

FAMILY STRESS AND ADAPTATION AMONG YOUTH
IN SOUTHERN TAIWAN

Cheng-Hsien Lin, Ph.D.

Lamar University

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ABSTRACT

The studies conducted in Taiwan have been interested in understand if children born to foreign-bride mothers are different from their cohort in terms of their (problem) behavioral patterns and psychological well-being. Theoretically, Robert Agnew's general strain theory (Agnew, 199) has been well examined to prove that strain or negative relationship can lead to deviant and delinquent behaviors among teenagers, as forms of coping mechanism.

Teenagers born to foreign-born mothers may experience greater level of strain due to the stereotype and discrimination given by their bystanders. On the other hand, it is also likely that these teenagers may be immune from these negative feelings due to parental support.

A total of 361 Taiwanese young adolescents were surveyed in a classroom setting in 2012 and additional face-to-face interviews were conducted to few participants in 2013.

The results indicate that attachment to father and parental monitoring were negatively related to teenager's strain; while rejection by parents and peers are positively related to greater level of stain among the participants. Most importantly, teenagers who were born to foreign-born brides did not show greater level of strain. These effects are net of the influences of delinquency, gender, and perceived poverty.

Key words: delinquency, teenager, parental monitoring, rejection, and attachment.

Family Stress and Adaptation among Youth in Southern Taiwan

Different aspects of the theoretical and empirical literature on parenting have implications for the effects of parent-child relations and effects of rejection by others on the stress level of children. On the one hand some positive parental monitoring, particularly in conjunction with affectionate parent-child bonds, might be expected to decrease the likelihood of the child experiencing high level of stress that may be induced in their everyday living. In the parenting literature, the parenting style that combines setting limits and positive emotional ties between parent and child has been termed authoritative parenting (Baumrind, 1991), a pattern that is said to be most effective in deterring deviant acts (Maccoby, 1992; Simons, Chao, Conger, & Elder, 2001; Simons, Simons, Burt, Brody, & Cutrona, 2005; Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant & Lovegrove, 2009; Wilson & Hernnstein, 1985; Wright & Cullen, 2001). These studies echoed and supported Baumrind's (1991) contention of "authoritative" parenting in prevention of child's misconduct. These studies measured authoritative parenting as a composed measure of parental support/warmth and parental monitoring/supervision. The potential countervailing effects of parental monitoring have not been examined although they have been theorized by several criminologists (Lin, 2013). Further, parental monitoring, one of the components of authoritative parenting, was discussed in the recent research literature as an effective way to limit adolescent interaction with delinquent peers, as well as a way to limit general misconduct behaviors (Blondal & Adalbjarnardottir, 2009; Simons et al., 2001; Simons et al., 2005; Wright & Cullen, 2001).

Beyond, Merton (1938) and his followers' assertions on the content and definitions of strain (anomie), Agnew (1992) extends the original notion of strain to include "the actual or anticipated presentation of negatively valued stimuli" and "the actual or anticipated removal of positively valued stimuli" (p. 47). Further, Agnew's theory points out a range of negative emotions that can lead to strain, the most important of which is anger (Agnew, 1992, pp. 49, 59–60).

According to Agnew (1992), strain within the family context was consisted of the loss of a loved one, having problematic parent-child relationships, including mistreatment in the form of parental rejection, child abuse, and neglect (Agnew, 2001). Theoretical emphasis on interpersonal relationships between children and their parents is especially important in light of empirical findings showing that disharmony in the family tends to be more consequential to subsequent delinquency than the death of a parent (e.g., Juby & Farrington, 2001).

While most adolescents rely heavily on their parents for financial support and other basic necessities of life, their sense of powerlessness to do anything to resolve or escape mistreatment may stimulate anger and other negative emotions. The magnitude of such strain is compounded when parent-child relationship problems are of an extended duration, frequently occurring, difficult to avoid, and hard to brush off or reinterpret as inconsequential (see Agnew, 2001).

Maltreatment by parents such as rejections, physical punishments, indifference and hostility was detrimental to the development of a strong parent-child bond (Gross and Keller, 1992 and Hirschi, 1969). When problems in the parent-child relationship increase, parental influence over children tends to weaken. The void that is left in the absence of a

close bond may be filled with associations conducive to deviant attitudes and values favorable to delinquency (Agnew, 2006, p. 37). Empirical studies have demonstrated these associations emerge in the form of delinquent peers and other relations in which informal social controls are disrupted.

Some interactional and developmental theories (Thornberry, 1987, 1996; Jang & Smith, 1997), as well as socialization theories also suggest that parent-child bonds are an essential component of healthy development and provide the motivation to invest the time and energy (e.g., for monitoring) that is required to socialize children toward conventional behaviors (Peterson & Rollins, 1987). Weakened parent-child ties often make it difficult for parents to involve themselves in their children's activities in order to provide strong supervision. This in turn leads to further detachment and delinquency (Patterson, 1982).

Parental attachment refers to relational bond existing between a parent or guardian and child. Parental attachment is established through proximity, safety, and security that is offered by a parent or guardian and experienced by a child; however, parental attachment is expressed through varying levels of trust, communication, and alienation (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Nickerson & Nagle, 2005).

An implication of this literature review shows the significance of attachment security in child improvement and its initiation in times of crisis or stress. Supporting parents through behaviors showing consistency, availability, and responsiveness; or individual consultation on ways to increase attachment security would appear to be an important role for school psychologists. The importance of raising securely attached students cannot be undervalued given that research has demonstrated that attachment schemas formed in early childhood can have behavioral consequences well into the

adolescent and early adult periods and beyond. When students faced with a crisis, although they use parents as sources of support.

Li, McCarthy et al, Petroff showed that there is a significant relationship between parental attachment and stress (Li, 2008; McCarthy, Moller, & Fouladi, 2001; Petroff, 2008). Also in another study students with secure parental attachment are better able to develop and maintain positive relationships, and are better able to handle unfamiliar or stressful situations (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). In addition, some researches have indicated that young adults who have secure attachment to caregivers tend to report lower levels of perceived stress (Compas, Malcarne, & Fondacaro, 1988). Those studies examining the relationship between parental attachment and stress find that young adults with more secure attachment to parents report lower perceived stress (Howard & Medway, 2004; Kenny & Rice, 1995). Also, reported that in general students who report higher levels of attachment are less likely to report high levels of stress (McCarthy, Moller, & Fouladi, 2001). Several studies completed in the United States have investigated the relationship between parental attachment and stress but there are still insufficient studies in many countries and cultures.

Parents are a crucial person in manipulating their adolescent's improvement. Adolescents with secure attachment is related with less engagement in high threat behaviors, fewer psychological health difficulties, and improved societal skills and coping strategies (Moretti & Peled, 2004). Attachment dynamics have been examined in various contexts and across a spectrum of age ranges. Secure attachment is related to self-confidence, healthy adjustment, and positive life transitions (Allen, Moore, Kuperminc & Bell, 1998; Paterson, Pryor & Field, 1995). Adolescents want close relation and physical obtainability of parents

to deliver ease when they are upset; they do not want the same degree of closeness as were their childhood and can derive ease from knowing their parents are reassuring even when they are not present. Nevertheless, parental feeling continue to be critical in upholding attachment safety during adolescence, particularly in the province of independence and autonomy needs (Moretti & Peled, 2004). Insecure attachment is related to anxiety, stress, depression, personality disorders, marital distress, and suicidal ideation (DiFilippo & Overholser, 2000). Therefore, one of the factors to decrease stress is attachment.

The close relationship between parents and children is the foundation of the attachment system that is revolved to when persons have stress (Bernier, Larose, Boivin, & Soucy, 2004). While stressed, persons with secure attachments construe stress as thought-provoking, instead of intimidating. Secure attachment prepares persons to encounter with lifetime's contests and stresses. When persons are intricate in insecure attachments, their capability of conducting correct evaluation of occasions might be compromised. Spirits of uncertainty, distrust, and absence of self-possession that is typical of insecure person attachments avoid optimum presentation and raise susceptibility to stress (Bernier et al., 2004). Securely attached persons may be susceptible to stressful effects. Studies have reported that secure person attachment acts as a defensive mechanism and decreases the stress (Petroff, 2008; Solberg & Viliarreal, 1997). Related to previous studies, securely attached students have fewer psychological or mental health problems, lower levels of depression and stress. Also, they are less likely to engage in substance use and disruptive manners (Doyle & Moretti, 2000). Those students that had stronger attachment with their parents had less stress and made better and more adjustment (Mattanah, Lopez, & Govern, 2011; Power, 2004). Howard and Medway (2004) found that coping with stress is one of

the most important functions of attachment style among students. Their levels of attachment security was positively connected to family communication and negatively connected to negative avoidance behaviors such as drinking or using drugs. According to many recent studies, there is a negative relationship between attachment and stress (Howard & Medway, 2004; McCarthy et al., 2001; McCarthy, Lambert, & Moller, 2006; Vogel & Wei, 2005). Results proved that difficulties in attachment could be related to emotional stress and dysfunctional interactive relations (Mallinckrodt & Wei, 2005). Due to the lack of longitudinal data, the investigators highlighted that this may not be causative but a correlational relationship. Low parental attachment was definitely correlated with stress indications and stress created negative feelings. Secure attachment was related with lower levels of stress indications and lower levels of stress-produced feelings than insecure attachment (McCarthy et al., 2006). As secure attachment accumulated, stress indications and stress-produced feelings gradually attenuated (Petroff, 2008).

Some researchers have established a more interactive pattern between attachment and stress. For example, McCarthy, Moller and Fouladi (2001) found attachment styles affect how persons respond to stress. Secured attachment students perceived less stress (Petroff, 2008). Throughout adolescence life course, secure attachment is correlated to fewer threats of psychological wellbeing, linking lower levels of depression, anxiety and stress. Securely attached adolescents commit fewer antisocial behaviors and cope the changing to high school more successfully, and definitely more enjoy the relations with their family and nobles. They show less worry and stress in difficult conditions (Li, 2008).

MODEL

The theoretical model specifies both an inverse relationship between parental attachment (to dad versus to mom) and the adolescent's stress level. These effects are hypothesized to be independent of the common influence of the adolescents' gender, perceived poverty, and delinquency. We also hypothesize that the positive effect of rejection by parents, teachers and peers on child's stress. More importantly, with all of the above important variables examined in the Ordinary Least Square regression models, variable of having foreign-born mother was not correlated to higher level of stress among the participated young adolescents in Southern Taiwan. Accommodate

METHOD

Data

The research was conducted in several rural elementary schools in PingDong County, one of the major agricultural counties in southern Taiwan. Among Twenty-one cities/counties in Taiwan, PingDong County is one the top three that has highest numbers of foreign-born brides. Due to the limitation of available resources to the researcher, PingDong was chosen for data collection. The researcher was able to find experienced research assistants in PingDong and the permission of the local schools for having the survey conducted in their campus. Such logistic resources were not found in timely manner if the research was conducted in other counties or cities.

There are total of 14 classes from 5 elementary schools included for data collection. All students who attended the class on the survey day were asked to complete the survey. In general, class sizes were ranged from 20 to 30 students in Taiwanese elementary schools; and the class size is no difference in PingDong County. To project a possible panel study

in the future from this cohort of students, 5th graders were chosen for their early adolescent experiences at home, school and peer groups. A self-administered questionnaire was conducted in a class and given by a trained research assistant. The questionnaire covers varieties of issues including family backgrounds, school activities and performance, parent-child interactions, teacher-student relationship, peer relationship, relationship with other relatives and grandparents, psychological and emotional well-being, and deviant and delinquent behavior. Table 1 shows some demographics of the participants.

Table 1 About Here

Measures

Parenting variables. The variable “parental attachment” is comprised of nine observed items toward mother and father. The respondent’s self-report (father or mother) their subjective feeling of interactions with their either parents on the 9 items for the variable of parental attachment: “I love my mother/father,” “I respect my mother/father,” “I talk to my mother/father about my learning,” “my mother/father assists me on homework,” “my mother/father understand me,” “my mother/father expects high on me,” “my mother/father cares about me,” “I want to be alike my mother/father when I am grownup,” and “I am close to my mother/father.” The Cronbach’s alpha for questions of fathers is .877, while it is .841 for questions of mothers.

The “parental monitoring” variable consists of seven items that participants were asked if their parents know: “my friends,” “where do I go and where I am,” “what do I do in my leisure time,” “what do I buy,” “what do I do after school,” “what do I do in the weekend,” and “what do I think on things.” The Cronbach’s alpha for the measure is .856.

The measurement reflects the mainstream studies conceptualizing parental monitoring as parental knowledge of the child's whereabouts, activities, and relationships.

The rejection measurements include three variables, rejection by parents, rejection by teachers, and rejection by peers. Rejection by parents includes eight items asking participants if they agree "my parents do not accept me," "my parents are harsh on me," "I do not feel loved at home," "my parents are strict to me," "my parents get angry easily for little mistakes I did," "my parents put down my ideas," and "I feel I am useless at home." The Cronbach's alpha for this variable is .904. The variable of rejection by teachers consists of 5 items. The participants were asked if they agree on the following statements: "my teachers do not like me," "my teachers look down upon me," "my teacher embarrass me in the public," "my teachers are not interested in me," and "my teachers criticize me in front of others." The Cronbach's alpha for this variable is .945. The last rejection measure is actions by peers. There are four items for the variable: "my classmates do not like me," "my classmates bully me," "my classmates discriminate against me," and "I feel alone at school." The Cronbach's alpha for this variable is .905.

Dependent variables. Strain was assessed with eleven items that child felt worried in the everyday life. They were asked how much they felt worried in the following items, from very worried to not worried at all. The responses were recoded as to indicate the higher number means greater level of worry they felt. These eleven items include "grade," "future educational achievement," "future career plan," "family economic condition," "peer relationship," "relationship with teachers," "appearance," "if tall enough," "having a boy/girl friend," "Autonomy granted by parents," and "relationship with parents. The Cronbach's alpha for the measure is .874.

Demographic variables. These factors include child's gender, foreign-born mother, perceived poverty, and child's delinquent behavior.

Delinquent behavior is a multi-item variable that consists of nine types of unlawful actions specified for teenagers. Students were asked how often have they tried the following behaviors in the past 12 months: smoking, telling lies, quarrel fights, drinking, fighting, stealing, grafting, vandalizing, and riding motorcycle without a license. Student's responses to these items were added up so that the higher numbers indicate greater delinquent behavior commitment.

Another control variable was gender (male =1, female = 0). Empirical studies (Lac & Crano, 2009) suggest that parental monitoring has stronger deterrent effect on girls' deviant behavior comparing to that of boys, while boys are more involved in delinquent behavior than girls. Furthermore, studies have inconsistent findings on the effects of parenting factors on boys and girls (Hoeve et al., 2009). The current study thus considers child's gender as the important control variable in the analytical model.

Studies done in the United States suggest that there is no significant difference in the effect size of parental monitoring on deviant behavior between racial groups in the literature and no difference in the effect size was reported for different age groups. In the current study, Taiwanese are not differentiated by races but by ethnicities. The ethnicity is not considered in the current study due to many students seem not clear of their ethnic identity. However, if students of a foreign-born mother are very sensitive of their special identity known by teachers, neighbors and classmates. The variable "foreign-born mother" was coded "1" if student's mother was not born Taiwanese; and "0" was coded to those students whose mothers were born in Taiwan.

Young adolescents usually have no knowledge of their parents' earning. An objective and clear idea of their family financial condition can never be accurate from these young participants. However, they could easily tell if they are richer or poorer than their classmates since they live within a walking distance and interactions among neighbors are frequent in rural Taiwan. A single item was used to ask if they feel they live in a specific economic condition (from very rich to very poor). The larger number indicates the poorer their family is.

ANALYSIS

Ordinary Least Square regression is used for the current analysis. The basic model includes all demographic variables and rejection variables (by parents, teachers, and peers). Then two parental attachment variables were added to model 2 while two demographic variables, perceived poverty and foreign-born mothers, were taken out. In the third model, these two demographic variables were added back. From Models 1 through 3. The unstandardized coefficients between independent and dependent variables were quite consistent. From Models 4 through 8, parenting variables took turns to be excluded from the analysis to examine the explanation power of each variable.

RESULTS

Bivariate Analysis

Bivariate correlations for the study variables (Table 2) indicated that four parenting variables (Parental Monitoring, Attachment to Dad, Attachment to Mom, and Rejection by Parents) were significantly associated with each other. The greater level of parental

monitoring was positively correlated with attachment to Dad and attachment to Mom, as suggested by Baumrind's authoritative parenting (1967). These three parenting variables were negatively associated with Rejection by Parents. Theoretically, parents who are warm while watch their children closely are more likely to accept child's explanation and reasoning and less likely to distance or reject them (Baumrind, 1991). Parental monitoring, attachment to Dad and attachment to Mom were also significantly associated with Rejection by Teachers and Rejection by Peers inversely. All three rejection-related variables were also significantly interrelated.

Among demographic variables, boy received lower parental monitoring but committed more delinquent behavior. The similar results have been well documented in the literature. Variables of perceived poverty and foreign-born mother were not correlated with any study variables in the zero-order correlation analysis. Lastly, child's delinquent behavior was significantly associated with positive parenting and negative parenting variables as suggested by the literature.

In zero-order bivariate correlation Table 2, the dependent variable, general strain, was not associated with the three demographic variables, boy, perceived poverty, and foreign-born mother. General strain was significantly associated with lower parental monitoring, lower attachment to dad and mom. Conversely, general strain was significantly associated with greater level of rejection by parents, teachers and peers. Finally, general strain was significantly associated with more frequency of delinquent behavior. In sum, majority of bivariate correlations in the Table 2 were observed as suggested by the literature. The few exceptions were some correlations with the proposed demographic variables. It will be interesting to observe that if these demographic variables

remain insignificant to their relationship with other proposed variables in multivariate analysis results.

Table 2 About Here

Multivariate Analysis

Similar to the bivariate analysis, demographic variables, gender (boy) and foreign-born mother, were not significantly correlated with the dependent variable, general strain in the OLS models. In other words, being a boy or girl does not show different level of strain in them. Similarly, children who were born to local Taiwanese or foreign-born mother were not hold differential level of general strain (See Table 3, Models 1-8).

Table 3 about here

Perceived poverty was significantly associated with greater level of general strain (unstandardized coefficients ranged from .701 to .878 in all models shown in Table 3. It means that children who felt poor were more likely to experience higher level of strain in their life.

Parental monitoring is negatively associated with general strain. The correlation coefficients were moderate among estimated models. The results suggest that the more supervision or greater parents' knowledge of child's whereabouts and what they do is related to lower level of experienced strain. Although young adolescents begin to ask for more autonomy and be independent from parents, they still much dependent on supports from parents and families. While parental monitoring may serve the function of limiting child's actions, it also reveals how much parents care about them and so feel they are important at home. Lin's (2013) examination on the countervailing effects of parental

monitoring argues that parental monitoring can deter child's delinquency due to limited time and resources to access delinquent opportunities; on the other hand, it may threaten child's needs for autonomy so that they would commit delinquent behavior as ways to claim their autonomous capability. Without differentiation of these two countervailing effects of parental monitoring, it is mostly likely to observe a moderate effect from parental monitoring on its dependent variables (child's behavioral or psychological outcomes). Therefore, it is likely that the observed moderate effect or lowering strain level in students can be differentiated to two countervailing effects on strain. Such an effort may allow observation of stronger preventing effect on strain. However, this is not an inquiry to be answered in the current study.

Attachment to parents should be negatively associated with child's strain given that the former provides feeling of warmth, secure, and confidence for children. In this study, attachment to parents was measured to two separate variables, attachment to dad and attachment to mom. In all models, the results showed that attachment to dad was significantly correlated to lower strain in students while variables attachment to mom and student's strain were not correlated. Most studies combine both parents' measures in one variable or use only attachment to mother for their research. It is logical to do so since mothers are more likely to be in charge of childcare and both parents may share more childcare responsibility today. The literature suggests that parental inspiration and disciplines from father and mother have different impact on children. In general, father's expectation and inspiration on children has greater impact on child's own aspiration and future achievement while mother's impact is greater on child's learning effectiveness. The current separate attachment measures from father and mother have not much examined in

the literature and lack of theoretical prediction of their differential impact on child's strain or other psychological well-being and behavior. Given the current study was conducted in a rural town in southern Taiwan where majority of households had agricultural types of jobs. Most families are more traditional than suburban and urban families. Also, parents' educational attainment was relatively lower than national average. If fathers were married to a foreign-born bride, their educational attainment (and SES) can be even lower in the social ladder. Living in a rather traditional patriarchal family, the closeness to father can be a strong indication how much the child would feel being especially supported. They would compare other father-child relationship with their own and felt that they were much loved by both parents. Traditional fathers in Asian families are pictured as a rigid, strict, highly respected and feared home leader and should not be ever challenged. If this is a figure still shared in the rural Taiwanese communities, warmth and closeness from father can be especially rewarding for children and are willing to share their emotion with both parents, which in turn, release or buffer their strain.

The next question is why not the attachment to mom was not significant. Mothers in the traditional communities are expected to serve their families as the priority no matter if they have their own job or career. Such pressure is not just given from families (especially their parents-in-law) but also from the neighbors. Neighbors in the rural Taiwan are very important to rural residents there because the neighborhood social network broadly and deeply intervene with their everyday life and no one can be immune from its influences. The subculture and atmosphere in the rural communities made rural mothers difficult to escape their traditional role (of course, many mothers actually enjoy the traditional role in these communities) and mother-child closeness is relatively prevalent, higher and

consistent. In other words, children might widely received higher attachment from mother like other children in the community. Without much differences observed among peers, the importance of mother-child might be less critical to their psychological well-being.

Being rejected by someone, especially by significant others are unpleasant. For young teenagers, building a social network of their own (with peers) is important and it needs great assistance from their parents and teachers. As general strain theory (GST) suggests, negative relationship would generate strain, which in turn, would make their adoption of delinquent/deviant behavior to copy with the strain (Agnew, 1992). In the current study, although all three rejection variables (by parents, teachers, and peers) were significantly associated with higher level of general strain, only rejection by parents and peers remain significant in the multivariate analytical models. Rejection by teachers was no more significant in the regression models indicates that it might not be as important as the other two rejection variables.

Delinquent behavior was served as a control variable in the analysis due to the theoretical informed rationale that it can bring punishment and negative reputation and jeopardize their positive self-image. This process can threaten their self-esteem and confidence and raise stain in them. However, such correlation was not observed in the current study; in other words, delinquent behavior was not related to child's general strain.

The model 8 was presented for parsimonious purpose. While only those significant variables were included in the model, it has highest R^2 value which suggests its better explanation power on the dependent variable, general strain. In sum, the results suggest that perceived poverty, rejection by parents, and rejection by peers were significantly

related to higher strain among young rural Taiwanese teenagers; while parental monitoring and attachment to dad were significantly related to lower strain among these children.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In general, the data support the hypothetical model informed by theories of developmental psychology and juvenile deviance with few unexpected findings on parental attachment. Further, the findings echo past research guided by the parenting literature. Like many studies, the researcher found the effects of parental support and monitoring on a child's general strain. The results suggested a significant preventive effect of parental monitoring on a child's strain, which might be compromised by its facilitative effect that was consistent with developmental perspectives that emphasize threats to the adolescents' needs for autonomy frequently observed in American culture (Lin, 2013). More interestingly, attachment to father was found effective to lower a child's strain while it was found between attachment to mother and a child's strain. Such findings are unique and may need further exploration. It is unclear if this is unique in Chinese culture or in the rural subculture observed in southern Taiwan. Of course, it can exist in Western surveys but yet to be examined in the literature. The results should be interpreted cautiously and will need more tests in the future.

As found in the literature, rejection by significant others were critical on a child's emotional states. The rejection a child perceived from parents and peers were especially critical as suggested in the current analysis. The results echo the theoretical arguments that early adolescents seek for autonomy and independence as characterized in the developmental psychology perspectives and peer relationship is central to their life. On the

other hand, they are not capable of taking care of themselves completely and still much relying on parental supports, financially and psychologically. The significant correlations of the two rejection variables on a child's strain are parallel to the developmental perspectives. The rejection by teachers was significantly related to strain in zero-order correlation but not in the multivariate models. One, it indicated its relatively less harmful on a child's strain; and two, its influences maybe overshadowed by parental rejection since teacher-students relationship may not be comparable with their relationships with parents and peers.

The current research did not find greater strain experienced in girls, although the coefficients showed the direction that did reach the statistically significant level. This might not be that surprising given that the participants were just about to enter their puberty and their experiences as a boy or girl were just about to take different pathways toward their adulthood. Shortly after they start their middle school, much greater differences in strain level may be observed if they are surveyed again.

Children's strain level was not significantly different between those born to local Taiwanese mothers and those born to foreign-born mothers. Although children born to foreign-born mother recognized how they were viewed, and or even stereotyped by others in their everyday life, their strain level was deviated from their cohort. The findings may help to strip away the negative labels given to these children. Many local media news had frequent report of these children for their poorer academic performance, emotional and behavioral issues. Hopefully, the current study could provide some independent views to educators and policy makers for future policy adjustments by paying more attention to family economic hardship rather than mother's national identity. The attention to the

children due to their foreign-born mother status should not be the focus of social assistance (including social welfare) but onto the difficult economic conditions that many rural Taiwanese families encountered. After all, as suggested by the current findings, child's perceived poverty was significantly related to a child's general strain and the correlation was large in size.

The current study may shed a light on future studies testing strain or even other theories in non-Western societies. It is debatable that those theories that were well supported in the Western samples are also applicable to teenagers raised in other cultures. The surprising findings on the differential effects of attachment to father versus mother maybe a hint for us to further examinations of these established theories in studies of adolescent delinquency/deviance. It is still unclear the unique findings were affected by the cultural differences or father/mother's differential influences on a child.

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FAMILY STRESS AND ADAPTATION AMONG YOUTH IN SOUTHERN TAIWAN

1

Table 1. Sample Demographic Distributions

Gender	Boy	191	52.90%
	Girl	170	47.1
Age	11	30	36.70%
	12	39	26.10%
	13	133	36.90%
	14	1	0.30%
# of Family members	4 & under	215	60.60%
	5 to 6	89	25%
	7 to 8	36	10.20%
	9 & more	12	3.40%
	missing	3	0.80%
Perceived wealth	very well	6	1.70%
	well	69	19.10%
	average	229	64.00%
	lower than average	27	7.50%
	poor	20	5.60%
	very poor	6	1.70%
	do not know	4	1.10%

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Boy	-										
2. Perceived Poverty	.042	-									
3. Foreign-born Mother	.055	.102	-								
4. Parental Monitoring	-.201***	.042	-.010	-							
5. Attachment to Dad	-.013	-.031	-.030	.270***	-						
6. Attachment to Mom	.020	-.038	-.024	.299***	.777***	-					
7. Rejection by Parents	.041	.012	.010	-.229***	-.462***	-.416***	-				
8. Rejection by Teachers	-.004	-.015	.007	-.149**	-.213***	-.194***	.570***	-			
9. Rejection by Peers	.053	.047	.014	-.222***	-.245***	-.222***	.553***	.642***	-		
10. Delinquent Behavior	.150**	.058	.000	-.261***	-.281***	-.288***	.259***	.188***	.184**	-	
11. General Strain	.004	.068	.080	-.228***	-.313***	-.216***	.317***	.178**	.233***	.172**	-
Mean	.530	.328	.098	22.070	21.120	21.590	10.790	6.730	5.700	6.600	2.280
SD	.500	5.140	.297	4.960	3.486	3.034	4.698	2.840	2.527	4.651	.998

Table 3. Unstandardized Coefficients on Strain among Southern Taiwanese Teenagers 2012

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Constant	12.846***	20.316***	17.686***	16.853***	20.190***	20.251***	19.087***	18.968***	21.743***
Boy	-.138	-.035	-.021	-.038	-.202	-.188	-.145	-.166	-.266
Perceived Poverty	.767*	-	.810*	.763*	.740*	.726*	.701 ⁺	.719*	.878*
Foreign Mom	1.142	-	1.358	1.390	1.474	1.507	1.523	1.481	.913
Parental Monitoring	-	-	-	-	-.137*	-.138*	-.114*	-.113	-.125 ⁺
Attach to Dad	-	-.303*	-.278*	-.257 ⁺	-.282*	-.288*	-.268 ⁺	-.259 ⁺	-.245*
Attach to Mom	-	.099	.084	.094	.138	.141	.138	.134	-
Reject by Parents	.347***	.217*	.182*	.163 ⁺	.163 ⁺	.151 ⁺	.131	.146	.148 ⁺
Reject by Teachers	-.023	-.029	-.009	-.027	-.064	-	-	-.085	-
Reject by Peers	.163	.278	.287	.277	.355 ⁺	.310*	.299*	.359 ⁺	.312*
Delinquency	-	-	-	.106	-	-	.093	.096	-
N	333	316	303	300	296	297	294	293	312
R ²	.138***	.121***	.137***	.142***	.153***	.152***	.153***	.154***	.172***

Dependent Variable: Strain (worries), *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

