

性別、分化與孝道： 回應李岳庭教授「家族治療本土化的研究與展望」一文

郭麗安

摘要

本回應文係從性別（gender）與分化（differentiation）的角度，回應李岳庭教授「家族治療本土化的研究與展望」一文。李岳庭教授的文章以三個方向討論家族治療在臺灣實踐上的困境：其一為西方家族治療的研究設計有其脆弱之處；其二為西方家族治療理論與華人傳統文化有所衝突；第三為臺灣家族治療領域專業人力的訓練有其限制。作者在討論西方家族治療理論與華人傳統文化有所衝突時是以分化概念及孝道文化論證治療理論中的文化衝突。本回應文試圖以性別的角度論述分化／聯結（connectness）乃以男性觀點出發的心理健康構念；而在孝道實踐上，回應者認為「相互性孝道」（reciprocal filian piety）已在新世代的華人家庭中蔚為風氣，在相互性孝道文化薰陶下的現代華人家庭，藉著 IP 的症狀處理父母的關係，其遇到的阻抗程度應益趨緩和。

關鍵詞：家族治療、性別、分化、孝道

郭麗安* 國立彰化師範大學輔導與諮商學系 (lakuo@cc.ncue.edu.tw)

壹、前言

本文乃李岳庭教授於華藝資料庫使用「家族治療」作為關鍵字，搜尋臺灣於 2011-2020 年間發表之期刊文獻，從中整理 29 篇文獻後所發表之心得與反思。在家族治療本土化的議題上，李教授特別以三個方向討論其在臺灣實踐上的困境：一為在研究上，西方家族治療的研究設計有其脆弱之處；其二為西方家族治療理論與華人傳統文化有所衝突；最後是臺灣家族治療領域專業人力的訓練有其限制。在因應上述困境下，李教授於提出臺灣在家族治療本土化的展望：一為創新研究設計；二是建構本土化理論及將西方理論本土化；最後是建立本土家族治療訓練的系統。

貳、回應

在本文中李教授先以深入淺出之方式，說明個人諮商與家族治療相異之處，而後直接破題，繼而表明立場，認為：「系統家庭概念是可以融入本土家庭中」，同時以結構家族治療理論為例，引述何怡穎（2008）的說法，認為結構家族治療理論可以積極修正家庭中不合理的規則，挑戰家中僵化、一再重複的互動型態。接著李教授文風一轉，並引述其 2018 年的著作，陳明家庭系統概念雖容易融入華人家庭文化，然而家庭成員的互動規則、方式及內涵也受文化影響，在不同的文化下家庭也將有不一樣型態的互動方式（李岳庭，2018），同時也以黃伊伶（2016）發表於《諮商與輔導》之文章，用以懷疑源自於西方文化而產生的家族治療，執行於東方文化中，其理論可能會遇到使用上的困難或難以介入本土家庭文化之中。

就李教授本文對系統論家族治療的第一個概念：「系統家庭概念是可以融入本土家庭中」而言，應是諮商專業領域中普遍的共識了，這可從臺灣諮商及社會工作等系所數十年來無不開出家族治療相關課程可見一斑，更遑論全臺諮商所皆將婚姻與家族治療納為其主要的服務項目之一。

而就李教授對「家庭成員的互動規則、方式及內涵也受文化影響，在不同的文化下家庭也將有不一樣型態的互動方式」的立場，確有其道理。蓋任何源自西方理論之心理治療內涵及其型式均有其文化移植上所遭遇之適用性議題，從多元文化諮商典範乃至於後現代諸多學派亦均有同樣之反省（Zaker & Boostanipoor, 2016）。不過，李教授所提出之論點主要乃從孝道出發：「華人文化中親子關係的考量即與西方文化家庭所擁有的有差異性，因孝道為華人文化中重要的價值觀，進而影響親子關係的內涵」，同時引用葉光輝（2009）12 年前針對孝道親子關係內涵的雙元模式作為論證基礎，並再度援引其本人於 2018 年提出 Bowen 自我分化具有跨文化的差異（李岳庭，2018），認為西方文化重視自我分化，自我較獨立者擁有較佳的親子關係，進而主張在重視孝道的華人文化脈絡，

對自我分化程度與親子關係間的關聯性，臺灣的家族治療師需要「打破且重新思量」。確實，Bowen 理論中有關家庭成員間自我分化程度與家庭系統健康之間的關聯性，在 70 年代就有許多西方學者提出質疑，且質疑的視角不只是文化間之差異，最常被討論的是性別差異，此也成了女性主義家族治療之濫觴。廣為人知的是哈佛教授 C. Gilligan 在其《不同的聲音》一書（1982）中即揭櫫女性的自我並非與外在分離，而是聯結在一起，此論點不僅挑戰了 L. Kohlberg 的道德發展理論，也牴觸了自啟蒙運動以降的傳統哲學與心理學將「自主」（autonomy）視為「成熟、健康、具道德能力」的觀點。時至今日，具性別意識的家族治療師均能體現，女性的角色不論其為妻子或女兒，其對於道德問題的建構乃至於對忠誠內涵之實踐，均將關懷與照顧家人為其相互關係中責任的履踐，而非粗暴地將之視為「分化不良」之產物；因此，李教授所質疑 Bowen 之分化概念，不僅華人或義大利人的家族治療師基於對不同文化上孝道／家規上的理解，在實踐上需要做出文化相容之處方外，性別公平的家族治療師亦遠在數十年前即有不同之聲音。

進一步分析分化/獨立之概念，即可知其不僅是西方心理學的產物，也是以男性觀點出發的心理健康構念，百年來不僅影響了心理治療領域也影響了男女兩性的性格發展，以臺灣為例，近期的研究也顯示男性的分離性自我顯著高於女性的分離性自我（郭德蕙，2015）；就以家族療的歷史發展來看，遠從 40 年代始，精神分析學派出身的家族治療師就從母親的性格去找思覺失調症病患的禍首（Lidz & Lidz, 1949），並使用「思覺失調型母親」（schizophrenogenic mother）一詞形容跋扈、拒絕、製造子女罪惡感，造成兒子發病主因的女性（Fromm-Reichmann, 1948）。此外，傳統母子共依附之相關學派理論以及其臨床診斷、醫治，都可反映出人類歷史與社會中對女性在實踐母職上的「恐母情結」（matrphobia），即貶抑、歪曲與否定母親的情緒勞務；文化一方面要求女性謹守婦道養育子女，並以「為母則強」一詞描述母親的勇氣，然在父權結構中，同時卻又以「在家從夫」之文化家規期許女性能依順其夫，於是，在子女心中理應擁有強大滋養與管教能力的母親，卻在父親及其家族面前不得不表現軟弱與退讓，從子女的角度觀之，難免對母親失望並交雜著對母親平日管教的不滿心態，進而回過頭來反噬母親，從國內外所做的許多家內亂倫相關研究即可見一斑；受父親或兄長性侵之未成年女兒，其最終怨恨的對象並非是加害者，而是未伸出援手之母親（楊婷雯，2014；劉佳芳，2012）。Tamraz（1996）綜合了多項經驗性研究，從女性主義觀點解釋亂倫中的母親角色。他指出，在父權體制下的婦女被文化制約並貶低為母職、家庭照顧者角色，不得參與統治世界的任務，因而影響母親面對家內亂倫事件的因應方式；國內實務工作者更指出，女性在經濟劣等的地位下，母親往往無力保護受害的子女，或約束加害者，進而成為被指責的對象（黃麗娟，2004）。所以，心理學雖然重視母子／女關係的相關研究，但是母親與母職的論述多圍繞在如何影響兒童的心理人格；在家庭心理學的分析下，消失的母親是兒童缺乏安全感的源頭，但是無所不在的母親又是成年人一輩子所無法擺脫的分化夢魘

(O'Reilly, 2009)。普遍而言，母親與母職經驗從未被正確理解，要不就是千夫所指的萬惡之源，要不就是如「家中天使」般任勞任怨，無我的犧牲奉獻 (Ruddick, 1980, 1989)。即便 70 年代許多的西方白人女性主義者以女兒的視角來書寫母親，然結論多是不成為如母親般任勞任怨、犧牲奉獻、備受剝削與父權支配的「家中天使」(O'Reilly, 2009)。因此，分化與獨立向來就從屬於男性，且被視為健康的特質；相反的，連結、關懷、情緒感受性等被歸類為母性特質，且在傳統心理治療界多不被視為健康人格的重要配方。

因之，依據李教授所提臺灣的家族治療師需要「打破且重新思量」Bowen 分化概念與親子關係間的互動性，或可擴充理解為「華人家庭的家規、界線及權力配置上均須重新思量性別、分化與行孝行為間的交互性」。

此外，李教授一文在強調「孝道為華人文化中重要的價值觀」的同時，亦特別提出葉光輝 (2009) 的孝道雙元模式，唯美中不足之處為未提醒讀者所謂的權威性孝道 (authoritarian filian piety) 隨著民眾教育水準提高及社會的現代性發展，已不可避免的在華人圈逐漸式微了 (尹慶春, 2009)，反之，立基在親子間的情感互動，強調親子關係之親密性的「相互性孝道」(reciprocal filian piety, Bedford & Yeh, 2019) 已然蔚為風氣，且對親子關係的正向作用越趨明顯 (尹慶春, 2009；張沛綺, 2013；廖姿婷, 2005)；因之，家族治療師在看待孝道此議題時，當不至於太需要順應奠基在文化規範的階序倫理的權威性孝道。李教授文中所謂「引導雙親正視自己的關係議題，並暗示父母自己的關係狀況，才是影響孩子問題的根源，這與華人文化中的觀點是相衝突的」的觀點，放在擁有權威性孝道的華人家庭或許治療師需要有反轉權力結構之訓練；而在相互性孝道文化薰陶下的現代華人家庭，回應者樂觀的認為，現今臺灣的家族治療師藉著 IP 的症狀處理父母的關係，在臨床上遇到的阻抗程度應與西方家庭並無二致了。

參考文獻

- 伊慶春 (2009)。回應〈華人孝道雙元模型 研究的回顧與前瞻〉。《本土心理學研究》，32，187-197。
- 何怡穎 (2008)。結構派家族治療理論在親職教育上的應用。《諮商與輔導》，274，31-34。
- 李岳庭 (2018)。反思含攝文化下的 Bowen 理論及其運用在華人文化中。《中華輔導與諮商學報》，53，23-44。
- 郭德蕙 (2015)。雙元孝道信念與關係性自我之關聯〔未出版之碩士論文〕。輔仁大學。
- 張沛綺 (2013)。大學生親職化、孝道信念與幸福感之相關研究〔未出版之碩士論文〕。國立臺灣師範大學。
- 黃伊伶 (2016)。結構家族學派之理論技術運用於本土家庭文化之議題。《諮商與輔導》，370，36-39。
- 黃麗絹 (2004)。亂倫事件母親的心路歷程研究〔未出版之碩士論文〕。國立暨南國際

大學。

楊婷雯 (2014)。以父女亂倫家外安置個案的母親情結敘事反思社工角色與經驗〔未出版之碩士論文〕。國立高雄師範大學。

劉佳芳 (2012)。父女亂倫家庭的母親角色困境與需求〔未出版之碩士論文〕。國立中正大學。

廖姿婷 (2005)。成年子女孝道信念與母親代間情感之關係〔未出版之碩士論文〕。國立臺灣師範大學。

Bedford, O., & Yeh, K.-H. (2019). The history and the future of the psychology of filial piety: Chinese norms to contextualized personality construct. *Frontiers in Psychology, 10*, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00100>

Fromm-Reichmann, F. (1948). Notes on the development of treatment of schizophrenics by psychoanalytic psychotherapy. *Psychiatry, 11*, 253-273.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Harvard University Press.

Lidz, R., & Lidz, T. (1949). The family environment of schizophrenic parents. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 106*, 332-345.

O'Reilly, A. (2009). "I envision a future in which maternal thinkers are respected and self-respecting": The legacy of Sara Ruddick's "maternal thinking". *Women's Studies Quarterly, 37*(3/4), 295-298.

Ruddick, S. (1980). Maternal thinking. *Feminist Studies, 6*(2), 342-367.

Ruddick, S. (1989). *Maternal thinking: Toward a politics of peace*. Beacon Press.

Tamraz, D. N. (1996). Nonoffending mothers of sexually abused children: Comparison of opinions and research. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 5*(4), 75-104.

Zaker, B. S., & Boostanipoor, A. (2016). Multiculturalism in counseling and therapy: Marriage and family issues. *International Journal of Psychology and Counselling, 8*(5), 53-57.

Gender, differentiation and filial piety: Comments on “Research and Prospect in the Indigenization of Family Therapy”

Li-An Kuo*

Abstract

This essay aims to make a response to Dr. Yueh-Ting Lee’s “Research and Prospect in the Indigenization of Family Therapy” from the perspectives of gender and differentiation. Dr. Lee’s paper discusses the practical difficulties of family therapy in Taiwan from three viewpoints: firstly, the research design of Western family therapy has its own fragile aspects; secondly, Western family therapy theories have conflicts with traditional Chinese cultures; thirdly, resources of professional family therapists’ training in Taiwan are rather limited. Lee handles the cultural struggles between Western family therapy theories and traditional Chinese cultures through the frameworks of differentiation and the idea of filial piety. This essay, however, strives to argue that the concept of differentiation/connectedness is in fact a construction of psychological health based on a heterosexual male standpoint. In regard to the practice of filial piety, the author suggests that “reciprocal filial piety” has been a trend among Chinese families of new generations. Modern Chinese families that pursue reciprocal filial piety may meet minor impedance as they deal with the relationship between IP and parents.

Keywords: Family therapy, Gender, differentiation, filial piety

Li-An Kuo* Department of Guidance & Counseling, National Changhua University
of Education (lakuo@cc.ncue.edu.tw)

I. Preface

This article (“Research and Prospect in the Indigenization of Family Therapy”) is the experience and reflection published by Professor Yueh-Ting Lee after using “family therapy” as the keyword in the Airiti Library Database to search for journal documents published in Taiwan from 2011 to 2020 and sorting out 29 papers. On the issue of indigenization of family therapy, Professor Lee specifically discussed the difficulties in its practice in Taiwan from three directions: First, in terms of research, the research design of Western family therapy has its fragility; second, Western family therapy theory conflicts with traditional Chinese culture; finally, the training of the professional workforce in the field of family therapy in Taiwan has its limitations. In response to the above dilemma, Professor Lee proposed the prospects for the indigenization of family therapy in Taiwan: first, innovative research design; second, constructing indigenous theories and localizing Western theories; and finally, establishing an indigenous family therapy training system.

II. response

In this article, Professor Lee first explains the differences between individual counseling and family therapy in a simple and easy-to-understand way, then breaks down the topic directly, and then expresses his position, believing that “the concept of systemic families can be integrated into local families” while using structural family therapy Taking theory as an example, Ho (2008) is quoted as saying that structural family therapy theory can actively modify unreasonable rules in the family and challenge rigid and repetitive interaction patterns in the family. Then, Professor Lee changed his writing style and quoted his 2018 work. He stated that although the concept of the family system can be easily integrated into Chinese family culture, the interaction rules, methods, and connotations of family members are also affected by culture. Families in different cultures will also have different interaction methods (Lee, 2018). At the same time, Lee cite Huang (2016) published an article in “Counseling and Guidance” to doubt that family therapy originated from Western culture and is implemented in Eastern culture; its theory may encounter difficulties in use or intervention in local family culture.

As far as Professor Lee’s first concept of systems family therapy in this article is concerned: “The concept of systemic family can be integrated into local families,” it should be a common consensus in the professional counseling field. This can be seen in counseling and social work

in Taiwan. It can be seen that these departments have all offered courses related to family therapy for decades, not to mention that all counseling centers in Taiwan have included marriage and family therapy as one of their primary services.

Professor Lee's position on "the rules, methods, and connotations of interaction among family members are also affected by culture, and families will have different types of interaction in different cultures" does make sense. Any connotation and form of psychotherapy derived from Western theories have applicability issues encountered in cultural transplantation. Many schools, from multicultural counseling models to postmodern schools, reflect similarly (Zaker & Boostanipoor, 2016). However, the argument put forward by Professor Lee mainly starts from filial piety: "The consideration of the parent-child relationship in Chinese culture is different from the family in Western culture. Filial piety is an important value in Chinese culture, affecting the parent-child relationship's connotation." At the same time, Yeh's (2009) dual model on the connotation of the filial parent-child relationship was cited as the basis for argumentation 12 years ago. He again noted his proposal in 2018 that Bowen's self-differentiation has cross-cultural differences (Lee, 2018), believing that Western culture attaches great importance to Self-differentiation, which means that those with more independent egos have better parent-child relationships. This further suggests that in the context of Chinese culture that values filial piety, Taiwanese family therapists need to "break and rethink" the correlation between the degree of self-differentiation and parent-child relationships. Indeed, in the 1970s, many Western scholars questioned the correlation between the degree of self-differentiation among family members and the health of the family system in Bowen's theory. The perspective of questioning was not only the differences between cultures but also the most commonly discussed gender differences, which has also become the origin of feminist family therapy. It is well known that Harvard professor Gilligan argued in his book "A Different Voice" (1982) that the female self is not separate from the outside but connected. This argument not only challenged Kohlberg's moral development, but the theory also conflicts with the view of traditional philosophy and psychology since the Enlightenment that regards "autonomy" as "maturity, health, and moral ability." To this day, gender-aware family therapists can all reflect that whether women's roles are wives or daughters, their construction of moral issues and even the practice of the connotation of loyalty include caring for family members as part of their mutual relationships. The fulfillment of responsibilities, rather than crudely treating it as the product of "bad differentiation," therefore, Professor Lee's questioning of Bowen's concept of differentiation is not only based on the Chinese or Italian family therapists' understanding of filial piety/family rules in different cultures. In addition to the need to make culturally

compatible prescriptions, gender-equitable family therapists also had different voices decades ago.

Further analysis of the concept of differentiation/independence shows that it is a product of Western psychology and a mental health construct from a male perspective. Over the past century, it has affected the field of psychotherapy and the personality development of both men and women. Take Taiwan as an example. For example, recent research also shows that men's dissociative self is significantly higher than women's dissociative self (Guoff, 2015); looking at the historical development of family therapy, as far back as the 1940s, family therapists from the psychoanalytic school, the mother's personality was used to find the culprit of schizophrenia (Lidz & Lidz, 1949), and the term "schizophrenogenic mother" was used to describe a domineering, rejecting, and guilt-producing mother. The leading cause of the disease is women (Fromm-Reichmann, 1948). In addition, the relevant school theories of traditional mother-child co-dependence, as well as its clinical diagnosis and treatment, can reflect the "matriphobia" towards women in practicing motherhood in human history and society, that is, devaluing, distorting, and denying mothers' emotional labor.

On the one hand, culture requires women to abide by maternal ethics and raise children, and the phrase "motherhood to be strong" is used to describe the mother's courage. However, the patriarchal structure, at the same time, also uses the cultural and family rules of "obeying the husband at home" to expect Women to obey their husbands, so the mother, who is supposed to have strong nurturing and discipline abilities in the hearts of her children, has to show weakness and concession in front of the father and his family. From the children's perspective, being disappointed with the mother and dissatisfied with the mother's daily discipline can make children blame the mother, which is inevitable. This can be seen in many domestic and foreign studies related to domestic incest. Underage daughters who are sexually abused by their fathers or brothers will ultimately resent the object of their resentment, not the perpetrator, but the mother who did not lend a helping hand (Liu, 2012; Yang, 2014).

Tamraz (1996) synthesized several empirical studies to explain the maternal role in incest from a feminist perspective. He pointed out that under the patriarchal system, women are culturally restricted and relegated to the role of mothers and family caregivers and are not allowed to participate in the task of ruling the world. This affects the way mothers respond to incest incidents at home. Domestic practitioners even pointed out that due to women's economically inferior status, mothers are often unable to protect their children who are being victimized or restrain the perpetrators and thus become the targets of blame (Huang, 2004). Therefore, although psychology attaches great importance to related research on the mother-

child/daughter relationship, the discussion of motherhood and motherhood mainly focuses on how it affects children's psychological personality; under the analysis of family psychology, the missing mother is the source of children's insecurity. But the omnipresent mother is a nightmare of differentiation that adults cannot eliminate throughout their lives (O'Reilly, 2009). Mothers and motherhood experiences, in general, have never been adequately understood, either as the source of all evil or as "angels in the home" who work hard and are selfless and sacrificial (Ruddick, 1980, 1989). Even though many white Western feminists in the 1970s wrote about mothers from the perspective of daughters, the conclusion mainly was that they should not become "angels in the home" like mothers who are hardworking, sacrificial, and subject to exploitation and patriarchy (O'Reilly, 2009). Therefore, differentiation and independence have always been subordinate to men and are regarded as healthy traits; on the contrary, connection, caring, emotional sensitivity, etc., are classified as maternal traits and are not considered healthy and important recipes of personalities in the traditional psychotherapy community.

Therefore, according to what Professor Lee mentioned, family therapists in Taiwan need to "break and rethink" the interaction between Bowen's concept of differentiation and the parent-child relationship, which may be expanded to mean that "the family rules, boundaries and power allocation of Chinese families must all be rethought." "Considering the interactions between gender, differentiation, and filial behavior."

In addition, Professor Lee's article emphasized that "filial piety is an important value in Chinese culture" and specifically proposed Yeh's (2009) dual model of filial piety. The only thing lacking is that it does not remind readers that the so-called authoritarian filial piety has gradually declined in Chinese circles with the improvement of public education and the development of modern society (Yi, 2009). On the contrary, it is based on the emotional interaction between parents and children and emphasizes the intimacy of the parent-child relationship. "Reciprocal filial piety, Bedford & Yeh, 2019" has become a trend, and its positive effect on the parent-child relationship has become increasingly prominent (Chang, 2013; Liao, 2005; Yi, 2009); therefore, family therapy When teachers look at the issue of filial piety, there should be no need to conform to the authoritative filial piety based on the hierarchical ethics of cultural norms. Professor Lee's point of view in the article "guiding parents to face up to Their Relationship Issues implies that parents' relationship status is the root cause of problems affecting their children is in conflict with the views in Chinese culture" places the authoritative filial piety In Chinese families, perhaps therapists need training in reversing the power structure. In modern Chinese families, which are influenced by the culture of mutual filial piety,

respondents are optimistic that today's family therapists in Taiwan use the symptoms of IP to deal with parents' relationships; the degree of resistance encountered clinically should be no different from that in Western families.

Reference

- Bedford, O., & Yeh, K. H. (2019). The history and the future of the psychology of filial piety: Chinese norms to contextualized personality construct. *Frontiers in Psychology, 10*, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00100>
- Chang, P. C. (2013). *Relationship among parentification, filial piety and happiness of college students in Taiwan* [Unpublished master's thesis]. National Taiwan Normal University. (in Chinese)
- Fromm-Reichmann, F. (1948). Notes on the development of treatment of schizophrenics by psychoanalytic psychotherapy. *Psychiatry, 11*, 253-273.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Harvard University Press.
- Ho, Y. Y. (2008). The application of Structural family therapy in parent education. *Counseling and Guidance, 274*, 31-34 ° (in Chinese)
- Hung, Y. L. (2016). Issues about the application of Structural family therapy to Taiwanese family. *Counseling and Guidance, 370*, 36-39 ° (in Chinese)
- Lee, Y. T. (2018). Reflection on culture-inclusive concept of Bowen theory and practice in Chinese culture. *Chinese Journal of Guidance and Counseling, 53*, 23-44. (in Chinese)
- Liao, Z. T. (2005). *The correlation between adult children's filial piety and mother-adult children's intergenerational affection* [Unpublished master's thesis]. National Taiwan Normal University.
- Lidz, R., & Lidz, T. (1949). The family environment of schizophrenic parents. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 106*, 332-345.
- Liu, C. F. (2012). *Mother's role and difficult situation in the father-daughter incest families* [Unpublished master's thesis]. National Chung Cheng University. (in Chinese)
- Kuo, T. H. (2015). *The relationship between dual filial belief and self-in-relation* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Fu Jen Catholic University. (in Chinese)
- O'Reilly, A. (2009). "I envision a future in which maternal thinkers are respected and self-respecting": The legacy of Sara Ruddick's "maternal thinking". *Women's Studies Quarterly, 37*(3/4), 295-298.
- Ruddick, S. (1980). Maternal thinking. *Feminist Studies, 6*(2), 342-367.

- Ruddick, S. (1989). *Maternal thinking: Toward a politics of peace*. Beacon Press.
- Tamraz, D. N. (1996). Nonoffending mothers of sexually abused children: Comparison of opinions and research. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 5*(4), 75-104.
- Yang, T. W. (2014). *Base on out-of-home placement client mother's complex narrative of the father-daughter incest families* [Unpublished master's thesis]. National Kaohsiung Normal University. (in Chinese)
- Yi, C. C. (2009). Response to "The Dual Filial Piety Model in Chinese culture: Retrospect and prospects". *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies, 32*, 187-197 ° (in Chinese)
- Zaker, B. S., & Boostanipoor, A. (2016). Multiculturalism in counseling and therapy: Marriage and family issues. *International Journal of Psychology and Counselling, 8*(5), 53-57.