

# Normal and Delinquent Syndromes of Chinese Youth in Taiwan: Quantitative Differentiation and Psychological Profiles

KUO-SHU YANG, DER-HUI YUE, AND EN-CHANG WU

*Department of Psychology  
National Taiwan University, Taiwan.  
Republic of China*

## Abstract

The present study was designed primarily to formally differentiate and identify three indigenous types of normal and delinquent youth syndromes (i.e., *hao-hsueh-sheng*, *kha-a*, and *liu-mang*) through a quantitative approach using Chinese adolescents in Taiwan as respondents. Based upon Shaw's (1985) ethnographic account of these three types of Chinese youth subculture and other relevant sources, a rating list was constructed to include as many brief behavior descriptions as possible of all three syndromes. Rating data collected for large samples of Chinese adolescents were factor-analyzed to statistically differentiate and identify the various youth syndromes. The obtained syndromes were then related to a number of conceptually relevant variables to provide comprehensive profiles on various quasi-antecedent (parental, familial, and educational), concurrent (personality), and subsequent (behavioral) measures so that their nature could be better understood. The major findings may be summarized as follows: (1) Three clearly differentiated factors were extracted by factor analysis, each being in good agreement with one of the three stylistic categories of youth as defined by Shaw (1985). (2) The three youth syndromes or groups defined in terms of the respective syndromes were meaningfully distinguishable in terms of the separate profiles or patterns on 24 psychological and behavioral variables concerning parental roles, familial attachment, school detachment, values, beliefs, personality traits, and delinquent behavior. (3) While the *kha-a* and *liu-mang* syndromes or groups were not as normal as the *hao-hsueh-sheng* syndrome or group, the *kha-a* was significantly more delinquent than the *liu-mang*.

Key words and phrases: *Chinese youth, delinquent syndrome, indigenous type, personality trait, delinquent behavior*

Ever since the 1940's, Western psychologists and sociologists have shown a sustained interest in the identification of basic categories in terms of which delinquent and problem behavior of children and adolescents can be meaningfully classified. While some of these (e.g., Bennett, 1960; Hunt and Hardt, 1965; Reiss, 1952; Sullivan *et al.*, 1957; Warren, 1969) have

relied upon a clinical-theoretical analysis to develop a taxonomy or typology of deviant behavior, others (e.g., Achenbach, 1966; Loeber and Schmalings, 1985; Paraskevopoulos and Quay, 1972; Peterson, 1961; Quay, 1966; Quay and Parsons, 1971) have utilized multivariate statistical techniques and other empirical methods in deriving their fundamental dimensions or

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patterns of deviant characteristics. Both conceptual and empirical approaches have yielded classificatory systems that have made, in one way or another, research into the description, etiology and treatment of juvenile deviancy much more refined and systematic (see Binder, 1988; Quay, 1986; Quay, 1987 for a review). Some of these types or dimensions have emerged not only in analyses of juvenile delinquents in a legal sense, but also in analyses of other groups of adolescents, sometimes even children, including those defined as deviant by mental health and educational systems.

While a tremendous amount of research effort has been done in developing viable taxonomic systems for the identification and assessment of juvenile deviancy or delinquency in American and European societies, studies of the same sort have been sparse and unsystematic in Chinese societies. In Taiwan, there have been only four investigations that have really been devoted to the development of categories for adequately classifying the deviant behavior of Chinese youth in a meaningful way. These studies may be divided into two distinctive groups by the approaches they adopted. One group includes two empirical studies using a questionnaire survey approach with a large sample, and the other includes two studies relying on either psychiatric or anthropological observations as the major method of data collection.

In Yang's (1981) study, one of the two studies in the first category, anonymous self-ratings on a list of 130 descriptions of Chinese adolescent delinquent and problem behavior were obtained for 2,432 male and 2,723 female students drawn from 14 junior high schools in the Taipei area. Sixteen composite variables were derived by unweighted summations of self-ratings over the delinquent and problem behaviors in each of the 16 categories defined by conceptual analysis, and then factor-analyzed for each sex separately. Two major unrotated factors, "General Maladjustment" and "Outward-inward Orientation," emerged with substantial cross-sex invariance and were obliquely rotated to identify two psychologically meaningful factors, namely, "Delinquent Behavior" (further divided into two subgroups, "Pleasure-seeking" and "Rule-violating") and "Neurotic Behavior."

Several years later, using basically the same set of problem behaviors, Yue (1985) collected data from more than 25,000 adolescents in Taiwan and ended up with results generally confirming Yang's findings. When individual problem behaviors instead of composite categorical variables were intercorrelated and subjected to factor analysis, eleven oblique factors

emerged of which eight have, and eight do not have, their counterparts among the 16 composite categories of problem behaviors as conceptually defined by Yang. However, the second-order factor analysis of the 11 primary factors yielded three second-order factors that are remarkably similar to Yang's three broad factors, namely, "Rule-violating Delinquent Behavior," "Pleasure-seeking Delinquent Behavior," and "Neurotic Behavior."

Unlike and much earlier to Yang's and Yue's quantitative approach is Lin's (1958) psychiatric study of two contrasting types of delinquent youth in Taiwan, namely, *liu-mang* and *t'ai-pau*. According to his observations, *liu-mangs* were male youngsters most likely coming from families of relatively lower socio-economic status in certain old sections of cities or from small towns. They were interested in traditional community affairs like ceremonial activities during temple festivals in the neighborhoods where they lived. Their favorite recreational activities were native games, drinking, and gambling, and they preferred to wear clothes indistinguishable from traditional dress. They usually formed groups (ranging from 10 or 20 to 100) in which loyalty stood above everything, and with very strict disciplinary measures ranging from beating to lynching or ostracism. Group solidarity and faithfulness were ensured by the practice of blood-bonding (*hsueh ming*), which consisted of an oath in front of the temple god, taken by sipping the blood of a cock and swearing eternal loyalty to the group and its members.

Lin considered *t'ai-paus* a new type of Chinese delinquent youth, whose appearance was characterized by a student style with Western emphasis in dressing (blue jeans, aloha shirts, etc.). They were male (called *t'ai-mei*, if female) junior and senior high school students, or unsuccessful ones, coming from middle-or upper-class families. They tended to play truant in small groups (ranging from 3 or 4 to 10), fooling around in the modern amusement sections of the cities. Their favorite activities were movies, billiards, ping-pong, playing cards, eating or smoking in cafes, and sports in the parks. Intra-group conflicts, quarrels with non-*t'ai-pau* students, and rivalries between different groups were the most common causes for their assaults of varying degrees of severity. They defied policemen by disregarding laws and disobeying regulations. Practical jokes, sarcastic remarks, driving, dancing, and stealing without being caught were their favorite ways to show cleverness.

With all their differences, these two groups represented differing reactions of adolescents to two existing subcultures in Taiwan induced by societal mod-

ernization or contacts with Western culture. While the emergence of *t'ai-pau* was a sign of the growing "modern" and "up-rooted" subculture, the persistence of *liu-mang* indicated the existence of a still traditional culture at the base.

Twenty-five years later, Shaw (1985) conducted an anthropological field study on youth culture in Taiwan, examining the behavior and attitudes of students in the third year class of a junior high school in Taipei city. His participant observations enabled him to distinguish three types of Chinese youth, viz., *hao-hsüeh-sheng* (or the "good student"), *kha-a* and *liu-mang*. "Good students" obeyed adults and responded only when asked to respond. They studied diligently, constantly reviewed their lessons, and memorized whatever was placed in front of them. With their teachers they spoke Mandarin, not Taiwanese. They went home right after school and did not visit "indecent" places. They did not smoke, drink, or socialize with members of the opposite sex. Their dress strictly followed school rules—wearing neat, clean uniforms and shoes of the required color and style. Their hairstyles were trimmed to maximize plainness and simplicity. Generally speaking, to be a "good student" was to be a good young man or woman. The "good student" expectations characterized the very moral fiber of normal Chinese youth, and their boundaries were not confined to school only.

In addition to the "good student," Shaw also identified two delinquent forms of Chinese youth culture. *Kha-a* is a Taiwanese (rather than Mandarin) word to refer to youngsters dressing in the latest fashions and wearing the latest hairstyles. Male *kha-a* often went with girls and were willing to show respect for women and to be considerate of their needs. *Kha-as* were well known for their almost limitless quest for fun. They liked to visit underground discos, MacDonal'd's, Puccis, and other "interesting" places, preferably with an imported (Western or Japanese) flavor. Whenever possible, they smoked Western-brand cigarettes, and were the kind of young people most likely to sniff glue and to use drugs. They had a tendency to more or less disregard the norms and expectations of adults in the immediate environment and to take their cues from each other rather than from adults.

Another delinquent type of Chinese youth was the *liu-mang* who shared certain characteristics that "good students" and *kha-as* did not have. One of the most distinctive external characteristics of a *liu-mang* was his bell-bottom pants; the wider the cuff of the pants, the more committed to the *liu-mang* lifestyle a youngster would be. Students with *liu-mang* tendencies had an interest in fighting and gambling and in

the articulation of mature values such as loyalty, devotion, and righteousness. Male *liu-mangs* usually stayed together and did not enjoy going around with people of the opposite sex. They preferred to go to restaurants and drink there rather than visit new wave dance places. They did not like glue-sniffing or other kinds of drug-taking; instead, they preferred the stimulus produced by the betel nut. Young *liu-mangs* in effect skipped youth to become apprentices of adulthood and considered themselves "lesser adults." They were willing to take adult responsibilities and roles, and, maybe for that reason, were likely to associate themselves with an already established gang in the local neighborhood.

Shaw's penetrating analyses also indicate that, unlike the *kha-a*, both the "good student" and the *liu-mang* did not challenge the *status quo* and in fact embraced traditions to such an extent that their lifestyles might even be instrumental to the preservation of certain cultural values and orientations. Furthermore, *liu-mangs* remained committed, though not to the same degree as "good students," to the value of educational credentials and to the legitimacy of the channels of upward mobility, even though they were unwilling to accept the authority of the "gatekeepers" in the system. In contrast, *kha-as* entirely rejected the demands of ascending the educational ladder of success for the simple reason, among others, that they just did not like studying. As a result, they had to adopt other channels or strategies for reaching the same socially acceptable goals.

Lin's and Shaw's typological descriptions of Chinese deviant youngsters enable us to learn that Shaw's two types of delinquent youth seem to bear a substantial resemblance to Lin's two types of delinquent youth: *liu-mang* and *kha-a* as described by Shaw correspond respectively to *liu-mang* and *t'ai-pau* as characterized by Lin. The first kind of delinquent young people in one study is so similar to that in the other that the same term "*liu-mang*" is used to denote them. It should be pointed out that Shaw was apparently unaware of Lin's research when he did his study. The fact that the two investigators used the same term to designate certain youth strongly suggests that the *liu-mang* lifestyle has survived twenty-five years of rapid social change and is still persisting as a distinctive form of youth culture.

In the case of *kha-a* and *t'ai-pau*, the similarity is also substantial enough for us to find a number of basic characteristics common to both, although more behavioral differences (as a result of societal transformation) can be identified than in the case of *liu-mang*. It must be pointed out that the terms *kha-a* and

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"*t'ai-pau*" are from two different languages and with rather different emphases. *Kha-a* is a Taiwanese (e.g., Hokkien or Southern Min) word emphasizing young people's fashionable appearance (especially in dress and hairstyle). "*T'ai-pau*", however, is a Mandarin (e.g., National Language) expression stressing the bad influence of delinquent youth of good family background. The shift from the term "*t'ai-pau*" to the term *kha-a* in the designation of certain deviant youth seems to represent a change from accenting the socio-economic and delinquent characteristics of these adolescents to stressing their personal and stylistic habits. Nevertheless, people in Taiwan are still occasionally heard to use the term "*t'ai-pau*" in speaking of a youth of good family background whose behavior is obviously delinquent.

Our contention is that the "good student," *kha-a* and *liu-mang* as described by Shaw probably represent three basic varieties of normal and delinquent youth that can be found in any Chinese society having undergone social change under the impact of modernization. They may be reliably identifiable not only in Taiwan, but also in Hong Kong and, to a lesser extent, in Mainland China. Moreover, they may also be found in other Asian societies (e.g., Japan) and even in non-Asian societies that have a time-honored tradition and are going through fast societal modernization. The adolescent syndromes manifested by the three varieties of youth may be seen as three distinct types of responses to the complicated amalgamation of the still persisting traditions and newly adopted modern elements in an ever transforming society. For both theoretical and practical reasons, it should be worthwhile to do systematic research in an attempt to unravel the underlying dynamic mechanisms involved in the differential formation of these normal and delinquent syndromes.

Before these advanced studies are possible, however, basic research has to be conducted to systematically differentiate the three types of youth syndromes through a quantitative, statistical approach. The present study was primarily designed to achieve such a purpose for the case of Chinese adolescents in Taiwan. Starting with Shaw's ethnographic account of Chinese youth subcultures and other relevant sources, a rating list was constructed to include as many brief behavior descriptions as possible of all three syndromes. Rating data collected for large samples of Chinese adolescents were factor-analyzed to quantitatively differentiate the three youth syndromes. The obtained syndromes were then related to a number of conceptually relevant variables to provide comprehensive profiles on various quasi-antecedent, concurrent, and subsequent

measures so that their nature could be better understood.

### I. Method

#### *Respondents*

Several samples of *male* youngsters were used as respondents (Rs) in the present study. Some of them were youths still in school, and others were young people who were no longer in the formal educational system. There were three student samples of more than 800 Rs each. One of them included 866 students drawn from four junior high schools in Taipei city. Since no ability or achievement grouping is practiced in the first year of junior high school, classes of that year were randomly chosen from each school. The second- and third-year subsamples were formed by randomly taking one class from section A ("good" classes) and one from section B ("bad" classes) of each of these two years in each school. The sizes and average ages (in parentheses) of the subsamples for the first, second, and third years were 319 (14.1), 291 (15.7), and 256 (16.1), respectively.

Two other student samples were drawn from four private senior high schools and four private vocational schools in Taipei city. The reason for choosing respondents only from private schools is that students in public senior high and vocational schools are highly homogeneous and most of them are scholastically good students because of the strong selective effects of the keenly competitive entrance examinations. Two classes were chosen from among classes of each of the three years in each school. The sizes and average ages of the three senior high school subsamples for the first, second, and third years were 287 (17.6), 262 (19.0), and 251 (20.0) and those of the vocational school subsamples were 298 (17.7), 369 (18.4), and 324 (19.8), respectively.

In addition to the three student samples, the present study also involved three samples of young people who were no longer in the formal educational system. One of these non-student samples was composed of 255 (17.2) full-time "students" from two privately run remedial classes or "cram schools" (*pu-hsi pan*). All of them were junior high school graduates and wanted to be better prepared for the senior high school joint entrance examination by attending a *pu-hsi pan* for one or more years. The second non-student sample included 324 (18.2) youngsters referred by the police to the Taipei Juvenile Probation Office during the period of April to June, 1986. Of these, about 12 percent had not been officially placed on probation by the juvenile court at the time of their taking part in this

study. The third non-student sample consisted of 460 (18.7) inmates in two of the juvenile correctional institutions, one in the northern and the other in the central parts of Taiwan. All respondents in the last two samples had graduated from a junior high school.

### Questionnaire

The assessment instrument used for data collection was a 20-page questionnaire comprising separate sections specifically designed to provide information for a large number of parental, familial, educational, attitudinal, personality, and behavioral variables. In the following, only those parts of the questionnaire that are relevant to the present analysis will be noted.

*Juvenile stylistic characteristics:* Based upon Shaw's (1985) anthropological description of youth stylistic categories (the "good student," *kha-a* and *liu-mang*) as well as the present authors' lifelong observations of junior high school students in Taiwan, a list of 30 short descriptions of behavior characteristics (see Table 1) was written and refined as a separate section. The R was asked to indicate how often ("Never," "Seldom," "Frequently," or "Always") he had had each behavior. Of the 30 behavior descriptions, 10 were supposed to be characteristic of *hao-hsüeh-sheng* ("good students") 8 characteristic of *kha-a* and 12 characteristic of *liu-mang*.

*Parental regard, guidance, and request:* In order to assess parental role behaviors as perceived by the R, 20 items were selected and modified from the parental-role scales used in Hsu (1983) and Yue (1985). The instructions preceding these items in the questionnaire requested the R to indicate how often ("Never," "Seldom," "Sometimes," "Frequently," or "Always") his parents had behaved the way described in each item. Ratings were made for father and mother separately.

Preliminary factor analysis of the relevant data collected in this study ended with a two-factor orthogonal solution for both parents. One factor may be simply labelled as "Regard" in the sense that the parent respected the R's opinions, understood and liked the R, shared feelings and got along with the R well, went to the movies with the R, and consoled and encouraged the R when he felt blue. The other may be called "Guidance" (or "Supervision") in the sense that the parent supervised the R to do homework, explained how to do it when the R had difficulty in doing homework, paid attention to the R's scholastic records, talked with the R about matters in school, asked whom the R went around with, wanted to know where the R would be when he went out, and checked whether the R had done what he was told to do. High

factor loading items were then chosen to define four parental variables: father's regard, mother's regard, father's guidance, and mother's guidance.

Another two parental variables pertain to parents' request about what the R should do. Ten items, also selected and modified from Hsu (1983) and Yue (1985), were used to form a section in which the R was asked to rate how dissatisfied ("Not at all," "Just a little," "Moderately," "Strongly," or "Extremely") he felt about his parents' requesting him to do something (as stated in each item). Ratings were made for both parents combined, rather than for father and mother separately. Preliminary factor analysis disclosed two orthogonal factors. The first one had the highest loadings on items describing such parental request as not dressing in certain ways, not going out at night, not coming home too late, not going to indecent places, not going around with girls, and not making friends with certain persons. These requests all have something to do with how to be a good person. The first factor may thus be labelled "Dissatisfaction with parental request to be a good person." The second factor had the highest loadings on items stating such parental request as helping with the housekeeping or domestic chores, studying and doing homework assignments, doing well in examinations, and not littering the house by carelessly discarding debris and objects. All these requests are related, in one way or another, to how to do work or things well. This factor was, therefore, designated "Dissatisfaction with parental request to do good work."

*Familial attachment and dissatisfaction:* Items in the section for the assessment of attachment to and alienation from family were taken from Hirschi (1969) and Yue (1985). Each R was required to indicate, on each of the 10 items, how often ("Never," "Seldom," "Sometimes," "Frequently," or "Always") he had had a certain feeling towards his family, parents, or family members. Through preliminary factor analysis, two orthogonal factors were identified and named "Attachment to family" and "Dissatisfaction with family" respectively. The former factor had high loadings on items expressing perceptions and expectations, like: parents expected R to go to college; parents expected R to eat with them; parents waited for R when R came home late; solved problems for R when R had trouble outside the home. The latter factor, on the other hand, had high loadings on items describing feelings and perceptions, like: R received no love at home; parents criticized and condemned R; R felt a lack of warmth at home; R disliked his parents; R felt his home was like a hotel; R wanted to get away from home.

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*Educational dissatisfaction:* Most of the 15 items for this purpose were chosen from those relevant items in Hirschi's (1969) questionnaire which were specifically designed to provide information on attachment to school. In this section of the questionnaire, there were three or more alternatives as possible answers listed under each item. Each time, the R was instructed to choose an answer that he thought was most descriptive of his school experience.

Three orthogonal factors emerged as a result of a preliminary analysis. The first one, labelled "Dissatisfaction with student role," had highest loadings on items asking about how often he compared his scholastic performance to classmates, how often he could finish his homework in time, how difficult it was for him to seriously devote himself to study, how much he liked or disliked going to school, and so forth. The second, named "Dissatisfaction with teachers," was defined in terms of items inquiring about how his teachers would react to the good or poor performance of his class, what kind of class his class was in his teachers' eyes, whether or not his teachers thought highly of him, and so on. "Disbelief in scholastic achievement" was the third factor, which loaded highly on items asking about how important scholastic achievement was to him, how closely scholastic achievement was related to his future employment as a worker, and so forth.

*Detachment from peers:* Six items were included in the questionnaire to provide information for the assessment of attachment to friends or peers. These items required the R to indicate, on a scale of 4 to 9 steps, how many true friends he had, how many of his good friends also treated him as a good friend, what kind of persons his best friends were, whether or not he himself wished to have the qualities or characteristics his best friend had, whether or not he respected his best friends' opinions about important matters in life, and whether or not his best friends would help him if he were in big trouble. All these items had rather high intercorrelations, and preliminary factor analysis revealed that they formed a single factor.

*Personal values and beliefs:* In the questionnaire used, there was also a section including 13 items for the assessment of life goals. The R was asked to report how much he hoped ("Don't hope very much," "Don't hope," "Don't care," "Hope," or "Hope very much") to attain each of the 13 goals in the future. Preliminary factor analysis of the relevant data disclosed two major orthogonal factors: "Social status as a life goal" and "Personal security as a life goal." Subsumed in the first factor are life goals such as: to be a powerful person, to achieve great fame, to pursue high social status, to

become very rich, and to win wide popularity and a good reputation. The second factor lumps together the following goals as its domain: to have a stable and healthy family, to have a secure and enduring job or occupation, to do things according to one's role and responsibility, and to live a safe and steady life.

In our questionnaire, there were eight more items that were designed to collect data pertaining to attitudes towards laws, norms, and the police. Preliminary factor analysis demonstrated that most of the items concerning laws and social norms clustered together to form a single factor entitled "Belief in laws and norms." This factor is defined by the following high-loading items on which the R was required to rate, on a 4-step scale, the degree of his agreement or disagreement to each of the following statements: one should observe the laws once they are there, one should try one's best to behave in accordance with social norms, laws are needed in order to keep the society in good order, and those who have violated the law will eventually get caught. The two items, on which the R was instructed to indicate, on a 4-step scale, how much he respected or should respect policemen, had both high loadings of a factor that was compositionally different from "Belief in laws and norms." This latter one is labelled "Respect for policemen."

*Personality traits:* Relevant items in the questionnaire enable us to measure six major personality variables, viz., sensation-seeking, impulsiveness, self-discipline, aggressiveness, aggression rationalization, and the need for approval. The scale for the measurement of sensation-seeking used was composed of 12 items chosen from a larger scale empirically analyzed by Chuang (1985). Most items in Chuang's scale were translated from Zuckerman's Sensation-Seeking Scale (Zuckerman *et al.*, 1964; Zuckerman *et al.*, 1972). According to Zuckerman and his associates (1972), sensation-seeking is "related to an uninhibited, non-conforming, impulsive, dominant type of extraversion, but not particularly related to the socialization type of extraversion" (p.319).

The two scales for assessing the traits of impulsiveness and self-discipline consisted of 11 and 14 items, respectively, all of which were taken from Buss and Plomin's (1975) temperament scale. Impulsiveness is a tendency to be indecisive or irresolute, to be bored and distracted easily, to do things on the spur of the moment, to give up easily what one is doing, and to be unable to control one's impulses and emotions. As to self-discipline, it may be conceived as a propensity to like making plans in advance, to persevere until things are finished, to keep one's word or promises, to be willing to complete daily routines, and to observeso

cial rules or proprieties cheerfully.

The 37 items of the above three scales were mixed to form one section in which the R was instructed to rate how often ("Never," "Seldom," "Frequently," or "Always") he had had the feeling or behavior stated in each item. Preliminary factor analysis of the data on the 37 items indeed bore out that the three sets of items clearly clustered into three separate factors as originally conceived.

One more temperamental trait is aggressiveness, which was assessed by seven items in another section, written especially for the present study. Each of these items describes a different kind of aggressive behavior or hostile emotion under certain conditions or situations. The R rated how closely ("Not at all," "Just a little," "Substantially," or "Very much") the behavior or emotion described in each item matched his own behavior or emotion. The total score was supposed to reflect the degree of the tendency to be hostile and aggressive under various conditions or situations.

Also related to the predisposition of aggression is aggression rationalization. To measure it, a specific set of items was utilized; some of the items on this list were taken from Hirschi's (1969) and other questionnaires, while others were written particularly for the present study. Using a 4-step scale, the R rated the degree of his agreement or disagreement to each of the eight statements in which the aggressive behavior was somehow "justified." Three of the statements may be given as examples: (1) fighting is the best way to resolve a dispute; (2) a man who has not fought with others is not a "real" man; and (3) if you are angry at somebody, it is only natural for you to attack him. All together, these items purport to assess one's tendency to use whatever "reasons" he can to rationalize his aggressive, violent, and fighting behavior, or "manly," dauntless, and valiant acts, so as to make him feel that these behaviors or acts are necessary and justified.

The last personality variable is the need for approval as defined by Crowne and Marlowe (1960). Eight items of the yes-no format were selected from a Chinese version of their original scale. The total score given by this shortened form is not only considered as a personality trait in and of itself, but also as a measure of social desirability (SD) by which the influence of SD on the R's answers or responses to items involved in the derivation of other variables may be quantitatively evaluated.

*Delinquent behavior:* Another section in the questionnaire was devoted to the assessment of various groups of juvenile delinquent behavior. The 55 short descriptions in that section were chosen from Yang's (1981) checklist of juvenile delinquent and problem

behavior. The instructions asked the R to rate how often ("Never," "Seldom," "Frequently," or "Always") he/she had experienced the behavior related in each description. For scoring, all 55 acts were classified into the following six categories on the basis of Yang's (1981) and Yue's (1985) conceptual and empirical analyses: (1) delinquent behavior at home (*e.g.*, cheating parents, unwilling to go home, and running away from home), (2) delinquent behavior in school (*e.g.*, cheating teachers, arriving late at school in the morning, and reading "extracurricular" books during class), (3) loitering and loafing in the street (*e.g.*, truancy from school, going to see sex movies, loitering in the street after school), (4) aggressive and destructive behavior (*e.g.*, fighting with others, carrying a knife for protection, and destroying public property), (5) stealing and obtaining by force or threats (*e.g.*, stealing money or property from others, taking others' things by force, borrowing money from others without returning it), and (6) drug abuse and related behavior (*e.g.*, drinking liquor, sniffing glue, and taking hallucinogenic drugs).

#### *Procedure*

After a preliminary tryout with a small sample (about 100) of junior high school students for the improvement of the wording and literary difficulty level, the questionnaire was administered to the various groups of Rs through different channels and in different ways. For the Rs in the samples from junior-high, senior-high, and vocational schools and *pu-hsi pans*, the questionnaire was group-administered to them during their regular class meetings. Administrators were permitted to answer questions on an individual basis whenever an R had difficulty in comprehending the meaning of part or all of an item or statement. All Rs were able to complete the questionnaire within 50 minutes.

Quite different procedures were adopted in collecting data from Rs in the two officially delinquent samples. Since the arrival of probationers and pre-probationers in the Taipei Juvenile Office was irregularly spread across time, the questionnaire was administered to them individually or in small groups. The two interviewers who actually gave the questionnaire to these Rs were experienced in dealing with delinquent cases. As for the testing of Rs in the juvenile correctional institutions, it had to be done by the personnel in these institutions according to the regulations of the R.O.C. Judicial Department. In order to ensure the quality of the administration, a detailed description of the procedure and requirements was prepared for the officials who were in charge of the

testing. The questionnaire was given in a group setting in each institution.

## II. Results and Discussion

### *Statistical Differentiation of the Three Youth Syndromes*

One of the major purposes of this study was to quantitatively differentiate and identify the three normal and delinquent syndromes of Chinese youth as qualitatively observed in Taiwan by Shaw (1985). To achieve this end, all three student and three nonstudent samples were pooled together to form a highly heterogeneous sample of 3,714. The behavior ratings on the list of 30 juvenile stylistic characteristics obtained for this combined sample were intercorrelated to generate a matrix of Pearsonian product-moment correlation coefficients (*rs*). The resultant correlational matrix was factor-analyzed by the method of principal-component analysis, and the three largest factors were rotated to an oblique solution (oblimin). Factor loadings greater than .35 on the 30 variables are given in Table 1. When the same statistical procedure was applied to the relevant data for the combined sample ( $n=2,657$ ) of junior-high, senior-high, and vocational school students, basically this same factor pattern emerged (shown in Table 1).

A close examination of the results in Table 1 reveals that the 30 stylistic characteristics of young people indeed cluster in ways as suggested by Shaw's ethnographic observations. Factor I had high positive loadings on Variables 1 to 7, 23, and 27 and negative ones on Variables 8 and 9. This behavioral syndrome matches Shaw's description of *kha-a* (KA) quite well. Factor II had high positive loadings on Variables 8 to 17, and a high negative one on Variable 20, which, taken together, perfectly fit Shaw's conceptualization of the "good student" (*hao-hsueh-sheng*, hereafter abbreviated as HHS). As for Factor III, high loadings, all positive, are found on Variables 18-27 corresponding precisely with Shaw's characterization of *liu-mang* (LM).

While all the behavioral characteristics on which each of the three factors had high loadings are in good agreement with one of the three stylistic categories of youth as defined by Shaw, there are a few behaviors that failed to be characteristic of certain specific types of youth as Shaw originally defined. One of them concerns the spoken language preferred by the KA. According to Shaw, KAs are more likely to use Mandarin rather than Taiwanese to communicate with each other. However, the relevant results (on Variables 11 and 20) in Table 1 indicate that the KA factor does not have any substantial relationship with the use of ei-

ther Mandarin or Taiwanese.

Shaw also asserted that KAs were known to show respect for women, to be considerate of their needs, and to be regarded as gentlemen by them. Actually, it turns out that "being considerate, respectful, and polite to women" (Variable 17) does not have any substantial association with the KA tendency. It should be pointed out here that, among the three factors, only the one representing the KA tendency is strongly related to "chatting and going around with girls" (Variable 4). Together, the results on Variables 4 and 17 tell us that an adolescent with a higher score on the KA factor has a stronger tendency to chat and go around with girls and this has nothing to do with whether or not he is considerate, respectful, and polite to them.

Another characteristic of the KA emphasized by Shaw is the almost limitless quest for fun. For that reason, they would rather dance while they are young and worry about matters of consequence some time in the future. In the same context, Shaw's descriptions of the LM suggest that they tend to be more serious (*yen su*) about things. The pattern of the factor loadings on Variable 22, however, shows that the reverse is true. "Having fun when still young" is associated with the LM factor instead of the KA. In other words, adolescents with stronger LM characteristics are more likely to practice the philosophy of life of *chi shih hsing le* (seize the day).

In distinguishing between the KA and LM, Shaw stressed whether or not bell-bottom pants were worn. He considered the wearing of such pants as the most distinctive characteristic of the LM and implied an absence of this characteristic among the KA. Nevertheless, results on Variable 27 indicate that this behavior was equally associated with the LM and KA factors, and in both cases the degree of association barely passes the lowest criterion of factor loading for a variable to be included in the defining set.

It is clear from the above discussion that, with a few unexpected anomalies in the case of KA, the three factors presented in Table 1 closely match Shaw's descriptions of the three types of Chinese youth. This unequivocally confirms our expectation that the three stylistic categories of youth subjectively and qualitatively defined by an anthropologist using himself as a measuring instrument can be objectively and quantitatively differentiated and identified through a multivariate statistical procedure. The three stylistic factors so found constitute three objectively and quantitatively defined syndromes of youth behavior.

It is worth noting that the KA syndrome, as represented by Factor I, accounted for the largest amount



Table 1. Three Sets of Youth Characteristics as Defined by Factor Analysis

Characteristic	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
#1. Dressing in the latest fashion after school or during vacations	.74		
2. Dancing disco or other new wave dances	.71		
3. Wearing a fashionable hairstyle	.68		
4. Chatting and going around with girls	.64		
5. Smoking imported cigarettes (especially Western brands)	.61		
6. Eating Western (e.g., MacDonald's) or Japanese food	.61		
7. Drinking imported wine or liquor	.53		
8. Having a hairstyle that is trimmed to strictly conform to school regulations by maximizing plainness by maximizing plainness and simplicity	-.55	.41	
9. Wearing a uniform that strictly follows school standard dress code and is kept neat and clean	-.54	.44	
10. Taking homework seriously and doing it carefully		.65	
11. Speaking Mandarin with each other		.63	
12. Receiving good test scores in examinations		.57	
13. Being willing to serve or do things for classmates		.52	
14. Being obedient to parents and teachers ( <i>t'ing hua</i> )		.51	
15. Going home directly after school		.45	
16. Attending "remedial" sessions for extra learning, reviewing, and testing		.41	
17. Being considerate, respectful, and polite to women		.38	
18. Emphasizing loyalty and righteousness to "friends" or "brothers" ( <i>chiang i ch'i</i> )			.61
19. Displaying braveness, fearlessness, and toughness			.57
20. Speaking Taiwanese with each other		-.39	.54
21. Stressing seniority and respecting the "boss" ( <i>lao ta</i> )			.51
22. Having fun when still young ( <i>chi shih hsing le</i> )			.46
23. Drinking Chinese wine or liquor (such as Taiwan beer, Shao Hsing wine, and Kao Liang liquor)	.37		.46
24. Liking the story of three heroes swearing brotherhood in the garden of pears as described in the famous Chinese classic novel <i>The Romance of Three Kingdoms</i>			.45
25. Making friends with adults			.42
26. Eating at small food stands or joints on the sidewalks			.37
27. Wearing bell-bottom pants ( <i>la pa k'u</i> )	.35		.36
28. Liking to be with members of own family			
29. Disliking sissy boys			
30. Disliking to mix with girls			
Proportion of total variance accounted for	18.30	11.10	6.50

#These are not the serial numbers used in the original questionnaire, where the stylistic characteristics supposedly describing the three types of youth were instead randomly mixed in a list.

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**Table 2. Correlations of the Three Varieties of Youth Syndrome to Variables Concerning Parental Roles, Attachments, Values, and Beliefs.**

Variable	<i>Hao-hsueh-sheng</i> syndrome	<i>Kha-a</i> syndrome	<i>Liu-mang</i> syndrome
1. Father's regard	.31***	-.20**	.05
2. Mother's regard	.29***	-.18**	.09
3. Father's guidance	.28***	-.19**	-.02
4. Mother's guidance	.28***	-.19**	.02
5. Dissatisfaction with parental request (good person)	-.31***	.42***	.19**
6. Dissatisfaction with parental request (good work)	-.27***	.19**	.03
7. Attachment to family	.30***	-.13**	.04
8. Dissatisfaction with family	-.12**	.24***	.16**
9. Dissatisfaction with student role	-.55***	.31***	.12**
10. Dissatisfaction with teachers	-.29***	.17**	.03
11. Disbelief in scholastic achievement	-.29***	.20**	.09
12. Detachment from peers	-.13**	.01	-.14**
13. Social status as a life goal	.01	.18**	.17**
14. Personal security as a life goal	.22**	-.17**	.05
15. Belief in laws and norms	.11**	-.12**	.01
16. Disrespect for policemen	-.33***	.34***	.19**

\*\*  $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ , two-tailed test.

of the total variance among the three, and the LM syndrome the smallest, with the HHS falling in between. This means that the KA syndrome is much better crystallized as a lifestyle of adolescents in Taiwan, even better than the HHS syndrome. If the *kha-a* (or its predecessor, the *t'ai-pau*) characteristics represent the newly emerging style of adolescence as a result of societal modernization in Taiwan, and the *liu-mang* characteristics represent the still persisting style as a result of the influence of local traditions at the base, as suggested by Lin (1959), the above finding seems to indicate that the accumulated impact of social change has already reversed the relative dominance of the two delinquent styles. It is not unlikely that 25 years ago, when Lin did his psychiatric study on delinquent youth, the *liu-mang* style was much better crystallized or differentiated than the *t'ai-pau*

style.

Also of interest is the extent to which the three syndromes correlated with one another. The R's total score on each of the three syndromes was obtained by the unweighted summation of his ratings on all the defining characteristics (with a loading greater than .35) for that factor. Intercorrelations were then computed among the three syndromes. It was found that the HHS syndrome correlated  $-.62$  with the KA and  $-.02$  with the LM; and that the KA syndrome correlated  $-.22$  with the LM. It is the KA syndrome, not the LM, that is considerably antithetical to the HHS.

As can be seen from the patterns of high loadings in Table 1, the substantial, negative correlation between the KA and HHS syndromes is due mainly to the fact that both had high loadings, opposite in sign, on at least two characteristics (Variables 8 and 9).

Their opposite loadings on these characteristics indicate that the stronger one's HHS syndrome, the higher tendency to conform to school regulations and standards in dress and hairstyle; and that the stronger one's KA syndrome, the lower his tendency to conform to these rules. As for the rather low correlation between the KA and LM syndromes, it apparently reflects the fact that both had high positive loadings on Variables 23 and 27, indicating that both were associated with the tendency to drink Chinese wine or liquor and to wear bell-bottom pants.

#### *Various Correlates of the Three Youth Syndromes*

Once the three youth syndromes were systematically differentiated and identified, the next task was to investigate their various correlates so that specific psychological profiles could be established for them. These profiles will provide useful information for a better understanding of the unitary syndromes as representing separate psychological constructs. Moreover, when viewed in theoretical context, these profiles might even enable us to have a better grasp of the underlying mechanisms involved in the formation of each of the syndromes and to come up with useful insights for the counseling or treatment of adolescents troublesomely high in any one syndrome.

Potential correlates are numerous, but here in this essay only three broad groups of correlates will be explored for their relationships with the three syndromes: (1) parental roles, familial attachment, educational dissatisfaction, values, and beliefs, (2) personality traits, and (3) delinquent behavior. The variables in each of these categories have been separately defined and operationalized above in the Method section. Correlations between each of these variables and each of the three syndromes were calculated for the highly heterogeneous combined sample of 3,714 respondents.

*Parental roles, familial attachment, educational dissatisfaction, values, and beliefs:* The  $r$ s between the 16 variables in this category and the three youth syndromes are presented in Table 2. First of all, there are six variables concerning parental roles and functions as perceived by the R, and two variables pertaining to the R's familial attachment and dissatisfaction. It was found that father and mother regard and guidance all correlated positively with the HHS syndrome, negatively with the KA syndrome, and insignificantly with the LM syndrome. Dissatisfaction with parental request to be a good person was negatively related to the HHS syndrome and positively to the KA and LM syndromes. Dissatisfaction with parental request to do good work was related negatively to the HHS syndrome, positively to the KA, and ins-

ignificantly to the LM. It is noted that the KA syndrome tended to have a higher  $r$  with dissatisfaction with parental request to be a good person and to do good work than the LM syndrome, indicating a stronger association for the former syndrome than for the latter. Attachment to the family correlated positively with the HHS syndrome, negatively with the KA, and insignificantly with the LM. Dissatisfaction with the family had a negative  $r$  with the HHS, and a positive  $r$  with both the KA and the LM.

The three syndromes were related to the eight parental and familial variables in a consistent manner. The HHS syndrome had a positive  $r$  with all positive parental and familial variables (*i.e.*, regard, guidance, and attachment to family) and a negative  $r$  with all negative parental and familial variables (*i.e.*, dissatisfaction with parental requests and with family). The KA syndrome was in direct opposition to the HHS syndrome in its relationships with the same eight variables. Unlike the other two, the LM syndrome tended to have no significant correlations with these variables.

All three variables concerning educational dissatisfaction represent measures of school attachment expressed in a reverse direction. Table 2 shows that all these variables (*i.e.*, dissatisfaction with the student role, dissatisfaction with teachers, and disbelief in scholastic achievement) correlated negatively with the HHS syndrome, positively with the KA, and insignificantly (with the exception of dissatisfaction with the student role) with the LM. In comparison with the other two educational variables, dissatisfaction with the student role had consistently higher  $r$ s with the three syndromes, representing stronger associations between them. Basically, however, the pattern of relationships of the three syndromes to these school attachment variables (or, more accurately, school detachment variables) is similar to that of their relationships with the variables of parental roles and familial attachment. As for another attachment variable — detachment from peers — the pattern of relationships is somewhat different. In this case, the LM syndrome is much like the HHS syndrome in having a negative  $r$  of almost the same size with detachment from peers. On the other hand, the KA syndrome failed to significantly correlate with this variable.

The four variables of personal values and beliefs were related to the three syndromes in rather different patterns. Among these variables, social status as a life goal correlated positively with the KA and LM syndromes and did not have a significant  $r$  with the HHS. Personal security as a life goal and belief in laws and norms were related positively with the HHS

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**Table 3. Personality Correlates of the Three Varieties of Youth syndrome**

Variable	<i>Hao-hsueh-sheng</i> syndrome	<i>Kha-a</i> syndrome	<i>Liu-mang</i> syndrome
1. Sensation-seeking	-.27***	.55***	.42***
2. Self-discipline	.38***	-.13**	.32***
3. Impulsiveness	-.19**	.23***	.24***
4. Aggression rationalization	-.34***	.38***	.26***
5. Aggressiveness	-.21**	.28***	.34***
6. Need for approval	-.03	.07	.05

\*\*  $p < .01$ , two-tailed test.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ , two-tailed test.

syndrome, negatively with the KA, and insignificantly with the LM. The fourth variable, disrespect for policemen, correlated negatively with the HHS syndrome and positively with the KA and LM. The absolute values of the last set of  $r$ s were greater than those of the  $r$ s between the three syndromes and the other three value and belief variables.

Most of the variables in Table 2 are relevant to Hirschi's (1969) social control scheme of four bonds (*i.e.*, belief, attachment, involvement, and commitment). The correlational patterns in the table are generally compatible with Hirschi's social control theory, which has already been empirically tested in Taiwan with positive results in several studies (*e.g.*, Sheu, 1988; Wang, 1987).

*Personality Traits:* The  $r$ s between the three youth syndromes and the six personality traits as concurrent variables are given in Table 3. Except for the need for approval, the other five personality variables had statistically significant correlations with each of the three syndromes. Sensation-seeking, impulsiveness, aggression rationalization, and aggressiveness all correlated negatively with the HHS syndrome and positively with the KA and LM. In other words, Chinese youth who have a stronger HHS syndrome tend to score lower on these four personality traits and those who have a stronger KA or LM syndrome tend to score higher on these traits. This means that, so far as their relationships with the four personality variables are concerned, the KA and LM syndromes are similar to each other and both are in opposition to the HHS syndrome.

While the two deviant syndromes are similar in

their relationships with sensation-seeking, impulsiveness, aggression rationalization, and aggressiveness, they are not so in their relationships with self-discipline, a trait insignificantly correlated with impulsiveness. As shown in Table 3, self-discipline is related to the two deviant syndromes quite differently: it correlated slightly negatively with the KA syndrome and positively with both the LM and the HHS. Chinese youngsters whose HHS or LM syndrome is stronger tend to score higher on self-discipline, and those whose KA syndrome is stronger tend to score lower on this variable. In other words, the LM syndrome is more similar to the HHS than to the KA syndrome in this respect.

The need for approval did not significantly correlate with any of the three syndromes. This personality variable has been used by Crowne and Marlowe (1960) and others as an indicator of social desirability (SD). Thus the above finding, together with the fact that this need did not significantly correlate with any of the other five personality variables, tells us that the  $r$ s between the three syndromes and the other five personality traits were free from the influence of SD.

*Delinquent behavior:* The  $r$ s between the three syndromes and the six categories of delinquent behavior as consequent variables are presented in Table 4. It can be seen from this table that the six delinquent behavior variables all correlated negatively with the HHS syndrome and positively with the KA and LM syndromes. This means that the stronger the Chinese youth's HHS syndrome, the less his delinquent behaviors in all six categories; and, the stronger his KA and LM syndromes, the greater his delinquent behavior in

all categories.

It is interesting to note that all the categories of delinquent behavior consistently had a higher *r* with the KA than with the LM syndrome, revealing a greater tendency for the former to be associated with delinquency.

*Discussion:* So far, three sets of variables have been explored for their relationships with the three youth syndromes. One of the most important facts emerging from these analyses is that the three syndromes are meaningfully distinguishable in terms of the separate profiles on the 24 psychological variables. Specifically, the HHS syndrome tends to be positively associated with the positive variables pertaining to parental roles, familial attachment, school detachment, values, beliefs, personality traits, and delinquent behavior, and negatively with the negative variables in these categories. Somewhat antithetical to the HHS syndrome in the overall profile is the KA syndrome, which tends to have negative associations with the positive variables and positive ones with the negative variables.

The profile for the LM syndrome is considerably more complex. With a few exceptions, this third syndrome tends not to be significantly related to the variables in parental roles, familial attachment, school detachment, values, and beliefs. In those few exceptions, the direction of the association is most likely to be the same as that for the KA syndrome. The LM syndrome closely resembles the KA in specific profiles on personality traits and delinquent behaviors. Since the need for approval failed to significantly correlate with the three syndromes and with most of the 24 psychological variables, the above patterns of associations do not result from the functioning of the factor of social desirability. It can thus be concluded from these different profiles that the HHS is the most normal syndrome, the KA the most deviant, and the LM falling in between. This assertion is further supported by the more direct evidence that the KA syndrome correlated positively with all six categories of delinquent behavior to a greater extent than did the LM syndrome (see Table 4).

**Table 4. Correlations of the Three Varieties of Youth Syndrome to Various Kinds of Delinquent Behavior**

Variable	<i>Hao-hsüeh-sheng</i> syndrome	<i>Kha-a</i> syndrome	<i>Liu-mang</i> syndrome
1. Delinquent behavior at home	-.34***	.36***	.18**
2. Delinquent behavior in school	-.48***	.54***	.33***
3. Loitering and loafing in the street	-.44***	.63***	.47***
4. Aggressive and destructive behavior	-.39***	.47***	.34***
5. Stealing and obtaining by force or threats	-.32***	.38***	.21**
6. Drug abuse and related behavior	-.26***	.37***	.27***

\*\* *p* < .01, two-tailed test.

\*\*\* *p* < .001, two-tailed test.

The fact that the LM syndrome does not relate itself to the variables concerning parental roles, familial attachment, school detachment, values, and beliefs in the ways the KA syndrome does deserves some special attention. Given that, in nature, these variables are more like quasi-antecedent factors in their relationships to youth syndromes and delinquent behaviors, this fact suggests that the determinants and mechanisms involved in the formation of the LM

syndrome may not be the same as those in the formation of the KA syndrome. For example, it is quite plausible that the deviant KA syndrome is as sensitive to the effects of parental, familial, school, value and belief variables as is the HHS syndrome, but only in an opposite direction. In the case of the LM syndrome, it is just not as sensitive to the effects of the same quasi-antecedent variables as are the KA and HHS syndromes. The differences in their associations with

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those variables between the KA and LM syndromes also enable us to speculate that the factors and processes involved in generating delinquent behavior through the functioning of the LM syndrome are not the same as those through the functioning of the KA syndrome.

### *Psychological Differences between the Three Types of Youth*

The three syndromes so far described and discussed represent three kinds of behavior patterns that, at best, moderately correlate with one another (the relationships of the LM syndrome to the HHS and KA are practically negligible). The same person may simultaneously bear all three sets of syndromes in differing amounts. It is not unlikely that the same person scores high in more than one syndrome. It is, of course, also likely that only one syndrome is predominant for any single person. These purer cases represent distinct types of Chinese youngsters and thus make comparisons in terms of persons, instead of syndromes, possible. These comparisons will surely shed further light on the nature of the youth syndromes.

In order to actually make these comparisons, three types of youth are operationally defined by choosing suitable Rs from the combined student sample ( $n=2,675$ ). To be more specific, Rs whose scores were high (greater than the 70th percentile) on one syndrome and low (lower than the 30th percentile) on the other two syndromes were picked out to form three rather homogeneous groups. The HHS group ( $n=256$ ) was composed of adolescents who were predominantly high on the HHS syndrome, the KA group ( $n=201$ ) predominantly high on the KA syndrome, and the LM group ( $n=137$ ) predominantly high on the LM syndrome. Comparisons can then be made with respect to the three sets of psychological variables between the three groups.

*Parental roles, familial attachment, school detachment, values, and beliefs:* The means and standard deviations on the first set of psychological variables for the three groups of youth are given in Table 5. The Scheffe test was performed to test the significance of differences in means between groups on each variable. Statistical analysis indicates that, on father and mother regard, the KA group was lower than the LM and HHS, and the LM group lower than the HHS. On father and mother guidance, the KA and LM groups did not significantly differ from each other and both were lower than the HHS.

The patterns of differences are a little different for the two variables in parental request. On dissatisfaction with parental request to be a good person, the

KA group was higher than the LM and HHS, and the LM group higher than the HHS. On dissatisfaction with parental request to do good work, on the other hand, the KA and LM groups did not differ from each other, and both were higher than the HHS group. The patterns of differences for the two variables in family attachment also showed some differences. On attachment to the family, the KA and LM groups did not differ from each other, and both were lower than the HHS group. On dissatisfaction with the family, on the other hand, the three groups formed a significantly decreasing order with the KA at the top, and the HHS at the bottom.

As to the three variables concerning educational detachment or dissatisfaction, identical patterns of differences are found for all of them: the KA and LM groups did not differ from each other, and both were higher than the HHS group. On another detachment variable, *viz.*, detachment from peers, only the difference between the KA and HHS groups was statistically significant, the former being higher than the latter.

The last four variables in Table 5 concern values and beliefs. The KA group was higher on the variable of social status as a life goal than the LM and HHS, but the latter two groups failed to be significantly different from each other. On personal security as life goal, the KA and LM groups did not differ from each other, and both were lower than the HHS group. On belief in laws and norms, the KA group was lower than the HHS, but neither of them was different from the LM group. Finally, on disrespect for policemen, the KA and LM groups did not differ from each other and both were higher than the HHS group.

Overall, the most striking pattern in Table 5 is that, on almost all 16 variables, the means of the KA, LM, and HHS groups, in that order, formed a monotonically increasing or decreasing series, although some differences in some of the series failed to be statistically significant. A glance at the last three columns of the table informs us that the KA and HHS groups differed significantly from each other on all 16 variables, the LM and HHS on 13 variables, and the KA and LM on only five variables. Furthermore, on those variables that are positive in nature, the KA group always had the smallest mean, the HHS the largest, and the mean of the LM falling in between. On those variables that are negative in nature, the KA group always had the largest mean, the HHS the smallest mean, and the mean of the LM falling in between. These related findings clearly demonstrate that perceived parental roles, family attachment, school dissatisfaction, values, and beliefs were more unfavorable to the adolescents in the KA group than

**Table 5. Means and Standard Deviations on Parental, Familial, Academic, Value, and Belief Variables for the Three Types of Youth**

Variable	<i>Kha-a</i>	<i>Liu-mang</i>	<i>Hao-hsieh-sheng</i>			
	(KA)	(LM)	(HHS)	KA:LM	KA:HHS	LM:HHS
1. Father's regard	1.91(.80)#	2.20(.83)	2.69(.80)	<	<	<
2. Mother's regard	2.10(.80)	2.38(.73)	2.80(.78)	<	<	<
3. Father's guidance	2.02(.85)	2.10(.93)	2.65(.82)	.	<	<
4. Mother's guidance	2.11(.84)	2.25(.82)	2.74(.77)	.	<	<
5. Dissatisfaction with parental request (good person)	1.63(1.05)	1.14(.93)	.50(.64)	>	>	>
6. Dissatisfaction with parental request (good work)	1.04(.78)	.90(.84)	.49(.56)	.	>	>
7. Attachment to family	2.33(.79)	2.41(.82)	2.92(.71)	.	<	<
8. Dissatisfaction with family	1.68(.43)	1.56(.38)	1.46(.30)	>	>	>
9. Dissatisfaction with student role	2.84(.45)	2.78(.46)	2.05(.42)	.	>	>
10. Dissatisfaction with teachers	2.23(.50)	2.20(.50)	1.83(.48)	.	>	>
11. Disbelief in scholastic achievement	2.75(.75)	2.79(.77)	2.28(.74)	.	>	>
12. Detachment from peers	3.00(1.08)	2.81(1.14)	2.66(1.01)	.	>	.
13. Social status as a life goal	3.84(3.38)	3.64(3.79)	3.56(3.44)	>	>	.
14. Personal security as a life goal	4.47(1.92)	4.58(2.12)	4.77(1.37)	.	<	<
15. Belief in laws and norms	2.80(.36)	2.86(.32)	2.92(.29)	.	<	.
16. Disrespect for policemen	2.29(.58)	2.19(.63)	1.70(.50)	.	>	>

# Numerical values in parentheses are standard deviations.

">" means the mean of the former group is significantly greater than that of the latter at least at the .01 level.

"<" means the mean of the former group is significantly smaller than that of the latter at least at the .01 level.

". ." means the difference between the means of the two groups is not statistically significant.

to those in the LM group. It is in this sense that the adolescents in the KA group were more dissimilar in their socio-psychological environments to the HHS than are those in the LM group.

*Personality traits:* Table 6 shows the means and standard deviations on the six personality variables for the three types of youth. With the exception of the need for approval, on which the three groups did not differ from one another, significant differences were found for all of the other five personality traits. It is apparent from the table that the KA group had a stronger tendency in sensation-seeking than the other two groups, and the LM group had a stronger tendency than the HHS. On self-discipline, the KA group was

higher than the LM and HHS, with the latter two being not significantly different from each other. On impulsiveness, aggression rationalization, and aggressiveness, the KA and LM groups did not differ from each other, but both were higher than the HHS.

Altogether, the results in Table 6 reveal that the KA and LM groups showed a stronger tendency in such negative traits as sensation-seeking, impulsiveness, aggression rationalization, and aggressiveness, and a weaker tendency in positive traits like self-discipline, than did the HHS group. These findings are free from the influence of social desirability because of the lack of a statistically significant inter-group difference on the need for approval. It may thus be inferred

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that the personality make-up of adolescents in the KA and LM groups were, on the average, more negative or deviant than those in the HHS. Moreover, while the KA and LM groups did not differ from each other on three of the five major personality traits, the former

was significantly higher on sensation-seeking and lower on self-discipline than the latter. This suggests that the adolescents in the KA group, were, on the average, even more negative or deviant in their personality than were those in the LM group.

**Table 6. Means and Standard Deviations on Personality Variables for the Three Types of Youth**

Variable	<i>Kha-a</i> (KA)	<i>Liu-mang</i> (LM)	<i>Hao-hsueh-sheng</i> (HHS)	KA:LM	KA:HHS	LM:HHS
1. Sensation-seeking	2.50( .44)#	2.15( .47)	1.61( .38)	)	)	)
2. Self-discipline	2.72( .36)	3.02( .39)	3.05( .37)	(	(	.
3. Impulsiveness	2.60( .42)	2.56( .55)	2.17( .45)	.	)	)
4. Aggression rationalization	1.35( .48)	1.26( .60)	.79( .46)	.	)	)
5. Aggressiveness	2.47( .55)	2.62( .64)	2.04( .59)	.	)	)
6. Need for approval	1.21( .29)	1.29( .26)	1.44( .25)	.	.	.

# Numerical values in parentheses are standard deviations.

" ) " means the mean of the former group is significantly greater than that of the latter at least at the .01 level.

" ( " means the mean of the former group is significantly smaller than that of the latter at least at the .01 level.

" . " means the difference between the means of the two groups is not statistically significant.

*Delinquent Behavior:* Table 7 presents the means and standard deviations on the delinquent behavior variables for the three types of youth. Over the six categories of delinquent behavior, the pattern of significant inter-group differences is always the same, viz., KA > LM > HHS. It is unequivocally clear that the KA and LM groups had more delinquent behaviors of all kinds than did the HHS. It is in this sense that the former two groups may be said to be more deviant or delinquent than the latter. It is also obvious that the KA group had more delinquent acts of all kinds than the LM, indicating a higher level of deviancy or delinquency on the part of the former.

*Discussion:* The results of comparing the three types of youth with regard to the three sets of variables have unravelled three facts. First, parental roles, family attachment, school detachment, values, and beliefs, as quasi-antecedent conditions, appear most unfavorable to the KA, less unfavorable to the LM, and most favorable to the HHS. Second, the KA are more negative or deviant in personality than the LM, who, in turn, are more negative or deviant than the HHS. Third, the KA have more delinquent behaviors than the LM, who, in turn, have more delinquent behaviors than the HHS. These facts consistently point to the conclusion that, in comparison with the HHS,

the KA and LM not only experience a more unfavorable socio-psychological environment, but also are more deviant in their personality and behavior. The consistent patterns of the obtained inter-group differences over the three domains of variables imply that the specific differences in behavioral delinquency between the groups are due to their corresponding differences in socio-psychological-environmental unfavorability as well as personality deviancy.

### III. General discussion

So far, we have analyzed and presented the data relevant to quantitatively identifying the three indigenous patterns of Chinese adolescent behavior and for systematically constructing psychological profiles of Chinese adolescents in an attempt to explore the nature of these patterns. The latter task has been undertaken in two different, but related, ways: (1) in terms of syndromes of behavior, and (2) in terms of types of persons. The various results obtained have been separately discussed in their specific contexts. However, in order to have a more basic and comprehensive understanding of the nature of the three adolescent patterns, a general discussion of syndromes of behavior with types of persons will make possible the synthesis of the results of this study with earlier stud-



**Table 7. Means and Standard Deviations on Various Kinds of Delinquent Behavior for the Three Types of Youth**

Variable	<i>Kha-a</i> (KA)	<i>Liu-mang</i> (LM)	<i>Hao-hsueh-sheng</i> (HHS)	KA:LM	KA:HHS	LM:HHS
1. Delinquent behavior at home	2.10( .52)#	1.92( .60)	1.54( .38)	)	)	)
2. Delinquent behavior in school	2.22( .50)	2.03( .44)	1.48( .31)	)	)	)
3. Loitering and loafing in the street	2.09( .51)	1.63( .40)	1.13( .16)	)	)	)
4. Aggressive and destructive behavior	1.94( .44)	1.73( .39)	1.41( .30)	)	)	)
5. Stealing and obtaining by force or threats	1.68( .52)	1.41( .36)	1.19( .22)	)	)	)
6. Drug abuse and related behavior	1.45( .52)	1.12( .25)	1.02( .10)	)	)	)

# Numerical values in parentheses are standard deviations.

" ) " means the mean of the former group is significantly greater than that of the latter at least at the .01 level.

ies.

One of the most conspicuous phenomena repeatedly emerging from various analyses is the high level of differentiation of the youth syndromes as three structurally and functionally well-developed entities. The results from factor analysis unveil a three-factor solution with a rather good and simple structure. As can be seen in Table 1, the three factors, representing the three syndromes, have high loadings on distinctly different sets of stylistic characteristics, and the number of characteristics on which two or more factors have high loadings is small. This clear-cut factorially simple structure gives evidence for the fact that the three behavior syndromes are compositionally well differentiated among Chinese adolescents in Taiwan.

Supportive evidence for the high level of differentiation of the syndromes also comes from the analysis of their relationships with other variables. Results in Tables 2, 3, and 4 indicate that it is rather easy for the three syndromes, as represented by the three factors, to have a statistically significant relationship with most of the 24 psychological variables. In Tables 5, 6, and 7, it is shown that the three types of youth, as defined in terms of the syndromes, had statistically significant differences of varying sizes and different directions on most of the same psychological variables. While the results from factor analysis may be considered as affirming the substantial reliabilities of the three syndromes, the results from relational and differential analyses may be regarded as demonstrating the substantial validities of the syndromes. Both substantial reliability and validity are essential evidence for the claim of sufficient differentiation of a

construct under consideration.

Another conspicuous phenomenon repeatedly manifesting itself in various analyses pertains to the nature of the three youth syndromes. First, a careful examination of the contents of the stylistic characteristics on which the same factor had high loadings uncovers that most, if not all, of the characteristics on which the KA (Factor I) or LM (Factor III) syndrome had high loadings are more or less negative or socially undesirable from the standpoint of the dominant Chinese values and norms in Taiwan; that most, if not all, of the characteristics on which the HHS syndrome had high loadings are more or less positive or socially desirable from the standpoint of the same local values and norms.

Moreover, the results from relational analyses indicate that the KA and LM syndromes tended to correlate negatively with positive, and positively with negative, psychological variables, and that the HHS syndrome tended to correlate negatively with negative, and positively with positive, psychological variables. The results from differential analysis show that the KA and LM groups (predominantly high in the KA and LM syndromes, respectively) tended to be higher on negative and lower on positive psychological variables than did the HHS group (predominantly high in the HHS syndrome). Based on these results and the judgment of the contents of the defining characteristics of the syndromes, it may be concluded that the KA and LM syndromes are negative, deviant, or delinquent, whereas the HHS syndrome is normal.

Related to the second phenomenon is the one that concerns the relationship between the KA and LM

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syndromes. One set of evidence for this third phenomenon involves the intercorrelations between the syndromes. It was found that the HHS syndrome correlated  $-.62$  with the KA and  $-.02$  with the LM. This means the KA syndrome was more deviant from the HHS than the LM. The results from relational analysis indicate that the KA syndrome is much more antithetical to the HHS than the LM in their correlations with the 24 psychological variables. The results from differential analysis show that, when compared to the LM group, the KA tended to be higher on negative and lower on positive psychological variables. All three sets of results consistently tell us that while both the KA and LM syndromes are not normal, the former is more negative, deviant, or delinquent than the latter. This is, of course, contradictory to the prevailing public belief in Taiwan that the LM tendencies are more delinquent and dangerous than the KA tendencies. Our recommendation is that from now on more attention should be paid to the KA than the LM syndrome or group in preventing full-fledged juvenile delinquency.

It should be further pointed out that the KA syndrome is not only more delinquent than the LM but also uniformly so over all six categories of delinquent behavior. Thus, the KA syndrome, when compared to the LM, positively correlated to a greater extent with all six delinquent behavior variables, and the KA group, when compared to the LM, performed more delinquent acts in all six categories. This uniformly higher delinquency of the KA over the LM syndrome is in dissonance with expectations. Shaw's (1985) descriptions of the two deviant types of youth and Lin's (1958) descriptions of their corresponding predecessors have led us to anticipate that adolescents of the KA type should have had more delinquent acts at home, in loitering and loafing in the street, and in drug abuse, and those of the LM type more delinquent acts in school, in aggression and destruction, and in theft and extortion. It is empirically borne out, however, that no such differential specialization in delinquency really exists. As a matter of fact, the KA syndrome has a stronger association with delinquency, and the KA group performed more delinquent acts, in all major domains of adolescent life.

Apparently, all the obtained results consistently reveal that the KA syndrome or group is more deviant and delinquent than the LM syndrome or group. This significant finding, while in contradiction to ordinary expectations, deserves some special explanation. What are the underlying psychopathological differences between the syndromes or groups? One important clue for such differences lies in Shaw's (1985) descriptions

that KAs had a tendency to disregard adult norms and expectations and to take their cues from peers and that LMs were willing to take adult roles and responsibilities and to confine their activities to their local communities and neighborhoods. These observations seem to suggest that KAs are deficient in identifying with, and attaching to, their parents, teachers, and other adults in the immediate social environment, whereas LMs do not have such a deficiency in identification and attachment, although the adults with or to whom they identify or attach are not in the mainstream of society. Deficiency in identification and attachment means deficiency in socialization. As a result, we would expect KAs to be much less socialized in comparison with LMs, whom we would expect to be quite socialized by firmly identifying with more or less deviant adult models. It is in this sense that KAs may be said to be more pathological than LMs.

Why are KAs deficient in their identification and attachment? While further research is needed to systematically answer this question, it is important to point out at this juncture that pleasure-seeking might be one of the major factors responsible. It can be seen from Table 6 that the KA group scored higher in pleasure-seeking than not only the HHS but also the LM. The untiring desire to seek stimulation and pleasure makes KAs more likely to be controlled by their physiological conditions or physical environmental stimuli rather than their social relationships. This will inevitably cause repeated conflicts in their associations with adults who try to socialize them by inhibiting or controlling their pleasure-hunting impulses and activities. As a result, their relationships with parents, teachers, and other significant adults will be deteriorated or damaged, and their identification with, and attachment to, socializing agents will not be adequately formed. Furthermore, the same factor (namely, pleasure-seeking) will make KAs more likely to favor or accept imported, fashionable, or new things (e.g., disco, MacDonald's, and imported wine or cigarettes), which are usually pleasure-oriented in nature. This tendency enables KAs to respond to "modern" things (or simply "modernization") in the direction of irresistible or unconditional acceptance. This mode of reaction to "modernization" is quite different from the adaptation mode characteristic of LMs, which represents a tendency to unquestionably accept local or traditional things.

All the relevant results combined point to the same fact that the KA and LM, as two deviant syndromes or types of Chinese youth, are well differentiated and can be objectively compared in terms of their distinctive profiles on a diverse array of psy-

chological variables. This overall finding, while strengthening Shaw's (1985) anthropological assertion of the existence of the two delinquent youth types, is inconsistent with Rin's (1981) psychiatric observation that the two types of juvenile deviancy or delinquency are merging or disappearing owing to social changes brought on by urbanization and modernization.

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## 台灣青少年的正常及異常徵候群：量化區辨與心理剖析

楊 國 樞 余 德 慧 吳 英 璋

國立台灣大學心理學系

### 摘 要

本研究的主要目的，在以量化的方法區辨及認定台灣青少年的三類本土性的正常及異常行為徵候群(syndrome)——好學生徵候群、卡阿徵候群及流氓徵候群。研究的第一步是以Shaw有關此三類台灣青少年亞文化的人類學觀察結果及其他相關資料為基礎，先行編擬一套包含30個行為描述語句之評定量表(rating scale)的問卷，以涵蓋三類正常與異常徵候群所涉及之各種行為特徵。以此評定問卷及其他衡鑑工具施測數個青少年樣本後，先將前項工具所蒐集的評定資料加以因素分析，以區辨與認定原先所設定的各類徵候群。然後，以統計方法探討各徵候群與24種心理及行為變項的關係，後者包括與父母、家庭、教育、價值、信念、性格及違規行為有關之各種變項。所得主要結果可簡述如下：(1)因素分析抽得三個分化清楚的不同因素，其內容分別與Shaw所描述的三類徵候群（好學生、卡阿及流氓）正好對應而有高度的相似性。(2)好學生、卡阿及流氓三類徵候群與24個心理及行為變項的相關模式各有差異，好學生、卡阿及流氓三類學生（以三類徵候群上的分數界定）在24個變項上的差異模式亦各有不同。就其在其他變項上的相關模式與差異模式而言，卡阿與流氓兩類學生間及其對應徵候群間的相似性頗大，兩者又皆與好學生截然不同。(3)就其在其他變項上的相關方向與差異方向而言，好學生及其徵候群是屬於正常的一邊。卡阿與流氓兩類學生及其對應徵候群則屬於異常的一邊，且卡阿的異常性尤大於流氓。卡阿之所以較流氓更為異常，可能是因為前者對父母、師長及其他職司教化之成人的認同作用(identification)發生問題或有所不足，其對成人的認同之所以產生困難，則可能是由於卡阿追求刺激與快感的欲望特強。流氓與此不同，他們對職司教化之成人的認同可能並無困難，只是所認同的成人往往具有異常的特質。