Chin-Chun Yi   *Editor*

The Psychological Well-being of East Asian Youth

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Quality of Life in Asia

Volume 2

This series, the first of its kind, will examine both the objective and subjective dimensions of life quality in Asia, especially East Asia. It will unravel and compare the contours, dynamics and patterns of building nations, offering innovative works that discuss basic and applied research, emphasizing inter- and multi-disciplinary approaches to the various domains of life quality. Thus, the series will appeal to a variety of fields in humanities, social sciences and other professional disciplines. Asia is the largest, most populous continent on Earth, and it is home to the world's most dynamic region, East Asia. In the past three decades, East Asia has been the most successful region in the world in expanding its economies and integrating them into the global economy, offering lessons on how poor countries, even with limited natural resources, can achieve rapid economic development. Yet while scholars and policymakers have focused on why East Asia has prospered, little has been written on how its economic expansion has affected the quality of life of its citizens. The series will publish several volumes a year, either single or multiple-authored monographs or collections of essays.

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The Psychological Well-being of East Asian Youth

Springer

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Foreword

Looking back in time, it is easy to get the mistaken impression that family change is caused by external conditions or events, such as rapid economic change, public policies, or social movements. However, this would be a gross distortion of why and how change comes about in kinship systems. Change happens because individuals and families no longer find it comfortable, convenient, or conducive to continue to behave as their parents or grandparents once did and as a result begin to shift their expectations and practices in forming families and raising children. Of course, they do so in part because conditions outside the family change in ways that make life more unpredictable or perhaps less promising. Or, new opportunities appear that require different ways of behaving in the outside world or within the confines of the family. But ultimately, changes in expectations and family roles are driven in part by everyday adaptations occurring in the kitchens and bedrooms of households. Understanding how macroevents in societies play out in micro-interactions inside the family, and vice versa, is at the heart of what sociologists and psychologists of family life study. This book is devoted to understanding how such changes are occurring among Taiwanese youth and their families.

Family change has always occurred in complex societies, but we are much more aware of it today because we now have the means to measure it. Demographic and historical evidence from both the East and West shows unequivocally that the family has always changed in response to both external pressures and internal contradictions. What is distinctive about contemporary changes in the family is that we now can study them as they are happening and have better tools for examining the processes that bring about change. Any successful theory of family change must closely attend to how individuals come to see that old habits, customs, and norms are impracticable and must be abandoned in favor of new ways of behaving. Researchers now have the means to collect and analyze contemporaneous and longitudinal data on the mechanisms that are reshaping patterns of family behavior from surveys and qualitative studies.

The informative and provocative set of chapters collected in this volume brings us a long way in understanding how the process of growing up in East Asia has been altered dramatically by both outside institutions and responses of family members

to the changing landscape of economic and social development. This change was ushered in by both increased contact from Western influences, such as the media, law, and economy, and indigenous changes such as the organization of schooling and the growing desires of parents to provide an adequate education for their children in a changing economy.

Explanations for why East Asian family systems are changing have been around for decades. A half century ago, William J. Goode (1963) tried to capture the beginnings of the modern era of family change in his monumental book, *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. In many respects, Goode's contention that contemporary (now think global) capitalism would exert inexorable pressures on extended family systems has proved prescient. Yet, Goode's assumption that economic development would produce a convergence among world family systems toward a conjugal family system where marital ties rather than lineage predominates remains contentious and, many experts believe, overly simplistic.

The chapters in this volume provide powerful evidence that cultural response to economic change makes the process of family change complex and unpredictable. True, elders may lose control, as Goode predicted, when educational systems become the route to social mobility, but they retain authority and influence, in a different guise, when the family is deemed to be responsible for children's success in the schooling process. Many of the chapters in this book attest to the growing power of parents in navigating the perilous hierarchy of educational institutions in East Asia.

So the family reinvents itself in a new form. Some practices associated with patrilineal descent, as Goode predicted, are cast off, while others remain. The favoring of older sons and males in general has given way as East Asian societies attempt to maximize human capital. It is simply too wasteful to disregard the talents of so many to protect the position of so few. As a result, pressures for greater gender equity are sweeping East Asia as they did several decades ago in the West. Of course, true equality in the workplace and home remains a distant prospect, but the pressures on men and women to alter their behaviors are huge. In addition, women are rising in the ranks of the highly educated, a prospect that will inevitably transform gender roles within the household.

At the same time, strong traces of traditional doctrines prevail in the family. The constellation – really philosophy – of parenting practices, *guan*, anchors the role of parent and child in a generational drama of investment and obligation that is deeply rooted in Confucian ideals and that remains a prominent feature of family life today in East Asia. This pattern is in sharp distinction from Western traditions that encourage parents to promote rapid autonomy. Of course, it is easy to overstate the homogeneity of both Eastern and Western nations. In some respects, the southern European countries of Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal have retained a far higher level of familism, making them more similar, in some respects, to the nations of East Asia. East Asian nations also do not respond to similar economic, social, and demographic pressures in identical fashion. That is what makes the information in this volume so interesting to social scientists both in the East and West.

The editor and authors of this collection wisely look both to the West and to counterpart nations in East Asia for models and mechanisms of family adaptation. Lessons from the West provide a range of possible directions for future family change. Do we see on the horizon a period of early adulthood emerging as it has in most Western nations where home-leaving and family formation are pushed later into the fourth decade of life? The answer seems to be clearly yes. Delayed marriage and parenthood are depressing fertility to new lows in many East Asian nations such as China, Japan, and Korea. But will we see a rise in cohabitation and nonmarital childbearing in the coming decades as has become common in most Western nations? This is still an open question and may be answered in different ways in different countries.

This is why the data from the decade-long Taiwan Youth Project are so precious and so worthy of emulation in other East Asian nations. This longitudinal study following youth from early adolescence to early adulthood (and beyond) reveals how the recent cohort of youth and their families in Taiwan are adapting to current conditions, especially the daunting pressures to achieve in school. The findings show, as is happening worldwide, the growing gap between the families of the privileged and the underprivileged in preparing their children for educational success. The costs of not succeeding are greater than ever, but the routes to educational attainment are restricted. While it is possible to describe the psychological costs of the steep stratification system in Taiwan and other East Asian nations, it remains to be seen how this cohort will fare as they make the full transition to adult status and how they will manage marriage and parenthood in particular.

The subreplacement levels of fertility in most East Asian nations mirror conditions in Europe, where countries such as Italy and Spain are contending with the impact of late home-leaving owing both to education and difficult labor markets. Whether there will be an eventual rise in rates of marriage and childbearing remains an intriguing and critical question for the next wave of the study. In the meantime, readers of this volume will find much to learn and expand upon in future cross-national studies of new and younger cohorts.

The change in the family sweeping through East Asian societies makes this part of the world a virtual laboratory for the study of why and how the family changes and how alterations may be moderated by history, culture, public policies, and existing social institutions. We are still in the early phases of this transformation. What is yet to come will yield a rich source of information for family scholars in the near future.

Frank F. Furstenberg

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Chapter 1
Introduction to the Psychological Well-Being of East Asian Youth: The Transition from Early Adolescence to Young Adulthood

Chin-Chun Yi

Over the last few decades, rapid social change in East Asia has led researchers to focus on familial, educational, and political transformations in the region. An important component of this social change that has received relatively less attention is the adaptation and unconventional life patterns of future generations. Scholars have shown that, compared with previous generations, the growth trajectory of the next generation in East Asia will occur in an entirely different context because of the dual effects of traditional versus modern values and the accompanying conservative versus liberal practices. However, the extant empirical research on this generation remains seriously inadequate. Therefore, this book provides an overall picture of the developmental trajectory of East Asian youth in the current social setting. Because most studies of youth in the West have focused primarily on subjects such as educational and occupational trajectories, parental and peer influences, deviant behaviors, leaving home, and mental health (Furstenberg 2004), this book will incorporate a variety of similar issues as well as subjects of particular importance for East Asian youth. The research time frame will begin with early adolescence (an average age of 13 years old) and move through young adulthood (to 22 years old). Extending the period of investigation from adolescence to young adulthood allows the application of the life course perspective to explain various developmental patterns among East Asian youth. Further, although most youth research focuses on educational achievement and psychological well-being as two distinct outcomes, this book argues that for a typical East Asian adolescent, mental health is closely linked to and intertwined with educational performance. Hence, I use individual psychological well-being defined broadly to represent the final outcome of the developmental process during this important transitional portion of the life course.

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Before presenting individual chapters, we introduce the unique societal context in which East Asian youth are socialized. To reveal the contrast between this group and their Western counterparts, we emphasize the dissimilar aspects of family, education, and community in East Asian societies. Specifically, we explore the normative expectations and subsequent challenges embedded in the social context, which are closely associated with the psychological well-being of East Asian youth. While most East Asian youth struggle as they seek to identify with both modern and traditional ways of thinking, they also benefit from a rich cultural mixture of both Eastern and Western influences that creates a distinction between contemporary youth and previous generations. Therefore, we attempt to illustrate the diversity of growth trajectories for typical East Asian adolescents growing up in this region by not only following the actual developmental course but also analyzing the potential mechanisms accounting for different life experiences during this particular life stage.

Most significant research questions concerning adolescent developmental outcomes require longitudinal panel data. However, scholars have only recently undertaken youth studies in East Asia, and longitudinal studies are either scarce, small in scale, or fairly inaccessible. The Taiwan Youth Project (TYP), which was launched in 2000 and surveyed 5,000 adolescents in junior high schools, facilitates empirical research on the ways in which East Asian teenagers proceed on differential life paths under the current restrictive environment. This book utilizes TYP panel data to demonstrate various developmental patterns among East Asian youth. Because Confucianism is a shared cultural basis and the root of patriarchal culture in East Asian countries, and because there are more similarities among East Asian societies relative to others, we use the findings for Taiwanese youth to illustrate patterns for youth in other countries in the region. In other words, given the constraints of the current data, we generalize findings from the Taiwanese setting to other East Asian youth, with the goal of demonstrating the ways that youth in this region are constrained as well as bolstered during adolescence and young adulthood by the unique social context.

In each chapter, we present a demographic profile of the specific subject examined, followed by an explanation of the research question and the analytic results, and then conclude by comparing the current findings with reports from Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, and mainland China. While each society has its particular characteristics that may or may not be shared by other East Asian societies, using TYP data, we make our best attempt to present important findings on the diversified growth patterns of youth and make meaningful comparisons to other East Asian societies given the limited data resources. Because of the dominant influence of family and school in this life stage, we select topics including family structure and relations, experiences at school, the interplay between family and school effects, and first job characteristics. In addition, this book incorporates three chapters written by youth scholars from Korea, Hong Kong, and China to provide indigenous perspectives on the most pressing challenges faced by youth in each of these societies.

In the following section, we provide a brief introduction to the Taiwan Youth Project and present highlights of each chapter. First, we examine the social background of East Asian youth. As stated above, because of shared cultural and regional characteristics, East Asian youth will be discussed as a whole although individual societal differences are recognized. In other words, we emphasize the shared features that differentiate youths in East Asia from their Western counterparts.

1.1 The Societal Context of East Asian Youth

1.1.1 Family

The first and perhaps the most important social context shaping the development of East Asian youth is the family. For centuries, Confucian ethics has been the core influence on the upbringing of children of all classes (Blitsten 1963). Paternal authority, filial piety, and the veneration of age are the highest values in this system (Hsu 1948). The concept of filial piety, which originated in the *Book of the Ritual* in China and was compiled in the second century BC, advocates respect for parents, respect for family honor, and caring for aged parents. Filial piety demanded absolute obedience and complete devotion to parents, which resulted in the generational subordination of children (Yang 1945). The veneration of age and the proper order by age were the foundations for the hierarchy of status and authority in traditional societies. The contemporary form of the veneration of age is represented by the reverence of seniority in East Asian societies such as Japan and Korea. Consequently, the intertwined operation of filial piety and age veneration produced an overwhelming conformity to traditional social norms and values, which, at maximum practice, governs each member's behaviors and thoughts.

Growing up in an institutional context in which traditional family values remain relatively intact (Eun et al. 2011; Yi and Jao 2011), East Asian youth are inevitably bound by the conventional practices and normative expectations in their respective societies. However, numerous reports have documented the changes that have occurred in the family system in East Asia. Therefore, both modern and traditional models guide the behavior and attitudes of East Asian adolescents. For example, in Taiwan, attitudes toward kin obligation have remained firm, but attitudes toward individual divorce have become more lenient (Tsai and Yi 1997). Likewise, when birth order is taken into account, grandsons report much higher levels of closeness with grandparents than granddaughters, which reveals a clear patrilineal influence (Yi and Pan 2005). In contrast, the kin networks reported by youth reveal a bilateral, rather than a patrilineal, structure (Chang et al. 2008). Co-residence with paternal grandparents has been a normative practice in a substantial proportion of East Asia (Yasuda et al. 2011).

Co-residence with grandparents in early childhood has been shown to account for subsequent emotional closeness with grandparents and personal happiness during adolescence (Yi et al. 2006). However, maternal grandparents have become significant family members for adolescents, indicating a significant change in the traditional paternal society in East Asia and possibly a move toward the kin relations of Western nations.

In this book, we seek to unravel the continuity of as well as the changes in contemporary family systems in East Asia. Using high-quality panel data from Taiwan, we will delineate the mechanisms that account for both the changing and static features of the family systems in which adolescents are situated. Because Chinese families are characterized by strong patrilineal lineages, gender, and generational hierarchies, we expect that findings for Taiwanese youth will offer scholars the opportunity to understand and extrapolate from the particular family context in this region, including the interaction patterns between generations and their influence on the developmental outcomes of adolescents and young adults.

1.1.2 School

It may be difficult for outsiders to understand the normative expectations experienced by young people growing up in the competitive environment of East Asia. While hard work and obedience are regarded as essential for success (Hsu 1948) even in recent years (Yi and Wu 2004), innovation and curiosity have not been considered important child-rearing values in Taiwan (Yi et al. 2004). The educational system in East Asia reflects this underlying value system by providing national entrance examinations in each society. It may seem paradoxical that while East Asian societies have placed a high value on educational achievement for centuries, the best vehicle to assure fairness has been the practice of open comprehensive examination. To ensure fair judging, teachers emphasize exact and correct answers, which encourages memorization and the provision of safe, conservative answers on tests. With little room for personal ideas or spontaneous responses in the educational system, traditional learning patterns, which both reflect and support conservative educational values, are reinforced.

Previous literature has documented the unique cultural value of educational competition in East Asian societies, which significantly shapes and influences adolescent growth patterns (Yi et al. 2009). In the context of a cultural heritage that places the highest priority on educational achievement, the expected role for a typical youth between the ages of 12 and 22 is rather clear: studying hard, scoring highly on entrance examinations, and bringing glory to the family. These role expectations are in accord with traditional values (Hsu 1971). Because educational success is an unquestioned goal for adolescents and parental involvement in

children's education is the norm, extracurricular activities have become a common way in which parents attempt to increase their child's chances of success. In the interest of gaining entry into desirable schools, as early as age 5 or 6, children in East Asia attend various extracurricular classes, such as English, computers, art, and music, to acquire the credentials necessary for school application (Shih and Yi 2011). Not surprisingly, East Asian students participating in exchange programs in Europe or North America often experience maladjustment when they realize that physical education is the most important course in the junior high school they are attending. This book includes a chapter on Bu-Xi ban (an extracurriculum class in Chinese) in which we describe the typical second shift schedule for a teenager in this region. In addition to regular school hours, learning is extended to off-campus classes at night and on the weekend. Because the hours spent at Bu-Xi ban constitute a substantial proportion of teenagers' time, we consider it an extended dimension of the school context.

In addition, because scholars have asserted that the community is an important locus of social control in traditional societies, its effect on individual development – either constraining or facilitating growth – will be examined in relation to the school context. Leaving home during late adolescence has never been a normative practice in East Asia. Youth in Japan and Taiwan now postpone independent living until their late 20s or early 30s in order to enjoy a more carefree and comfortable life (Yamada 1999; Lin and Yi 2011). Therefore, leaving the natal community and addressing subsequent questions about community attachment often occurs when youths enter higher educational institutions or when they find jobs in another prefecture. Leaving home during late adolescence is more often observed among rural youth.

1.2 Transition to Adulthood: Normative Expectations and Obstacles

The transition to adulthood is an important subject in the study of youth that has received an increasing amount of attention over the last decade. When focusing on the transition to adulthood, scholars inevitably employ the life course perspective and longitudinal panel designs. Educational performance and psychological well-being are perhaps the two most commonly examined adolescent outcome variables (McLeod and Fettes 2007; Furstenberg 2000). Peer influence, friendship networks, deviant behavior, self-esteem, autonomy, family relations, and inter-generational communication are other significant issues that researchers often include in these studies. When adolescents move into adulthood, the research focuses on two issues: the long-term effects of adolescent experiences and the specific tasks, role assignments, or obligations that young adults are expected to perform in the specific society.

For a typical East Asian youth, the transition from adolescence to young adulthood is characterized by several salient markers that differentiate East Asian youth from their Western counterparts. First, the timing of this stage corresponds to college entrance examinations, and there is a strong expectation for youth to accomplish the highest educational achievement. To facilitate success in the educational competition, families generally assume all financial responsibilities for youth, and only youth with inadequate familial resources need to work at a job. However, because of the spread of globalization, East Asian youth are heavily exposed to the Western concept of gaining autonomy as a young adult. While being autonomous is valued at a personal level among youths, having to rely on parental support for school and living costs makes the dependency an inevitable reality. The dilemma arising from these two opposing expectations often results in serious conflicts between parents and their young adult children as well as forced or unpleasant compromises between the two.

In this cultural context, East Asian youth often suffer from the educational competition which concurs in having two comprehensive tests for entering senior high schools and college. In addition, educational tracking (distinguishing between students who will attend general schools and those who will attend vocational schools) also occurs during adolescence. Students in the general track enjoy higher social status because this track allows graduates to apply to higher educational programs and is thus compatible with normative expectations. Consequently, high school graduates will likely have poorer psychological well-being than college graduates due to lower social status, and youth in the vocational track may feel an even lower sense of achievement and express poorer mental health than their peers in the general track.

The majority of youth in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan attend school. Even when young adults engage in full-time employment, because co-residence with parents remains the normative practice, postponing independent living until their late 20s or 30s is a feasible and acceptable arrangement. This reliance on *parental support* is, of course, in contrast with the idea of personal autonomy. Hence, researchers must distinguish attitudes from actual behavior in analyses of youth autonomy in East Asia. After all, autonomy has been neither an important cultural norm nor an encouraged practice in the society. Furthermore, given the effects of the dual expectations of filial piety (which includes co-residing with parents) and educational achievement that honors the family, for East Asian youth moving into adulthood undeniably presents structural obstacles to attaining desired autonomy.

Other emerging issues should be explored among young adults. In general, the experience of occupational acquisition and the formation of intimate relationships are major life domains at this stage. In this book, we explore the behavior of young adults with regard to their work and intimate experiences. In a society such as Taiwan, in which a series of developmental stages are strictly prescribed for youth, deviation from the "normative course" may bring harmful effects to individuals. Therefore, we investigate and compare diversified growth trajectories among adolescents who are entering into young adulthood.

1.3   Challenges for East Asian Youth Facing a Changing Society

Given the structural context of East Asia, in which educational achievement and a close bond between generations are strongly emphasized, growing up in contemporary society is certainly not easy for youth in this region. Among the various challenges East Asian youth face during adolescence and early adulthood, two issues are fundamental: namely, the difference in normative expectations between traditional versus modern values and behaviors and interdependency between parents and adolescents versus self-reliance or autonomy among youth. The push-pull struggle between traditional and modern ideologies is an ongoing process and may exert more pronounced effects on adolescents. The autonomy issue usually emerges in early adulthood but may begin to arise during late adolescence as East Asia becomes more globalized and youth experience greater exposure to Western norms.

As illustrated above, East Asian youth, in general, are expected to behave in accordance with filial obligations at home and at school but are by no means expected to attain autonomy before marriage. Given this cultural heritage and the shared and unequivocal value placed on educational achievement, family and school are assumed to maintain their influence during the transitional years. This book explores the long-term consequences of growing up in a society with multiple sources of tensions. Psychological well-being is considered a salient measure of adolescent development because both familial expectations and educational pressure have certain mental health consequences. Therefore, we focus on *psychological well-being* as the outcome of development from early adolescence through young adulthood. In addition, using a broad definition of psychological well-being, including depressive symptoms, deviant behaviors, happiness levels, and school performance, allows researchers to develop appropriate frameworks for analysis and delineate the significant problems that confront contemporary East Asian youth.

In brief, a variety of challenges face East Asian youth from early adolescence through young adulthood. From the research perspective, the various mechanisms that account for diverse growth trajectories must take into account changing structural aspects. In other words, in addition to personal factors, the inclusion of macrostructural mechanisms that may have a cultural basis (e.g., the educational system) or may be the result of social changes (e.g., dating behavior) will facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of youth development in this region. Hence, we argue that the transition to adulthood is both a process in and outcome of adolescence. Delineating the relative impact of family versus school or workplace, parents versus peers, and structural versus relational factors will contribute to the scholarly understanding of contemporary youth in East Asia.

Lastly, if only one statement is chosen to describe the unique developmental course of East Asian youth, the educational competition embedded in the system may be the fundamental social factor affecting the subsequent growth trajectory during adolescence. The value of attaining the highest educational achievements

accompanied by the strong social norm of fulfilling family expectations has conditioned and dominated the life experiences of adolescents in East Asia. With this background in mind, a group of social scientists in Taiwan began to explore the diversified developmental patterns of youth from early adolescence through young adulthood with a goal of delineating the potential mechanisms operating in the changing structural environment. Enabled by this longitudinal panel data, the growth trajectory of Taiwanese youth can be captured and may serve as a useful reference to their East Asian peers in general.

1.4 About the Taiwan Youth Project

1.4.1 Research Background

The Taiwan Youth Project (TYP) seeks to investigate the trajectory of youth development in Taiwan from the life course perspective (Elder 1985, 1999; Elder et al. 1993). We argue that significant social contexts, particularly family, school, and community, as well as the interplay of these three dominant institutions, account for the various growth trajectories of youth. In Phase I, the time frame is set from adolescence through young adulthood, and the linkages between life experiences during adolescence and subsequent developmental outcomes during young adulthood are major concerns. To focus on the developmental pattern as well as the transitional phase, we move beyond biological and psychological traits (Erikson 1959) and incorporate important social structural and personal resources factors to provide a comprehensive picture of the social field in which youth live their daily lives. In addition, given the shared patriarchal cultural heritage of Chinese and East Asian societies, the normative expectation of obedience and diligence has led to the model of the good student being virtually the only role assigned to a typical adolescent in Taiwan and East Asia (Yi and Wu 2004). As a result, the life experiences and life goals of typical youth in this region are often very different from their counterparts in the West.

However, because globalization in East Asia inevitably contains substantial elements of westernization, it is important to compare and delineate commonalities as well as particularities in the developmental process of youth in East Asia. Thus, we explore the indigenous developmental pattern of Taiwanese youth during this life stage and specify the salient mechanisms that account for the diversified outcomes among these youth, who are facing a rapidly changing social environment. We assume that as a traditional society encounters modernization, individual differences will increase as a result of exposure to varying structural as well as cultural factors. Therefore, while the TYP represents an academic effort to understand the process of Taiwanese youth development, findings from the data may also be generalized to neighboring East Asian youth in similarly changing social contexts.

In brief, the TYP attempts to study the social dimensions of youth development with a special focus on the interplay of family, school, and community as the most relevant social mechanisms affecting the growth trajectories of contemporary youth in Taiwan and East Asia.

1.4.2   Research Focus

One notable trend in cultural traditions in Taiwan and other Chinese and East Asian societies is the gradual move from a highly collective to an individual orientation (Yang 1995). To capture the impact of this changing norm on the transitional period of youth, in addition to addressing general themes shared by most youth studies worldwide, we focus on specific issues pertaining to the Taiwanese, Chinese, and East Asian contexts. For example, we include the concept of *guan* as applied in the family process, the spatial and community attachment that results from leaving home, dating, and forming friendship networks, and the concept of filial piety (Yeh and Bedford 2003) in relation to elderly support. In particular, two entrance examinations, namely, the comprehensive test for entering senior high school and the college entrance exam, dominate the daily life of youth in Taiwan. To illustrate the overwhelming social pressure resulting from cultural and structural aspects, the TYP examines cram school attendance and includes an innovative module on corresponding family educational strategies.

For a typical Taiwanese adolescent, academic outcome and personal well-being are often closely associated; thus, the development of psychological well-being has been followed annually. Furthermore, the contrast between the majority of students who follow the usual course of continuing academic education and those students with nonacademic experiences, such as dropouts or teenager workers in the labor force, often not only represents different growth trajectories but also signifies different developmental outcomes. Qualitative accounts of parent-youth dyads are hence gathered to provide in-depth explanatory information for subjects.

The TYP examines the tracking process that occurs during adolescence and young adulthood in Taiwanese schools. Structural factors (social class, gender norms, rural/urban background, and school resources), individual or family demographics, and attitudinal or social psychological factors are delineated, allowing researchers to conduct a comparative analysis. In addition, the TYP includes culturally unique factors such as the classroom dynamic. With regard to the family context, the project emphasizes the experience of three-generational co-residence, which constitutes a substantial proportion of living arrangements in East Asia. These non-Western factors are important and unique aspects of teenagers' life domains. An attempt is thus made to delineate the mechanisms of various turning points and their potential effects on Taiwanese youth in the developmental process.

In other words, social capital, indicated by the interplay between family, school, and community, serves as the underlying explanatory concept (Coleman 1988; McNeal 1999; Lin 2001; Crosnoe 2004) in this analysis. The effect of social capital

on educational and occupational aspirations or achievement as well as on individual psychological well-being is the final outcome in the current research framework. Facilitated by the longitudinal panel design, the TYP intends to describe various growth patterns of Taiwanese youth from adolescence through young adulthood. To achieve this goal, we identify the significant social mechanisms affecting the values, attitudes, and behaviors of youth, which in turn account for diverse life course patterns. The four main research goals of the TYP Phase I (2000–2009) are listed below:

1. To examine the developmental process of youth by emphasizing the interplay between family, school, and community.
2. To explore possible linkages between early adolescence and young adulthood from the life course perspective.
3. To analyze the influence of social capital on various growth patterns among youth.
4. To delineate the diverse growth trajectories of Taiwanese youth during the transitional period.

1.4.3 Samples, Research Design, and the Research Team

1.4.3.1 Samples

The Taiwan Youth Project is a longitudinal panel study conducted by the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. The first phase of this project started with a baseline survey that was launched in March 2000. Annual follow-up surveys continued until 2009. To examine the effect of educational reform on youth development, two cohorts were chosen in the year 2000: 7th graders (first-year students in junior high, J1) who were under the new system after the implementation of educational reforms and 9th graders (third/last-year students in junior high, J3) who were the last cohort under the old educational system. By the end of the first phase in 2009, the 7th grade cohort (J1) were 22 years old on average and the 9th grade cohort (J3) were 24 years old on average.

The TYP surveys applied a multistage stratified-cluster random sampling framework to obtain school-based representative samples. At the planning stage, for both J1 and J3, 1,000 junior high students from Taipei City (the largest metropolitan city in Taiwan), 1,000 students from Taipei County (a mixture of both agriculture and manufacturing industries), and 800 students from Yilan County (agriculture as the dominant industry) were predetermined.

For the first stage of sampling, level of urbanization was used as the criterion to divide Taipei City and Taipei County into three strata each and Yilan County into two strata. Within each stratum, the expected sample size was derived from the proportion of students in that stratum to all students in that particular city or county. Further, to capture peer interaction and highlight unique classroom dynamics

(班級, ban-ji) during middle school, a decision was made to use school class as the smallest sampling unit and to interview all students in the selected class. We calculated the mean number of students in a class for each specific stratum and then divided that number by the sampling number derived above to get the number of classes needed. For each school, two classes for each grade were randomly selected. Hence, once the number of classes required for each specific stratum was attained, we could calculate the number of schools needed.

Finally, a random process was applied to select the required number of schools from each stratum, as well as two classes for each grade from the chosen school. All students in the selected classes were interviewed. In addition, one of each student's parents, the designated teachers in the junior high classes, and the principals of the junior high schools were all included in the survey framework. The final sample comprises 81 classes (including one special class of physical education) in each grade level from 40 schools: 16 schools in Taipei City, 15 in Taipei County, and 9 in Yilan County. The initial sample size in 2000 was 2,696 for the J1 cohort (7th graders) and 2,890 for the J3 cohort (9th graders). All surveys were approved by the school principal, the designated teachers, and the students' parents before field interviews were conducted.

1.4.3.2 Research Design, Research Team, and Response Rate

The TYP used a *mixed method design*. In terms of quantitative data, we used the self-administration method to collect data for youth, teachers, and principals, and we interviewed parents at home. When two consecutive surveys were conducted in the same year (e.g., a long questionnaire in the spring before graduation and a short questionnaire to determine the respondent's location in the fall when entering another educational stage), a telephone survey was used. The only exception was during the second year of the senior high, when budget constraints limited TYP to collect data by telephone survey in order to prepare for the interview for both youth and parents in the next year.

As Phase I ended in 2010, for the J1 sample, the TYP had completed 9 youth survey waves, 5 parent waves, and 3 teacher waves; for the J3 sample, the corresponding figures were 8 survey waves for youth, 4 waves for parents, and 1 wave for teachers. Including the school principal survey in 2004, the TYP has generated a total of 31 datasets (see Attachment 1.1).

At the onset, the research team included ten sociologists and one social psychologist. As the project developed, we invited four more colleagues specializing in survey methods, qualitative analysis, and labor economics to join the group. The research team has both a genuine interest in youth subjects and a strong background in data analysis. Because of changing concerns about the developmental experiences of youth during this period, different questionnaires were constructed each year (e.g., the year the respondent entered school, the 2nd year of adjustment, the year of exam preparation) for both adolescents and parents. The intensive schedule propelled the research team to meet on a weekly basis since 2000.

Attachment 1.1 Data collection details of the Taiwan Youth Project (Phase 1)

Sample	Respondent	2000 Wave 1	2000–2001 Wave 2	2001–2002 Wave 3	2002–2003 Wave 4	2003–2004 Wave 5	2004–2005 Wave 6	2006 Wave 7	2007–2008 Wave 8	2008–2009	2009 Wave 9	2010
J1	Youth	J1 (Spring) (Self-adm)	J2 (Spring) (Self-adm)	J3 (Spring) (Self-adm) (Interview)	S1 (Fall) (Phone)	S2 (Fall) (Phone)	S3 (Spring) (Self-adm) (Interview)	C1 (Spring) (Phone)	C2 (Spring) (Self-adm) (Interview)		C4 (Spring) (Self-adm) (Interview)	
	Parent	(Self-adm)	(Self-adm)	(Self-adm)								
	Teacher	(Self-adm)	(Self-adm)									
J3	Youth	J3 (Spring) (Self-adm)	S1 (Fall) (Phone)	S2 (Fall) (Phone)	S3 (Spring) (Self-adm) (Interview)	C1 (Spring) (Phone)	C2 (Fall) (Self-adm) (Interview)	C4 (Fall) (Self-adm) (Interview)		A1 (Fall) (Phone)		
	Parent	(Self-adm)										
	Teacher	(Self-adm)										
In-depth interviews					30P-Y dyad		30P-Y dyad	30 + 30Youths				25 youths up to 2011
School principal					(Self-adm)							

Owing to the varying research interests of the team members, a general and inclusive research framework was constructed that incorporates both educational and psychological states as developmental outcomes from early adolescence through young adulthood.

The response rate of the TYP from 2000 through 2009 was satisfactory (see Attachment 1.2). After nine waves, we retained approximately 66% of the original sample in both the youth and parent samples. No replacement of samples was implemented during Phase I. The quantitative data across the junior high, senior high, and college stages will allow us to analyze the ways in which social capital facilitates or impedes youth development in the life course.

In addition to quantitative surveys, the TYP also conducted qualitative interviews with the goal of exploring the specific mechanisms that occur during the transition from adolescent to young adulthood. We selected 60 parent-youth dyads from the J1 sample and performed dyadic in-depth interviews in 2004. A second follow-up interview was completed in 2006 with youth respondents only. We began a third youth interview in 2010 and plan to complete this interview by 2012. The 60 parent-adolescent dyads represent samples from six occupational strata and various social backgrounds. Several analyses of these rich qualitative accounts have been conducted to explore the specific social mechanisms operating at major turning points in the life course.

In sum, after a decade of extensive data collection, Phase I of the TYP has formally ended. With the panel data that has been gathered, we are able to record both the general and unique growth trajectories of Taiwanese youth, which can be generalized to a certain extent to other Chinese and East Asian societies.

1.5   Chapter Highlights

This book examines key issues in the growth trajectory from early adolescence to young adulthood. The primary concern is to explore general, as well as unique, developmental processes that occur among East Asian youth by focusing on psychological well-being as the outcome indicator. To meet the goal, at least two aspects must be addressed: the inevitable compromise between traditional and modern values or behaviors and the emergent choices or life experiences shared by contemporary youth in this region. The struggle between tradition and modernity has existed for decades. However, we argue that this tension has become a much more acute challenge for youth in East Asia because of the overwhelming effect of globalization, which significantly enhances teens' social and cultural exposure to their Western counterparts. With regard to the emergent problems confronted at different stages, we argue that East Asian adolescents experience both greater social constraints and more social support than youth in other regions. The constraining force, with its emphasis on obedience and abiding by rules that often hinder the free expression of individual will, is rooted in the collectivistic norm. The supportive resources, especially those from family, usually help individual youth accomplish

Attachment 1.2 Response rates for each wave of the Taiwan Youth Project (Phase 1)

J1

Region	Initial sample size	Respondents													
		W1 Youth	W1 Parent	W2 Youth	W3 Youth	W3 Parent	W4 Youth	W5 Youth	W6 Youth	W6 Parent	W7 Youth	W8 Youth	W8 Parent	W9 Youth	W9 Parent
Taipei City	1,039	1,039	1,028	1,029	1,031	755	889	769	661	650	618	643	653	695	678
Taipei County	1,063	1,058	1,054	1,060	1,036	714	923	784	651	627	663	640	657	724	668
Yilan County	594	593	584	594	596	554	542	475	514	522	456	456	475	456	492
Total	2,696	2,690	2,666	2,683	2,663	2,023	2,354	2,028	1,826	1,799	1,737	1,739	1,785	1,875	1,838
Response rate%		99.78	98.89	99.52	98.78	75.04	87.31	75.22	67.73	66.73	64.43	64.5	66.21	69.55	68.18

J3

Region	Initial sample size	Respondents										
		W1 Youth	W1 Parent	W2 Youth	W3 Youth	W4 Youth	W4 Parent	W5 Youth	W6 Youth	W7 Youth	W7 Parent	W8 Youth
Taipei City	1,065	1,041	1,011	936	923	793	772	683	748	691	698	645
Taipei County	1,177	1,164	1,152	1,049	983	788	789	784	622	751	746	730
Yilan County	648	646	637	557	544	491	505	427	452	432	488	423
Total	2,890	2,851	2,800	2,542	2,450	2,072	2,066	1,894	1,822	1,874	1,932	1,798
Response rate%		98.65	96.89	87.96	84.78	71.7	71.49	65.54	63.04	64.84	66.85	62.21

educational or occupational goals, although the support is often accompanied by familial expectations. In other words, while youth around the world face both of the challenges mentioned above, East Asian youths encounter the same problems with a more substantial structural impact of cultural and normative perspectives. It is, therefore, important to both show how adolescents in East Asia react and adapt to current social situations and delineate the various mechanisms that account for their diversified growth patterns.

Large-scale longitudinal panel data are necessary to follow the long-term consequences of individual development during adolescence and young adulthood. This book thus makes substantial use of TYP data in its analyses. The empirical evidence based on the analysis of Taiwanese youth will be used as an illustration to understand East Asian youth in general because of the relatively homogenous cultural basis. In the following chapters, we show that for youth growing up in this patriarchal and conservative societal context, family and school are the most influential institutions at this particular life stage, and the interplay between these two institutions produces intricate and forcefully prescribed role expectations, which in turn reinforce the dominant value of educational achievement.

Lastly, we consider specific life experiences during the transition to young adulthood, with a focus on early work experience and leaving home. In addition, three chapters about South Korea, China, and Hong Kong are included for comparative reasons. Specifically, these chapters address the similarity between the competitive educational environments of South Korean and Taiwanese youth, the personal agency of early adolescent migrants in China's massive rural to urban migration, and the normative judgment and subjective well-being expressed by the post-1980s generation in Hong Kong. The three chapters focus on different aspects of psychological well-being among youth in East Asia and investigate slightly different age cohorts. Including a comparative section expands the current discussion to shared strong values on the educational priority and extending the vision of the common challenges facing future generations in East Asia.

Chapter 2: *Guan*. In this chapter, we propose that *guan* is indeed a better parenting concept to use when studying the Chinese family system. Different from the conventional concept of authoritarian or authoritative parenting in the West, Wu documented the effect of *guan* (an indigenous strategy of parental control) on academic success and the parent-adolescent relationship. Wu focused on junior and senior high school students in their final year to ascertain whether *guan* leads to educational success. For these students, the competitive entrance examinations provide a socially acceptable reason for parents to govern their daily activities and make the necessary accommodations for "the exam takers." The result of the analysis shows that while parents who accommodate more may be beneficial for adolescents' general well-being, a lower level of governance improves test score. In addition, while an intensive parenting style produces significant effects across different life stages – a finding comparable to results among Western adolescents – its influence on the parent-child relationship is ambivalent. Hence, the concept of *guan* moves beyond personal perceptions and attitudinal responses. We contend that *guan*, with its roots in cultural beliefs, is a

suitable parenting indicator when studying Chinese and East Asian families. The chapter ends with a discussion of the distinctiveness of the practice of *guan* among Chinese parents compared with typical Western parenting styles.

Chapter 3: *Single-Parent Families.* This chapter examines the emergence of single-parent families in East Asia by using Taiwanese data to illustrate the current situation as well as the future challenges that this new family structure will present for adolescent children's well-being. Pan begins by explaining how the unique cultural and structural background in the region affects the relative social standing of single-parent families and intact families. In particular, the salience of the patrilineal structure is incorporated in the construction of various single-parent family types. Her analysis highlights the fact that single-parent families resulting from parental death and parental divorce have entirely different social meanings as well as different challenges. While single-parent families in the East Asian context resemble their Western counterpart in that they suffer from numerous disadvantages, adolescents growing up with widowed mothers have the least access to resources among single-parent families. Divorced single-parent families experience greater conflict than other types of single-parent families, and parental divorce also produces more negative outcomes among adolescent children over time. Pan continues by delineating the importance of patrilineal culture in East Asia as a facilitating or constraining factor for single-parent families. In general, compared with a single-mother family, a single-father family can count on more substantive help from the natal family. However, a widowed mother is accepted by her husband's side of the family because of normative practices. In brief, Pan documents that in an East Asian society such as Taiwan, divorced single-parent families still suffer from more serious social stigma compared with their widowed counterparts and thus produce poorer psychological well-being among their adolescent children.

Chapter 4: *Quality of Family Relationships.* This chapter illustrates the significance of a three-generational family for an adolescent's overall well-being. A three-generational family has historically been the desirable family structure, and this family type still constitutes a substantial proportion of families in contemporary East Asia. Jou argues that this particular family structure should be taken into account when investigating the dynamics of family relationships among East Asian adolescents. Using data from the 3rd year senior high student sample, four major patterns of adolescent family relationship quality were derived via latent class models. The majority (65%) of families are categorized as *nuclear close* or close to parents and siblings; 20% report being close to grandparents, parents, and siblings (*multiple close*); 4% indicate being close to *paternal grandparents* only; and the remaining 10% express *distant* relationships with all significant family members. Overall, as many as one-quarter of Taiwanese youth in their late teens report being close to grandparents; this pattern is likely a by-product of the paternal cultural norm. Jou explores the possible influence of these four relationship patterns on various psychological well-being indicators 2 years later. The analysis finds that adolescents with better relationships with all family members report higher levels of family cohesion and self-esteem and lower levels of depression. The small

percentage of adolescents who report being close to grandparents only have well-being outcomes similar to those in the distant category. The author asserts, therefore, that although grandparents assume significant status in the East Asian family system, they cannot replace parents. However, an important message is confirmed in this chapter: for a typical adolescent in East Asia, grandparents are usually not considered kin as they are in the West, rather they are significant family members who provide an important socialization function in the family system.

Chapter 5: *The Classroom Effect*. This chapter highlights a common educational practice in East Asia: middle school students are assigned to a designated class and remain in the same class throughout junior high or senior high. Wu and Lei propose that the classroom context has significant effects on the psychological well-being of adolescents. The authors investigate an emerging problem in contemporary East Asian schools – adolescent delinquency. Using hierarchical linear modeling, which encompasses individual-level, classroom-level, and cross-level variables, Wu and Lei document that having deviant peers in class is associated with subsequent delinquent behavior among adolescents. By constructing a classroom-level measure of deviant behaviors, the authors show that a high level of classroom deviance has a moderating effect on adolescent delinquency. Specifically, students assigned to classes with a high level of deviance do not necessarily engage in more deviant behaviors, unless they associate with more deviant peers in class; for students who do not report deviant peer affiliation, it does not matter whether they are in a classroom with a high or low level of delinquency. Having more friends in class is an important buffer because it decreases the likelihood of being involved in problem behaviors regardless of aggregate levels of delinquency in the classroom. Wu and Lei's study demonstrates that the structural effects of the school classroom are clearly evident in an East Asian society such as Taiwan. Findings from this chapter further remind readers that the school classroom is the specific context in which to explore varying developmental outcomes, especially those pertaining to adolescent delinquency.

Chapter 6: *Friendship Networks*. To provide further evidence of the significance of the classroom effect among East Asian adolescents, Lee and his colleagues explore friendship networks within school classes and their influence on the academic performance and psychological well-being of early adolescents. The authors identify the antecedents of "structural holes" as well as the possible consequences of network position, hoping to verify this very influential idea of social network proposed by Ronald Burt in the adolescent context. Data gathered over a 3-year period during junior high reveal that students with high structural holes usually have diverse and rich interpersonal relationships. Being in a position of bridging different friendship networks is also associated with better social skills and a better self-concept, including enjoying being the focus of the group, being sociable, or encouraging a group atmosphere. This type of network bridging role also leads to better academic performance. Overall, findings from this chapter confirm the impact of brokerage network positions on the self-perception, academic achievement, and psychological well-being of early adolescents. Students who are popular in their school class are also likely to do well in academic studies. In addition,

structural hole levels are higher among boys than girls. This pattern corresponds to previous reports for adult samples; however, Lee and colleagues document that gender variation in network formation begins early and already has a demonstrable and significant impact during the early adolescence. Adolescent friendship networks have received inadequate attention in social network analysis; this chapter provides empirical evidence that largely confirms the major claims of Burt's structural holes theory in the context of teenagers and also supplements the tripartite cohesion argument of social capital from the Coleman research tradition. In the East Asian context in which adolescents spent most of their available time at school – or more specifically, within the same classroom – friendship formation and power relations within various network circles are important socialization processes that should not be neglected.

Chapter 7: *Cram Schools*. Adolescents in East Asia spend long hours at school, and most also attend cram classes after regular school hours to achieve better performance on school entrance examinations. This educational competition and the accompanying pressure, which are reflected in higher levels of depressive symptoms, lower self-esteem, and more deviant behaviors, highlight the fact that the educational system in the region has a pronounced influence on adolescents' psychological well-being. When studying cram schools in China, Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan, data limitations pose a significant problem. This chapter utilizes TYP data to examine cram schooling in the Taiwanese setting. Cram schooling in Taiwan is characterized by high attendance rates during junior and senior high school. Over 80% of junior high students have ever attended cram school (including off-campus private cram classes and on-campus after-school classes). As the time for the entrance examination approaches during the last year of junior high and senior high, students report spending an increasing amount of time in cram classes (e.g., 36% spent over 12 h per week). Chang analyzes cram schooling changes during senior high school, in which general and vocational tracks are differentiated. He notes that a sharp decline occurs for students in the vocational track (an average of 25% students in the last year). In general senior high schools, however, the corresponding attendance rate increases with school rank; 82% of students at the most prestigious senior high schools attend cram school, followed by 68% of students at public schools, and 42% of students at private schools. Concerning exam outcomes, attending cram schools undoubtedly contributes to the higher likelihood of entering public schools. Hence, cram schools are highly oriented toward the keen competition to enter better schools in the next educational level. In this chapter, we consider cram schooling a family strategy practiced by families with different resources. The analysis shows that students from families with higher socioeconomic status (SES) are more likely to attend cram classes and take more subjects, requiring more tuition. In contrast, after-school classes are more common among lower-SES students because of their low cost. Chang thus concludes that cram schooling in Taiwan maintains or even exacerbates social inequality.

Chapter 8: *Educational Tracking Outcomes*. To emphasize the overwhelming effect of educational competition, Yi and her colleagues examine educational

tracking and its influence on the psychological well-being of youth from early adolescence to young adulthood. Early vocational versus general educational tracking is implemented in Taiwan in two phases: from junior high to senior high and from senior high to college. When a society places an extremely high value on educational achievement, the vocational track becomes the secondary choice. With this background in mind, the authors argue that, in Taiwan, structural constraints such as the educational system may have a more powerful influence on the developmental outcomes of adolescence than the biological maturation process. Using a scale of depressive symptoms for youth aged 13–22, the authors find two peaks of depressive symptoms that correspond to the timing of the senior high and college entrance examinations. This general pattern differs sharply from Western results, which reveal a gradual increase, a plateau, and then a decline during the same period. With regard to educational tracking outcomes, results confirm the expected significant effect. Specifically, students in the vocational track tend to report better mental health before age 19 due to less stress from educational competition, while students in the general track consistently report more depressive symptoms. However, during young adulthood, increased levels of human capital reduce the rate of depression among college-educated young people. In contrast, during this period, high school graduates demonstrate the most noticeable increase in negative mental health. Therefore, Yi et al. conclude that, when studying the psychological well-being of East Asian youth, in addition to the effect of educational competition, the differentiated tracking system embedded in the educational system is a structural factor that differentially affects the growth trajectories of adolescents.

Chapter 9: *Early Employment*. This chapter examines the experience of work and the way it interacts with schooling to influence the psychological well-being of youth in the transition from middle and late adolescence to young adulthood. Huang and Chien use four different well-being outcomes—happiness, mental disorder, physical disorders, and sleep disorders—to compare youth during adolescence (aged 16–18) and young adulthood (aged 19–24). Because diverse growth trajectories occur during these turbulent years, four distinctive categories utilizing work and school experiences are constructed (school only, work and school, work only, and the economically idle group) to discern the potential effects of the socially expected growth pattern on individual well-being. The analysis shows that part-time work experience during senior high school is more common among students in the vocational track (53%) than students in the general track (30%), and this trend continues after the transition to young adulthood. Moreover, when comparing youth at ages 16–18 and ages 19–24, a distinction can be made with regard to the positive influence of work experience for the latter stage. Working between the ages of 19 and 24 results in consistently higher well-being scores for all four indices examined. However, working between the ages of 16 and 18 does not produce a similarly significant effect. The authors thus contend that when youths move from adolescence to adulthood, societal expectations pertaining to the suitable timing of schooling and working have a strong constraining effect on individual psychological well-being. In addition, this chapter analyzes economically idle youths. Staying