

**Asia Research Institute
Working Paper Series No. 156**

**From Adolescence to Young Adulthood:
Challenges for Taiwan Youth
Facing a Changing Society**

Chin-Chun Yi
Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

chinyi@gate.sinica.edu.tw

June 2011



This paper is part of the ARI ASIA TRENDS SERIES that was held on 5 May 2011.

The **ARI Working Paper Series** is published electronically by the Asia Research Institute of the National University of Singapore.

© Copyright is held by the author or authors of each Working Paper.

ARI Working Papers cannot be republished, reprinted, or reproduced in any format without the permission of the paper's author or authors.

Note: The views expressed in each paper are those of the author or authors of the paper. They do not necessarily represent or reflect the views of the Asia Research Institute, its Editorial Committee or of the National University of Singapore.

Citations of this electronic publication should be made in the following manner: Author, "Title," ARI Working Paper, No. #, Date, www.nus.ari.edu.sg/pub/wps.htm. For instance, Smith, John, "Ethnic Relations in Singapore," ARI Working Paper, No. 1, June 2003, www.ari.nus.edu.sg/pub/wps.htm.

Asia Research Institute Editorial Committee

Michelle Miller - Chair

Gregory Clancey

Jeremy Kingsley

Jonahan Benny

Liang Yongjia

Peter Marolt

Tim Bunnell

Valerie Yeo

Asia Research Institute

National University of Singapore

469A Tower Block #10-01,

Bukit Timah Road,

Singapore 259770

Tel: (65) 6516 3810

Fax: (65) 6779 1428

Website: www.ari.nus.edu.sg

Email: arisee@nus.edu.sg

The Asia Research Institute (ARI) was established as a university-level institute in July 2001 as one of the strategic initiatives of the National University of Singapore (NUS). The mission of the Institute is to provide a world-class focus and resource for research on the Asian region, located at one of its communications hubs. ARI engages the social sciences broadly defined, and especially interdisciplinary frontiers between and beyond disciplines. Through frequent provision of short-term research appointments it seeks to be a place of encounters between the region and the world. Within NUS it works particularly with the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Business, Law and Design, to support conferences, lectures, and graduate study at the highest level.

From Adolescence to Young Adulthood: Challenges for Taiwan Youth Facing a Changing Society

TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD

An important subject in the youth study which receives more attention over the last decade is the transition to adulthood. By a focus on the transition into adulthood, the life course perspective and longitudinal panel design are inevitably employed.

Overall, educational performance and psychological well-being are perhaps the two most examined outcome variables during the adolescent stage (McLeod and Fettes, 2007; Furstenberg, 2000). Peer influence, friendship networks, deviant behaviors, self-esteem, autonomy, as well as family relations and intergenerational transmissions are significant issues often incorporated in the study.

In addition to these general concerns, there is a unique cultural value in the East Asian and Chinese societies which affects adolescent growth and deserves systematic investigation—the educational competition. With a cultural heritage which place high value on educational achievement, the expected role for an average youth aged 12-18 is rather clear--studying hard, getting ahead in the entrance examinations and bringing in family glory; this is in accord with the traditional values (Hsu, 1971). Take Taiwan for example. The educational competition accompanied by the strong social expectations has conditioned and dominated life experiences of adolescents. With this background in mind, a group of social scientists in Taiwan began to explore the diversified growth trajectories of Taiwanese youth with a research goal to delineate potential effects from changing structural environment.

The transition from adolescence to young adulthood in this region may be characterized by several salient markers which differentiate East Asian youth from their western counterparts. On the one hand, a continuity of developmental outcomes by analyzing the effect from earlier stage is a shared research focus. But we may observe a postponed time table among East Asian youth owing to the different concept of autonomy. For instance, with a continuing emphasis on the educational achievement, we expect family and school context to maintain their influence during the transitional years. In particular, the educational tracking outcome on various developmental patterns can be delineated

There are emerging issues needed to be incorporated for young adults too. In general, the experience of occupational acquisition and the formation of intimate relations are major life domains at this stage. In a society like Taiwan where series of developmental stage are well prescribed for youth, deviation from the “normative track” may bring about harmful effects on individuals. It is thus considered appropriate to investigate the above topics during young adulthood. In addition, to compare the relative importance of familial, personal and situational resources in the process will allow us to delineate how social capital operates and is mobilized in a guan-xi society. It is therefore imperative to examine young adults’ early work experience, the mate selection process as well as to continue following relevant issues related to the diverse growth trajectory overtime.

In brief, there are different challenges facing Taiwanese youth from early adolescence to young adulthood. Besides personal factors, macro-structural mechanisms which may have cultural basis (e.g., the educational system) or may be the result of social changes (e.g., dating behavior) need to be examined. Hence, we argue that the transition to adulthood is a process as well as an outcome of adolescence. To delineate the relative impact of family versus school or workplace; parents versus peers; structural versus relational factors will undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of contemporary youth in East Asia and in various Chinese societies. Enabled by a longitudinal panel data, the growth trajectory of Taiwanese youth may be captured and may serve as a reference to other Asian youth in general.

ABOUT THE TAIWAN YOUTH PROJECT

Research Background

Taiwan Youth Project (hereafter TYP) aims to investigate the trajectory of youth growth in Taiwan from the life course perspective (Elder, 1985, 1999; Elder et al., 1993). We argue that significant social context, particularly family, school, community as well as the interplay of these three dominant institutions, accounts for various growth trajectories of youth. In Phase I, the time frame is set from adolescence to young adulthood, and the linkage between life experiences during adolescence and the subsequent developmental outcome during young adulthood are our major concern. To focus on the developmental pattern as well as the transitional phase, we believe that beyond biological and psychological traits (Erickson, 1959), important social structural and personal resources factors need to be incorporated in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the social field where Taiwanese youth operate their daily lives. In addition, with a patriarchal cultural heritage shared among Chinese and East Asian societies, the normative expectation of obedience and diligence has led to the good student model being almost the only role assigned to a typical adolescent in Taiwan (Yi and Wu, 2004). As a consequence, life experiences and life goals for typical Taiwanese youth are often very different from their counterpart in the West.

On the other hand, since the globalization in East Asia inevitably contains substantial elements of westernization, it will be important to compare and delineate commonalities as well as particularities in the developmental process of youth in the region. An attempt is thus made to explore the indigenous developmental pattern of Taiwanese youth during this life stage, and to specify salient mechanisms accounted for the diversified outcomes when facing rapidly changing social environment. We assume that as a traditional society encounters modernization, individual differences will increase as a result of and as a response to the exposure to varying structural as well as cultural impact. Therefore, while TYP represents an academic effort to understand the process of Taiwanese youth growth, it may also be generalized to the neighboring Chinese and East Asian youth counterparts who are situated in similarly changing social context.

In brief, TYP attempts to study social dimensions of youth development with a special attention to the interplay of family, school and community as most relevant social mechanisms affecting various growth trajectories of contemporary Taiwanese youth.

Research Focus

A notable trend of changing cultural tradition in Taiwan and in other Chinese and East Asian societies is the gradual move from high collective to individual orientation (Yang, 1995). To capture the impact of changing norms in relation to the transitional period of the youth, besides general themes shared by most youth studies worldwide, selective specific issues pertaining to the Taiwanese, Chinese or East Asian context are chosen. For example, the concept of autonomy reflected in the family process, spatial and community attachment resulted from leaving home, dating attitudes as well as friendship network formation, or the concept of filial piety (Yeh and Bedford, 2003) in relation to elderly support are typically significant experiences among Taiwanese youth and will be highlighted. In particular, two entrance examinations in the life course, namely the comprehensive test for entering senior high school as well as for entering college, dominate the daily life of youth. In order to show this overwhelming social pressure resulted from the cultural as well as structural aspects, TYP examines the cram class attendance and constructs an innovative module on corresponding family educational strategy.

It should be noted that for a typical Taiwanese adolescent, academic outcome is often closely associated with personal well-being, the development of psychological well-being has been followed annually. Furthermore, during the period from early adolescence to young adulthood, the contrast between the majority of regular track with continuing education in schools versus those in the off-course categories such as drop-outs or teenager workers in the labor force often not only represents different growth trajectory, it signifies different developmental outcomes as well. Qualitative accounts with parent-youth dyads are hence gathered in order to provide in-depth explanatory information on this subject.

Due to the relatively early educational tracking system in Taiwan, TYP examines the tracking process occurred during the transition from adolescence to young adulthood. Structural factors such as social class, gender norms, rural urban background and school resources, and individual or family demographic as well as attitudinal or social psychological factors are delineated which enable the comparative analysis. Moreover, TYP includes culturally unique factors such as the classroom dynamics which is a common practice in junior and senior high schools in East Asia. As to the family context, the experience of three generational co-residence which constitutes a substantial proportion in East Asian societies is also emphasized. These non-western factors are considered important and unique aspects of teenagers' life domain. Hence, an attempt is made to delineate their potential effects on Taiwanese youth in the process of growing up. The turning point mechanism is further elaborated by qualitative studies such as the family resilience observed among disadvantaged groups with educational success.

In other words, the social capital, indicated by the interplay between family, school and community, serves as the underlying explanatory concept (Coleman, 1988; McNeal, 1999; Lin, 2002; Crosnoe, 2004). The effect of social capital on the educational and occupational aspiration or achievement as well as on the individual psychological well-being becomes the final outcome in our research framework. Enabled by the longitudinal panel design, TYP intends to describe various growth patterns of Taiwanese youth from adolescents to young adulthood. To achieve the intended goal, significant social mechanisms affecting values, attitudes and behaviors of youth which in turn account for the diverse life course patterns will be identified. For TYP Phase I from 2000 to 2009, four main research goals are listed below:

- To examine youth's developmental process by emphasizing the interplay of family, school and community.
- To explore possible linkages between early adolescence and young adulthood from the life course perspective.
- To analyze the operation and the outcome of social capital on various growth patterns of youth.
- To delineate diverse growth trajectories of Taiwanese youth during the transitional period.

Samples, Research Design and the Research Team

Taiwan Youth Project is a longitudinal panel study conducted by the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. The first phase of this project started in the year 2000 with baseline interviews launched in March, 2000. The annual follow-up surveys have continued until 2009. In order to examine the effect of educational reform on youth development, two cohorts were chosen in the year 2000: 7th graders (first-year student in junior high, J1) who were under the new system after the educational reform, and 9th graders (third/last-year student 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 graders in 2000 were about 22 years old, and the 9th graders at the beginning wave were about 24 years old.

The TYP surveys applied a multi-stage stratified cluster random sampling framework to obtain school-based representative samples. 1000 junior high students from Taipei City (the largest metropolitan city in Taiwan), 1000 students from Taipei County (a mixture of both agriculture and manufacturing industries), and 800 students from Yi-Lan County (agriculture as the dominant industry) for both J1 and J3 were pre-determined at the planning stage.

For the first stage of sampling, level of urbanization was used as the criterion to divide both Taipei City and Taipei County into three strata, and Yi-Lan County into two strata. Within each stratum, the expected sample size was derived from the proportion of students in that stratum out of all students in that particular city or county. Furthermore, in order to capture the peer interaction and to highlight the special classroom dynamics (班級, ban-ji) in Taiwan during the middle school stage, a decision was made to use the school class as the smallest sampling unit, and to interview all students in the selected class. Thus, we first calculate the mean student number in the class for each specific stratum, then divided by the sampling number derived from above so as to get the number of classes needed to be chosen. For each school, two classes for each grade were randomly selected. Hence, once the number of classes required for each specific stratum is attained, the number of schools needed to be obtained is given.

Finally, a randomly 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. To sample the whole class means all students in the selected classes were interviewed. In addition, one of student's parents, the designated teacher of the classroom during junior high stage, and the school principal of junior high were all included in the survey. Our final sample is constituted of 81 classes (including one special class of physical education) for each grade from 40 schools: 16 schools from Taipei City, 15 from Taipei County, and 9 from Yi-Lan County. The initial sample size in 2000 (adding J1 and J3) was 2,696 for 7th graders, and 2,890 for 9th graders.

All surveys were approved by the school principal, the designated teachers of the class, and the students' parents before conducting the field interviews.

Overall, for J1 surveys, TYP completed 9 youth surveys, 5 parent surveys and 3 teacher's surveys; for J3, the corresponding figures are 8 waves for youth, 4 waves for parents and 1 wave for teacher. Including the school principle survey taken place in 2004, TYP has generated 31 datasets all together.

Figure 1: Details of Data Collection of Taiwan Youth Project (Phase 1)

Sample	Respondent	2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2006	2007-08	2009
		Wave1	Wave2	Wave3	Wave4	Wave5	Wave6	Wave7	Wave8	Wave9
J1	Youth	J1 (spring) (Self-Adm)	J2 (spring) (Self-Adm)	J3 (spring) (Self-Adm)	S1 (fall) (Phone)	S2 (fall) (Phone)	S3 (spring) (Self-Adm)	C1 (spring) (Phone)	C2 (spring) (Self-Adm)	C4 (spring) (Self-Adm)
	Parent	(Self-Adm)		(Interview)			(Interview)		(Interview)	(Interview)
	Teacher	(Self-Adm)	(Self-Adm)	(Self-Adm)						
J3	Youth	J3 (spring) (Self-Adm)	S1 (fall) (Phone)	S2 (fall) (Phone)	S3 (spring) (Self-Adm)	C1 (spring) (Phone)	C2 (fall) (Self-Adm)	C4 (fall) (Self-Adm)	M1 (fall) (Phone)	
	Parent	(Self-Adm)			(Interview)		(Interview)	(Interview)		
	Teacher	(Self-Adm)								
In-depth Interviews						30 P-Y dyad	30 P-Y dyad	30+30 Youths		20 Youths
School Principal						(Self-Adm)				

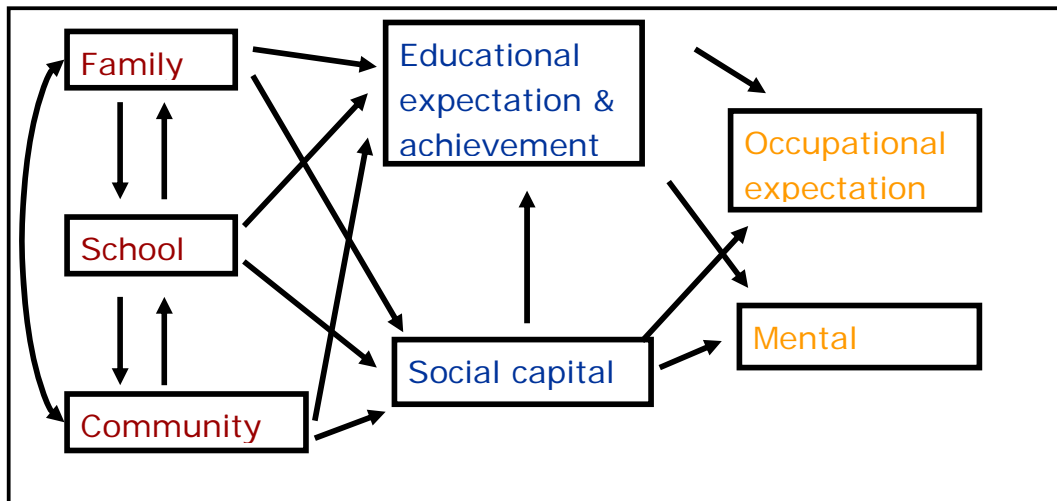
In addition to quantitative surveys, TYP also conduct qualitative interviews which allow us to delineate specific mechanisms occurred during the transition from adolescent to young adulthood. We select 60 parent-youth dyads from the J1 sample and perform dyadic in-depth interviews at 2004 with two follow-up interviews of youth only at 2006 and 2010. The qualitative study provides important information especially pertaining to the non-regular or off-course experiences of the youth. For example, family resilience of lower class samples with high academic achievement is revealed through numerous accounts on the family dynamics involved (Pan and Yi, 2010).

At the onset, the research team was composed of 10 sociologists and 1 social psychologist. As the project develops, we invite 4 more colleagues specializing in survey method, qualitative analysis and labor economics to join the group. The research team is equipped with both a genuine interest in youth subjects and a strong background in data analysis. Due to various concerns for youth's developmental experience at this period, different questionnaires are constructed each year (e.g., the year entering the school, the 2nd year of adjustment, the year preparing for the entrance exam, etc.) for both youths and parents. The intensive schedule has propelled the research team to meet on a regular weekly basis since 2000. Also, owing to the varying research interests among team members, a general and

inclusive research framework is constructed which serves as the basic guideline in the process (Figure 2). As can be seen, both physical and psychological indicators are specified as the major developmental outcome from early adolescence to young adulthood.

In brief, after a decade's extensive efforts in data collection, TYP has come to a formal closure in 2010 for its Phase I project. With the panel data available, we are able to record the general as well as unique growth trajectories of Taiwanese youth which may be generalized to some extent to other Chinese and East Asian societies.

Figure 2: Research Framework of Taiwan Youth Project (Phase 1)



SELECTIVE FINDINGS FROM TYP PHASE I (2000-2009): FAMILY, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CONTEXT

Data

TYP panel study is designed to follow teenagers from early adolescence into young adulthood. The response rate has been satisfactory. After nine waves of surveys, we are able to retain approximately 66% of the original sample in both youth and parent samples. The quantitative data across junior high to senior high and to college stages will allow us to analyze the social capital facilitating or impeding youth's development in the life course. As to in-depth qualitative interviews, the 60 selective parent-adolescent dyads represent samples from six occupational strata and with special focus on various backgrounds. An attempt is thus made to explore specific social mechanisms operated at major turning points in the life course from the rich qualitative accounts.

Figure 3: Response Rates of Each Wave of Taiwan Youth Project (Phase 1)

J1		Respondents													
Region	Initial Sample Size	W1		W2		W3		W4	W5	W6		W7	W8		W9
		youth	parent	youth	youth	parent	youth	youth	youth	parent	youth	youth	parent	youth	parent
Taipei City	1039	1039	1028	1029	1031	755	889	769	661	650	618	643	653	695	678
Taipei County	1063	1058	1054	1060	1036	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	2696	2690	2666	2683	2663	2023	2354	2028	1826	1799	1737	1739	1785	1875	1838
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		Respondents												
Region	Initial Sample Size	W1		W2	W3	W4		W5	W6		W7		W8	
		youth	parent	youth	youth	youth	parent	youth	youth	parent	youth	parent	youth	
Taipei City	1065	1041	1011	936	923	793	772	683	748	749	691	698	645	
Taipei County	1177	1164	1152	1049	983	788	789	784	622	612	751	746	730	
Yilan County	648	646	637	557	544	491	505	427	452	506	432	488	423	
Total	2890	2851	2800	2542	2450	2072	2066	1894	1822	1867	1874	1932	1798	
Response Rate%		98.65	96.89	87.96	84.78	71.7	71.49	65.54	63.04	64.6	64.84	66.85	62.21	

Selective Major Findings

TYP research team and invited collaborators have utilized TYP datasets to analyze various aspects of life experiences among Taiwanese youth. While the majority appears to focus on adolescents' psychological well-being, other subjects such as the relative influence on the mental health from family and school context (Yi, et.al., 2009), interpersonal relationship (Jou, 2009), kin networks (Chang, et.al., 2008), moral beliefs (Wu and Jou, 2009), premarital sex (Chiao and Yi, 2011) and the Internet use (Chen and Fu, 2009) are explored. Selective findings will be highlighted below:

Family Processes

Parents

We first focus on parenting during the transition from junior high to senior high. Among four typical parenting styles derived from latent transition analysis, it is found that parents do change the control style from more stringent to more lenient pattern. Specifically, the most common 'high monitoring and low explanation' or 'lack of control' at the 9th grade is replaced by either 'high monitoring only' or 'both high monitoring and explanation' at the 10th grade (Wu and Jou, 2004). The subsequent parenting from 10th to 11th grade is relatively constant and has no significant gender differentials. As expected, adolescents with good relationship with both parents enjoy better health, higher self-esteem, lower depressive symptoms and perform better in school (Jou, 2009).

Another important subject to explore is the life perception of middle-age parents with adolescent children. “The sandwich generation” with double burdens of child care and elder care certainly characterizes our parents well. It is shown that parents differ in life perception as well as in social support mechanisms (Jou and Huang 2007; Jou, et. al., 2010). Mothers in general reveal more negative mid-life perception, but also more emotional support. Middle-age fathers are likely to report their relationship with adolescent children as “at distance”, but mothers instead, tend to answer “close or conflict” relationship (Ibid.).

It should be noted that children’s behavior and school performance produce salient influence on parents’ psychological well-being and on parent-child relationship. In Taiwan, comprehensive entrance examination does impose important constraint in the family process as reflected by the parenting style. Also, mother’s midlife perception is positively effected by child’s academic achievement. These findings illustrate that under the highly competitive educational system, the reserve impact from adolescent children to middle-age parents is observed which requires further study.

Family educational strategy

This is a new subject aiming to delineate the intense reaction a typical family adapts toward the competitive educational system in Taiwan. During the last year of junior high and senior high, both youths and parents are asked of specific family strategy applied at home. This includes physical provision (e.g., better space for study, better nourishment), family accommodation (e.g, parents decrease social activities or ask others at home to yield to the exam-taker-to-be) and behavior monitoring (e.g., limit time on the phone/internet or regulate daily routine).The result shows that parents tend to report higher likelihood of family accommodation and physical provision, while youths report higher monitoring behavior from parents. In addition, family strategy is clearly a practice varied by family’s SES with resourceful families using more various strategies that result in better academic performance indicated by the score from the entrance examination.

Intergenerational relations

Intergenerational relation in the Chinese family context is undoubtedly one of the most significant aspects over the life course. Overall, the kin network as reported by the youth sample leans toward bi-lateral and has a weak but significant and positive influence on Taiwanese adolescents’ happiness (Chang, et al., 2008).The relationship between youth and parents and grandparents has been analyzed by subjective emotional closeness, by value transmission as well as by family structure. Our findings clearly point out the importance of earlier family experiences such as the co-residence of three generational household and being care for grandparents before age three, on the subsequent intergenerational relations (Yi, et.al., 2006).Lineage differentials with a preference toward patrilineal advantage are also documented (Yi and Pan, 2005). Using revised Kohn’s child-rearing value scale, it is confirmed not only identical value factors can be derived for both youths and parents, value transmission is significantly affected by family’s SES (particularly father’s education, but not father’s occupation) (Yi, et al., 2004).Further analyses show that birth order of the youth is an important factor affecting the intergenerational relations in that eldest grandsons report the highest closeness with grandparents, much more so that granddaughters. Since Chinese families are characterized by strong lineage, gender and generational hierarchies, TYP findings offer the international podium a valuable and unique interaction pattern between generations.

School Effects

Educational aspiration and tracking

Taiwan has a relatively early educational tracking system. After the first tracking from junior high to senior high at about age 15, roughly 46% of youths enter senior high schools while half enters senior vocational high school or 5 year college. The year for the second tracking from senior high to college results in 65% in college, 12% at work, 11% in cram class, 8% remaining at high school. The educational aspiration also varies during the tracking process. Youths not only tend to lower the highest degree intended to achieve as they age, they also reveal a more realistic attitude matching with their school performance. Parents, in contrast, have expressed relatively more stable aspiration in this regard. However, it should be pointed out that while Family's SES decreases its effect overtime, it does have a negative association with aspiration toward vocational high school in that higher SES families tend to dissuade children away from the vocational track at the high school stage.

Educational tracking further produces strong effects on the psychological a well-being of Taiwanese youth over time. Different from the Western model where a gradual increase of depressive symptoms until age 18 is observed during adolescent period, the depressive curve among Taiwanese youth corresponds with two entrance examinations with two peaks at age 15 and age 18. In addition, youth in the general track obviously experience greater pressure from the educational competition and thus reveals higher depressive symptoms than their vocational counterpart. In other words, TYP is able to document that structural effects may produce more significant impact on the youth development than the biological maturation model.

Friendship network

TYP samples the whole class and asks each student to name their three best friends over the years. This intelligent design allows us to examine friendship formation in junior high and to follow changes afterwards. Two major lines of analyses are employed. Using network closure across generations indicate that more closed networks between parents of youth and friends do contribute to better academic ranking in class and to avoid delinquent behaviors (Fu, 2004). This finding echoes the pattern reported in the West. The other focus is to explore the classroom effect as well as the potential influence from the designated teacher of the class. In general, patterns of friendship network are shown to be dynamic and vary according to class size and the gender combination of the class. Larger sizes and uni-gender class tend to have higher propensity of changing friendship networks over the years. As expected, the peer influence is significant with good friends exerting positive academic outcome, but lower self-esteem. Friendship network is also examined with its relation to deviant behaviors (Wu and Lei, 2006) and in pre-marital sex (Chiao and Yi, 2011). Findings point out that school friends constitute major component of youth's friendship network and consequently, school effects are shown to have longer effects relative to the family effects on the growth trajectories of youth.

The cram class

Attending the cram class appears to be a common life style among Taiwanese youth. Interestingly, Yi-lan actually has higher attendance rate than Taipei during junior high stage, reflecting possible reactions toward less educational resources in the rural area. Cram class experience is much more likely for junior high (55%-64%) than for senior high (32%-34%) due to the first tracking effect. Nevertheless, for top high school samples, the attendance rate is as high as 82% (vs. 62% of public high and 25% of private high schools). This result as

compared with the correlates for after-school classes for the 3rd year students in most junior high schools leads us to conclude that attending cram class is a reinforcing strategy while attending after-school classes a remedial strategy for Taiwanese youth. But the effect of attending cram class is most pronounced among students with middle educational performance who are most likely to enter the public senior high school.

Community Context

Community interaction

Community participation as well as community attachment are two main concepts examined by TYP. The experience of community interaction is considered to exert influence on the life satisfaction of youth. Our findings support this argument and points out that family and friends are important mediators in the process. In addition, the relative importance between parental versus community effects in youth's community attachment is compared. The result suggests that family effect dominates in the adolescent period. Also, rural-urban differences are studied throughout the entire project. Preliminary analyses show that rural youth tends to express more autonomy at an earlier age while urban youths are more subject to parental guidance in making important decisions (Hsieh, 2006). Whether the difference reflects a forced early autonomy due to the relative inadequacy among rural parents or the prolonged dependency for resourceful urban youth remains to be explored.

Community disadvantage

Objective indicators such as unemployment, crime rate, welfare percentage, etc. at the community level support the community disadvantage argument for Yi-lan country. Our analyses point out it also interacts with family structure in that as community disadvantage increases, deviance in various types of family structure also increases (Lin, 2004).

The Interplay of Family, School and Community

Social class difference

A recent finding elaborates on the class differential in terms of parental involvement in school and at home (Wu, 2008). In general, with regard to academic performance, middle-class parents are more effective in attending parent-teacher meetings and in responding school diary; working-class parents who discuss educational plan with youths help significantly, but not in doing actual homework nor in setting up study schedules. Obviously, class resources may be transformed into specific educational resources that in turn, contribute to the academic outcome. The concept of “Guan” (管) is another important subject to document the social class differences for TYP. For this authentic Chinese parenting norm, new scales are designed and analyzed to document the universal versus the particular aspects valued by middle class parents in comparison with the working class parents.

Mental health

One of the most interesting findings of TYP is the gender difference in the developmental trajectory during adolescence. Depression over the junior and senior high years indicates that while boys tend to have an U shape curve, girls have the opposite U shape. Although girls are more depressed at the beginning years, after the first tracking stage or after entering senior high, girls are more likely to decrease the depression level. Significant life events in the family are immediate triggers, but only traumatic incidence such as parental divorce will exert long term effects, others are mostly temporary impact. Comparing effects from the family, school and community context, school effects such as teacher evaluation or peer

relations tend to produce lasting effects in mental health as well as in the educational outcome. Furthermore, for middle-age parents, emotional support significantly mediates mother's depression level, but not father's.

Deviant behavior

Deviant behaviors as external expression are not necessarily associated with individual's internal psychological well-being. Again, gender differences are found in that boys are more inclined to show deviant behaviors while girls are more likely to have depression, if external stimulus is present. Having more deviant friends result in more deviant behaviors. The HLM analysis further points out that the average classroom deviant level accounts for the probability of becoming deviants during adolescence (Wu and Lei, 2004).

TAIWAN YOUTH PROJECT PHASE II: 2011-

TYP was launched in 2000 with an average age of 13 for J1 sample and 15 for J3 sample. When Phase I completes in 2009, both samples have become young adults of age 22 and 24 respectively. The transition from adolescence to young adulthood in Taiwan was successfully recorded. It is clear that the overwhelming majority of samples has completed educational training and is now in the process of finding jobs and building intimate relationships. Hence, in addition to combine both J1 and J3 samples, the general floor plan for subsequent adulthood surveys will continue to focus on significant transitional stages during adulthood. In particular, to use the family life cycle as an example, the life stage before marriage, after the first child birth to age 6, children in the elementary school, and when children entering the adolescence need to be captured. With a rich longitudinal panel data available, we will be able to examine the horizontal linkages among respondent's various life stages as well as to compare the intergenerational transmission of values and behaviors between parents and children who will become middle-age parents with teenager children.

In other words, TYP Phase II will comprise adult samples with an emphasis to link previous adolescent experiences. According to the official statistics, the average age of first marriage for Taiwanese men in 2009 is 30.9 years old and 28.4 years old for women. We expect that this period of young adulthood or the duration before establishing own family (i.e., from mid-20s to late-20s) is crucial to delineate mechanisms involved in the transition from young adulthood to later development. Hence, significant life domains such as first job search, relations with the family of origin, peer contacts, mate selection experiences, etc. will be the first step in our investigation. This is what TYP Phase II Wave 1 is targeted.

In brief, there are at least three reasons why it is imperative to continue TYP II:

To follow up the panel since early adolescence

There are only few panel studies of youth in the West and most are attached with the general household survey. TYP, instead, places youth as the central focus and extends to parents. Different from other youth studies which usually are restricted to teen years, TYP examines the transition from early adolescence to young adulthood. This research design enables us to understand different developmental concerns in the life course of youth. Specifically, data gathered during early adolescence to late adolescence may be linked to the diversified life experiences at this stage. Moreover, since most samples have recently left the school context, it is critical that various growth trajectories be studied as we follow how these early young adults become young adults in the society.

To capture the beginning adulthood experience

Rarely do social scientists observe the process of first occupational experience or the mate selection process in the life course. During Phase II, the young adults will face the third tracking route by entering the military service, taking the job, establishing own family and career. Since a substantial proportion (41% as of J3W6) of youths, especially rural youths, migrate from home town to urban areas, it is timely to examine the changing concept of their social space often generated from social relations in conjunction with the geographical space from physical movement. Gender differential and social capital mobilization are expected to exert important effects during this period. It is a core sociological concern to relate previous educational training and parental resources to the occupational status achieved. Equally important is the investigation of the autonomy practice in the Chinese setting. Phase II study will allow us to explore the above issues with on-site information.

To build the linkage for future studies of adult samples

All panels age, especially the youth sample. When youths are no longer in their adolescence, it will be time to apply regular family and household studies. TYP has the advantage of large sample size, starting with early adolescents, and collecting both survey and in-depth interview data. When TYP sample enters adulthood and middle-aged group, it may become the generational study of the family, and consequently, youth of the next generation can be added to the study. Undoubtedly, different generational comparison with similar items will enrich our understanding of the family processes in Taiwan.

Research Focus: Continuity and New Dimensions

TYP phase II will administer survey interviews with emerging issues such as job acquisition, mate selection as well as continuing subjects such as gender socialization at home, friendship network development. Take one continuing topic for example. Gendered division of labor were asked for both youths and parents during junior high, senior high, college and will be asked in Phase II when the targeted sample becomes adults. The attitudinal and behavioral transmission between generations is vital to be explored, so is the potential resemblance or change of personal ideational shift before and after marriage. The long-term effect of Chinese parenting in relation to young adult's autonomy is another interesting subject to follow closely. In addition, based on previous results, social class differences as well as rural urban differentials have shown to be significant stratifying mechanisms that deserve special attention in Phase II.

Potential Contribution to the Field

TYP Phase II will employ the original research framework of Phase I. The interplay between family, school and community during adolescence to young adulthood will continue to be regarded as important social capital and its long-term effect will be investigated. On the other hand, specific social mechanisms explaining the subsequent growth trajectories into early and middle adulthood will be delineated. Gauging from the major research aims stated above and comparing with other major panel studies, TYP Phase II has potential contribution as follows:

A focus on the process

By making annual record of youths from early adolescence to beginning years in the society, the significant life events occurred has been successfully captured. Relative to the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth in the U.S. (1997) or to the British Household Panel Study (1994), TYP puts special focus on the process and the transition across three tracking turning points in the life course: from junior high to senior high/vocational school, from senior high to college/working and in TYP II, the transition from school/working to various subsequent development.

To investigate first social experience in major life domains

Since youths are not considered full adult yet during Phase I, the occupational aspiration collected may serve as the basis to analyze future consequences in job search and job decision. Specific Chinese social capital, such as family and friendship network, is expected to reveal interesting effects. Mate selection will be another domain of major life decision. In TYP phase II, besides exploring premarital dating behavior and the consequent early marital adjustment, we will be able to link the development of intimate relations with gender role norms expressed at previous stages. It will be the first time in Taiwan that transition into young adulthood will be studied with systematic data.

Utilize qualitative accounts in explanation

In addition to the large surveys for collecting necessary quantitative data, TYP includes qualitative accounts to explicate social mechanisms affecting the growth trajectory. As stated above, 60 parent-youth dyads were randomly selected with specific criteria in order to represent special samples who may unravel untold stories. For TYP phase II, in-depth interviews will continue and will add new representative samples to supplement quantitative findings with insightful data, especially pertaining to significant turning point mechanisms in the life course. The concept of autonomy and social space, for example, which fits well with the young adulthood stage will be constructed to reflect the particular social situation in Taiwan.

Emphasize the indigenous developmental patterns

As a traditionally collective-oriented society where family enjoys unquestionable dominance over individuals, Taiwan has not put complete autonomy of youth as a normative expectation. Instead, the interdependent relations or the intergenerational obligation between parents and children continues to exercise in the family. It will be important to delineate if external social changes have significant impact on family functions and family relations. Furthermore, specific life events imposed at this stage, such as the military service, arranged mating, purchasing house with parents' support etc. are presumed to produce different outcomes among Taiwanese youth. An attempt will be made to describe various indigenous growth patterns when entering the young adulthood and significant social mechanisms accounted for the diverse trajectory will be specified.

REFERENCES

- Chang, Ying-Hwa, Chin-Chun Yi, and Kuei-Hsiu Lin. 2008. "Kin Network and Its Effect on the Psychological Wellbeing of the Youth: The Case of Taiwan", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 39(1):19-38.
- Chen, Su-Yen and Yang-chih Fu. 2009. "Internet Use and Academic Achievement: Gender Differences in Early Adolescence", *Adolescence* 44:797-812.
- Chi Chiao, Chin-Chun Yi, in press, "Adolescent Premarital Sex and Health Outcomes among Taiwanese Youth: Perception of Best Friends' Sexual Behavior and the Contextual Effect", *AIDS Care*.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital", *The American Journal of Sociology* 95:S95-S120.
- Crosnoe, Robert. 2004. "Social Capital and the Interplay of Families and Schools", *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66(2):267-280.
- Elder, Glen H., Jr. 1985. *Life Course Dynamics: Trajectories and Transitions, 1968-1980*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- 1999. "Beyond 'Children of the Great Depression' ", in *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience* (by G. Elder, Jr.), pp.301-343. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Elder, Glen H., Jr, John Modell and Ross D. Parke (eds.) 1993. *Children in Time and Place: Developmental and Historical Insights*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Erikson, E. H. 1959. "The Problem of Ego Identity", *Psychological Issues* No.1: 101-164.
- Fu, Yang-Chih. 2004. "The Effects and Structural Conditions of Network Closure between Adolescents and Parents", paper presented at The First Conference of Taiwan Youth Project, Taipei: Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, 2004-06-23 ~ 2004-06-24.
- Jou, Yuh-Huey. 2009. "Typology and Psychological Effects of Adolescents' Interpersonal Relationships in Taiwan", *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 12(2):121-132.
- Jou, Yuh-Huey and Lang-Wen Huang. 2007. "Midlife Perceptions and Depression: The Mediating Role of Emotional Support", *Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy* 19(4):439-471.
- Jou, Yuh-Huey, Ming-yeh Wu, and Lang-Wen Huang. 2010. "When Middle-aged Parents Meet Adolescent Children: Parent-child Relationship Patterns and Parent's Midlife Perceptions", *Taiwanese Sociology* 20:1-37.
- Lin, Nan. 2001. *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- McNeal, Ralph B. 1999. "Parental Involvement as Social Capital: Differential Effectiveness on Science Achievement, Truancy, and Dropping Out", *Social Forces* 78(1):117-144.
- Wu, Ming-yeh and Yuh-Huey Jou. 2009. "Moral Beliefs of Adolescents in Taiwan: Impacts of Social Attachment", *Taiwanese Sociology* 17:61-100.
- Wu, Ming-Yeh and Yu-Huei Jou. 2004. "Changes in Parental Control During Adolescence: A Latent Transition Analysis", paper presented at The First Conference of Taiwan Youth Project, Taipei: Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, 2004-06-23 ~ 2004-06-24.
- Yang, Kuo-Shu. 1995. "The Chinese Social Orientation: An Integrative Analysis", in T.Y. Lin, W.S. Tseng and E.K. Yeh (Eds.) *Chinese Societies and Mental Health* pp.19-39. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Yeh, Kuan-Huey and Bedford, O. 2003. "A Test of the Dual Model of Filial Piety", *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 6: 215-228.
- Yi, Chin-Chun and Chyi-Yin Wu. 2004. "Teen Life in Taiwan", in Judith Slater (ed.) *Teen Life around the World* pp.223-241. USA: Greenwood Press.
- Yi, Chin-Chun, Chin-Fen Chang and Ying-Hwa Chang, 2004, "The Intergenerational Transmission of Family Values: A Comparison between Teenagers and Their Parents in Taiwan", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 35:523-545.
- Yi, Chin-Chun and En-Ling Pan, 2005, "Intergenerational Relation in Taiwan: A Preliminary Analysis on the Lineage Differential", in Anja Steinbach (Ed.) *Fertility Behavior and Intergenerational Relations* pp. 233-257. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften.
- Yi, Chin-Chun, En-Ling Pan, Ying-Hwa Chang and Chao-Wen Chan, 2006, "Grandparents, Adolescents, and Parents: Intergenerational Relations of Taiwanese Youth", *Journal of Family Issues* 27(8):1042-1067.
- Yi, Chin-Chun, Chyi-In Wu, Ying-Hwa Chang and Ming-Yi Chang, 2009, "The Psychological Well-being of Taiwanese Youth: School versus Family Context from Early to Late Adolescence", *International Sociology* 24(3):397-429.
- Wu, Chyi-In and Man-Kit Lei. 2004. "Educational Inequality in School System : How School Characteristics Affect Students' Academic Performances", paper presented at the International Workshop on Educational Inequality and It's Consequence. Sendai, Japan: Tohoku University, 2004-12-06.
- Wu, Chyi-In and Man Kit Lei. 2006. "Reconstruct Research Context for Adolescent in East Asia : Rethinking the Role of Parenting Practice and Deviant Peer on Adolescent Conduct Problems Embedded in Classroom Context", paper presented at XVI ISA World Congress of Sociology. Durban, South Africa: World Congress of Sociology, 2006-07-23 ~ 2006-07-29.