

Individual and Family Factors That Decrease Depression in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Youth

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Abstract

This study examined the risk and promotive factors that contribute to or decrease depression in late adolescents. Chinese, Japanese and Korean adolescents were surveyed in order to examine the individual and family factors influencing adolescents. Correlation and regression were used to examine the relationship among variables. Findings from the analysis revealed that promotive factors: autonomy, easy temperament, emotional intelligence, humor, moral development, optimism and physical beauty decreased depression. Risk factors that increased depression were history of physical abuse, history of sexual abuse, domestic violence, favoritism of siblings, parental depression and parent not aware. Implications of these findings for theory, research, policy and clinical practice are explored.

Keywords: Risk factors, Protective factors, Japanese youth, Chinese youth, Korean youth



1. Promotive and Risk Factors

Promotive and risk factors have been defined in a variety of ways. Some authors refer to variables as if they are either uniquely promotive or uniquely risk factors (Ferguson & Lynskey, 1996; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Pollard, Hawkins, & Athur, 1999; Rae-Grant, Thomas, Offord, & Boyle, 1989). Others have emphasized that the promotive and risk factors are merely opposite ends of the same variable whether a variable was called a promotive or risk factor depends on which end of the continuum was emphasized (Kandel et al., 1988; White, Moffitt, & Silva, 1989). Additionally, promotive factors have been conceptualized as processes that interact with risk factors in reducing the probability of a negative outcome (Rutter, 1985, 1990; Rutter, Giller, & Hagell, 1998). If risk factors out number promotive factors, vulnerability for the individual will most likely be the outcome (Laser & Nicoterr, 2011). However, if promotive factors out number risk factors resilience will more likely be the outcome (Laser & Nicoterra, 2011). There has been a large body of research from the United States, Europe, and Australia that have explored these risk factors (eg. Carlton et al., 2006; Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993; Ferguson & Lynskey, 1996; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten & Powell, 2003; White, Moffitt, & Silva, 1989) little research has been done in Asia.

1.1 Indivdual Promotive Factors

Individual promotive factors are those factors that reside within the youth individually and support resilience. The individual promotive factors in this research are: autonomy, creation of a personal myth, easy temperament, emotional intelligence, humor, moral development, optimism, physical beauty, and self-efficacy.

1.1.1 Autonomy

As adolescents develop they are eventually able to see themselves as independent self-regulating beings (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991). The adolescent's ability to be defined as their own unique individual and not merely in relationship to family or peers is the crux of autonomy.

1.1.2 Creation of a Personal Myth

Proposed by McAdams (1993, 2001), a sense of self is created through a personal life story. One's life story is the process used by youth and adults to help make sense out of the past and present and the awaited future (McLean, 2005). A personal myth gives youth a sense of purpose as well as, aspirations for the future (Howard, Dryden, & Johnson, 1999; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1994). This promotes youth's sense of self, and allows them to maintain a belief that they have control over their future even when they are faced with difficult situations (Werner, 1990).

1.1.3. Easy Temperament

Youth who are characterized as having an easy temperament are found to have significantly lower levels of behavior problems than those youth with a difficult temperament (Ruschena, Prior, Sanson, & Smart, 2005; Smith & Prior, 1995; Tschann, Kaiser, Chesner, Alkon, &



Boyce, 1996; Wyman et al., 1999), higher levels of social competence (Smith & Prior; 1995; Werner & Smith, 1982; Werner & Smith, 1992) and higher levels of adaptive behavior at home (Hetherington, 1989).

1.1.4 Emotional Intelligence

More important than cognitive ability is the ability to understand one's own emotions (Goleman, 1995, 1998, 2001). Emotional intelligence includes: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, and relational management (Goleman, 1995, 1998, 2001). Having higher emotional intelligence has been found to reduce internalizing behaviors in youth (Austin, Saklofske, & Egan, 2005; Izard, Fine, Schultz, Mostow, Ackerman, & Youngstrom, 2001; Mavroveli, Petrides, Rieffe, & Bakker, 2007).

1.1.5 Humor

Overall, having a sense of humor has been found to buffer psychological stress and the negative effects it can have on a person (Bricker, 1980; Civikly, 1986; Landy & Mettee, 1969; Nezu, Nezu, & Blissett, 1988; Smith & Powell, 1988). Being able to reduce stress and tension for oneself and others is an important factor for resilience. Humor can protect children and gain affection from others (Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1994). Positive humor can also bolster youth's psychological well-being (Martin, 2001). Humor can not only facilitate social behavior, but is associated with the reduction of depression, loneliness, and increased self-esteem (Overholser, 1992).

1.1.6 Moral Development

Adolescents begin to make choices because they are the right thing to do and not because they are going to gain positive favor or avoid criticism from others (Laser & Nicotera, 2011).

1.1.7 Optimism

Optimism is important for adolescents to have especially in difficult times (Gilhan & Reivich, 2004). In studies that look at youth who have a strong sense of optimism versus those learned helpless youth (Dweck & Licht, 1980; Fincham, Hakoda, & Sanders, 1989; Martinek & Griffith, 1993; Stipek & Kowalski, 1989) those youth with optimism are able to focus on figuring how to overcome the challenges in their way. Youth who are optimistic see challenges as temporary setbacks, versus a permanent place (Martinek & Mellison, 1997). Those youth who do not have hope do not have the drive to want to change their circumstances (Martinek & Mellison, 1997). Critical to enduring difficult times in life is having optimism and hopefulness (Seligman, 2006). Gilhan and Reivich (2004). Optimism is also related to less depression and anxiety and better physical health, and possibly a longer life (Gillham & Reivich, 2004).

1.1.8 Physical Beauty

By comparing one's self to the internal representations of culturally determined ideas and standards of what physical appearance should be and what is aesthetically appealing define physical beauty (Faust, 1983; Fisher, 1990; Rosenblum & Lewis, 1999; Sorell & Nowark,



1981). Those who are better looking or are perceived as better looking do better. Physical beauty has been shown to be an important aspect of self-worth and mental health (Harter, 1990).

1.1.9 Self Efficacy

Bandura (1977) introduced self-efficacy as influenced by mastery experiences, vicarious experiences, social persuasion, and physical and emotional states. When youth possess self-efficacy they are more likely to achieve the desired outcome they are less likely to have depressive symptoms and feelings of helplessness (Laser & Nicotera, 2011).

1.2 Family Promotive Factors

Family promotive factors are behaviors of the family that support resilience. The family promotive factors reviewed in this research are: maternal relationship, paternal relationship, parental relationship, and parental social support.

1.2.1 Maternal Relationship

The relationship youth have with their parents will in part effect whether children are happy or sad, confident or unsure, or outgoing or withdrawn (Golombok, 2000). Having a good relationship with family, especially mothers, has been predictive of better adjustment (Laser et al., 2007a; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

1.2.2 Paternal Relationship

Fathers are also central players in the family and in the development of children (Parke et al., 2005). It has been found that youth who have a relationship with their fathers experience greater well-being (Amoato & Gilbreth, 1999). Amoato and Gilbreth (1999) found an association between youths increased contact with their fathers and increased academic success and decreased depression.

1.2.3 Parental Relationship

The strength of the parental relationship improves adolescent functioning (Golombok, 2000). Marriage can go wrong in a variety of ways, but it is likely that people in trouble marriages will criticize, blame, and become angry with each other (Gottman, 1979, 1994). Marital satisfaction can have a positive impact on youth (Golombok, 2000). It has been shown that youth who have experienced parental discord are more aggressive, disobedient, and harder to control than youth who grow up in a stable parental relationship (Cummings & Davies, 1994; Emery, 1988; Masten, 2013).

1.2.4 Parental Social Support

Social support plays an integral role in promoting mental health across the life span (Kashani, Canfield, Borduin, Soltys, & Reid 1994). High family social support has been associated with a decrease in behavior problems and psychological distress in adolescents (Barrera & Li, 1996; Borduin & Schaffer, 1998; Cauce, Mason, Gonzales, Hiraga, Liu, 1996; Garnefski & Diekstra, 1996; Plotnik, 1993). Kashani et al. (1994) demonstrated that youth need to have a



sense that they are protected and supported by their families' support system in order to avoid both internalizing and externalizing behavior problems. Social support for parents can act as a protective factor against depression in youth, and can increase well-being and resilience (Hankin, 2006; Piko, 1998; Piko, Kovacs & Fitzpatrick, 2009).

2. Risk Factors

Research has uniformly shown that the larger accumulation of risk factors, the higher the probability of negative outcomes later in life (Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey, 1996; Rutter, 1979; Sameroff et al., 1998; Smith et al., 2000). However, risk does not affect all people in the same way, some risks will affect all the children in a family, while other risk factors will only affect certain children (Sameroff, 2000). Even when controlling for age and developmental stage, children are still not equally affect by identical risk (Gore & Eckenrode, 1996; Sameroff, 2000).

2.1 Individual Risk Factors

Individual risk factors are those factors that affect the youth individually potentially compromising resilience. The individual risk factors reviewed in this research are: history of physical abuse and history of sexual abuse.

2.1.1 History of Physical Abuse

Potential consequences of physical abuse have been identified as perceptual motor deficits, lower scores on measures of general intellectual functioning and academic achievement, negative social behaviors, aggressive behaviors, and lower self-worth (Ammerman, Cassisi, Hersen, & Van Hasselt, 1986; Conaway & Hansen, 1989; Fantuzzo, 1990; Lamphear, 1985; Laser et al., 2007a; Parker & Herra, 1996). Youth who experience physical abuse are associated with self-injurious behaviors and suicidal behavior (Malinosky-Rummell & Hansen, 1993). These youth also experience emotional problems such as somatization, anxiety, depression, dissociation, and psychosis (Malinosky-Rummell & Hansen, 1993).

2.1.2 History of Sexual Abuse

Adolescents who have a history of sexual abuse experience higher rates of depression and dysthymia (Asarnow et al., 2011; Shamseddeen et. al., 2011) and posttraumatic distress disorder (Feiring & Taska, 2005). Youth who experience sexual abuse experience low self-esteem as well as suicidal ideation or behavior (Brooks, 1985; Burgess, Hartman, McCausland, & Powers, 1984; Gomes-Schwartz, Horowitz, & Sauzier, 1985; Laser et al., 2007a; Lindberg & Distad, 1985; Parker & Herra, 1996; Runtz & Briere, 1986).

2.2 Family Risk Factors

Family risk factors are those factors that can put youth at greater risk for depression. The family risk factors reviewed in this research are: domestic violence, favoritism of siblings, parental depression and parents not aware of youth's behavior.



2.2.1 Domestic Violence

The effects of domestic violence have been described as having significant and measureable negative effects on a youth's functioning (Edleson, 1999; Fantuzzo & Lindquist, 1989; Fantuzzo & Mohr, 1999; Margolin & Gordis, 2000; Wolak & Finkelhor, 1998) including emotional and behavioral functioning (Silvern et al., 1995), social competence (Balog, 1995), school achievement (Whitbeck & Simons, 1990), cognitive functioning (Rossman, 1998), psychopathology (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, Earls, 2001; Wolfe, Crooks, Lee, McIntyre-Smith, & Jaffe, 2003), and general health (Graham-Bermann & Seng, 2005).

2.2.2 Favoritism of Siblings

Favoritism can be defined as the "real or preferential treatment of one or more of a parent's children at the expense of that parent's other children" (Salmon, Shackelford, Michalski, 2012, p. 357). Parental favoritism has negative consequences for youth's lives (Kowal & Kramer, 1997; Scholte, Engels, de Kamp, Harakeh & Overbeek, 2007; Shanahan, McHale, Crouter & Osgood, 2008). The disfavored child in the family is associated with poorer psychological well-being, whereas being the favored child is associated with greater well-being (Suitor, Sechrist, Plikuhn, Pardo & Pillemer, 2008). Differential parental treatment in adolescence can increase externalizing behaviors such as aggression and acting out, and internalizing behaviors including depression, anxiety, and poor adjustment (Deater-Deckard, 2000; Dunn, Stocker, & Plomin, 1990; Feinberg & Hetherington, 2001; Harris & Howard, 1984; McHale & Gamble, 1989; McHale & Paletko, 1992).

2.2.3 Parental Depression

Child abuse is found to be more likely to be present in families with depressed mothers than families where mothers are not depressed (Chaffin, Kekkeher, & Hollenberg, 1996; Dixon, Hamilton-Giachritsis, & Browne, 2005a; Dixon, Hamilton-Giachritsis, & Browne, 2005b; Famularo, Kinscherff, & Fenton, 1992; Kinard, 1996, Kotch, Browne, Dufort, Winsor, & Catellier, 1999; Leschied, Chiodo, Whitehead, & Hurley, 2005; Mullick, et. al. 2001; Sheppard, 1997; & Walsh, MacMillan, Jamieson, 2003). Whether it is biological or environmental depressed parents are less likely to respond positively to their children. Parents who experience depression are more likely to have negative interactions with their children from infancy through adolescence (Field 1984; Jacob & Johnson, 1997). Children of parents who are depressed can cause deleterious effects on parenting behaviors (Lovejoy et al., 2000) resulting in increased risk for externalizing behaviors (Ge et al., 1996; Heller & Baker, 2000; Kim-Cohen et al, 2005) and internalizing behaviors (Wickramarante & Weissman, 1998).

2.2.4 Parents not aware of youth's Behavior

Parental monitoring plays an important role in adolescent risk, and includes both supervision of youth and communication with youth (Stanton et al., 2000). Parental monitoring functions both as a primary preventive measure, reducing and slowing the onset of risk behavior, and as an intervention measure, reducing current risk behaviors (Stanton et al., 2000).



2.3 Internalizing Behaviors

Behaviors that are directed inwardly towards the individual and represent an over controlled and inner-directed pattern of behavior are considered to be internalizing behaviors (Gresham & Kern, 2004). Internalizing behaviors are subtle and can go unnoticed by others in the youth's world including parents (Gresham & Kern, 2004). Internalizing behaviors can have a negative influence on youth's academic performance, physical health, future psychological adjustment, and even future employment opportunities (Flook, Repetti, & Ullman, 2005; Merell, 1994; Merrell & Walker, 2004). Depressed youth can lack the strategies used by other's to alleviate negative affects like problem solving or cognitive restructuring (Dodge & Garber, 1991).

3. Gender

Many researchers have found girls to be more resilient than boys (Emery & Forehand, 1996; Kumpfer, 1999; Wang, Haertel & Walberg, 1994; Werner, 1994, 1985). Similarly, Rutter (1987) and Garcia-Coll, Lamberty, Jenkins, McAdoo, Crnic, Wasik and Garcia (1996) discuss that males are often at greater risk. Rutter (1987) believes that families protect female offspring by less punishment directed at females, less exposure to family discord, and closer monitoring. Interestingly, Werner (1994) finds that boys who were resilient were often the first-born. In contrast, Sameroff (2000) and Fergusson and Horwood (1999) found no difference between males and females regarding resilience. Splitting the sample by gender was important to better see the influence of the protective and risk factors. In some instance, only when the outcome variables were run by gender were the associations visible.

Thus four research questions were investigated:

- 1) What individual factors that have been shown to be important to the development of North American, European, and Australian youth impact the outcome of depression in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?
- 2) What family factors that have been shown to be important to the development of North American, European, and Australian youth impact the outcome of depression in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?
- 3) Are there differences in individual factors that impact the outcomes of internalizing behavior by gender in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?
- 4) Are there differences in family factors that impact the outcomes of internalizing behavior by gender in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?

4. Method

4.1 Instruments

The base survey is the same in all three countries, however scholars, researchers and youth workers from each country reviewed and modified wording of each item ensuring that items were culturally appropriate and that meaning of the terms used would be understood by the surveyed youth (Laser et al., 2007a,b). All measures were translated into the native language by native speakers and then translated back in to English by another to ensure proper translation (Laser et al., 2007a,b). Translators were bilingual, and were familiar with the

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nuances of psychological language and youth culture of respective countries (Laser et al., 2007a,b).

4.1.1 The LEPFY

The Laser Ecological Protective Factors for Youth (LEPFY) was designed to assess possible promotive factors. There are approximately 151 items on the survey and responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale (Laser et al., 2007a,b). Questions regarding individual, family, and extrafamilial promotive factors that impact youth in their environment were asked (Laser et al., 2007a,b). Items were created by Laser based on her research and review of the literature on promotive factors that have been linked to positive individual outcomes for at-risk youth in North America, Europe, New Zealand, and Australia (Laser et al., 2007a,b). Items also included in the LEPFY survey are those that would be of particular concern to scholars, researchers and youth workers of each respective country.

4.1.2 The LESY

The Life Events Survey for Youth (LESY) was designed to measure potential risk factors. There are approximately 114 items on the survey and responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale (Laser et al., 2007a,b). The LESY combines items from Small's Teen Assessment Project (TAP) Survey (Small & Luster, 1994) with items found in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97; Center for Human Resource Research, 2002) and items created by Laser based on her research and her investigation into the risk literature in North American, Europe, New Zealand, and Australia (Laser et al., 2007a,b). Items also included in the LESY survey are those that would be of particular concern to the scholars, researchers and youth workers of each respective country.

4.1.3 Demographic Information Questionnaire

Basic demographic questions regarding age, gender, and family composition of the respondent were asked on this survey (Laser et al., 2007a,b). The respondents were asked about their parent's academic background (Laser et al., 2007a,b) and other demographic characteristics the scholars, researchers and youth workers from each country thought were pertinent to know.

4.2 Subscales

All items were scored on a 5-point Likert scale. The reliability of the scale scores were estimated using Cronbach's alpha coefficients (Cronbach, 1951), all scales were found to be reliable (Table 1).



Table 1. Initial scale reliabilities

Measure	Number of Items	Alpha
Individual Promotive Factors		
Autonomy	3	.701
Creation of a Personal Myth	3	.860
Easy Temperament	4	.679
Emotional Intelligence	4	.770
Humor	3	.705
Moral Development	4	.740
Optimism	3	.726
Physical Beauty	3	.740
Self-efficacy	3	.792
Family Promotive Factors		
Maternal Relationship	3	.812
Paternal Relationship	3	.808
Parental Relationship	3	.647
Parental Social Support	4	.827
Individual Risk Factors		
History of Physical Abuse	4	.808
History of Sexual Abuse	3	.941
Family Risk Factors		
Domestic Violence	4	.900
Favoritism of Siblings	2	.919
Parental Depression	4	.830
Parents Not Aware	2	.827
Negative Youth Outcomes		
Delinquency	4	.905
Internalizing Behavior	9	.850

4.3 Sample

The target population for this research was youth who were attending postsecondary institutions. In order to gather the data lengthy discussions with school officials took place before researchers entered into conversations with faculty and students. The total sample size



of this research was 2539. Of that 1292 of the participants were Chinese from the Beijing area, 799 of the participants were Japanese from the Sapporo area, and 448 of the participants were Korean from the Seoul area. The total sample of participants' gender was 50.2% male and 48.7% female. The age of those surveyed was from 18-24 years old. The majority of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 20 years of age. The largest group of participants (32.5%) was 19 years of age. The response rate of the anonymous survey was 99%.

5. Results

5.1 Bivariate Analysis

Matrices were created to determine the bivariate relationships among the variables for the total sample (Figure 1), Chinese sample (Figure 2), Japanese sample (Figure 3), Korean sample (Figure 4). Many of the variables were related to each other, this is due to the large sample size. The number of correlations increase when the sample is split into male and female subsamples. Still, small to moderate correlations were the majority.

Correlations Among Promotive, Risk, and Outcome Variables for the Full Sample

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
1. Autonomy																				
2. Creation of a Personal Myth	.398**																			
3 Easy Temperament	.197**	.465**																		
4. Emotional Intelligence	.348**	.646**	.503**																	
5. Humor	.299**	.637**	.494**	.659**																
6. Moral Development	.362**	.581**	.295**	.627**	.541**															
7. Optimism	.312**	.737**	.416**	.577**	.633**	.489**														
8. Physical Beauty	.266**	.478**	.308**	.462**	.570**	.467**	.411**													
9. Self-Efficacy	.369**	.709**	.465**	.699**	.708**	.657**	.630**	.544**												
10. Matemal Relationship	.293**	.662**	.392	.561**	.593**	.566**	.536**	.422*	.607**											
11. Paternal Relationship	.246**	.592**	.338**	.492**	.509**	.509**	.437**	.358**	.529**	.692**										
12. Parental Relationship	.215**	.474**	.320**	.478**	.457**	.434**	.412**	.337**	.477	.567**	.518**									
13. Parental Social Support	.159**	.358**	.306**	.326**	.399**	.346**	342**	.310**	.368**	.398**	.313**	272**								
14. History of Physical Abuse	.197**	.380**	299**	.310**	.404**	.351**	.364**	.391**	.400**	.381**	.241**	.260**	.355**							
15. History of Sexual Abuse	.170**	.338**	.186**	.232**	.372**	.348**	.304**	.392**	.285**	.277**	.139**	.202**	.367**	.526**						
16. Domestic Violence	.197**	314**	.171**	.252**	.340**	.310**	321**	.341**	.302**	.242**	.061**	.125**	.328**	.504**	.717**					
17. Favoritism of Siblings	.179**	.290**	.138**	.185**	.361**	.309**	.262**	.384**	.265**	.262**	.130**	.175**	349**	.568**	.733**	.627**	-			
18. Parental Depression	.098**	.138**	017	.095**	.175**	.166**	.186**	.217**	.120**	.085	018	.006	.201**	.405**	.598**	.519**	.593**			
19. Parents Not Aware	.244**	.264**	.109**	.238**	.303**	.268**	294**	.295**	.309**	.234**	.124**	.129**	.264**	.465**	.518**	.490**	.517**	.484**		
20. Delinquency	.153**	.280**	.137**	.163**	.344**	.301**	.235**	.356**	.247**	.201**	.081**	.123**	.337**	.521**	.828**	.709**	.713**	.573**	.487**	
21. Internalizing Behavior	.243**	.311**	.073**	.249**	.349**	.301**	395**	.368**	349**	.332**	.169**	.218**	.348**	.605**	.685**	.587**	.697**	.612**	.624**	.631**

^{**}Correlation is significant at the 1.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 1. Correlations among promotive, risk and outcome variable for the full sample

^{*}Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).



Correlations Among Promotive, Risk, and Outcome Variables for the Full Chinese Sample

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
1. Autonomy																				
2. Creation of a Personal Myth	.063*	-																		
3 Easy Temperament	006	.204**	-																	
4. Emotional Intelligence	.022	.297**	.278**																	
5. Humor	009	.306**	.351**	.370**	_															_
6. Moral Development	.005	.157**	065*	.285**	.162**															
7. Optimism	.006	.552**	.237**	.308**	.352**	.105**														
8. Physical	.085**	.164**	.127**	.114*	.162*	.161**	.039	_												
Beauty 9. Self-Efficacy	.078**	.460**	.223**	.389**	.409**	.443**	.217**	.198**												
10. Maternal Relationship	089**	.297**	.098**	.166**	.218**	.221**	.124**	.049	.170**											
11. Paternal Relationship	094**	.279**	.103**	.160**	.207**	.242**	.098**	.107**	.189**	.525**										
12. Parental Relationship	064*	.147**	.048	.141**	.149**	.134**	.070*	.056*	.128**	.357**	.297**									
13. Parental Social Support	051	.125**	.127**	.130**	.161**	.136**	.112**	.049	.096**	.138**	.133**	.158**								
14. History of Physical Abuse	010	070*	021	022	020	063*	.008	021	.011	056*	108**	028	.008	_						
15. History of Sexual Abuse	.056*	103**	024	046	001	067*	033	.116**	064	072**	078**	.000	012	.047						
16. Domestic Violence	067*	074**	088**	030	075**	080**	.073**	032	009	165**	300**	175**	073**	.143**	.093**					
17. Favoritism of Siblings	.049	167**	098*	092*	092*	128**	053	.074	140**	155**	131**	157**	021	.257**	.181**	.163**	-			
18. Parental Depression	.047	155**	201**	073**	102**	117**	.035	.011	117**	218**	247**	-269**	.005	.158**	.098**	.233**	.190**			
19. Parents Not Aware	.135**	171**	157**	064*	121**	127**	.007	043	051	333**	292**	-273**	076**	.137**	.044	.213**	.151**	.284**		
20. Delinquency	.062*	055*	037	.062*	055*	037	064*	.033	019	018	120**	112*	014	.188**	.148**	.285**	.221**	.156**	.151**	
21. Internalizing Behavior	.095**	-315**	464**	224**	280**	297**	.079**	057*	159**	208**	274**	220**	090**	.185**	.119**	.190**	.226**	.349**	.365**	.176**

^{**}Correlation is significant at the 1.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 2. Correlations among promotive, risk and outcome variable for the full Chinese sample



Correlations Among Promotive, Risk, and Outcome Variables for the Full Japanese Sample

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	.15.:	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
l. Autonomy																				$\overline{}$
2. Creation of a Personal Myth	261**	-																		
3 Easy Temperament	029	.109**																		
4. Emotional Intelligence	207**	335**	.128**																	
5. Humor	.025	278**	.018	348**	G-2									+						\vdash
6. Moral Development	248**	232**	100**	327**	.125**	1, <u>22</u>														
7. Optimism	152**	496**	005	204**	337**	.131**								-						+
8. Physical Beauty	.012	.109**	124**	.174**	.448**	.169**	.079*													
9. Self-Efficacy	.133**	345**	.027	368**	.405**	345**	325**	318**	<u></u>											\vdash
10. Matemal Relationship	.179**	.520**	079*	.131**	.174**	.414**	.181**	.151**	225**											
11. Patemal Relationship	263**	.699**	010	.156**	236**	.467**	.184**	.091*	283**	.380**										
12. Parental Relationship	.057	237**	.070	238**	.136**	242**	.199++	.084*	210**	.102**	.172**									
13. Parental Social Support	100**	-266**	063	-274**	136**	191**	196**	073	133**	094*	171**	-274**								
14. History of Physical Abuse	.008	031	168**	124**	.131**	.067	018	.130**	.088*	.139**	.065	083*	.066							
15. History of Sexual Abuse	005	.040	036	.057	.131**	.065	.015	.145**	.094*	.115**	.059	.065	045	285**						
16. Domestic Violence	043	059	067	017	.071	.021	045	.101**	.020	.040	070	142**	.092*	259**	355**					
17. Favoritism of Siblings	.007	016	-142**	032	.163**	.051	.057	.137**	.099*	.124**	.037	042	.009	.440**	228**	.172**	-			
18. Parental Depression	.100**	.050	-242**	.075*	.090*	.087*	.141**	117**	.118**	108**	.072	089*	091*	353**	.154**	.178**	330**	_		
19. Parents Not Aware	.109**	047	-189**	043	.068	.062	.021	109**	.077*	110**	.059	115**	015	323**	217**	.154**	240**	309**		
20. Delinquency	061	051	065	063	.198**	.007	-119**	.189**	096*	.029	.018	054	.039	344**	363**	314**	.490**	493**	439**	
21. Internalizing Behavior	.107**	059	-339**	-106**	.065	.033	.142**	.093*	.113**	.144**	.040	064	.017	.555**	282**	.175**	264**	193**	.190++	246**

^{**}Correlation is significant at the 1.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 3. Correlations among promotive, risk and outcome variable for the full Japanese sample



Correlations Among Promotive, Risk, and Outcome Variables for the Full Korean Sample

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
1. Autonomy	_																			
2. Creation of a Personal Myth	.330**	-																		
3 Easy Temperament	048	.174**																		
4. Emotional Intelligence	.111*	.423**	.279**																	
5. Humor	.146**	.288**	.298**	.354**																
6. Moral Development	.229**	.333**	106*	.365**	.130**	_														
7. Optimism	.247**	.667**	.216**	.480**	.515**	.288**														
8. Physical Beauty	.103*	.255**	.138**	.312**	.421**	.358**	.145**													
9. Self-Efficacy	.201**	.484**	.204**	.482**	.509**	.523**	369**	.420**	_											
10. Matemal Relationship	.039	.202**	.042	.126**	.302**	.194**	.063	.089	.234**											
11. Paternal Relationship	.053	.084	.003	.174**	.252**	.191**	.021	.148**	.159**	.565**										
12. Parental Relationship	.064	.161**	.088	.183**	.278**	.227**	026	.207**	.145**	.595**	.597**									
13. Parental Social Support	026	.036	.117*	.070	.151**	.096*	.040	.038	.067	.168**	.269**	.261**								
14. History of Physical Abuse	177**	.106*	.006	087	149**	.012	056	007	048	.064	.035	.150**	015							
15. History of Sexual Abuse	121*	.070	.033	.099*	.083	.100*	031	097*	.052	285**	.167**	.185**	.013	.174**						
16. Domestic Violence	.103*	.046	.015	.098*	.058	.047	032	.069	.031	.025	.031	.032	057	.025	.148**	-				
17. Favoritism of Siblings	.025	.140**	.126**	.077	.178**	.149**	095*	.118*	.164**	213**	.169**	.242**	.109*	.099*	.178**	.172**				
18. Parental Depression	115*	.067	.162**	.144**	.116*	.054	.039	066	.095*	.156**	.149**	.224**	.172**	.085	.289**	.074	.208**	_		
19. Parents Not Aware	032	.136**	.025	.062	.119*	.083	031	.025	.183*	.370**	.314**	.357**	.142**	.126**	.346**	.035	.235**	.348**		
20. Delinquency	.161**	.142**	041	.141**	.229**	.174**	068	.023	.035	.096*	.030	.083	.074	.076	.087	.352**	.374**	.398**	.414**	_
21. Internalizing Behavior	140**	.197**	277**	.038	.115*	.116*	.003	.133**	.181**	289**	.264**	.442**	.180**	.214**	.281**	118*	.164**	.023	.039	033

^{**}Correlation is significant at the 1.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 4. Correlations among promotive, risk and outcome variable for the full Korean sample

5.2 Multivariate Analysis

5.2.1 Multivariate Regression Analyses for Internalizing Behavior in the Full Sample

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual and family promotive and risk factors predicted internalizing behavior in the full sample. The linear combination of individual and family promotive and risk factors were significantly related to internalizing behavior and explained a significant proportion of the variance in internalizing behavior, $R^2 = .739$, F(19,1712) = 255.521, p<.000. From this equation it was found that easy temperament ($\beta = .063$, p<.001), emotional intelligence ($\beta = .050$, p<.041), moral development ($\beta = .082$, p<.000), physical beauty ($\beta = .034$, p<.031), self-efficacy ($\beta = .067$, p<.002), maternal relationship ($\beta = .087$, p<.000), parental relationship ($\beta = .035$, p<.017), history of physical abuse ($\beta = .161$, p<.000), history of sexual abuse ($\beta = .151$, p<.000), favoritism of siblings ($\beta = .125$, p<.000), parental depression ($\beta = .218$, p<.000) and parents not aware ($\beta = .170$, p<.000) had a significant impact on internalizing behavior. It was found that the lower the scores on easy temperament and emotional intelligence the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. The higher the score on moral development, physical



beauty, self-efficacy, maternal relationship, parental relationship, history of physical abuse, history of sexual abuse, favoritism of siblings, parental depression and parents not aware the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. Autonomy, creation of a personal myth, humor, optimism, paternal relationship, parental social support, and domestic violence were not predictors of depression.

5.2.2 Multivariate Regression Analyses for Internalizing Behavior in the Full Chinese Sample

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual and family promotive and risk factors predicted internalizing behavior in the Chinese sample. The linear combination of individual and family promotive and risk factors were significantly related to internalizing behavior and explained a significant proportion of the variance in internalizing behavior, $R^2 = .393$, F(19,634) = 21.617, p<.000. From this equation it was found that easy temperament ($\beta = -.263$, p<.000), moral development ($\beta = .084$, p<.020), maternal relationship ($\beta = .073$, p<.015), parental relationship ($\beta = .068$, p<.014), history of physical abuse ($\beta = .070$, p<.0023), history of sexual abuse ($\beta = .108$, p<.044), parental depression (β = .143, p<.000) and parents not aware (β = .117, p<.000) had a significant impact on internalizing behavior. It was found that the lower the score on easy temperament and paternal relationship the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. The higher the score on moral development, maternal relationship, history of physical abuse, history of sexual abuse, parental depression and parents not aware the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. Autonomy, creation of a personal myth, emotional intelligence, humor, optimism, physical beauty, self-efficacy, parental relationship, paternal relationship, parental social support, domestic violence and favoritism of siblings were not predictors of internalizing behaviors.

5.2.3 Multivariate Regression Analyses for Internalizing Behavior in the Full Japanese Sample

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual and family promotive and risk factors predicted internalizing behavior in the Japanese sample. The linear combination of individual and family promotive and risk factors were significantly related to internalizing behavior and explained a significant proportion of the variance in internalizing behavior, $R^2 = .570$, F(19,617) = 43.088, p<.000. From this equation it was found that creation of a personal myth ($\beta = -.092$, p<.040), easy temperament ($\beta = -.135$, p<.000), emotional intelligence ($\beta = -.119$, p<.002), moral development ($\beta = .087$, p<.007), self-efficacy ($\beta = .090$, p<.003), history of physical abuse ($\beta = .216$, p<.000), history of sexual abuse ($\beta = .118$, p<.000), favoritism of siblings ($\beta = .125$, p<.000), parental depression $(\beta = .235, p<.000)$ and parents not aware $(\beta = .141, p<.000)$ had a significant impact on internalizing behavior. It was found that the lower the score on creation of a personal myth, easy temperament and emotional intelligence the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. The higher the score on moral development, self-efficacy, history of physical abuse, history of sexual abuse, favoritism of siblings, parental depression and parents not aware the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. Autonomy, humor, optimism, physical beauty, maternal relationship, paternal relationship, parental relationship, parental



social support, and domestic violence were not predictors of internalizing behaviors.

5.2.4 Multivariate Regression Analyses for Internalizing Behavior in the Full Korean Sample

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual and family promotive and risk factors predicted internalizing behavior in the Korean sample. The linear combination of individual and family promotive and risk factors were significantly related to internalizing behavior and explained a significant proportion of the variance in internalizing behavior, $R^2 = .488$, F(19,421) = 21.077, p<.000. From this equation it was found that autonomy ($\beta = -.085$, p<.007), creation of a personal myth ($\beta = .126$, p<.018), easy temperament ($\beta = .146$, p<.000), parental relationship ($\beta = .162$, p<.000), history of physical abuse ($\beta = .068$, p<.027), history of sexual abuse ($\beta = .182$, p<.010), domestic violence ($\beta =$ -.222, p<.000), favoritism of siblings ($\beta = .140$, p<.000), parental depression ($\beta = .137$, p<.000) and parents not aware ($\beta = .110$, p<.000) had a significant impact on internalizing behavior. It was found that the lower the score on autonomy and domestic violence the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. The higher the score on creation of a personal myth, easy temperament, parental relationship, history of physical abuse, history of sexual abuse, domestic violence, favoritism of siblings, parental depression and parents not aware the more likely youth will have internalizing behaviors. Emotional intelligence, humor, optimism, moral development, physical beauty, self-efficacy, maternal relationship, paternal relationship, and parental social support were not predictors of internalizing behaviors.

Finally, a figure was created to show the best regression equation for the outcome variable by entire sample, and then for the entire sample by gender, and then for the entire sample by country, and then again by country and gender (Figure 5).



Outcome	Sample	Equation	R ²	F Value and
Variable				Significance
Internalizing	Full Sample	Internalizing Behavior = .380	.732	596.830
Behavior		055 Easy Temperament		p<.000
		+.121 Moral Development		
		+.047 Physical Beauty		
		+.177 History of Physical Abuse		
		+.150 History of Sexual Abuse		
		+.128 Favoritism of Siblings		
		+.199 Parental Depression		
		+.178 Parents not Aware		
Internalizing	Chinese	Internalizing Behavior = 2.926	.400	85.043
Behavior	Sample	098 Creation of a Personal Myth		p<.000
		292 Easy Temperament		
		052 Humor		
		+.098 Moral Development		
		059 Optimism		
		+.071 History of Physical Abuse		
		+.108 History of Sexual Abuse		
		+.151 Parental Depression		
		+.131 Parents not Aware		
Internalizing	Japanese	Internalizing Behavior = .638	.552	99.941
Behavior	Sample	142 Easy Temperament		p<.000
		105 Emotional Intelligence		
		+.125 Moral Development		
		+.220 History Physical Abuse		
		+.103 History of Sexual Abuse		
		+.135 Favoritism of Siblings		
		+.213 Parental Depression		
T . 1' '	77	+.144 Parents not Aware	2.40	20.671
Internalizing	Korean	Internalizing Behavior = .824	.348	38.671
Behavior	Sample	+.092 Physical Beauty		p<.000
		+.069 Parental Relationship		
		+.112 History of Physical Abuse		
		+.162 Favoritism of Siblings		
		+.196 Parental Depression		
		+.153 Parents not Aware		

Figure 5. Best fitting regression equation for each variable by full sample and gender using unstandardized coefficients

5.3 Research Question #1 – *Individual Factors*.

What individual factors that have been shown to be important to the development of North American, European, and Australian youth impact the outcome of internalizing behavior in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?



There seem to be many North American, European, and Australian individual factors that impact the outcomes of internalizing behavior in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean youth.

5.3.1 Internalizing behaviors and individual factors

Chinese youth who had not created a personal myth were more likely to have internalizing behaviors. Scoring low on easy temperament was predictive of having internalizing behaviors in Chinese and Japanese youth. For Japanese youth scoring low on emotional intelligence was predictive of have internalizing behaviors. Not having a sense of humor was predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese youth. It was shown in Chinese and Japanese youth that not being optimistic was predictive of internalizing behaviors. A high level of physical beauty was predictive of internalizing behaviors in Korean youth. Having a history of physical abuse was predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean youth. Finally, a high score on history of sexual abuse was predictive of Chinese and Japanese youth having internalizing behaviors.

5.4 Research Question #2 – Family Factors

What family factors that have been shown to be important to the development of North American, European, and Australian youth impact the outcome of internalizing behavior in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?

5.4.1 Internalizing Behavior and Family Factors

For Japanese and Korean youth having parents favor siblings was predictive of internalizing behaviors. Scoring high on parental relationship was predictive of internalizing behaviors in Korean youth. Scoring high on parental depression was also predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean youth. Having parents who are not aware of what youth are experiencing is also predictive of internalizing behaviors for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean youth. All of these predictors act for Asian youth as the do for American, European and Australian youth.

5.5 Research Question #3 – Differences by Gender for Individual Factors

Are there differences in individual factors that impact the outcomes of internalizing behavior by gender in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?

5.5.1 Internalizing Behavior, Individual Factors and Gender

Internalizing behavior was predicted by a low score on easy temperament in Chinese and Japanese female youth. Chinese and Japanese female youth who had a high level of morality were more likely to have internalizing behaviors. A high level of physical beauty was predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese and Korean female youth. Finally, scoring high on history of physical abuse and history of sexual abuse was predictive of internalizing behaviors for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean female youth.

Internalizing behavior was predicted by a high score on autonomy in Chinese male youth. Chinese and Japanese male youth who had a low score on easy temperament were more likely to have internalizing behaviors. For Chinese, Japanese, and Korean male youth being



morally developed was a predictor of internalizing behavior. Finally, scoring high on history of physical abuse and history of sexual abuse was predictive of internalizing behaviors for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean male youth.

5.6 Research Question #4 – Differences by Gender for Family Factors

Are there differences in family factors that impact the outcomes of internalizing behavior by gender in Chinese, Korean and Japanese youth?

5.6.1 Internalizing Behaviors, Family Factors and Gender

For Chinese, Japanese, and Korean female youth having parents favor siblings was predictive of internalizing behaviors. Scoring high on parental depression was also predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean female youth. Finally, having parents who are not aware of what youth are experiencing is predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean youth. All of these predictors act as expected for Asian youth as they do for American, European and Australian youth.

For Chinese, Japanese, and Korean male youth having parents favor siblings was predictive of internalizing behaviors. Scoring high on parental depression was also predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean male youth. Finally, having parents who are not aware of what youth are experiencing is predictive of internalizing behaviors in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean male youth. All of these predictors act as expected for Asian youth as they do for American, European and Australian youth.

6. Discussion

This research is one of the first to investigate individual and family promotive and risk factors of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean youth that are associated with internalizing behaviors. There are many aspects of East Asian culture that are unique, however, this study found that out of the 19 variables that were examined, 15 of the variables were predictive.

6.1 Significant Promotive Factors

6.1.1 Autonomy

Being an autonomous and independent individual was found to be predictive of internalizing behaviors in the Chinese male sample. Although it has long been discussed that autonomy often appears to be a positive developmental change for adolescents for those adolescents who do not have the social skills or emotional balance to handle the change or who have families who are experiencing dysfunction (Allen et al., 2002; Allen, Hauser, Bell & O'Conner, 1994; Steinberg, 1990) becoming more autonomous can result in negative behaviors (Allen et al., 2002; McElhaney & Allen, 2001).

6.1.2 Creation of a Personal Myth

Youth who had not created a personal myth, or a plan of who they are and where they are going, was found to be a predictor of having internalizing behavior in the full Chinese sample. Acting as a guide and a plan for youth, having a personal myth was found to be an important promotive factor for resilient outcomes (Erikson, 1968; Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992;



Garmezy, 1996; Hartner, 1999; Howard, Dryden, & Johnson, 1999; Kroger, 2000; Kumpfer, 1999; McAdams, 1993; McLean, 2005; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1994).

6.1.3 Easy Temperament

Youth who had decreased easy temperament were found to be predictive of internalizing behaviors in the full sample, Chinese sample, Japanese sample, Chinese female sample, Japanese female sample, full male sample, male Chinese sample, and male Japanese sample.

6.1.4 Emotional Intelligence

Internalizing behaviors were predicted by having low emotional intelligence in the full Japanese sample.

6.1.5 Humor

Humor was found to be a promotive factor for internalizing behaviors in the Chinese sample. Chinese youth who were funny were protected from internalizing behaviors.

6.1.6 Moral Development

Moral development is helpful for adolescents as it allows for youth to be able to recognize trouble and to avoid it, making choices because it is the right thing to do. It has been found in several research studies that youth who are morally developed had better outcomes (Brooks and Goldstein, 2001; Jessor, Van Den Bos, Vanderryn, Costa & Turbin, 1995; Kumpfer, 1999). However, contrary to expectations, being highly moral was predictive of internalizing behaviors in the full sample, Chinese sample, Chinese female sample, Japanese female sample, full male sample, Chinese male sample, Japanese male sample and Korean male sample.

6.1.7 Optimism

Optimism, or having a lack of optimism, has a profound impact on youth's perception and there for the resilience outcomes.

6.1.8 Physical Beauty

In this study, increased physical beauty was a predictor of internalizing behaviors for the full sample, the Korean sample, Chinese female sample, Korean female sample.

6.1.9 Maternal and Paternal Relationship

Paternal relationship was not found to be a significant predictor in this study, which may be explained by the Asian work ethic of men working long hours away from home and the delineation of parenting as a more female endeavor. Though maternal relationship was found to be predictive.

6.1.10 Parental Relationship

Typically, parents having a good relationship has been shown to be a promotive factor for youth (Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993; Emery & Forehand, 1996; Rutter, 1989, 1999; Werner, 1986). However for the Korean sample and the Korean female sample that the opposite was true, parents who had a good relationship was predictive of internalizing behaviors. It is possible that youth who have parents who have a strong and dynamic relationship do not receive as much attention from their parents and feel rejected. Negative experiences, such as parental rejection, can create for youth feelings of unworthiness resulting in impaired self-esteem, depressive feelings, and a negative world view (Rohner, 2004).



6.2 Significant Risk Factors

As we know these effects are harmful to North American, European, and Australian youth, however they appear to be just as detrimental to East Asian youth.

6.2.1 History of Physical Abuse

However, it was not predictive for the full sample of males, Chinese sample of males and the Japanese sample of males and this could possibly be explained by the concept of corporal punishment. Although, corporal punishment has often been linked to detrimental outcomes for youth (Cohen & Brooks, 1994; McCord, 1991, 1997; Straus, 1991 1994) it has also been found to be an effective deterrent in negative youth behavior especially when it is accepted widely in the culture such as in East Asian culture (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Gunnoe & Mariner, 1997). Turner & Muller (2004) found that levels of corporal punishment differs by gender, and that males often experience greater levels of corporal punishment. This being said it is possible that males, especially East Asian males expect a certain level of physical abuse (corporal punishment), and therefore do not experience some of the harshest punishment as physical abuse.

6.2.2. History of Sexual Abuse

Having a history of sexual abuse was predictive of internalizing behaviors in all of the samples except the full Korean sample. Research has shown that having a history of sexual abuse has been shown to be a risk factor for people across a variety of demographic characteristics including age, gender, race and ethnicity (Beitchman, Zucker, Hood, daCosta, & Akman, 1991; Beitchman, Zucker, Hood, daCosta, Akman, Cassavia, 1992). This phenomenon that is predictive in North American, European, and Australian youth is also a powerful predictor of internalizing behaviors in East Asian youth.

6.2.3 Parental Depression

Parental depression predicted internalizing behaviors. The results of this study show that not only is this true to North American, Europe and Australian youth but having a parent who is depressed is also a predictor internalizing behaviors for East Asian youth.

6.2.4 Favoritism of Siblings

Favoritism of siblings was predictive of internalizing behaviors. Literature regarding family treatment of siblings during childhood has demonstrated convincingly that favoritism of siblings has consequences (Suitor, et al., 2008).

6.2.5 Parents Not Aware

Barber, Olsen, and Shagle (1994) found that parental monitoring was associated with adolescent well-being, specifically that a lack of parental control was associated with internalizing problems. Parents not aware predicted internalizing behaviors for East Asian youth in this study. Demonstrating that parents not aware is a predictor of internalizing behaviors.

6.3 Cultural Interpretation of the Findings

6.3.1 Internalizing Behavior

The association between not having an easy temperament and moral development and internalizing behaviors was strongly significant. Youth who had a difficult temperament were



found to have greater internalizing behaviors. Those youth who scored higher on moral development were also more likely to experience internalizing behaviors. Because of this youth with higher moral development, and youth with difficult temperaments may be at risk for internalizing behaviors. Historically, East Asian culture is one of tradition (Fisk et al., 1998; Markus & Kityama, 1994) with an overall cultural goal of group harmony (Hsu, 1948; Yang, 1981). Youth are taught to be true to these traditions and responsive to the standards of proper behavior, particularly behaviors which benefits the group (Fisk et al., 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). East Asian youth are changing and becoming more independent (Bai, 1998; Dator & Seo, 2004; Jin, 2003; Kinsella, 1998; Yu, 1997). As a result, youth are struggling with this shifting culture they are participating and their traditional values because it leaves them outside of the larger society.

6.4 Limitations of the Research

The research is based on youth self-report. The advantage is that the researcher obtains the youth's point of view, however the disadvantage is that there can be bias due to only listening to the youth's point of view.

Finally, the results of three surveys were combined, the largest group being Chinese youth. Because this sample is larger than the other samples, the data was influenced by this group's results in the overall samples.

6.5 Direction for Future Research

Using the survey with other Asian youth living in Thailand, Vietnam, Hong Kong, or Taiwan would give further insight into the risk and promotive factors in Asian youth. The survey has been used in the United States, Senegal, and Ghana, and further use of the survey would enhance our knowledge of promotive and risk factors for internalizing behavior that are universal or more influenced by culture, region or gender.

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