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CULTURAL PROCESSES AND INTERPERSONAL FACTORS LINKED TO THE MENTAL
HEALTH OF ASIAN-ORIGIN YOUTH: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

CHRISTINE TSAI
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Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Mayra Bámaca-Colbert
Assistant Professor of Human Development and Family Studies
Thesis Supervisor

Kathryn Hynes
Assistant Professor of Human Development and Family Studies and Demography
Honors Advisor

Emilie Phillips Smith
Professor of Human Development and Family Studies
Second Reader

*Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College

ABSTRACT

According to the 2010 Census, Asians are the fastest growing population in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011a). Despite being stereotyped as the "model minority," Asian-origin adolescents have the highest rates of depression and suicide compared to adolescents from other ethnic groups (Adkins, Wang, Dupre, van den Oord, & Elder, 2009). By examining literature on acculturation, relationships with parents and peers, depression, and suicide on mainstream and Asian adolescents, the current paper analyzes the connection between Asian adolescents' acculturation experiences and poor mental health. Research indicates that acculturation processes contribute to the dissonance between immigrant parents and their children (B.S.K. Kim, 2007). The cultural dissonance, or acculturation gap, is characterized by differing beliefs and expectations in the parent-child relationship in their cultural values, communication styles, and perceptions of parental warmth and control. Oftentimes, this discrepancy leads to adjustment problems in Asian adolescents (Yeh, 2003). In peer relationships, Asian-origin adolescents encounter discrimination regularly and suffer the mental health consequences (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008). The majority of literature on Asian adolescent depression has examined the parent-child relationship, but normative peer relationship factors have not been examined in this population. Limitations of the literature and future directions for research are discussed.

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Cultural Processes and Interpersonal Factors Linked to the Mental Health of

Asian-origin Youth: A Review of the Literature

In the past century, the Asian population in the United States increased drastically from approximately 120,000 in the early 1900s to nearly 5 million by 1990 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1999, table 2). Today, Asians account for nearly 14.7 million people (4.8%) of the U.S. population, and figures indicate that Asians are the fastest growing racial groups with a 43.3 percent population increase in the past decade (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011a).

As a group, Asians are known as the "model minority," in part due to their success as adults. For instance, Asian-origin adults in the United States have the highest median income compared to adults from other ethnic groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011b). This positive model minority portrayal also describes Asian adolescents who have the lowest rates of smoking, drinking, marijuana use, early sexual intercourse, and eating disorders (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2009). Further, Asian adolescents report better overall health than adolescents from other racial groups, having the lowest rates of being overweight or obese (CDC, 2009). These patterns can be misleading, however, when we look at other aspects of well-being such as mental health.

Despite their image as the "model minority," studies have shown that Asian adolescents are actually at a much higher risk for suicide and depressive symptoms than other ethnic groups (CDC, 2011; Adkins, Wang, Dupre, van den Oord, & Elder, 2009). Specifically, figure statistics from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, 2011) indicate that Asian youths between the ages of 10 -19 were ranked second, only to Asians aged 20 to 24, in the percentage of suicides committed in the U.S. in 2007. Asians also had the greatest overall increase (2%) in suicides compared to other ethnic groups from 2006 to 2007 (CDC, 2010; CDC, 2011). Further,

they have also been found to report higher rates of depressive symptoms compared to adolescents from other racial groups (Adkins et al., 2009). This does not mean that externalizing and more visible problem behaviors are absent among this population; several researchers have examined delinquency and violence among Asian-origin adolescents, particularly those involved in gangs in California (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Tsunokai, 2005). Nevertheless, internalizing problems tend to be more prevalent among Asian adolescents (Lorenzo, Frost, & Reinherz, 2000). Studies have shown that depression in adolescence predicts continued depression, suicidality, anxiety, and less life opportunities in adulthood (Fergusson, Boden, & Horwood, 2007). Yet, Asians, as a group, report low rates of seeking mental health care (Abe-Kim et al., 2007). It is thereby important to examine what may be contributing to the mental health problems that are present among the "model minority" youth population.

Prior research suggests that factors related to development (e.g., puberty), family (e.g., parent-adolescent relationship), and peers (e.g., peer stressors) may contribute to the rate of depression and suicide in adolescence (Cicchetti & Toth, 1998; Martin, Rozanes, Pearce, & Allison, 1995). Further, research with Asian-origin youth points to the salience of the acculturation process on mental health (Yeh, 2003). Not surprisingly, the literature on depressive symptoms among Asian-origin adolescents within the past 30 years suggests that studies on Asian adolescents and depression have largely focused on the role of parents, peers, and acculturation. Specifically, a quick search on articles from PsycINFO using keywords such as "obesity," "discrimination," "peer," "parent," "values," "immigra," and "acculturat," AND "Asian" retrieved 44 titles for parents, 30 titles for peer, and 29 titles for acculturation, whereas keywords for obesity and values retrieved only 13 results.

Thus, the goal of this paper is to provide a review of the literature that examines the connection of acculturation and interpersonal factors (i.e., parent-child and peer relationships) in relation to Asian-origin adolescents' mental health. First, I review the theories that have guided the work on suicidality and depression with mainstream European American and Asian samples. Second, I review the extant literature on Asian-origin adolescents and mental health to describe the most salient aspects of their lives that have been implicated for depression and suicide. Third, I identify gaps in the existing literature and prospective directions that are important to take into account in future studies related to the psychological well-being of this population.

Theoretical Framework

Before examining the factors related to maladjustment among Asian-origin adolescents, it is important to understand the constructs and theories used in research on depression and suicide for mainstream and Asian adolescents. Acculturation and enculturation are key concepts in studies focusing on ethnic minority youth in multicultural contexts. Acculturation describes the process of adapting to the culture and norms of the host country (B.S.K. Kim, 2007). Conversely, enculturation is the process of maintaining practices, norms, and values of the native country (B.S.K. Kim, 2007). John Berry (1980) identified four specific statuses that combine the constructs of acculturation and enculturation: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Integration refers to ethnic minority individuals who are both highly acculturated and enculturated. Individuals falling under this category are proficient in the native and host cultures. Assimilation occurs when ethnic minorities are strongly acculturated, but not enculturated, indicating that they have adopted the host culture, but rejected their native culture. Individuals falling under the separation status experience high enculturation but low acculturation. These individuals maintain the norms and values of their native culture but do not

have any interest in adapting to the culture of the host country. Finally, the fourth status, marginalization, occurs when ethnic minority individuals reject both their native and host cultures, resulting in low acculturation and enculturation. Individuals facing tension from these processes may experience acculturative stress and symptoms such as poor mental health (Berry & Annis, 1974). The stress caused by the acculturation process has expounded theories that aim to explain how this process can lead to poor parent-child relationships, depression, and suicide.

Parallel Dual Frame of Reference

Once families immigrate to the United States, children often adapt to the new culture and language at a faster pace than their parents, creating an acculturation gap (or cultural dissonance) between the two generations. Qin (2006) posits that both parents and children form parallel dual frames of reference, comparing each other to the norms of different cultures. Specifically, children are likely to compare their parents to their European American peers' parents or hold their parents to the standards of what the host (e.g., American) society asserts as ideal with respect to parenting (Qin, 2006). At the same time, immigrant parents' frame of reference is based on the norms of their native culture and their own experiences, as such, their children's behaviors are interpreted with an Asian cultural lens of what Asian culture expects (Qin, 2006). For instance, Asian accepted behaviors and values such as obedience and achievement may not transmit cross-culturally and across generations to acculturated children, creating dissonance in the family. This parallel dual frame of reference may lead to alienation, an emotional distance in the parent-child relationship, or the lack of day-to-day communication between parents and children on daily issues such as school and friendships (Qin, 2006). Although Qin (2006) believes that the parallel dual frame of reference is the most important factor contributing to alienation between children and their parents, she also addresses development and immigration-

induced factors as possible sources. That is, she notes that the increased distance between

parents and children may be due to normal developmental processes. As children grow into

adolescence, they are attempting to forge their own identity and autonomy from their parents

(Erikson, 1968). Additionally, immigration-induced factors, such as lack of time together and

language barriers, may also be a source of alienation, especially among working class families

(Qin, 2006). Qin and other researchers have examined this theory of parallel dual frames of

reference in relation to mental health by examining the views that parents and adolescents have

on parental warmth and control. This research has found that when parents and adolescents have

divergent expectations (i.e., a parallel frame of reference) on parental warmth and control, with

Asian adolescents expecting a warmer relationship than parents, these adolescents are at a greater

risk for developing depressive symptoms (Juang, Syed, & Takagi, 2007; Qin, 2008).

There are several limitations to research on this theory. First, there is limited work

examining the generational transmission of Asian cultural values. Because most Asians have

immigrated to the United States in the past couple decades, the sample sizes for later generations

(i.e. third or fourth generation) are relatively small, so it is difficult to accurately study value

transmission. Further, Qin's theory (2006) has been studied in predominantly Chinese-origin

samples. Yet, families' value adherence may differ depending on the specific ethnic group the

family belongs to. For instance, a study comparing the adherence of Asian cultural values

between Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino students found that Filipinos adhered less to

nearly all the values identified (B.S.K. Kim, Yang, Atkinson, Wolfe, & Hong, 2001). Compared

to the East Asian ethnic groups, Filipinos adhered less to values such as emotional self-control,

family recognition through achievement, filial piety, conformity to norms, and collectivism

(B.S.K. Kim et al., 2001). Thus, the idea of having parallel dual frames of reference may differ

depending on the families' ethnic background and as such this theory needs to be examined among ethnically diverse Asian-origin samples.

Racial Triangulation Theory

C. J. Kim (1999) posited the racial triangulation theory to explain why Asian Americans may feel marginalized by the dominant culture despite being touted as the model minority. This theory frames its premises in relation to three prominent ethnic groups in the United States: European Americans, African Americans, and Asian Americans. C. J. Kim (1999) states that in a field of racial positions, from foreigner to insider and inferior to superior, American society regards European Americans as both insiders and superior and African Americans as insiders, but inferior. Yet, Asian Americans are considered to be foreigners and between inferior and superior (C. J. Kim, 1999). C. J. Kim (1999) believes that this racial triangulation occurs because of two related processes: relative valorization and civic ostracism. For relative valorization, European Americans (the dominant group) holds greater esteem for Asian Americans (i.e. model minority) relative to African Americans on cultural and/or racial grounds (C. J. Kim, 1999). European Americans attribute the success and achievement of Asian Americans to their distinctive cultural values, such as "education, diligence, family solidarity, discipline, self-sufficiency, respect for authority, thriftiness, and morality" (C. J. Kim, 1999, pp. 120). However, the dominant culture also suggests that Asian Americans may never be truly American, despite their prosperity in the United States. The treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II and Chinese sojourners in the early twentieth century seems to solidify her claim (Dill, 1994; C. J. Kim, 1999). This theory has been used as a framework for studies on Asians' perceptions of stereotypes and discrimination (Benner & Kim, 2009; S.Y. Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011). While Asians may receive the positive stereotype of being the

model minority, many also receive the negative stereotype of being the "perpetual foreigner" (Benner & Kim, 2009). This negative stereotype may indirectly lead to adjustment problems for Asian adolescents through racial discrimination (S.Y. Kim et al., 2011).

Although C. J. Kim's racial triangulation theory (1999) may seem to reflect current racial statuses in the United States, her theory, especially her ideas on insiders and inferiority, does not hold up when examining the history of African Americans and Asian Americans. Despite her claim that African Americans are "insiders," racism and discrimination are a vivid reality for them (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). Further, historically, African Americans were long held as slaves to European Americans from the colonization of the United States until the end of the Civil War. As slaves, they were not seen as fully human and were subject to the will of their owners (Dill, 1994). It was not until the late 1960s that African Americans had equal rights in the United States. Similarly, in the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century, Chinese sojourners were also considered inferior and restricted in their ability to become a citizen and to form a family (Dill, 1994). Although this theory has been used to study Asians in the United States, more thought and care is needed when using it to examine the experiences and interactions between the racial groups described.

Strain Theory

The strain theory of suicide (Zhang & Lester, 2008) may be easily applicable to Asian Americans and acculturative stress. This theory proposes that strain, a form of stress and suffering caused by "conflicting and competing pressures…is so unbearable that the victim has to find a solution to release or stop it" (Zhang & Lester, 2008, pp. 67). Zhang and Lester (2008) identified four different types of strain that precede suicide: value, aspiration, deprivation, and coping strain. Value strain occurs when there is a struggle between opposing values and beliefs

in one's daily life. For Asian-origin adolescents, the values of their parents and their native culture may conflict with the values they embrace, those of their friends and American society (Pyke, 2000). This strain may be prevalent for more acculturated adolescents who desire to behave according to American norms but are opposed by their parents' wishes (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). Aspiration strain occurs when one's aspirations differ from reality. In Asian-origin adolescents, this strain could be caused by ideas about self, achievement, success, and relationships that may contradict those of Asian parents (Dinh & Nguyen, 2008). For example, parents may strongly stress the need for high educational achievement, but if adolescents do not measure up to their parents' expectations, this strain may occur (Qin, 2008). A third type is deprivation strain that occurs when a "poor individual realizes that other people of the same or similar background are leading a much better life" (Zhang & Lester, 2008, pp. 68). Finally, the fourth type of strain in this theory is coping strain. This strain occurs when an individual is unable to cope with a life crisis. The individual may lack healthy coping skills and resort to poor decisions and behavior to alleviate the strain (Zhang & Lester, 2008). Although this theory has not been applied to studies focusing on Asian youth in the United States, a study of youth suicides conducted in rural China discovered that all sampled suicides were preceded by one of these strains, even though less than half were clinically depressed (Zhang, Dong, Delprino, & Zhou, 2009). These psychological strains stressed and frustrated Chinese youth to the point of suicide and may have the same implications for Asian-origin adolescents (Zhang et al., 2009).

Hopelessness Theory of Suicide

This theory postulates that when individuals have negative life experiences, those with cognitive vulnerability (internal, stable, global attributions) are more likely to experience symptoms of hopelessness depression (Hankin, Abramson, & Siler, 2001). Hopelessness

depression is characterized by symptoms including motivational deficit, concentration difficulties, and suicide ideation. One major factor of this relationship is the vulnerability-stress component, which states that "cognitive vulnerability [interacts] with negative life events to contribute to the formation of hopelessness and, in turn, depressive symptoms" (Hankin, Abramson, & Siler, 2001, pp. 608). Negative life experiences may include the death of a family member or doing poorly on an exam or school assignment. Although research has not studied hopelessness among Asian adolescents, a study comparing the differences between ethnic groups on familial values of education and outcomes of academic success found that Asian high school students feel much stronger pressure from their parents to succeed in academics (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Because of the strong Asian cultural value of academic achievement, these adolescents reported that if they received a grade less than an A- their parents would become angry. The Asian-origin adolescents in this study also had a significantly greater fear that if they performed poorly in school, they would have negative consequences, such as parental disapproval or less career opportunities (Steinberg et al., 1992). This feeling of hopelessness in conjunction with the stress and pressure to meet their parents' expectations may ultimately lead to adjustment problems for Asian adolescents.

Interpersonal Theory of Suicide

This theory was first posited by Joiner (2005), stating that thwarted belongingness and perceived burdensomeness lead to suicidal desire (Wong & Maffini, 2011). Thwarted belongingness is characterized by an unmet need for social connectedness, whereas perceived burdensomeness is the perception of being a burden on others, (e.g., not feeling needed by those one cares about and thinking that those close to oneself would be better off if one was no longer alive; Joiner, 2005). This theory described family conflicts, mental disorders, and social

isolation as among the risk factors for suicidal desire (Van Orden et al., 2010). For Asian Americans, this theory may be particularly relevant for its idea on thwarted belongingness. Interpersonal relationships are important in the Asian community, especially the parent-child relationship. As children of immigrants acculturate to American values and norms, their sense of belongingness with their families may decrease. They may also experience thwarted belongingness in school if there is less perceived social support from their peers or friends or if there are instances of discrimination (Van Orden et al., 2010).

Parent-Child Relationship and Asian-origin Adolescent Adjustment

The acculturation process has been found to play a central role in Asian-origin adolescents' adjustment (Yeh, 2003) and the parent-adolescent relationship is a factor that is greatly, if not arguably the most, affected by this process. The parent-child relationship is an important source of social support, especially if cultural values are shared (Qin, 2008). However, in Asian immigrant families, cultural dissonance may occur, especially if children adapt to U.S. culture more quickly than their parents, and this can have detrimental implications for parent-child relationship dynamics. Cultural dissonance can permeate family dynamics from the transmission and adherence to traditional Asian child-rearing beliefs to expectations (i.e., parental warmth and control) and communication.

Child-rearing Beliefs

Ruth K. Chao (1995), a leading researcher in the field of Chinese parenting in the United States, examined differences in values between American and Asian cultures. Her groundbreaking early work (Chao, 1994; Chao, 1995) points to the existence of differing parenting beliefs among Chinese-origin and European American mothers. Specifically, European American mothers desired to provide a loving, safe environment for their children that

would allow their children to be securely attached and have high levels of self-esteem. European Americans mothers believe that building self-esteem and creating an environment that fosters learning (not necessarily academic) and exploration will ultimately contribute to building skills for success. These mothers also believe that in order to teach children social skills, they must process their child's feelings with the child, with the goal of teaching the child to be able to label and articulate their own feelings (Chao, 1995).

On the other hand, Chinese-origin mothers emphasized the value of sacrificing one's own needs to help, guide, and care for their children. They desired a harmonious relationship that would continue into the future so that when they become elderly and need care, their children would be able to sacrifice to provide and care for them as well. This belief can be transmitted into the cultural value of having a strong, harmonious parent-child relationship (Chao, 1995). Demonstrating deference and obedience to the parents is a part of Chinese-origin children's role obligation to their parents (Juang & Cookston, 2009). This belief is connected to the Confucian value of filial piety, the duty of the children to obey, honor, and respect their parents (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Juang et al., 2007). Chinese-origin mothers also believe that to build skills for success in their children, the importance of education is key. Having a good education can lead to a bright future for their children and also give them skills to become a "successful, contributing member of society" (Chao, 1995, pp. 343). In Chinese culture, high academic achievement is considered "the primary way for a child to honor his or her family and do well for the family" (Chao, 1995, pp. 343).

Both cultures stress fostering independence as important when raising children, but the reasons behind it differ. European American mothers emphasize independence and individualism and also having a child-centered orientation with a developmental perspective in

mind. They want their child to experience freedom and become an individual separate from their parents. On the other hand, Chinese-origin mothers' focus on independence and self-reliance is not solely for the children's benefit, but also for the family. Chinese-origin mothers want their children to be able to survive on their own and learn helpful life skills, but they wish for their children to be able to contribute to society and to family once they are able to take care of themselves (Chao, 1995). A sense of family obligation is instilled in the children to support and care for the family (Fuligni, 2011).

Despite Chinese-origin mothers' beliefs in raising their children up with these values, living in the U.S. may alter their children's values through the process of acculturation. As children move into adolescence, their focus shifts from their parents to their peers while forging an identity for themselves (Erikson, 1968; Fuligni, 1998). Because of this shift, Asian-origin adolescents may take on the values and norms of American culture while their parents still hold onto the values of their native culture, creating an acculturation gap (Birman, 2006). This gap can lead to communication difficulties (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Hwang, Wood, & Fujimoto, 2010), internalization of problems (Wu & Chao, 2011), and greater parent-child relationship conflict (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Dinh & Nguyen, 2006). It also may be manifested in Qin's (2006) theory of having parallel dual frames of reference. According to a study on Chinese immigrant families, adolescents with low levels of orientation toward Chinese culture are more likely to have poor adjustment when their parents have higher levels of Chinese orientation (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Thus, diverging values or frames of reference between Asian parents and adolescents can contribute to poor psychological adjustment among Asian-origin youth.

Communication Barriers

One of the most fundamental ways in which the acculturation gap may negatively affect Asian-origin families is through communication. Because most immigrant families are starting a new life in a new country, those who have less economic resources tend to work longer hours at a lower-end job to provide for their families (Qin, 2008). This limits their time with the children and oftentimes prevents them from keeping up with their children's daily experiences (Qin, 2006). When parents do have the time to invest in their children's lives (e.g., school), they are often unable to because of language barriers (Shoho, 1994). Their lack of proficiency or fluency in English thwarts their ability to help their adolescent children with school assignments or be involved in their lives (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Shoho, 1994). This lack of proficiency also prompts many parents to have their children act as cultural brokers or "intermediaries between their parents and the world outside the family" (Chao, 2006, pp. 271). Oftentimes, children contribute by translating for their parents (Chao, 2006). For instance, a study with immigrant Chinese and Korean families found that 90% of adolescents had brokered for their parents at least once (Chao, 2006). This language-brokering role creates an unequal power relationship with parents where parents still hold authority, but adolescents act as "negotiators … [and] advocate[s]" (Chao, 2006, pp. 274). Although this role contributed to more trust and respect in the parent-child relationships, it also predicted internalizing symptoms (i.e., depression-anxiety, somatic complaints, and withdrawal) for both Chinese and Korean adolescents (Chao, 2006).

Research also indicates that children tend to learn the new language faster than their parents, but lose their native language more quickly as well (Qin, 2006). This may occur because children not only have a greater capacity to learn new languages but they also are in an English-speaking environment for most of their day and must learn quickly to do well in school.

In fact, according to a study on Latin American and Asian-origin adolescents' language preferences, approximately 87 percent of Asian adolescents prefer English to their native language (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). This phenomenon may prevent parents and children from communicating effectively, leading to frustration for both parties and worsen conflict (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). The language barrier between acculturated adolescents and their immigrant parents may not only limit communication but also affect their emotional connection. Oftentimes, words that have a deeper emotional meaning are lost first, limiting the intimacy of communication between parents and children (Qin, 2006; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). Without an emotional connection, the communication between parents and children may be centered on daily life at a superficial level and, thus, alienation may occur (Qin, 2006; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). According to Joiner's interpersonal theory of suicide (2005), it is possible that this emotional disconnect from parents may contribute to feelings of depression, and even suicide. On the other hand, adolescents who continue to be proficient in their heritage language tend to have higher quality relationships (i.e. family cohesion, frequent communication) with their parents (Oh & Fuligni, 2009). This finding suggests that language maintenance could be a protective factor against maladjustment for Asian-origin adolescents.

Parental Warmth

A common theme in the literature on Asian-origin families is the parenting style and practices of immigrant parents, particularly regarding parental warmth, control, and pressure (e.g., Ang, 2006; Park, Kim, Chiang, & Ju, 2010). Parental warmth is often characterized by acceptance, emotional support, understanding, and affection (Chao, 1994; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; S.Y. Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009). Although limited, studies measuring parental warmth across ethnic groups have found that Asian-origin parents appear to have the

lowest levels of parental warmth compared to other ethnic groups (Chao & Kanatsu, 2008; Greenberger & Chen, 1996). In Greenberger and Chen's (1996) study, adolescents described their mothers as "less expressive of positive feelings towards them, and more disposed to make approval conditional on meeting [her] standards and fulfilling her expectations" (pp. 714). Their descriptions of their fathers were similar.

Feeling a lack of support from parents may drive adolescents away from them. Qin and colleagues' (2008) qualitative study on Chinese-origin adolescents' challenges with parents and peers suggests that many of the adolescents complained about their parents being too critical. This perception led many to choose not to share personal information (e.g. dating relationships) with their parents to avoid being lectured (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). This suggests that Asian-origin adolescents may feel little support and acceptance from their parents. In fact, research has found that Asian-origin adolescents frequently compare the lack of parental warmth from their own parents to the warmth displayed by their American friends' parents or by TV parents (Pyke, 2000; Wu & Chao, 2005). By adapting the notions of the American ideal of how parents should be, Asian-origin youth may build up expectations for their own parents that are unlikely to be met. These differing ideas of parental behavior may contribute to the acculturation gap between parents and adolescents. For example, S.Y. Kim and colleagues (2009) found that greater discrepancies between parents and their children in American and Chinese orientation were negatively related to reports of parental warmth. In other words, as the acculturation gap increased, perceptions of parental warmth decreased. Additionally, unsupportive parenting (i.e., showing a lack of parental support) was positively related to depressive symptoms among Chinese-origin adolescents (S.Y. Kim et al., 2009). Having the support of loved ones is important for adolescents as they are developing an identity and autonomy (García Coll &

Magnuson, 1997). For Asian-origin adolescents, however, due to cultural differences, they may

not receive the type of support they desire or expect from their parents.

Parental Control

Parental behavioral control is a frequently studied construct among Asian-origin samples

and is often measured by strictness and monitoring (Juang et al., 2007; Qin, 2008). Research

suggests that Asian-origin parents tend to exert a lot of control on their children. For instance,

compared to the other ethnic groups, Asian American parents were found to be second to African

Americans in exhibiting behavior control (Chao & Kanatsu, 2008). Qin (2008) performed

longitudinal research on first-generation Chinese adolescents and their parents who immigrated

to the U.S. during early to middle childhood. After migration, their parents still held strict

control and monitoring over their daily and personal lives (e.g. school, dating), which caused

children to resent their parents. When discussing expected adolescent behavior, the parents

expected the same type of behavior (e.g., listening and obeying without talking back or

challenging) from their immigrant children that they showed to their own parents when they

were young (Qin, 2008). Having this attitude and practice of parenting lead to increased conflict

between parents and their adolescent children (Park et al., 2010). The adolescents in this study

also complained about the duty to obey without having open communication with their parents in

which they could share their opinions (Qin, 2008). Again, adolescents compared their parents to

those of their friends and those seen on TV and found their parents lacking, and parents

compared their children to themselves as children and to children in the native culture. Using

student and parent interviews, Qin (2008) found that adolescents with differing expectations of

parental warmth and control had poor parental relationship quality (e.g., ineffective

communication, lack of conflict resolution) and psychological adjustment. The discrepancy

between the ideal and the reality of how their parents are may cause stress on the adolescents. The differing cultural beliefs and behaviors, especially regarding parental control that Asian adolescents and their parents had, created an acculturation gap, which was significantly related to depressive symptoms. Particularly, as the cultural dissonance increased, the risk of experiencing depressive symptoms increased as well, particularly if family conflict was present (Juang et al., 2007).

It is important to note that American culture, as well as most research which is dominated by a Western perspective, has labeled parental warmth as a positive component and behavioral control as a negative aspect of parenting. However, this perspective is culturally biased. In Asian culture, parental control is actually seen as a positive component of the parent-child relationship (Juang et al., 2007) and warmth is demonstrated through "instrumental help and support" (Pyke, 2000, pp. 247), instead of affection and intimate conversation.

In an effort to explain the reason for the cultural bias, Chao (1994) argues that the "training model" of Chinese parenting is centered on two ideas: *chiao shun* and *guan* (Chao, 1994). *Chiao shun* is "the idea of training children in the appropriate or expected behaviors" (Chao, 1994, pp. 1112). This training involves not only teaching children the proper way to behave, but also showing them (Chao, 1994). *Chiao shun* requires much sacrifice from the mother; she "provides an extremely nurturing environment for the child by being physically available…and the support and drive for them [children] to achieve in school and to ultimately meet the societal and familial expectations for success" (Chao, 1994, pp. 1112). *Guan* has several meanings in the Chinese language that include "to govern," "to care for," and "to love" (Chao, 1994, pp. 1112). *Guan* is a positive concept in Chinese culture, thus, "parental care, concern, and involvement are synonymous with firm control and governance of the child" (Chao,

1994, pp. 1112). The ideas of *chiao shun* and *guan* are not intended to oppress children; instead, they are "to assure the familial and societal goals of harmonious relations with others and the integrity of the family unit" (Chao, 1994, pp. 1113). Thus, what acculturated Asian-origin adolescents perceive as parental behavior that is too strict and controlling is actually encouraged and seen as positive behavior in Asian culture.

With the parent-child acculturation gap in mind, Wu and Chao (2011) introduced the concept of *qin* as a protective factor against the negative consequences of cultural dissonance. *Qin* is described as a child's appreciation of "parents' devotion, thoughtfulness in anticipating and meeting the child's needs, and *guan*" (Wu & Chao, 2011, pp. 495). Higher levels of *qin* indicate that adolescents understand the parenting practices of their less-acculturated parents. In this study, although cultural dissonance and internalizing symptoms (i.e. withdrawal, somatic complaints, anxiety-depression) were positively related, Wu and Chao (2011) found that *qin* moderated that association. In other words, greater cultural dissonance predicted internalizing symptoms for Asian-origin adolescents, but when adolescents reported that they appreciated and understood their parents' behavior toward them, the likelihood of having internalizing symptoms decreased.

Paternal Relationship

Current literature on Asian-origin families has predominantly focused on either the parent-child relationship or specifically the mother-child relationship. Asian fathers are, for the most part, isolated from research, but the few studies examining parental dyads (both mothers and fathers) suggest that the father-child relationship is distinctive from the mother-child relationship (S.Y. Kim et al., 2009; Park, Vo, & Tsong, 2009). Specifically, Asian-origin adolescents rated their paternal relationship as less positive and affectionate than their maternal

relationship (Park, Vo, & Tsong, 2009). In regards to the acculturation gap, a discrepancy in Asian values was linked to the father-adolescent relationship quality. For males, the father's emotional responsiveness moderated the association between relationship quality and the cultural value gap. That is, when Asian fathers displayed less emotional responsiveness, the relationship quality was significantly lower for those who had high discrepancies in Asian values (Park, Vo, & Tsong, 2009). Additionally, the father-adolescent American orientation discrepancy was positively related to depressive symptoms in adolescents, mediated by low warmth, monitoring, and inductive reasoning (S.Y. Kim et al., 2009). In Asian culture, fathers hold more power in the family, especially in regards to finances and decision-making (Ang, 2006). Thus, Asian fathers may play a large role in contributing to depressive symptoms in Asian-origin adolescents. Adolescents may be more intimidated by their fathers, causing more stress and disturbance in their mental health (Ang, 2006). One study on Asian adolescent victimization and depression found that the paternal relationship acted as a moderator for depressive symptoms; a greater bond with the father reduced the expression of depressive symptoms (Maffini, Wong, & Shin, 2011). Fathers may contribute more to the link between the parent-adolescent relationship and depressive symptoms than what is currently known. Research needs to further examine the influence of the paternal relationship on Asian adolescents' well being.

In a culture where the parent-child relationship is emphasized and highly important, the negative consequences of a poor parent-child relationship due to differing expectations and perceptions is not surprising. However, the parent-child relationship is not the only contributor to adolescents' mental health outcomes. Peer relationships, especially in regards to discrimination, may also affect Asian adolescents' adjustment.

Peer Relationships

Mainstream research indicates that as individuals move from childhood to adolescence they begin to spend more time with their peers, shifting their primary focus on interpersonal relationships from family to friends and peers (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Given that youth in the U.S. spend a significant amount of their day-to-day life (e.g., at school and extracurricular activities) with peers (Larson & Richards, 1991), the experiences of Asian-origin youth with their friends and peers and how these contribute to adjustment are important to study. Although there is minimal knowledge on normative experiences with peer and friends, research on Asian-origin adolescents' peer relationships has studied the experiences of peer discrimination and its contribution to adjustment.

Discrimination

Discrimination still occurs in schools today and can affect Asian adolescents' socio-emotional functioning (Lorenzo et al., 2000). The issues relating to discrimination are both racial and ethnic in nature. Race refers to the physical and biological characteristics that distinguish a people group, such as body type, skin color, facial features (Betancourt & López, 1993). For Asian adolescents, they may be teased for their typically smaller eyes or body size (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008). Ethnicity refers to the national, cultural or linguistic characteristics of a people group (Betancourt & López, 1993). The Asian race consists of many ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese, Japanese) that have their own language and cultural values. While there are many similarities in cultural values and practices among the ethnic groups, there are also distinctive differences, such as language and historical background (Rumbaut, 1997). Asian-origin adolescents who experience ethnic discrimination may be victimized for their accents or cultural values, like filial piety or academic achievement (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008).

Research with Asian-origin youth suggests that peer discrimination experiences are a reality for these youth. Specifically, a study with Chinese-origin youth reported that discrimination might occur for a variety of reasons (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008). Asian-origin adolescents may be ostracized for having an accent or doing anything that is not considered the norm by American culture. Moreover, because Asian-origin adolescents tend to have better academic achievement than their peers, teachers may favor them, causing jealousy among their peers. Another reason Asian-origin students may be discriminated against or victimized is for their smaller body size. Asian men tend to be built smaller than members of other ethnic groups, which does not conform to the ideal male appearance in American culture, making it easy for larger American adolescent boys to victimize Asian-origin males. Finally, a lack of community among Asian-origin students may contribute to discrimination (Qin, Way, & Rana, 2008). In schools or neighborhoods where there is a low Asian population, Asian adolescents may be unable to band together as a united force in support of each other through high school (Qin, Wa, & Rana, 2008; Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). Discrimination also differs by sex of the adolescent. Girls may experience chronic daily discriminatory experiences, characterized by more nonverbal, social behavior, whereas boys may experience discriminatory victimization, more direct and sometimes confrontational behavior (S.Y. Kim et al., 2011). These experiences with discrimination can affect adolescents' adjustment and be another reason why Asian-origin adolescents are at risk for depression and suicide.

The existence of discrimination and stereotyping in middle schools and high schools is undisputed, but the resulting effects on Asian-origin adolescents appear to differ. For instance, Thompson and Kiang (2010) found that being labeled with the model minority stereotype (a positive stereotype) was significantly related to educational aspirations, expectations, positive

relationships, and environmental mastery. Furthermore, adolescents who were more frequently given the model minority stereotype also had greater school self-concept and a higher value of academic success (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). These findings differed from most studies that stated that discrimination led to psychological maladjustment, yet this is possible due to the positive connotation of the "model minority" stereotype.

On the other hand, a study comparing the socio-emotional functioning of Asian Americans to European Americans found that Asian American adolescents "reported being teased more often, being too dependent on others, and being rejected by peers" (Lorenzo et al., 2000, pp. 296). These adolescents also reported being more withdrawn, having more depressive symptoms, and perceiving lower levels of social support (Lorenzo et al., 2000). Further, research guided by the racial triangulation theory (C.J. Kim, 1999) found that adolescents who were discriminated against and stereotyped as foreigners had a higher risk for developing depressive symptoms (Benner & Kim, 2009; S.Y. Kim et al., 2011). In fact, the authors argue that acculturated Asian-origin adolescents believed themselves to be part of the group (i.e., to be "insiders"), but experiences of discrimination challenged that idea (Benner & Kim, 2009). The culture to which they believed they belonged to rejected them and ostracized them, causing psychological distress that may not just be a result of discrimination, but also from a possible identity crisis when perceiving lack of acceptance from people of the culture they believe to belong to.

Discrimination and Neighborhood Context

The neighborhood context of the Asian-origin adolescents studied may alter research results, possibly contributing to the inconsistencies in results relating to discrimination experiences. To get a good sample size in their studies on the Asian population, many

researchers study Asian adolescents in the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco and in Hawaii where there are larger concentrations of Asians (e.g., Chao, 1994; Juang et al., 2007; B.S.K. Kim & Ornizo, 2010). The level of discrimination that Asian-origin adolescents encounter may differ by location. Studies on Asian adolescents in Hawaii generally have not found any links between acculturative stress and maladjustment (Edman et al., 1998; B.S.K. Kim & Ornizo, 2010). This lack of connection may be attributed to the ethnic demography of Hawaii where there is no majority ethnic group. That is, of the ethnic groups represented in Hawaiian, none comprise more than 30% of the population (Edman et al., 1998). The consequences of acculturative stress from peer relationships may be more prominent in Asian adolescents living in cities where they are a minority group (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). The social support that Asian-origin adolescents receive from outside the family may impact their adjustment (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003). In areas where there are smaller pockets of Asian populations, these adolescents may not receive as much support from their non-Asian peers, as they would with Asian peers (Chan & Birman, 2009), possibly affecting the connection between peer relationships and adjustment. This is an important area of research that needs to be explored.

Normative Friendships

Although discrimination experiences are studied more extensively in Asian-origin adolescents, there is little research on their normative friendships, particularly relating to adjustment. A few studies have examined the cross-race, same-race, and same-ethnicity friendships of ethnic minority adolescents in the United States (Chan & Birman, 2009; Kao & Joyner, 2004). Compared to other races, Asian adolescents have an inordinate preference for same ethnic higher-order or best friends (Kao & Joyner, 2004). Generally, higher-order and best friends have more shared activities, such as spending time together or talking (Kao & Joyner,

2004). This finding suggests that Asian-origin adolescents are more likely to spend more time and develop closer relationships with other Asians of the same ethnicity. According to mainstream literature, friendship intimacy and attachment is negatively related to anxiety and depressive symptoms in adolescents (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Buhrmester, 1990). Having these intimate relationships may provide adolescents with friends to confide in and receive support from when experiencing stress. Therefore, it is important for future studies to examine the effects that close friendships, especially with same-race peers, may have on Asian adolescents' adjustment.

Further, social support from friendships appears to be especially beneficial in regards to adjustment. Perceived social support from friends has been linked to psychological symptoms in mainstream literature (Compas, Wagner, Slavin, & Vannatta, 1986; Licitra-Kleckler & Waas, 1993). Adolescents who reported dissatisfaction with peer social support were more likely to experience stressful life events and depressive symptoms (Compas et al., 1986; Licitra-Kleckler & Waas, 1993). However, there is currently a lack of research on this link in Asian adolescent relationships. Chan and Birman (2009) examined the perceived social support from same-race compared to cross-race friends among Vietnamese immigrant adolescents. They discovered that adolescents perceived nearly double the social support from Asian friends than from cross-race friends (Chan & Birman, 2009). This finding may indicate that Asian adolescents with same-race friends may be better adjusted than those with cross-race friends for two possible reasons. Asian-origin adolescents' frame of reference may not be as Americanized if they have more Asian friends with similar cultural values and experiences. Because their Asian friends' parents are likely to be similar to their own, the cultural dissonance that typically occurs among acculturated adolescents may not be present. Another reason could be that because their Asian

friends may have similar experiences regarding acculturation and parental relationships, they are able to support each other better and have greater understanding for each other's problems. Cross-race friends may have more trouble understanding the difficulties in Asian adolescents' family relationships due to cultural differences. However, these reasons, and possibly others, have not yet been tested among Asian adolescents. Research on the effects of peer social support is needed to better understand and ultimately reduce the current rates of depression and suicide on Asian-origin adolescents.

Limitations and Future Directions

The reviewed literature on Asian-origin adolescents and adjustment has been written recently, all within the past twenty years. Research on this connection before 1990 is rare. Thus, there are ample areas for improvement and directions for exploration in future studies on this growing segment of the U.S. population. First, the methodological approaches to study this population need to improve. Researchers do not often differentiate Asian ethnic groups in their studies, but historically, there are differences in the immigration experiences and resources among Asian ethnic groups that may affect families' acculturation processes (Rumbaut, 1997). In addition, the way that most researchers classify immigrant generations may be inadequate (Oropesa & Landale, 1997). Although immigrants arrive to the U.S. at different stages of their life, many studies do not consider the length of time in the United States or the age at arrival (Rumbaut, 2004). Thus, an alternative way to classify immigrant generations is needed. Further, to better understand the connection of acculturation and interpersonal factors in relation to adjustment in the Asian adolescent population, future studies should compare the influences of parental and peer relationships on mental health outcomes and also follow Asian-origin children through adolescence. Knowing which relationship has the greater influence on maladjustment

for Asian-origin adolescents may affect intervention or prevention strategies for this population. The influences of parental and peer relationships on adjustment and Asian adolescents' developmental mental health processes may change across adolescence (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993; Yeh, 2003), thus future studies should take a longitudinal approach.

Asian Ethnic Group Differences

The Asian population in the United States consists of people from a variety of nations, but many studies on Asian families and adolescents do not differentiate between them. Historically, Asians' experiences in immigrating to the U.S. have differed by nation. Chinese and Japanese individuals began immigrating to the United States in the late 1800s to work, especially during the California Gold Rush. However, in the 1880s, the Chinese Exclusion Act legally prohibited Chinese immigration, but Japanese immigration still continued until the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed. This law highly restricted foreigners from immigrating to the United States until it was repealed in 1965 (Rogers, 1988). Because Japanese people have lived in the U.S. longer than individuals from other Asian nations, they may be more likely to be acculturated to American society.

Although the Chinese have been in the United States about as long as the Japanese, the greatest influx of Chinese immigrants occurred in the past few decades. Most Chinese individuals or families (including those from Taiwan and Hong Kong) come seeking better career or educational opportunities for themselves or for their children (Qin, 2006). Although they are leaving their relatives and community behind, they may more highly uphold the value of educational and career achievement. The children of these immigrants may then be more pressured to succeed in school and in their career because of their parents' sacrifice.

Vietnamese-origin families, however, may face a different kind of pressure. Many Vietnamese immigrants came to the United States as political refugees from the Vietnam War. Among Vietnamese individuals, most are low-wage workers (Rumbaut, 1997). Having low-paying jobs may create financial and relational strain for families, as parents must work longer hours to make ends meet, possibly lowering the parent-child relationship quality (Qin, 2006).

Acculturative issues may also differ for Filipino families. The Philippines had been a U.S. colony from the end of the Spanish American War until the mid-twentieth century. Because of the strong military presence in the nation during that time, Western culture was introduced to the natives (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Rumbaut, 1997). Before families even immigrated to the United States, they had already been exposed to many aspects of U.S. culture and also tended to be proficient in English (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; B.S.K. Kim et al., 2001). This exposure likely lessens the stress of the acculturative process for Filipino families, particularly in regards to language and cultural values. As such, despite sharing an Asian cultural background, the acculturative process that members of different Asian ethnic groups experience may differ, depending on their history of immigration or resources, and these differences need to be further explored.

Generational Classification

The way that many researchers have studied immigrant families has been inconsistent and possibly inaccurate as well. Most literature on Asian-origin families and adolescents classify subjects by generation. Many define first generation as individuals who were born in another country and immigrated to the United States, and second generation as individuals who were born in the United States but whose parents were foreign-born (e.g. Chao & Kanatsu, 2008; Greenberger & Chen, 1996). Some researchers classify first-generation individuals a little

further by asking for their length of stay in the U.S. Measuring individuals' immigration status this way, as a means of studying acculturation, is inadequate. While the length of time in the United States is important, researchers should take a step further and focus on the age at arrival. As Rumbaut (2004) eloquently states "examining the length of time and age at arrival can indicate qualitative life states and sociodevelopmental contexts at the time of immigration" (pp. 1163). That is, coming to the United States as a child may be completely different than coming as an adult, even when years in the U.S. may be the same, and research should note these differences.

Warner and Srole (1945) proposed a set of three generations: the P (or parental foreign-born) generation, F1 (filial first, or American-born children of immigrants), and F2 (grandchildren of immigrants). They further split the parental generation into P1 and P2, in which P1 included those who immigrated after eighteen years old, and P2 included anyone who immigrated before eighteen (Warner & Srole, 1945). The socialization and experiences outside the home may greatly differ depending on how far along and individual is in his/her development. Individuals in the P2 generation, especially younger children, may have acculturative experiences more similar to those that researchers have classified as second generation because they have been mainly socialized in the United States. A study of this generational classification on Latin American immigrants found significant differences between generational cohorts on language and adjustment due to language abilities (Oropesa & Landale, 1997). The results indicate that having only two generational classifications (first and second) is an inaccurate method to study immigrant outcomes (Oropesa & Landale, 1997). Because most studies do not differentiate individuals who immigrated as children from those who immigrated

as adults, the results may be skewed and possibly inconsistent across research on the acculturative process.

Comparison of Relational Influences

While the existing mainstream literature has examined the role of family vs. peers, there is a lack of research in this area among Asian-origin adolescents. To date, no study has focused on comparing the influences of these two relationships on Asian-origin adolescent depression; thus, it is not possible to determine which relationship may have a greater impact. Does it matter more to adolescents' mental health to have a distant parent-child relationship or poor peer relationship experiences during adolescence? How do relationships with parents and peers interact to inform adjustment? Dinh and Nguyen (2006) suggest "because family relationships take on greater importance for many Asian Americans, …the perceived acculturative gap between parents and children may further undermine existing social support, intensify other types of stressors, and negatively affect coping capacity and adjustment" (pp. 421). That is, relationships with parents can contribute to how adolescents perceive other aspects of their lives and this, in turn, affects adjustment. For instance, a study examining cross-cultural parental and peer relationships and their association with adolescent satisfaction found positive links between both parental admiration and peer acceptance to adolescent life satisfaction (Schwarz et al., 2011). However, higher cultural-level family values moderated the relationship between peer acceptance and adolescent life satisfaction. In cultures that had high family values (e.g., India, China), the link between peer acceptance and life satisfaction decreased (Schwarz et al., 2011). On the other hand, in cultures that emphasized independence (e.g., France, United States), peers were more important for adolescent well-being (Schwarz et al., 2011). These findings suggest that acculturated adolescents may possibly value the opinions and support of their peers more

highly than those of their parents. If this is true, Asian-origin adolescents in the U.S. may be conflicted between their native cultural value of family and the societal value of independence. Thus, it is important to examine whether parent or peer relationships have a greater influence on Asian adolescents' psychological maladjustment in the United States.

Developmental Changes

During adolescence, children must adjust to changes in their physiology (i.e. puberty), psychology (i.e. identity and autonomy), and relationships (i.e. parents to peers). An inability to cope with these changes may result in maladjustment or poor mental health. Their experiences during early adolescence may differ greatly from those during late adolescence. Research on Asian adolescents has predominantly studied only one point in time during adolescence, but this design does not take into account the changing experiences that adolescents encounter during this period of development. For instance, peers and friends may take on significant greater importance as Asian-origin adolescents get older. A study on European American adolescents found that their orientation (i.e., attachment) toward peers increased through adolescence (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Similarly, it is possible that the importance of parental and peer relationships on mental health may differ for Asian adolescents by age, especially when taking into account the acculturation process.

Mental health processes may also change for adolescents during this time period. For the mainstream adolescent population, it has been found that depressive symptoms increase during mid-adolescence, as adolescents begin choosing an identity for themselves (Bosquet & Egeland, 2006; Erikson, 1968; Hankin et al., 1998). Yet, the trajectory of depressive symptoms for Asian-origin adolescents in the United States has been largely understudied. A cross-sectional study on adolescents from middle to high school found that the older students reported more mental health

problems than the early adolescent students (Yeh, 2003). One reason may be that these adolescents have an increased awareness or exposure to racial discrimination (Yeh, 2003). Another possible reason may be that as older Asian adolescents are soon transitioning into adulthood, they may experience increased pressure from their family to succeed (Chiu & Ring, 1998). However, without longitudinal studies, having a full understanding of these relational, developmental, and mental health processes among Asian-origin adolescents is not possible. Thus, continued research in these areas is important as we seek to promote the well-being and healthy adjustment of this growing population in the United States.

Concluding Remarks

As the Asian population in the United States continues to grow, research and knowledge of the intricacies of this demographic also need to grow. Some theories have focused on, and been applied, to Asian-origin individuals, like those on acculturation and depression. Acculturation processes may add strain on adolescents at home and at school. In school and with peers, Asian adolescents may lack a sense of belongingness that contributes to their maladjustment (C.J. Kim, 1999). However, most theories on suicide, such as Joiner's interpersonal theory (2005) or the hopelessness theory (Hankin, Abramson, & Siler, 2001), have not been examined among Asian adolescents. Given that Asian adolescents have the highest suicide rates compared to adolescents from other ethnicities, it is important that more studies focus on this area among this population.

The sheer amount of research on the parent-child relationship attests to its importance and prevalence in Asian-origin adolescents' lives, but peers are important as well. Discrimination has been studied extensively and tends to negatively affect adolescents' well-being. However, the lack of research on normative peer relationships prevents us from having a

clear understanding of how these relationships affect Asian adolescent adjustment. Literature currently points to parents and acculturation processes as the most prevalent to Asian-origin adolescents' well being, but to get a more accurate picture, friends need to be studied as extensively as, and in tandem with, parents. The current rates of depression and suicide for Asian adolescents are too serious to be left alone. Research on this growing population needs to be expanded to better intervene and prevent these outcomes.

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ACADEMIC VITA of Christine Tsai

Christine Tsai
119 Gwynedd Lea Dr.
North Wales, PA 19454
cit5032@psu.edu

EDUCATION
The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
Schreyer Honors College
B.S., Human Development and Family Studies – Developmental Science Option
Minor, Psychology
Thesis Title: Cultural Processes and Interpersonal Factors Linked to the Mental Health of Asian-origin Youth: A Review of the Literature
Thesis Supervisor: Mayra Bámaca-Colbert

EXPERIENCE
KenCrest Child Development Center, Ambler, PA
Substitute/Assistant Teacher, *Summer 2010*
- Managed the environment and discipline of six classrooms with children from infants to 6-year-olds, some of whom were developmentally delayed
- Worked one-on-one, for several days a week, with a 2-year-old boy with ADHD, developmental speech delays, and conduct problems

ACTIVITIES
Asian American Christian Fellowship
President, *Fall 2011 – present*
Small Group Leader, *Fall 2009 – present*
Evangelism and Outreach Team Head, *2010*

PSU Welcome Week Crew, *Fall 2010 & Fall 2011*

AWARDS
Dean's List, *Fall 2008 – Fall 2011*
Schreyer Honors College Academic Excellence Scholarship, *2008 – 2012*
George J. Coleman Scholarship, *2008 – 2012*
College of Health and Human Development Scholarship, *2008 – 2012*
Donald M. and Virginia Miller Cook Scholarship, *2008 – 2012*