The strains placed on many parents by extended adolescence.** We mentioned at the outset the elongation of the period of adolescence, brought about partly by the collapse of the youth labour market, leading to an increase in educational participation through the late teens, changing patterns of independent living, delays in family formation, and non-linear progression away from home – back again, and then away again. While this has been considered with respect to the effects on young people, less is known about implications for parents. These are clearly financial, but also emotional, in that a young person in your house potentially requires more support, and provokes more worry, than one living several miles away.¹⁴ Is this increasingly stressful for parents?
- **The paradox of improvements in parenting combined with a decline in parental mental health.** In some cases parental mental health seemed to have declined over this period, despite overall improvements in aspects of parenting. Where parents had poorer mental health, this was associated with more behaviour problems in the young people. Is there a particular sub-group of parents who are more prone to stress and then pass this on to their children? Who are they, and what can be done to help? As well as extended adolescence as a source of stress, parents are suffering a 'time squeeze' – while spending more time with children, they are also spending more time working.¹⁵ The cost of trying to do too much could have greater effects on the mental health of mothers in more disadvantaged families.
- **How much variation is there in parents' behaviour and adolescents' experiences?** Socioeconomic groupings seem to be less important than we might have anticipated, at least with respect to these particular variables, but this does not rule out the possibility that significant diverging pathways are being taken by families, with differing implications for their young people. There is also the evidence that parental mental health has declined more in the more disadvantaged groups. Not

¹³ Smith, D.J. (2004).

¹⁴ Almost a third of young men in the UK aged 20-34 still live with their parents (Social Trends 39, 2009).

¹⁵ Eg, Craig (2006).



all families will have experienced social change in the same way, and some young people will remain very disadvantaged by changing circumstances, or even become more so. Elongated adolescence will mean very different things depending on how it is spent (at university, for example, versus unemployment). Some of these themes will be picked up in the other reviews in this series, but it is crucial that further research attention is given to the range of experiences that adolescents and their families go through.

- **Could the results be due to methodological artefact?** Playing devil's advocate, we can expect that people will question results such as those relating to monitoring and parental expectations, and suggest that young people are more sensitised to their rights and so thus report more surveillance. Perhaps young people notice their parents parenting more now than they did previously, because of the increased media attention to it. However, there are two reasons why we think these artefacts cannot explain the findings from these Nuffield funded studies. The first is that in many cases the sources of the information are both the young people *and* their parents. In addition, virtually all of the trends were going in the same direction, even if measurement was very different. These facts increase our confidence that the results reported here reflect real phenomena, although that is not to deny that more research is needed to replicate and extend the findings.



Conclusions

Descriptive data would suggest that the tasks and skills required by parents of teenagers have changed. Adolescence has elongated; children are around in the parental home for longer; and development of new technology creates whole new monitoring challenges. Not only that, but the last three decades have witnessed some quite striking changes in family circumstances and structures.

However, parents seem to be adapting and responding. Despite public concern about declining family life, the work funded by the Nuffield Foundation has found no evidence of a decline in parenting over recent decades, based on available youth and parent self-reported data. There was no evidence of parents being more selfish about their own time use, or neglecting supervision and control. The only trend in the opposite direction related to a slight decline in the frequency of family meals, but more information is needed on the adolescent age group in this regard. In many more ways, the data suggest evidence of improvement in parenting.

Furthermore, despite widening income inequality and declining social mobility over this time period, there was no evidence that parenting had declined in the most disadvantaged subgroups in society. It seems unlikely then that change in parenting explains known trends in youth problem behaviour.

However, the results did highlight a potential role for parental mental health, and we have hypothesised that parenting may be becoming more stressful in some ways. We draw particular attention to the need for more discussion about the broader, social environment in which we parent. This, we suggest, would complement and extend the current focus on individual parenting classes and family support services. More dedicated studies of time trends in parenting, and of the changing context and expectations laid on parents of adolescents, may help us to understand more.

Further reading

This is not a fully referenced paper; a few citations and suggestions for further reading are contained in the text, but further information can be found on the Foundation's website.

Cabinet Office (2008) *Families in Britain: An evidence paper*. London: Cabinet Office

Cheng S-L, Olsen W, Southerton D and Warde A (2007) The changing pattern of eating: evidence from UK time diaries, 1975 and 2000. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58, 39-61

Coleman J and Hendry L (1999) *The Nature of Adolescence* (3rd Edn.) London: Routledge

Collishaw S, Goodman R, Pickles A and Maughan B (2007) Modelling the contribution of changes in family life to time trends in adolescent conduct problems. *Social Science and Medicine*. 65(12) 2576-2587

Collishaw S, Maughan B, Goodman R and Pickles A (2004) Time trends in adolescent mental health. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45, 1350-1362

Craig L (2006) How employed mothers in Australia find time for both market work and childcare. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 28, 69-87

Ferri E, Bynner J and Wadsworth M (2003) *Changing Britain; Changing Lives. Three generations at the turn of the century*. London: Institute of Education Publications

Furlong A and Cartmel F (2007) *Young People and Social Change: New perspectives*. Maidenhead: McGraw Hill Open University Press

Furstenberg F, Rumbaut R and Settersten R (2005) On the frontier of adulthood: Emerging themes and new directions. In R Settersten, F Furstenberg and R Rumbaut (Eds) *On the Frontier of Adulthood: Theory, Research and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Loeber R (1990) Development and risk factors of juvenile antisocial behaviour and delinquency. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 10, 1-41

Maughan B, Collishaw S, Meltzer H and Goodman R (2008) Recent trends in UK child and adolescent mental health. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*. 43, 305-310

Mortimer J and Larson R (2002) Macrostructural trends and the reshaping of adolescence. In J Mortimer and R Larson (Eds) *The changing adolescent experience: Societal trends and the transition to adulthood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Office of National Statistics (2009) *Social Trends 39*. Office for National Statistics/Palgrave MacMillan; Basingstoke, Hampshire

Rutter M, Giller H and Hagell A (1998) *Antisocial behaviour by young people*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Simons R, Whitbeck L, Beaman J and Conger R (1994) The impact of mothers' parenting, involvement by nonresidential fathers, and parental conflict on the adjustment of adolescent children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 56:356-374.

Smith, D.J. (2004) *Parenting and Delinquency at Ages 12 to 15*, Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime Research Digest No. 3.

Stattin H and Kerr M (2000) Parent Monitoring: A reinterpretation. *Child Development*, 71 (4), 1072-1085

About the author

Dr Ann Hagell is Programme Head of the Changing Adolescence Programme at the Nuffield Foundation. She is a Chartered Psychologist with a specific interest in at-risk adolescents, and has worked for many years in social policy research settings, including in the USA as a Fulbright Scholar. She writes regularly about aspects of life for young people, and has been Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Adolescence since 2000.

About the review team

Professor Frances Gardner is Professor of Child and Family Psychology, Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of Oxford, where she has co-founded a new graduate programme in Evidence-Based Social Intervention. She is a clinical psychologist by training, and her research interests are in the development of anti-social behaviour in children. She serves as Vice-Chair of the Scientific Advisory Board for the National Academy of Parenting Practitioners.

Dr Stephan Collishaw is Senior Lecturer in Developmental Psychopathology in the Department of Psychological Medicine at Cardiff University School of Medicine. In addition to his work on the time trends in parenting review, he has also held a Nuffield Foundation New Career Development Fellowship at the Institute of Psychiatry, King's College London, and has conducted a national study examining causes of time trends in adolescent mental health.

Professor Barbara Maughan is Professor of Developmental Epidemiology at the MRC Social, Genetic and Developmental Psychiatry Centre, Institute of Psychiatry, King's College London and a member of MRC External Scientific Staff. Her research focuses on psychosocial risk and protective factors for emotional and behavioural problems in childhood, and on the long-term consequences of childhood difficulties for mental health and well-being in adult life.

Professor Jacqueline Scott is Professor of Empirical Sociology, in the Faculty of Politics, Psychology, Sociology and International Studies at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Queens' College Cambridge. Since 2004, she has been the Director of the ESRC Research Priority Network on Gender Inequalities in Production and Reproduction, with responsibility for the coordination of projects across eight institutions.

About the Nuffield Foundation

The Nuffield Foundation is an endowed charitable trust established in 1943 by William Morris (Lord Nuffield), the founder of Morris Motors, with the aim of advancing social well being. We fund research and practical experiment and the development of capacity to undertake them; working across education, science, social science and social policy. While most of the Foundation's expenditure is on responsive grant programmes we also undertake our own initiatives.

Published by the Nuffield Foundation, 28 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3JS
Telephone +44 (0)20 7631 0566, fax +44 (0)20 7323 4877

Copyright © Nuffield Foundation 2009
Available in print and electronic formats.

www.nuffieldfoundation.org

ISBN 978-0-904956-47-4