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創作理念：藝術其實是治療人生無常的美好良方，我在畫中呈現同中有異的視覺變化效果，增添觀賞者的欣賞樂趣與想像空間，也呈現寫意繪畫多元豐富的面貌及新感受……，電線桿代表光明、希望、溫暖，現在、過去、未來……永無止境

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Author: Xi-He Cai

Material: watercolor

Size: A4

Title: Spiritual Hometown

Creative philosophy: Art is a beautiful remedy for the impermanence of life. In the painting, I present the effect of similar but different visual changes, increasing the viewer's enjoyment and imagination. It also presents the diverse, rich appearance and new feelings of freehand painting. The utility poles represent brightness, hope, warmth, present, past, future... endless

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賴榮豐* 王智弘 嚴嘉琪 夏允中

摘要

佛法是源於亞洲的重要宗教與文化傳統，可運用於含攝佛法文化的本土社會科學理論建構，惟進行含攝佛法的本土化研究過程須注意佛法思維的正確詮釋問題，其中八識論佛法之辨明即是值得關切的議題。佛於《入楞伽經》中言：「大慧！阿梨耶識者名如來藏，與無明七識共俱。」其中阿梨耶識名如來藏，亦名阿賴耶識與無明相應之七識共同一處，而七識包含眼、耳、鼻、舌、身等前五識、第六意識以及第七末那識意根，故確知有八個識，是故世尊在經中確實明說人有第七識及第八識。而誤解人只有六個識之六識論者，主張「打得念頭死，許汝法身活」，希冀努力修定，以期能一念不生；因大乘經記載：『法不可見聞覺知』，誤會經文而以為修至一念不生即是開悟，即是證得法身。但人若是時時處於意識一念不生的定境中，如何能了別周遭而生活於世間？反之，若以八識心的知見修學佛法，則無妨證得離見聞覺知的第八識法身的同時，亦能讓前七識在生活中應對進退自如無礙。而如何依佛陀所傳之八識佛法以歷經社會科學本土化詮釋過程之「原典考證」、「析文詮釋」、「歷史詮釋」、「批判詮釋」以掌握佛法思維發展之終極義理，實乃重中之重。其中必須注意對傳統文化經典與思維的正確詮釋問題，若有所誤解則後續的詮釋亦會走上歧路，而可能導致佛法淪於形式上的論議，但所幸佛陀所說三乘經典俱在，在歷經「原典考證」、「析文詮釋」、「歷史詮釋」、「批判詮釋」等詮釋過程中，宜以三乘經典為最終依歸，然後再經「創造詮釋」以將終極義理具創造性的應用於現代社會科學，以符合現代時空所需，最後運用「會通詮釋」以比量的方式將佛法真正義理重新開展於現代名句文身中，此舉不但能糾正似是而非的表相佛法，更能透過跨越本地與外地文化之文化會通，以及跨越學科領域之領域會通，以完成含攝八識佛法之本土社會科學理論建構過程。本期刊登三篇文章分別是：1.洪奕祐（2025）撰寫的「一位佛教女性家庭照顧者的心理轉化敘說研究」；2.杜愛瑾等（2025）撰寫的「人生危機後的療癒：意義建構創傷心理治療模式」；3.鄒姁伶、陳如湘（2025）撰寫

的「新冠疫情下分居夫妻的模糊性失落經驗之初探」。此三篇文章都運用質性研究取向，以探討在人生面臨危機情境的心理歷程與調適之道，其中第一篇研究即涉及佛法詮釋的議題，值得關切。本期主編的話邀請賴榮豐教授共同執筆，特此致謝。

關鍵詞：八識論、六識論、阿賴耶識、佛法詮釋、本土社會科學研究

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壹、佛法詮釋在本土社會科學研究上的重要性

佛法是源起於亞洲的人類重要宗教與文化傳統，對本土社會科學研究而言是非常重要的文化資產。由於所謂的「本土化」，「本」是指文化傳統、「土」是指在地生活經驗，社會科學的「本土化」即是將社會科學與文化傳統及在地生活經驗相結合（王智弘，2016b；王智弘等，2024），因此，透過將社會科學與佛教文化傳統及在地生活經驗相結合，是可能進行文化融合的本土化（acculturative indigenization）與文化繼承的本土化（enculturative indigenization）之本土社會科學研究，特別是理論建構研究更是如此（王智弘，2016a，2017，2019；王智弘等，2017；王智弘等，2024a，2024b），而主要用來進行本土化理論建構研究的方法論：「建構含攝文化理論的知識論策略（Epistemological strategy for constructing culture-inclusive theories）」（黃光國，2018；Hwang, 2019）以及「本土社會科學創造詮釋學」（Indigenous Social Science Creative Hermeneutics）（王智弘，2020，2023，2024，2025；王智弘等，2024a，2024b），即可運用於進行含攝佛法文化的本土社會科學理論建構之上。惟運用「本土社會科學創造詮釋學」以進行文化含攝的過程中必須注意對傳統文化經典與思維的正確詮釋問題，若有所誤解則後續的詮釋亦會走上歧路，（王智弘等，2024b）。因此，要進行含攝佛法文化的本土社會科學研究，佛法詮釋的正確性是重要的關鍵。

貳、佛法詮釋的探索

對於佛教正法之探索，核心的討論重點之一在於對八識論佛法的辯證與詮釋功夫。對於修學或研究佛法者而言，一直有六識與八識之說，以說明人類有情具有六個識，也就是眼識、耳識、鼻識、舌識、身識及意識，或說明人類有情具有八個識，即六個識加上意根末那識及阿賴耶識，此等六識或八識之說，一直是一個令人困擾、須要辨明的問題。佛陀在佛法經典上說明人類有情具有八個識之例，如在《入楞伽經》中所言：「**大慧！阿梨耶識者名如來藏，與無明七識共俱。**」，其意在言明「阿梨耶識」亦名「如來藏」，而與「無明」相應的七識同時同處共在一起，而阿梨耶識即為阿賴耶識。就一般學佛者而言，熟悉六識但對第七識意根：末那識，以及第八識阿賴耶識則較為陌生，對於此二識之運作方式也罕為聽聞，因此較難接受此二識亦存於人類有情身上。

另就《心經》之經文所載：「舍利子！色不異空，空不異色；色即是空，空即是色，受想行識亦復如是。舍利子！是諸法空相，不生不滅，不垢不淨，不增不減。」則為一般學佛者所耳熟能詳而琅琅上口，其中空本是指空性心阿賴耶識，但若依六識論者修學禪定之經驗，將意識心制於一處或是讓意識處於一念不生之狀態，對人類有情而言，色

與空相似乎就沒有差別，以為如此境界就是《心經》所講的「色不異空，空不異色。」¹既然色與空沒有差別，意即色等六塵境界就等於是空相（空無一物），如此誤解佛法所謂之空性，而錯將空無一物的空相當作佛法中所說的不生不滅的真如空性，則所得結論便為：諸法乃是不生不滅，不垢不淨，不增不減，似可一路順理成章地解釋下來。然而一般學佛者對於《心經》下文接續所說：「空中無色，無受想行識；無眼耳鼻舌身意；無色聲香味觸法；無眼界，乃至無意識界；無無明，亦無無明盡，乃至無老死，亦無老死盡；無苦集滅道；無智亦無得。」則不知該如何解釋了。尤其對「空中無色，無眼耳鼻舌身意，乃至無老死。」之意義所指，則更說不清楚了。因為無論是將意識制心一處，或是讓意識處於一念不生之狀態，在客觀上，虛空中的色法都是存在的。而六識論制心一處無有了別的說法僅能勉強解釋為覺知心不了別色等六塵境界，依此來說色塵暫時不存在。但無法解釋人類有情身上的眼、耳、鼻、舌、身等五色根都是一直存在的事實，不因覺知心不了別六塵而消失，而人類有情漸漸老死的現象也一直在色身上發生。因此認為人類有情只有六個識的學佛者對於《心經》中此段文字的意義則無法如實理解，以致心中之疑惑也難以獲得解答。

會落入六識論中之緣由，可能由於修習佛法之慧力不足或是無緣得聞八識論之經文解說，因此對人類有情身上有八個識之說法自然難以信受，遑論生起勝解；或者由於對佛法大門不得其門而入而不知如何正確修學佛法，可能誤以為修學禪定即為修學佛法；而修學禪定，若無善知識教導，往往又易於落入打妄想或是昏沉的境界；又或者將行善當成學佛，認為學佛就是要行善，因此行善就是學佛，此皆因未能有因緣以得聞八識佛教正法所導致。

佛法當然包括行善，但不只有行善，佛法除了施論、戒論、生天之論之外更有包含聲聞菩提、緣覺菩提及佛菩提之三乘菩提。若純以施論、戒論、生天之論而言，佛法確實可包含行善、修禪定之行，因為布施、持戒、行十善業都可利益別人或者至少無害於他人，因此可說是一種行善的表現；修禪定則可有生到色界天、無色界天之功用。但佛法更重要的修行目標在於讓人類有情能解脫於三界煩惱的繫縛，因此行善、修定與智慧的修學都是必要的。而定力與慧力修學所須的正確知見都必須從經典中或真善知識處獲得。如《大般涅槃經》說：對於煩惱的去除，僅依靠定力或者慧力是無法成辦的，必須「先以定動，後以智拔。」²因眾生的根本煩惱根深柢固，難以撼動，得要先用定力把煩惱鬆動、再用慧力一股作氣拔除；如一根釘在地上很深的木樁，想要直接拔除很難；所以先要搖動它，前後左右的搖動，讓木樁鬆動後就容易拔除了。而煩惱無形無色到底存於人類有情何處呢？其實人類有情的煩惱存於人類有情心中。所以修行就是修心。

然而心之功能強大，往往超越人類有情的理解與想像。所以佛陀於《華嚴經》卷 19 如是說：「心如工畫師，能畫諸世間，五蘊悉從生，無法而不造……若人欲了知，三世一切佛，應觀法界性，一切唯心造。」此段經文意在解說真實心，像是一個善於工筆畫

的畫師，能夠畫生出種種的三界器世間，也能夠畫生出一切有情眾生的五蘊身，三界中沒有一個法不是這個心所造作出來的……。如果想要了知十方三世諸佛之所從來，應該現前觀察三界內一切法的功能差別、體性，都是由心所直接、間接、輾轉造作出來的。然而能造作一切法的真實心究竟是哪一個，是第八識還是第六識？對於一切學佛者來說，便不可不知。因此正確認知人類有情之心是有六個識或是有八個識可說是修學佛法的重中之重。

參、六識與八識

人類有情至少有六個識應是無庸置疑的。從我們日常生活中的體驗，都可以確認有六個識的存在。舉例而言，在進入餐廳用餐時，我們大部份的人首先會用眼睛看看周邊的環境，因此眼識就起動了。接著馬上會感受一下餐廳內冷熱溫度以及音量，身識及耳識也就跟著動轉了。上菜時，舌識及鼻識也開始發揮功用，了別菜是否太鹹，或有沒有香味等等。而在五識運作的同時，意識也同時運作，在五塵上作更深細的了知、分別。例如更一步了別餐廳的環境、溫度及音樂是否令人賞心悅目或令人不適，是哪一種菜餚的香味，每一道菜的甘鹹等等是否適中、美味，有沒有令人覺得值回票價？所以在日常生活中，人類有情是可以隨時隨地感受到六識的存在與運作。然而在六識運作的同時，佛法更說有第七意根末那識及第八阿賴耶識也是同時在運作的，只不過此二識運作的行相微細，一般人難以了知及現前觀察。因此從佛典中尋求答案來加以印證人類有情眾生到底有幾個識，是一個合理且重要的方式，讓學佛人可先大略了知佛陀在二千五百年前是如何論述人類有情是具有幾個識的。而佛陀在印度示現涅槃後，由其弟子所集結佛陀聖教而成的經典大致可粗分為阿含部（二乘經典）及大乘部（大乘經典）。因此可由二乘經典及大乘經典來找尋相關的論述。

肆、二乘經典對於八識之描述

在《中阿含經》卷 47 有如是記載：「阿難！若有比丘見十八界知如真：眼界、色界、眼識界，耳界、聲界、耳識界，鼻界、香界、鼻識界，舌界、味界、舌識界，身界、觸界、身識界，意界、法界、意識界。阿難！見此十八界知如真。」意思是說：如果有比丘能夠如實了知十八界的內涵及功能，那他的知見就是正確真實的；而十八界就是六根界、六塵界與六識界，也就是六根、六塵及六識的功能差別。六根為眼根、耳根、鼻根、舌根、身根及意根，六塵為色塵、聲塵、香塵、味塵、觸塵及法塵，而六識為眼識、耳識、鼻識、舌識、身識及意識。在這一段經文中佛陀明確指出人類有情有六根及六識。對於一般學佛人認知人類有情有五個有色根，即眼根、耳根、鼻根、舌根及身根是比較

容易觀察及理解的，然而對於無色根意根，則比較難以體會。在大乘法中意根即是末那識，後文中將進一步探討。

在此，我們先探討六識是如何現起的？在《雜阿含經》卷 9，佛告訴比丘：「眼因緣色，眼識生。所以者何？若眼識生，一切眼色因緣故，耳聲因緣、鼻香因緣、舌味因緣；意法因緣意識生，所以者何？諸所有意識，彼一切皆意、法因緣生故。是名比丘：眼識因緣生，乃至意識因緣生。」意思是說：緣於眼根、色塵而出生了眼識，所以同樣的道理，如果眼識的生起是以眼根及色塵為因緣。那耳識、鼻識、舌識、身識及意識的生起，也同樣是以耳根、鼻根、舌根、身根及意根，分別接觸聲塵、香塵、味塵、觸塵及法塵為因緣而生起。此等根塵相觸而生識，意根和法塵接觸而有意識之理，在阿含部經典中處處可見。³⁻⁸如此，六識加上意根，已有七識。

進而言之，六識之外，在阿含部經典中確已隱說有第七識及第八識之存在。《中阿含經》卷 24 即有如是經文：「……若有問者：『名色有何緣？』當如是答：『緣識也。』當知所謂緣識有名色。阿難！若識不入母胎者，有名色成此身耶？」答曰：「無也。」「阿難！若識入胎即出者，名色會精耶？」答曰：「不會。」「阿難！若幼童男、童女，識初斷壞、不有者，名色轉增長耶？」答曰：「不也。」經文意思是說：「名和色二個法必須有個識作為緣，方能存在。這個識若不入母胎的話，就不會有名色的成就。如果這個識入胎後即離開，不住於母胎中，名色就不可能生長成為一個胎身。如果這個識出生了童男、童女胎身以後中斷或是壞滅離身的話，童男、童女的名色五陰就無法增長為成人。」亦即人類有情在受精卵時已有名、色二法。此時的色陰當然就是受精卵，此時的名不會是前六識，因為此時五色根尚未成長成形，五識無法依根和塵的相觸而產生，也不會有意識的生起。所以，這個「緣識有名色」的名，不會是前六識。但受精卵名色的名也不會是入胎的這個識，因為經文明確指出：「若識入胎即出者，名色不會精」也就是意味著：名、色與識三法同時共存。而這也意味著入胎的這個識在出生了童男、童女胎身以後不中斷或是壞滅離身的話，童男、童女的名色五陰就會持續增長而成就五色根。此時有情就可以藉十八界的功能作用而在人間生活，也就是俱足了六根，六塵和六識。然而從入胎識入母胎到童男、童女的名色五陰增長成人，意根在哪裡？其實在受精卵位時意根就存在了，意根就是受精卵位中的名。意根是無色根，在大乘經典中又稱為「末那識」；而入住母胎的入胎識就是第八識。

佛除了在《中阿含經》卷 24 隱喻而說第七意根及第八入胎識（即阿賴耶識）外，在二乘經典中，佛對於阿賴耶識的體性也有更進一步的說明。《雜阿含經》卷第 23：「佛告羅睺羅：『善哉！善哉！能問如來：『云何知、云何見我此識身及外境界一切相，能令無有我、我所見、我慢使繫著』耶？』羅睺羅白佛言：『如是，世尊！』佛告羅睺羅：『善哉！諦聽！諦聽！善思念之，當為汝說。羅睺羅！當觀若所有諸色，若過去、若未來、若現在，若內、若外，若麤（粗）、若細，若好、若醜，若遠、若近，彼一切悉皆

非我、不異我、不相在，如是平等慧正觀。如是受、想、行、識，若過去、若未來、若現在，若內、若外，若麤、若細，若好、若醜，若遠、若近，彼一切非我、不異我、不相在，如是平等慧如實觀。」在此，佛答覆羅睺羅應該如何看待我這個識身及識身外的一切境界相。其目的就是要令佛弟子能夠斷除我見，不為我所見及我慢所繫縛。佛告訴羅睺羅：應該要觀察我們這個五陰也就是色、受、想、行、識陰，不管是過去、現在、未來，或內、或外，或粗、或細，或好、或醜，或遠、或近的所有五陰都不是真實我，但也不是異於真實我。五陰和我同時同處存在但不能混同為一法。這就表示除了五陰假我之外，另有一個真我存在；而這個真我和五陰假我不是互相混合為一體的。所以五陰死了，這個真我不會死，而與意根一起離開五陰這個假我。在未來合適的因緣際會中就入胎而有另一個五陰假我出生。如此只要三界愛未斷，有情就是這樣不斷的在三界中輪迴生死。

伍、大乘經典對於八識的描述

在二乘經典中對於第七識—意根末那識及第八識—阿賴耶識只是隱覆而說。而在大乘經典中對此二識之體性則有詳細的描述。除在《入楞伽經》卷 8 中明確指出人類有情具足八識外。⁹在《成唯識論》卷 3 玄奘菩薩更引用了《大乘阿毘達磨契經》進一步說明其能生萬法的體性，經中說：「無始時來界，一切法等依；由此有諸趣，及涅槃證得。」意思是說，人類有情的阿賴耶識具有功能差別（界），從無始劫以來就已經存在，而且是一切法的根本，一切法都是依阿賴耶識而起，也因為有阿賴耶識的存在，眾生所造的業種不失不壞，因此有情才会有六道輪迴的產生以及有涅槃可以證得。在《華嚴經》卷 6，佛陀又開示：「又由未來諸根、五塵境界斷滅，凡愚之人以為涅槃。諸佛菩薩自證悟時，轉阿賴耶得本覺智。」意思是說：沒有佛法正知正見的一般凡夫或二乘愚人，認為出離三界生死之苦就是讓未來五陰不出生，以為五陰的斷滅就是涅槃；由於不知或不見有心體不生不滅第八識阿賴耶識的真實存在，不知涅槃本際乃阿賴耶識獨住之境界，誤以為涅槃就只是五陰斷滅境界。然而佛陀所說的涅槃並不是斷滅空，而諸佛菩薩所證的涅槃本際其實就是阿賴耶識，叫作「本來自性清淨涅槃」，是不必將諸根、五塵境界斷滅，即可現前觀察、現前領受的「性淨涅槃」。當悟後轉依阿賴耶識這個本來就在、自性清淨圓滿的無分別心，生起了清淨無執無分別的智慧，就叫「得本覺智」。

在《維摩詰所說經菩薩品》中，對阿賴耶識在三界中之體性有更詳細的描述：「不觀是菩提，離諸緣故；……知是菩提，了眾生心行故；不會是菩提，諸入不會故。」意思是說：有一個菩提心不見色、不聞聲、不嗅香、不嚐味、不受觸、不知法，不緣於六塵境界，於六入處的六塵諸法都知不會，所以維摩詰大士說：「不會是菩提，諸入不會故」。但這個菩提心卻了知眾生七轉識心行所覺知感受的一切需求而配合運作，所以

維摩詰大士又說：「知是菩提，了眾生心行故」。而這個菩提心當然不是六識心，也不是七轉識中的意根，而是第八識阿賴耶識，因為六識心及意根都是了知境界法的。這樣對阿賴耶識不知不會六塵的描述和《心經》所說：「空中無色，無受想行識；無眼耳鼻舌身意；無色聲香味觸法；無眼界，乃至無意識界；無無明，亦無無明盡，乃至無老死，亦無老死盡；無苦集滅道；無智亦無得」的「空」法性，是相通而沒有不同。《心經》又說：「色不異空，空不異色，色即是空，空即是色，受想行識亦復如是。」這也意味著一切色法、心法背後的本質都是「空性心」阿賴耶識。也就是「空性心」阿賴耶識即是出生色法與心法的根源，故說阿賴耶識是法界的實相，是真實存在的。所以阿賴耶識之體性雖在不同經典中有不同面相的陳述，其描述文字雖然不同，但所陳述之體性都是一致而沒有絲毫的相互抵觸。

再者，一般學佛者對於意識能夠了知外面的境界，應該能夠理解，但對意根於外在境界也有了知性的認知則是比較模糊。在《大乘起信論》卷上中，馬鳴菩薩如此說：「此『意』復有五種異名：一名業識，謂無明力不覺心動。二名轉識，謂依動心能見境相。三名現識，謂現一切諸境界相；猶如明鏡現眾色像，現識亦爾，如其五境對至即現，無有前後，不由功力。四名智識，謂分別染淨諸差別法。五名相續識，謂恒作意相應不斷，任持過去善惡等業，令無失壞，成熟現、未苦樂等報，使無違越。」意思是說：意根有五種不同的名稱，其中之一叫做業識，因為執藏在阿賴耶識之中的無明業種，可以和意根相應而引動，導致覺知心等種子的流注，稱為無明力不覺心動，致使見聞覺知六識心因此而現行、而造業，意根有這種特性，所以稱為業識。意根的第二個別名叫做轉識，由於六識可在三界塵境之中運轉，而六識的和合運作導致意識可以分別六塵境的美醜、勝劣以及好壞，而意識對六塵境了知的同時，意根也藉六識而同時了知，並產生持續享受或遠離此一境界的決定。所以，意根稱為轉識並且和前六識合稱為七轉識，因為七識是隨著客塵境界而運轉的。

意根的第三個別名叫做現識，即意根是可令第八識阿賴耶識顯現一切六塵境界相的識，就好像一面鏡子映現出眾生的影像一樣，當人類有情藉著自身的五根而面對五塵時，無須任何事前事後加行，第八識就會顯現六塵的內相分，意根與之相觸後，意識就會現行，然而阿賴耶識不會自動現起五塵與法塵，必須有意根作意才能成辦，所以意根稱為現識。至於何謂意根作意呢？在《大乘起信論》卷 1，馬鳴菩薩如是說：「復次，生滅因緣者，謂諸眾生依心意識轉，此義云何？以依阿賴耶識有無明不覺，起能見、能現、能取境界，分別相續說名為意。」意思是說：一切法相生起或滅壞的因緣都是依阿賴耶識心及意根、意識的運轉而產生，這樣陳述的意義所指為何？因為阿賴耶識含藏著無始無明上煩惱隨眠及煩惱障一念無明的緣故，意根便會依於阿賴耶識中的無明種而起作意，令阿賴耶識現起有情之能見、能現、能取境界的功能，對境界不斷分別執取的作意相續不斷，能使一切境界相持續現起，所以名為意根。意根的第四個別名叫作智識，這是指

意根和意識在同時現起的狀況之下，意根可稱為智識。換句話說，原本意根的了別性很差，只能了別法塵上的大變動，但與意識同在一起運作時，此時的意根就能分別染淨諸法，而做出直接迅速的反應，所以稱意根為智識。因為意根是意識的俱有依，所以在人間生活之中，除了睡著無夢、悶絕、進入無想定、滅盡定等意識不生起的情況之外，只要有意識存在，意根和意識一定是互相配合而運作著。

意根的第五個別名叫作相續識，為什麼有這樣的別名呢？馬鳴菩薩說意根是「恒作意相應不斷」，也就是說意根永遠都有一個作意常在，希望自己不間斷，永遠可以處處作主、時時作主，而且這個作意從過去無量劫以來，直至未來無量世以後，都是如此。除非是在阿羅漢入無餘涅槃位，否則意根一直永遠都是這樣的作意相續不斷，也因為意根恆不間斷遍計執取的體性，使得過去所做的善惡業種都不會散失敗壞，都被意根執取而收藏在第八識中，因緣成熟時就會現行而酬償業果。因此，應該受苦或是受樂的果報，不會相互違背超越，而這些都是因為意根是相續識的緣故。

陸、八識佛法之辨明

不論是在二乘經典或是大乘經典中皆已指出第七識意根及第八阿賴耶識在人類有情色身之中與前六識合和運作。但是，由於此二識行相極微細，眾生難以了知。因此，認為人類有情只有六識的六識論者，在佛門中相當普遍，並且以修定的方式做為修學佛法的主要手段及目標。而最為大眾熟悉的方式即是努力增強定力，希望能做到一念不生，將妄念徹底制伏，希望能「打得念頭死」、「許汝法身活」而讓法身活過來。六識論者之所以會有這種誤解，乃因誤解了大乘經典聖教之故。《大方等大集經》卷 11 如是說：「法不可見聞覺知，若行見聞覺知，是則見聞覺知，非求法也。」意思是說，真正不生不滅的法也就是第八阿賴耶識是離見聞覺知的，是對六塵是沒有了知性的，此等說法和維摩詰大士的聖教：「不會是菩提，諸人不會故」是相互呼應的。

學佛若真的打得念頭死，就是讓意識制於一念不生或是制意識心於不動的狀態，這樣的意識如何能了別周遭的環境？就像影片內容消失了或是影片都停在同一格的位置，人類有情如何能了知影片所要表達的意思以及內容？不能了別周遭的環境，人類又如何能夠應對進退而在人間順利生活？所以認為人類有情只有六個識，認為將意識心修到一念不生的境界就是在修學佛法，明顯不是正確的方式，因為即使將意識修到離念而證得禪定，也仍然還是意識境界；打一針麻醉藥，睡著意識不見，禪定境界就消失了，與大乘佛菩提開悟的內涵「大龍常在定」不同，當然也與成佛無關，此等六識知見與佛教正法有別。因此，以六識論的知見來修學佛法，認為將意識修至一念不生即是開悟的境界，然而處於此等所謂「開悟」境界，不僅無法在人世間作正確的應對進退，對於佛所說義理亦無法生起勝解，徒生似是而非之相似佛法知見，則會誤己、誤人。

佛說：「阿羅漢入無餘涅槃位時十八界全部滅盡」，因為佛說無餘涅槃就是「後有永盡」¹⁰，而後有就是後世的十八界，即是六根、六塵以及六識，這意味著人類有情是依六根、六塵以及六識的運作才能在人間生活。而為了要解釋此一聖教，部派佛教的六識論者便將意根說成是意識落謝的種子，如同花謝了以後產生種子一般，如安慧論師在他所著的《大乘廣五蘊論》卷 1 如是說：「**意界者，即彼無間滅等，為顯第六識依止，及廣建立十八界故。**」意思是說：為了顯示第六識依止之所在，以及為了建立十八界的緣故，所以將前一個無間滅失的意識（即意識消失後的種子作為意識的依止）建立為意根。換說來說，安慧所謂的意根，其實就是已滅的前一個意識種子，所以他認為意根只是意識的別名，為了能圓滿十八界（六根，六塵以及六識）的說法才有意根這個名相，並沒有第七識意根方真實存在。

而這樣的說法是和大乘經典互相違背的，例如前已提及的《大乘起信論》，馬鳴菩薩不但明確指出意根的存在，還詳細描述了意根的體性。但令人不解的是安慧論師有時說意根只是意識的別名。但在同一本論中卻又詳細描述了意根的體性，如在《大乘廣五蘊論》卷 1 中，安慧論師如是說：「**最勝意者，謂緣藏識為境之識，恆與我癡、我見、我慢、我愛相應，前後一類相續隨轉。**」意思是說：最殊勝的意根是緣第八識的種種功能差別作為自己境界的識，祂從無始劫來，永遠不間斷的與我癡、我見、我慢、我愛相應，前後都是像這樣一類地不改變祂的體性。從安慧論師的這兩段論文可以明確發現其所說之論述前後顛倒，其前文指出：意根只是意識落謝的種子，種子既已落謝如何能不間斷地與我癡、我見、我慢、我愛之煩惱相應？如果依安慧論師等六識論者之解釋一意根是意識的種子，所以這些自性是潛藏、未生起的，等到意識生起後才會現行，若是如此則無須另立意根，乃至另立與意根相應的煩惱，因此，安慧論師等之解釋無法自圓其說，因為意識對六塵之了別性是殊勝的，與意根對六塵了別慧劣之自性顯不相符。

然主張六識論者，不只古人如安慧論師，近代亦有持類似見解者，如印順法師（2011）在其所著的《我之宗教觀》中如是說：「意識（實在也是五識）所依的意根呢！這可說是過去的認識活動（或稱之為『過去滅意』），而實是過去認識所累積，形成潛在於內的意（或稱為『諸識和合名為一意』——『現在意』）。這是一般人所不易自覺的，卻是一切——六識的根源。舉例說（過去舉波浪所依的大海水喻）：六識如從山石中流出的泉水，而意根卻如地下水源。地下水是一般所不見的，卻是存在於地下深處的。地下水從何而來？這是從雨水，及水流浸潤而潛存於地下的。意根也是這樣，源於過去的認識，過去了，消失了，卻轉化為潛在於內的『細意識』。在大乘佛法中，更分別為末那識與阿賴耶識。**過去意識**（總括六識）所轉化的，統一的，微細潛在的意根，在『人心』的了解中，極為重要！『人心』，不只是一般的五識與意識而已。」在此段文字中，印順法師明確的主張末那識意根與阿賴耶識都只是意識的一部份，其影響所及，人類有情只有六識之說法便廣為流行。

但主張人類有情只有六識的六識論者，必須要面對的法義難題之一便是：只能存在一世的意識在人類有情輪迴的過程中如何連結三世業果？宗喀巴在《入中論善顯密意疏》卷7中如是說：「許能取後有之心是意識故。復許意識，是一切染淨法之所緣故。」意思是說：能取後有的是意識，而且意識也是一切染淨諸法的所緣。宗喀巴以此說法來解決其所面對的法義難題，但基於現前的觀察，我們可以認知意識是了別染淨諸法的識，意識能緣一切染淨諸法，而不是染淨法緣於意識。在以八識論為基本架構的大乘佛法中，阿賴耶識才是一切染淨諸法的所緣，也就是說一切染淨諸法之所以能夠現起都是緣於阿賴耶識種子流注的緣故，而阿賴耶識種子能夠流注需源於意根末那識的作意。所以宗喀巴這句話很明顯的是將原屬於意根末那識和阿賴耶識的自性都轉而歸屬於意識所有。

然而，意識的生住異滅是很容易觀察的。在睡著無夢的時候，人類有情是無法了知周遭環境的微細變動。例如在三更半夜時，房間裡來了一隻蚊子，並在人類有情身上咬了好幾口。在被蚊子咬的當下，人類有情往往是不知不覺的。直到發覺身上被咬了好多處又腫又癢，才不得不醒過來驅離蚊子。而這和在白天情況是完全不同的，在白天如有蚊子接近，人類有情馬上就會將之驅離。由現前觀察的現象與現代醫學證明，在睡著無夢之時，人類有情的意識是消失不存在的，所以人類有情的意識是有中斷而不連續的。既然是中斷而不連續，上一個意識如何叫醒下一個意識而能延續原有的記憶，一定要依於意識以外的心識，也就是意根與阿賴耶識，這個道理是明顯易懂的。再者，如果末那識意根與阿賴耶識都只是意識的一部份，那當人類有情意識有中斷時，末那識意根與阿賴耶識也會隨之中斷，如此人類有情的三世業果又要如何連結呢？

印順法師（2011）在所著的《我之宗教觀》卻主張末那識與阿賴耶識只是一種細意識，相關文句如下：「意根也是這樣，源於過去的認識，過去了，消失了，卻轉化為潛在於內的『細意識』。在大乘佛法中，更分別為末那識與阿賴耶識。」然而印順法師繼承自宗喀巴之此等認知，其實是違背了大乘佛法的論述。¹¹ 六識論者由於對末那識與阿賴耶識的錯誤認知，並以為末那識與阿賴耶識的自性只是六識自性中的一部分，稱為細意識。因此誤認為將意識心制於一念不生的境界，認為就是佛法的開悟境界，就是在修學佛法，也就不足為奇了。所以六識論者才会有「打得念頭死，許汝法身活」的說法。由此證明依於不正確的六識論來修學佛法是無法開悟的，也無法真正解脫煩惱，因為只是將意識心制於一處對於外境不加以了知的緣故。既然無法觀察到煩惱的現起，當然也就無法思索而加以對治，因此也無法真正解脫煩惱。

然而依於以八識心的知見來修學佛法時，對於外在環境又是如何應對進退呢？唯識的一首偈說得是唯妙唯肖：「八個兄弟共一胎，一個伶俐一個呆；五個門前做買賣，一個家裡把帳開。」意思是說指每個人類有情都有八個識，意根（第七識）在意識的配合下可以很伶俐隨時隨地應對周遭的環境的變化而應對進退，而第八識呆呆的，對六塵境界不見聞覺知，只對意根、意識所思唯命是從。眼、耳、鼻、舌、身（五個識）則負責

對外了別色、聲、香、味、觸五塵，意識則根據五識提供的五塵資訊及相應的種種法塵加以了別、分類、判斷，提供給意根做參考，以便讓意根對環境做出如何應對進退的決定。也就是說八識論的佛法修學者，對於八個識如何互相連結，互相配合來應對於人間的種種變化，都是需要經長時間修習，須藉由聞、思、修、證而能漸漸如實觀察煩惱的生起。並藉由佛的教誡教授思考如何有效的對治這些煩惱，再經由身體力行調整自己的心態來滅除這些煩惱而證解脫，並能證明佛陀所說的都是真實不虛。而六識論者，唯求將意識心制於一處，或想處於一念不生的狀態，以為即是解脫煩惱，即為開悟，實為對佛教正法之誤解。

《瑜伽師地論》卷 51〈攝決擇分〉中五識身相應地意地之一，第二章問答正決擇二地：「問：前說種子依，謂阿賴耶識，而未說『有』、『有之因緣』、『廣分別義』。何故不說？何緣知有？廣分別義，云何應知？」「答：由此建立是佛世尊最深密記，是故不說。如世尊言：『阿陀那識甚深細，一切種子如瀑流；我於凡愚不開演，恐彼分別執為我』」佛陀所說此偈乃出自《解深密經》卷 1〈心意識相品〉第三，偈中所謂阿陀那識即是阿賴耶識，此偈的意思是說：「阿陀那識非常深奧與微細，祂所執藏的一切種子猶如廣大河流的水一樣瀑流不停；當我面對凡夫與二乘愚癡的聖人時都不為他們開示或演繹阿陀那識，是因為恐怕他們聽了反而產生虛妄的分別，錯把阿陀那識執著為五陰等自我」《成唯識論釋（第三輯）》（平實導師，2024，213 頁）。

也就是，由於「沒有菩薩性的凡夫或二乘法中的凡聖有情們都不能窮究這個底蘊，所以第八識的義理說為甚深；趣向寂滅境界種性的二乘聖人不能通達此第八識的義理，所以名為甚細。此第八識是一切法的真實功能差別，遇到外境界緣襲擊之時便出生七轉識及煩惱等波浪，心體恆常而沒有間斷猶如廣大流水一般流注種子出來。凡夫說得是沒有菩薩性的有情，愚人即是趣向寂滅的二乘聖人；恐怕他們對於此第八識生起錯誤的分別與執著，死後墮落於三惡趣中、或是會障礙他們未來世生起聖道，所以我們的世尊不為他們開示演說此第八識的深妙義理。」《成唯識論釋（第三輯）》（平實導師，2024，212 頁），由於擔心沒有菩薩性的凡夫或二乘聖人，對第八識生起錯誤的分別與執著而生惡果，所以佛陀慈悲不為他們開示，因此，未能證得阿陀那識的眾生，不論是學佛者或研究佛法者，未逢善知識或錯讀不如法義之佛法論著，誤以六識論為真，亦情有可原。惟建構含攝佛法文化之本土社會科學理論學者，不可不加以辨明。

柒、含攝八識佛法之本土社會科學理論建構

依「建構含攝文化理論的知識論策略」以建構含攝佛法文化之社會科學理論，運用「本土社會科學創造詮釋學」以進行含攝佛法文化的過程中必須面對正確詮釋佛法文化之議題（王智弘等，2024b），如何依佛陀所傳之八識佛法而歷經「原典考證」，以確認

原典文字之真實性、「析文詮釋」以確認原典文字之實際內涵、「歷史詮釋」以確認原典文字意涵之後續思維發展、「批判詮釋」以批判性的掌握文化經典思維發展之終極義理，此等詮釋過程中，宜以三乘經典為最終依歸，再經「創造詮釋」以將終極義理具創造性的應用於現代社會科學，以符合現代時空所需，最後運用「會通詮釋」，以比量的方式將佛法真正義理重新展於現代名句文身中，此舉不但能糾正似是而非的表相佛法，更能進行跨越本地與外地文化之文化會通，以及跨越學科領域之領域會通，並提出含攝文化的本土社會科學創造詮釋學之會通義理（王智弘，2020，2024，王智弘等，2024a，2024b；傅偉勳，1986，1999），如此以完成含攝八識佛法之本土社會科學理論建構，應該是本土社會科學學者的重要任務與挑戰。

本期刊登三篇文章分別是：1.洪奕祐（2024）撰寫的「一位佛教女性家庭照顧者的心理轉化敘說研究」；2.杜愛瑾等（2024）撰寫的「人生危機後的療癒：意義建構創傷心理治療模式」；3.鄒姁伶、陳如湘（2024）撰寫的「新冠疫情下分居夫妻的模糊性失落經驗之初探」。此三篇文章都運用質性研究取向，以探討在人生面臨危機情境的心理歷程與調適之道，其中第一篇研究即涉及佛法詮釋的議題，值得關切。

註釋

註 1.必須說明的是，對以一念不生、或者離念靈知的境界為開悟，除了誤解開悟 之外，其實也並不是意識不生起，也不是意識不起分別，而是大部分的狀況是不起語言文字的分別，實質上意識仍然會有了別。

註 2.「善男子！菩薩摩訶薩具足二法能大利益：一、定，二、智。善男子！如刈菅草，執急則斷；菩薩摩訶薩修是二法亦復如是。善男子！如拔堅木，先以手動，後則易出；菩薩定、慧亦復如是，先以定動，後以智拔。善男子！如浣垢衣，先以灰汁，後以清水，衣則鮮潔；菩薩定、慧亦復如是。善男子！如先讀誦，後則解義；菩薩定、慧亦復如是。善男子！譬如勇人先以鎧仗牢自莊嚴，然後御陣能壞怨賊；菩薩定、慧亦復如是。善男子！譬如巧匠鉗錘盛金，自在隨意[打-丁+毛]攪融消；菩薩定、慧亦復如是。善男子！譬如明鏡照了面像；菩薩定、慧亦復如是。善男子！如先平地，然後下種；先從師受，後思惟義；菩薩定、慧亦復如是。以是義故，菩薩摩訶薩修是二法能大利益。」善男子！菩薩摩訶薩修是二法，調攝五根，堪忍眾苦，所謂飢、渴、寒、熱、打擲、罵辱、惡獸所嚙、蚊虻所螫，常攝其心，不令放逸，不為利養行於非法，客塵煩惱所不能污，不為諸邪異見所惑，常能遠離諸惡覺觀，不久成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，為欲成就利眾生故。

註 3.《雜阿含經》卷 11：緣眼、色，生眼識，三事和合觸，觸俱生受、想、思。

註 4.《中阿含經》卷 28：緣意及法，生意識。

註 5.《雜阿含經》卷 11：意、法因緣，生意識。

- 註 6.《正法念處經》卷 62：因意、因法而生意識。
- 註 7.《根本說一切有部毘奈耶》卷 30：意、法為緣，能生意識。
- 註 8.《雜阿含經》卷 9：諸所有意識，彼一切皆意、法因緣生故。
- 註 9.《入楞伽經》卷 8：復次，大慧！言善不善法者，所謂八識；何等為八？一者阿梨耶識，二者意，三者意識，四者眼識，五者耳識，六者鼻識，七者舌識，八者身識。
- 註 10.《中阿含經》卷 18：世尊告曰：「阿難！多聞聖弟子作如是觀：若現世欲及後世欲，若現世色及後世色，若現世欲想、後世欲想，若現世色想、後世色想及不動想、無所有處想、無想想，彼一切想是無常法，是苦，是滅，是謂自己有。若自己有者，是生，是老，是病，是死。阿難！若有此法，一切盡滅無餘，不復有者，彼則無生，無老、病、死。聖如是觀若有者，必是解脫法；若有無餘涅槃者，是名甘露。彼如是觀、如是見，必得欲漏心解脫，有漏、無明漏心解脫；解脫已，便知解脫：生已盡，梵行已立，所作已辦，不更受有，知如真。」
- 註 11.《顯揚聖教論》卷 1：眼識者，謂從阿賴耶識種子所生，依於眼根，與彼俱轉。……意識者，謂從阿賴耶識種子所生，依於意根，與彼俱轉。意思是說，識陰中的全部六識，都是以根、塵為緣，然後從根本因阿賴耶識中，流注種子而出生；並且都是必須依止於所依根，和所依根共同存在與運作，所以說識陰六識都是因緣所生法，不是常住不滅的。佛開示：一切有情都有八個識，那就是識陰六識、意及阿梨耶識，其中意就是意根，阿梨耶識就是阿賴耶識。

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Issues in the Hermeneutics of Buddhism in Indigenous Social Science Research: Taking the Eight Consciousnesses of Buddhism as an Example

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Abstract

Buddhism is a significant religious and cultural tradition that originated in Asia. Its principles can be applied to the formulation of indigenous social science theories that integrate Buddhist culture. Nevertheless, the endeavor to indigenize Buddhist research necessitates careful consideration of the accurate interpretation of Buddhist thought. Notably, the elucidation of the Buddhist theory of the eight consciousnesses emerges as a subject worthy of attention. In the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, the Buddha states, “Mahāmati! The *Ālī yé shí* [*ālayavijñāna*] is called the *tathāgatagarbha*, coexisting with the seven ignorant *vijñānas*.” This indicates that the *ālayavijñāna* coexists with the seven *vijñānas*. The *Ālī yé shí* is the *ālayavijñāna*, and the seven *vijñānas* refer to the five sensory consciousnesses (visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, and tactile), the sixth mental consciousness, and the seventh consciousness (*manas*). Some, misunderstanding the Buddhist teachings, assert that the Buddha did not explicitly mention the *ālayavijñāna* in the *Āgama Sūtras*. They contend that the *manas* is merely the seed remaining after the manifestation of mental consciousness and posit that human beings possess only six consciousnesses. However, the *Madhyama Āgama* records that if the embryo-entering consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) does not enter the womb (i.e., the fertilized ovum) successfully, then the name-and-form would not develop into the subsequent physical body. At the stage of the fertilized ovum, “form” refers to the fertilized ovum itself, while “name” does not refer to the six consciousnesses. Therefore, “name” metaphorically refers to *manas*. The World-Honored One has thus taught the existence of the seventh and eighth consciousnesses in the *Mahāyāna* or *Two Vehicles sūtras*. Proponents of the six-consciousnesses theory inevitably fall into the misconception of equating meditative concentration (*samādhi*) with Chan (unique contemplative wisdom) in their cultivation. They advocate that “when thoughts are extinguished, the *dharma* body (*dharmakāya*) comes alive,” hoping to achieve a state of no thought. Nevertheless, they refer to the conscious mind in such a state as the *dharmakaya*, based on a passage in the *Mahāyāna sūtras* that states, “The *dharma* does not see, hear, perceive, or know.” However, is the *dharmakaya* or the *dharma* beyond the sensory perception equivalent to the state of no thought? Is the telos of Buddhist practice really the pursuit of a conscious

mind devoid of cognition and sensation? If so, how would they differentiate and comprehend their surroundings and then engage with mundane existence, comprehending and studying the sūtras and dharma? This demonstrates that cultivating Buddhist dharma based on the six-consciousnesses theory is incorrect. Conversely, how might one navigate the complexities of practice if one were to cultivate and realize the dharmakāya of eighth consciousness based on the eight consciousnesses while allowing the first seven consciousnesses deal with daily life easily? To follow the Eight Consciousnesses of Buddhism as taught by the Buddha, most importantly, one should engage in "text study," utilize "linguistic-analytic hermeneutics," "historical hermeneutics," and "critical hermeneutics" to understand the profound meanings behind the development of Buddhist thought. One must pay attention to the correct interpretation of traditional cultural classics and thinking. If there is any misinterpretation, subsequent elucidations will go astray and may cause Buddhism to become a formalistic discussion. Fortunately, the extant Three-Vehicle scriptures are still available. Then, one should apply "creative hermeneutics" to adapt these meanings to contemporary times and contexts, fostering innovative interpretations. Finally, one should employ "integrative hermeneutics" to facilitate cultural convergence across local and international cultures, as well as academic fields, culminating in the creation of an indigenous social science theory that reflects the Eight Consciousnesses of Buddhism. This issue features three articles: 1. "A Narrative Study on the Psychological Transformation of a Buddhist Female Family Caregiver" by Hung (2025); 2. "Healing After Life Crises: The Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model" by Du, et al., (2025); and 3. "A Preliminary Study of Couples Who Lived Separately Amidst the Covid-19 Pandemic" by Chor and Tan (2025). Each article adopts a qualitative research approach to examine the psychological processes and adjustment strategies employed during life crises. The first article, which addresses Buddhist interpretation, merits special attention. Professor Lai was invited to collaboratively author the "From Editor in Chief" for this issue, and we, the editors-in-chief, wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to him.

Keywords: eight-consciousnesses theory, six-consciousnesses theory, ālayavijñāna, Buddhism Hermeneutics, Indigenous Social Science

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I. The Importance of Buddhist Interpretation in Indigenous Social Science Research

Buddhism is a significant religious and cultural tradition that originated in Asia and serves as a valuable cultural asset for indigenous social science research. The term "indigenization(本土化)" involves the notions of "root(本),"referring to cultural traditions, and"earth(土),"pertaining to local life experiences. The indigenization of social sciences aims to integrate these disciplines with cultural traditions and local life experiences (Wang, 2016b; Wang et al., 2024). Therefore, by combining social sciences with Buddhist cultural traditions and local life experiences, it is possible to conduct indigenous social science research on acculturative indigenization and enculturative indigenization, especially theoretical construction research (Wang, 2016a, 2017, 2019; Wang et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2024a, 2024b). The principal methods used for indigenization theory construction research are: "Epistemological strategy for constructing culture-inclusive theories" (Hwang, 2018, 2019) and "Indigenous Social Science Creative Hermeneutics" (Wang, 2020, 2023, 2024, 2025; Wang et al., 2024a, 2024b). These approaches can be used to construct indigenous social science theories that incorporate Buddhist culture. However, in the process of using "indigenous social science creative hermeneutics" to promote cultural inclusion, we must pay attention to the correct interpretation of traditional cultural classics and perspectives. If there is any misunderstanding, the subsequent interpretation will also go astray (Wang et al., 2024b). Therefore, to conduct indigenous social science research that incorporates Buddhist culture, ensuring accurate Buddhist interpretation is crucial.

II. Exploration of the Interpretation of Buddhism

One of the core discussion points in exploring the true Dharma of Buddhism is the dialectical and interpretive work of the Eight-Consciousnesses Theory. For those who practice or study Buddhism, there has always been a theory of six consciousnesses or eight consciousnesses. This theory explains that human beings have six consciousnesses, namely visual consciousness, auditory consciousness, olfactory consciousness, gustatory consciousness, tactile consciousness, and mental consciousness, or eight consciousnesses, consisting of the six consciousnesses plus the *manas* consciousness and *Alaya* consciousness [*ālayavijñāna*]. The theory of six or eight consciousnesses has long been a puzzling issue that requires clarification. The Buddha mentioned in Buddhist scriptures that human beings have eight consciousnesses,

as seen in the *Lankavatara Sūtras*: "Mahāmati! *Ālī yé shí [ālayavijñāna]* is called *tathāgatagarbha*, and it is present together with the seven consciousnesses corresponding to ignorance." This means that the "*ālayavijñāna*" is also called "*Tathagata-garbha*," and the seven *vijñānas* corresponding to ignorance exist simultaneously in the same place. Most Buddhist learners are familiar with the six consciousnesses but are relatively unfamiliar with the seventh consciousness, the *manas*, and the eighth consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*. Additionally, they seldom hear about how these two consciousnesses function, making it difficult for them to accept that they also exist in human beings.

In the *Heart Sūtras*, the following is written:

"Shariputra! Form is not different from emptiness, emptiness is not different from form; form is emptiness, emptiness is form; the same is true of feeling, perception, mental formations and consciousness. Shariputra! These dharmas are empty in nature, neither arising nor ceasing, neither defiled nor pure, neither increasing nor decreasing."

The foregoing passage is well known and easy for most Buddhist learners to remember, as it contains the secret meaning of the *ālayavijñāna*. However, if, based on the experience of practicing Zen meditation, the conscious mind is focused on one place or the consciousness is in a state free from thoughts, then for human beings, there seems to be no difference between form and emptiness. They might think that such a state reflects what the *Heart Sūtras* states: "Form is not different from emptiness; emptiness is not different from form." As there is no difference between form and emptiness, the six realms of sense, such as form, are equivalent to emptiness. Suppose we misunderstand the concept of emptiness in Buddhism and mistakenly interpret the emptiness of nothing as the true emptiness that is neither born nor destroyed. In that case, the conclusion is that all dharmas are neither born nor destroyed, neither dirty nor clean, and neither increasing nor decreasing, which seems self-explanatory. However, most Buddhists struggle to explain the following subsequent statement in the *Heart Sūtras*:

In the void there is no form, no feeling, no perception, no volition, no consciousness; no eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, or mind; no form, sound, smell, taste, or touch; no eye realm, and even no consciousness realm; no ignorance, nor an end to ignorance, even no old age and death, nor an end to old age and death; no suffering, no accumulation, no cessation, no path; no wisdom, and no attainment."

The meaning of the line "There is no form in the air, no eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, or mind, and even no old age and death" remains particularly unclear. Whether you focus your consciousness on one thing or let your consciousness remain in a state where no thoughts arise, objectively speaking, the material world in the void still exists. The statement of the Six-

Consciousnesses Theory, which places the mind in one place, can only be roughly explained as the conscious mind being unable to distinguish between the six realms of dust, such as form. Based on this understanding, form does not temporarily exist. However, this cannot adequately explain the fact that the five sense organs of human beings—the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body—always exist and do not disappear simply because the conscious mind cannot distinguish between the six sense objects. Moreover, the phenomenon of human beings gradually aging and dying also occurs in their physical bodies. Therefore, Buddhists who believe that human beings possess only six consciousnesses cannot truly grasp the meaning of the aforementioned passage in the *Heart Sūtras*, leaving their doubts unresolved.

The reason one may fall into the theory of six consciousnesses could stem from insufficient wisdom in practicing Buddhism or a lack of opportunity to hear about the eight consciousnesses in the *sūtras*. Consequently, it becomes naturally difficult for someone to accept the idea that human beings have eight consciousnesses, let alone attain a deeper understanding of this idea. Alternatively, if individuals are unable to enter the realm of Buddhism or are unaware of the correct practice of Buddhism, they might mistakenly believe that engaging in meditation equates to practicing Buddhism. However, practicing meditation without the guidance of a good teacher could lead to delusions or drowsiness. Additionally, they may confuse the act of doing good deeds with learning Buddhism and assume that learning Buddhism is synonymous with performing good deeds, thereby equating good deeds with Buddhist practice. All of these may explain why such individuals lack the conditions to hear the true Buddhist Dharma of the Eight Consciousnesses.

Buddhism certainly includes doing good deeds, but it is not limited to them. In addition to the theories of giving, precepts, and rebirth in heaven, Buddhism also encompasses the Three Vehicles of Bodhi: the Bodhi of the Śrāvakas, the Bodhi of the Pratyekabuddhas, and the Bodhi of the Buddhas. If we consider purely the theories of giving, precepts, and rebirth in heaven, we can say that Buddhism includes doing good and practicing meditation, as giving, observing precepts, and performing the ten good deeds can benefit others or, at the very least, not cause harm, thus manifesting the essence of doing good. Practicing meditation can lead to rebirth in either the realm of form or the realm of formlessness. However, the more important goal of Buddhist practice is to liberate human beings from the bondage of the three realms of afflictions. Therefore, doing good deeds, cultivating concentration, and practicing wisdom are all essential. The correct knowledge and insights required to cultivate concentration and wisdom must be acquired from scriptures or true, virtuous teachers. As the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtras* states: To remove afflictions, one cannot rely solely on concentration or wisdom. One must "first move

them with concentration, then remove them with wisdom." Because the fundamental afflictions of sentient beings are deeply rooted and difficult to shake, it is necessary to first use concentration to loosen them, and then apply wisdom to eliminate them entirely. Just like wooden stakes nailed deep into the ground, it is hard to remove them directly. One must first shake them, moving them back and forth, left and right, to loosen them, and then they can be easily removed. As troubles are invisible and formless, where do they exist among human beings? In fact, the troubles of human beings reside within their hearts. Therefore, cultivation focuses on nurturing the mind.

However, the power of the mind is so profound that it often transcends the understanding and imagination of human beings. Therefore, the Buddha said in Volume 19 of the *Avatamsaka Sūtras*:

"The mind is like a skilled painter, able to paint all the worlds. The five aggregates are all born from them, and nothing is not created.... If one wishes to know all the Buddhas of the past, present, and future, one should contemplate the nature of the Dharma Realm, for everything is created by the mind alone."

The above scripture passage explains the true mind. The true mind is like a painter who excels at detailed paintings, capable of depicting all kinds of material worlds in the three realms and representing the five aggregates of all sentient beings. There is no dharma in the three realms that is not created by this mind. If you want to know the origins of the Buddhas of the ten directions and three periods of time, you should observe the differences in the functions and natures of all dharmas within the three realms. They are all created directly, indirectly, and sequentially by the mind. However, all Buddhists must understand which is the true mind that can create all things. Therefore, correctly understanding that the human mind has six or eight consciousnesses can be said to be the most important aspect of practicing Buddhism.

III. Six and Eight Consciousnesses

There is no doubt that human beings have at least six levels of consciousness. We can confirm the existence of these six consciousnesses from our daily experience. For example, when entering a restaurant to eat, most of us will first use our eyes to observe the surrounding environment, thereby activating our visual consciousness. Next, we immediately feel the temperature and noise in the restaurant, prompting our bodily and auditory consciousnesses to respond accordingly. When the food is served, our tongue and olfactory consciousness also begin to engage, helping us determine whether the food is too salty, has a pleasant aroma, and

so on. While the five senses are active, the mental consciousness functions simultaneously, providing a deeper and more nuanced understanding of them. For instance, we can further discern whether the restaurant's environment, temperature, and music are pleasing or uncomfortable, assess the aroma of the dishes, determine if the sweetness and saltiness of each dish are just right and enjoyable, and evaluate whether the price is justified. Therefore, in daily life, human beings can sense the existence and operation of the six consciousnesses at any time and in any place. However, while the six consciousnesses are functioning, Buddhism further posits that the seventh mind root—*manas*, and the eighth *ālayavijñāna* are simultaneously at work. The operations of these two consciousnesses are so subtle that most people find it difficult to comprehend or observe them. Consequently, seeking answers from Buddhist scriptures to verify how many consciousnesses human sentient beings possess is a reasonable and acceptable approach. This allows Buddhists to gain a preliminary understanding of how the Buddha addressed the question of the number of consciousnesses of human sentient beings, 2,500 years ago. After the Buddha attained Nirvana in India, the scriptures compiled by his disciples can be broadly categorized into the Hinayana (the scriptures of the Two Vehicles) and the Mahayana (the scriptures of the Great Vehicles). Relevant discussions can thus be found in the sūtras of both the Two Vehicles and the Mahayana.

IV. Description of the Eight Consciousnesses in the Two-Vehicles Sūtras

In the 47th volume of the *Madhyama Āgama sūtras*, the following is stated:

"Ananda! If a bhikkhu sees the eighteen realms and knows them as they really are: the realm of eye, the realm of form, the realm of visual consciousness; the realm of ear, the realm of sound, the realm of auditory consciousness; the realm of nose, the realm of fragrance, the realm of olfactory consciousness; the realm of tongue, the realm of taste, the realm of gustatory consciousness; the realm of body, the realm of touch, the realm of tactile consciousness; the realm of mind, the realm of dharma, the realm of mental consciousness. Ananda! See these eighteen realms and know them as they really are." The foregoing means that if a monk can truly understand the connotation and function of the eighteen realms, then his knowledge and understanding are correct and true. The eighteen realms consist of the six faculty realms, the six sense object realms, and the six consciousness realms, which represent the functional distinctions of the six faculties, six sense objects, and six consciousnesses. The six sense organs are the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind; the six dusts are the form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and dharma; and the six consciousnesses are the visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory,

tactile, and mental consciousnesses. In the above passage, the Buddha clearly points out that human beings have six sense organs and six consciousnesses. It is relatively easy for ordinary Buddhists to observe and understand that human beings have five material roots, namely the eye root, ear root, nose root, tongue root, and body root. However, it is more difficult to understand the non-material root of the mind. In Mahayana Buddhism, the mental root is the *manas* consciousness, which will be further discussed later.

Let us first discuss how the six consciousnesses arise. In Volume 9 of the *Samyukta Āgamas*, the Buddha tells the bhikkhus the following:

The eye is conditioned by form, and visual consciousness arises. Why? If visual consciousness arises, then the eye is conditioned by form, the ear is conditioned by sound, the nose is conditioned by fragrance, the tongue is conditioned by taste, and the mind is conditioned by dharma then the conscious mind arises. Why? All various conscious minds arise because they are conditioned by the mind and dharma. This is called a bhikkhu: Visual consciousness is born due to causes and conditions, and even up to the conscious mind is born due to causes and conditions. "

The above passage means that the arising of visual consciousness is dependent on the eye faculty and visual objects. By the same logic, just as visual consciousness arises due to the eye faculty and visual objects as causes and conditions, the auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mental consciousnesses also arise when the ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind roots come into contact with sound, smell, taste, touch, and dharma, respectively. The principle that consciousness arises from the contact between these roots and dust, and that the mental consciousness arises from the contact between the mind-root and the dharma dust can be seen everywhere in the *Āgamas sūtras*. In this way, the six consciousnesses plus the mind-root make seven consciousnesses. Furthermore, in addition to the six consciousnesses, the existence of the seventh and eighth consciousnesses is implicitly mentioned in the *Āgamas sūtras*.

The 24th volume of the *Madhyama Āgama Sūtra* contains the following passage: "...If someone asks, 'What is the cause of name and form?' The answer should be 'It is caused by consciousness.' You should know that name and form are caused by consciousness. Ananda! If consciousness does not enter the mother's womb, would there be name and form to form a body?" The answer is no. "Ananda! If consciousness enters the womb and then comes out, will name and form be refined?" The answer is no. "Ananda! If the consciousness of a young boy or girl is initially destroyed and no longer exists, will name and form gradually increase?" The answer is no.

The meaning of the above scripture passage is that two dharmas of name and form must have a consciousness as a condition to exist. If this consciousness does not enter the mother's womb, there will be no achievement of name and form. If this consciousness leaves after entering the womb and does not remain in the mother's womb, the name cannot be combined with the fertilized ovum (form) to become a fetal body. If this consciousness is interrupted or destroyed after giving birth to a boy or girl's body, the name and form of five aggregates of the boy or girl will not be able to grow into an adult. That is to say, human beings already have the two concepts of name and form when they are fertilized in the ovum. The material form at this time is, of course, the fertilized ovum, and the name element at this time cannot be the first six consciousnesses because the five material sense organs have not yet developed. Thus, the five consciousnesses cannot arise from the contact between sense organs and sense objects. In addition, because there are no five dusts, there are no dharma dusts, so there will be no consciousness. Therefore, the name of "the conditioned consciousness with name and form" cannot be the first six consciousnesses, but the name in the fertilized ovum name-and-form cannot be the consciousness that enters the womb because the sūtras clearly states: "If the consciousness enters the womb and then exits, the name and form will not be refined." This means that the three dharmas of name, form, and consciousness coexist simultaneously. It also means that if the consciousness that enters the womb is not interrupted or does not perish after the birth of a boy or girl, the name and form of the five aggregates of the boy or girl will continue to grow and create the five form roots. At this time, sentient beings can live in the human world by relying on the functions of the eighteen realms, that is, they have all six sense organs, six dusts, and six consciousnesses. However, from the time that the consciousness enters the mother's womb to the time that the five aggregates of name and form of the boy or girl grow into an adult, where is the root of the mind? The mind root already exists in the fertilized ovum position. In fact, the mind root is the name of the fertilized ovum position. The mind-root is a formless root, which is also called "*manas*" in Mahayana sūtras and the embryo-entering consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) that enters the mother's womb is the eighth consciousness.

In addition to the implicit reference to the seventh consciousness (*manas*, mind-root) and the eighth embryo-entering consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) in Volume 24 of the *Madhyama Āgama Sūtra*, the Buddha also provided further insight into the nature of the *ālayavijñāna* in the sūtras of the Two Vehicles. The 23rd volume of the *Samyukta Āgamas* states the following:

"The Buddha said to Rahula, 'Well done! Well done! You can ask the Tathagata: 'How can I know and see my consciousness and all external phenomena so that I can be free from the attachment to myself, my perceptions, and my pride?'" Rahula replied to the Buddha, 'That's

right, World Honored One!' The Buddha then said to Rahula, 'Well done! Listen carefully! Listen carefully! Think about it carefully, and I will tell you. Rahula! You should observe all the forms, whether past, future, or present, whether internal, external, coarse, or subtle, whether good or bad, whether far or near. All of them are not me, not different from me, and do not include each other. This is the correct view of equal wisdom. In the same way, feelings, perceptions, volitions, and consciousness—whether they are past, future, or present, internal or external, coarse or subtle, good or bad, far or near—are not me, not different from me, and do not include each other. This is the correct view of equal wisdom."

In the foregoing passage, the Buddha addresses Rahula's question regarding how to perceive the consciousness body and all the states outside it. The purpose is to help Buddhist disciples rid themselves of the ego and not be held back by ego and arrogance.

The Buddha instructed Rahula: We should observe our five aggregates, namely form, feeling, perception, volition, and consciousness. Whether they are past, present, or future, internal or external, coarse or fine, good or ugly, or far or near, all five aggregates are not the real self, but they are not different from the real self either. The five aggregates and the self-coexist but cannot be confused as one. This indicates that beyond the conventional self-comprised of the five aggregates, there exists a true self, but this true self and the conventional self of the five aggregates are not merged as one entity. Therefore, when the five aggregates perish, the true self will not perish, and the true self and the mind root will leave the false self of the five aggregates. In the future, when the right conditions arise, the true self will enter the fertilized egg, and another false self with five aggregates will be born. In this way, as long as the craving for the three realms is not severed, sentient beings will continue to reincarnate within the three realms of birth and death.

V. Overview of the Mahayana Sūtras on the Eight Consciousnesses

In the Two-Vehicle sūtras, the seventh consciousness—the *manas* consciousness—and the eighth consciousness—the *ālayavijñāna*—are mentioned briefly. The Mahayana sūtras provide a detailed description of these two consciousnesses. Volume 8 of the *Lankavatara Sūtras* explicitly states that human beings possess eight consciousnesses. Bodhisattva Xuanzang quotes the *Mahayana Abhidharma Sūtras* in Volume 3 of the *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi Sastra* (Cheng Wei-Shih Lun) to elaborate on how the eight consciousnesses give rise to all dharmas. The sūtras declares: "Since time immemorial, all dharmas depend on it. Due to this, there are various destinies and the attainment of *nirvāṇa*." This indicates that the *ālayavijñāna* has

existed since the beginning of time and serves as the root of all dharmas, which originate from it. Because of the *ālayavijñāna*, the karma generated by sentient beings persists, leading to their experiences across the six realms of reincarnation and different paths to attain *nirvana*. In the *Avatamsaka Sūtras*, the Buddha teaches the following:

"In addition, because of the annihilation of the future roots and the five sense objects, ordinary and foolish people believe that they have attained *nirvana*. When the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas attain self- enlightenment, they transform the *ālayavijñāna* and obtain the original enlightenment."

The above passage suggests that misguided individuals from the Two Vehicles, lacking a proper understanding of Buddhism, mistakenly think that escaping the suffering caused by birth and death in the Three Realms involves stopping the birth of the five aggregates in the future, equating their annihilation with *nirvana*. Unaware of the eighth consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*, which is unborn and indestructible, they fail to see that the true state of *nirvana* is the existence of *ālayavijñāna* alone. They wrongly believe that nirvana is merely the destruction of the five aggregates. Because they do not recognize the true existence of the eighth consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*, which is an unborn and indestructible mind, they do not realize that the true state of *nirvana* is the state in which the *ālayavijñāna* exists alone. They mistakenly believe that *nirvana* is simply the annihilation of the five aggregates. However, the *nirvana* described by the Buddha is not about obliterating emptiness. The genuine nature of the *nirvana* attained by all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas is the *ālayavijñāna*, known as "the original pure *nirvana* of one's nature." This "pure *nirvana* of one's nature" can be perceived and experienced without needing to extinguish all roots or the five sense realms. After attaining enlightenment, one turns toward the already pure, perfect, and non-discriminatory *ālayavijñāna*, which fosters wisdom without discrimination. This is referred to as "attaining the original enlightenment."

In the *Vimalakirti Sūtras*, there is a more detailed description of the nature of the *ālayavijñāna* in the three realms, as follows:

"Not perceiving is Bodhi, because it is free from all causes; ... knowing is Bodhi, because it understands the minds and actions of all sentient beings; not knowing is Bodhi, because it does not know all the entrances."

The above passage means that there is a Bodhi mind that does not see forms, hear sounds, smell fragrances, taste flavors, feel touch, or know dharma. It does not know or understand the six dusts of the six sense organs. Therefore, Bodhisattva Vimalakirti said: "Not knowing is Bodhi, because it does not know all the entrances." However, this bodhicitta is aware of all the needs of sentient beings' seven consciousnesses and works in coordination with them. Therefore,

Bodhisattva Vimalakirti also said: "Knowing is Bodhi, because it understands the minds and actions of all sentient beings." This Bodhicitta is certainly not the sixth consciousness, nor is it the mind-root among the seven consciousnesses, but the eighth consciousness, the *ālayavijñāna*, because the six consciousnesses and the mind-root are both aware of the state of the mind. This description of the *ālayavijñāna* as being unaware of the six dusts is consistent with the "emptiness" Dharma nature as stated in the *Heart Sūtras*:

"In the void there is no form, no feeling, no thought, no consciousness; no eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, or mind; no form, sound, smell, taste, or touch; no eye realm, and even up to no consciousness realm; no ignorance, nor an end to ignorance, even up to no old age and death, nor an end to old age and death; no suffering, no accumulation, no cessation, no path; no wisdom, and no attainment."

There is no difference between the *ālayavijñāna*'s lack of awareness of the six dusts and the "emptiness" Dharma nature. The *Heart Sūtras* also says: "Form is not different from emptiness; emptiness is not different from form. Form is emptiness; emptiness is form. The same is true of feeling, perception, volition and consciousness." This also means that the essence behind all material and mental laws is born from the "empty mind" *ālayavijñāna*. That is to say, the "empty mind" *ālayavijñāna* is the root of the birth of material and mental laws. Therefore, the *ālayavijñāna* is said to be the reality of the Dharma Realm and it really exists. Therefore, although the nature of the *ālayavijñāna* is described in different aspects in different sūtras, and although the descriptions are different, the nature described is consistent without any contradiction.

Additionally, most Buddhist practitioners have already developed a robust understanding of how consciousness interprets the external world. Yet, the idea that the mind root has some awareness of external conditions remains somewhat unclear. In the "Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana," Bodhisattva Āśvaghoṣa states the following:

"This 'mind' has five different names. One is karma consciousness, which signifies that the mind is unaware of its movements due to ignorance. The second is revolving consciousness, meaning that the mind perceives the external environment based on its movements. The third is present consciousness, which acknowledges all environmental appearances, similar to how a bright mirror reflects various images. When the five sense objects are present, they are immediately reflected, without sequential order and without effort. The fourth is wisdom consciousness, which differentiates between defilement and purity. The fifth is continuous consciousness, which consistently aligns with intention, preserving past good and bad karmas

to avoid destruction and nurturing present and future suffering and happiness without transgression."

The above passage implies that the mind-root has five different names. One of them, "karma consciousness," arises because the ignorance karma stored in the *ālayavijñāna* can align with the mind-root, leading to the flow of seeds, as in the conscious mind. This relationship is linked to the power of ignorance, which causes the six consciousnesses—seeing, hearing, and knowing, and so on—to emerge and generate karma. Given this attribute, the mind-root is termed "karma consciousness."

The second designation for the mind-root is evolving consciousness. As the six consciousnesses engage within the three realms of dust, their coordinated actions allow the conscious mind to discern beauty and ugliness, superiority and inferiority, as well as good and bad in the six dust realms. While the conscious mind observes the six dust realms, the mind-root is concurrently aware of them through the six consciousnesses, influencing decisions about whether to continue enjoying or avoid this realm. Hence, the mind-root is known as evolving consciousness, and the six consciousnesses and it are collectively called the seven evolving consciousnesses because these seven functions operate with the guest dust realm.

The third alias of the mind-root is "present consciousness." This means that the mind-root is the consciousness capable of manifesting the *ālayavijñāna*, which can reflect all six dust realms like a mirror showing images of all beings. When humans encounter the five dusts through their five roots, without any preceding or succeeding actions, the eighth consciousness will reveal the internal aspects of these six dusts. Once the mind-root interacts with this, the conscious mind becomes evident. However, the *ālayavijñāna* does not inherently showcase the five dusts and dharma dusts; its manifestation requires the intention of the mind-root. That is why the mind root is termed present consciousness. What does the mind-root's intention consist of? In Volume 1 of the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*, Bodhisattva Nagarjuna states the following, "Furthermore, the cause and condition of birth and death is that all living beings are dependent on the mind and consciousness. What does this mean? The *ālayavijñāna*, burdened by ignorance and unawareness, generates the capacity to perceive, manifest, and grasp the realm. This ongoing distinction is termed the 'mind.'"

The above passage indicates that the causes and conditions for the emergence or cessation of all dharmas arise from the interplay of the *ālayavijñāna*, the mind-root, and the conscious mind. What is the significance of this statement? The *ālayavijñāna* holds the tainted latent ignorance from endless time and momentary ignorance, prompting the mind-root to respond to the seeds of ignorance within the *ālayavijñāna*. This interaction allows the *ālayavijñāna* to

bring forth the functional potentialities of sentient beings to perceive, manifest, and comprehend the realm, enabling the mind-root to persist in distinguishing dharmas. The fourth alias of the mind-root is “wisdom and consciousness,” referring to the coinciding presence of both. The inherent discernment ability of the mind-root is initially limited to recognizing significant changes in dharmas. However, when it collaborates with the conscious mind, it can effectively differentiate between pure and defiled dharmas and respond swiftly. Thus, the mind-root is termed “wisdom and consciousness.” The mind-root serves as the foundational basis for the conscious mind. In human life, except in instances where the mental consciousness does not manifest, such as in dreamless sleep, fainting, entering states of no-thought, or extinction, the mind-root and the mental consciousness must work in conjunction with one another.

The fifth alias of the mind-root is “successive consciousness.” Why this name? Bodhisattva Nagarjuna suggested that the mind-root is “constantly in accordance with intention,” indicating that it always harbors an intention: to remain uninterrupted and to be in control at all times and everywhere. This intention has existed since countless past kalpas and will persist into infinite future kalpas. Unless and until an arhat achieves *nirvana*, the mind-root will continually retain this intention. Furthermore, due to the mind-root’s inherent tendency to grasp, past accumulated good and bad karma will neither fade nor vanish; instead, it will be held by the mind-root and stored in the eighth consciousness. When the circumstances are favorable, this karma will surface and manifest consequences. Thus, suffering and happiness results are inherently linked, as the mind-root represents continuous consciousness.

VI. Clarification of the Eight Consciousnesses in Buddhism

Both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana sūtras* convey that the seventh consciousness, known as the mind-root, along with the eighth consciousness, *ālayavijñāna*, works in harmony with the first six consciousnesses present in human beings' physical bodies. However, due to the very subtle nature of these two consciousnesses, it can be challenging for sentient beings to grasp their essences. As a result, the theory of six consciousnesses, which suggests that humans have only six consciousnesses, is widespread in Buddhism, where meditation serves as the central method and objective of practice. The most well-known approach is to improve concentration rigorously, hoping to reach a thought-free state that subdues delusions completely and “kills thoughts,” allowing the Dharma body to be rejuvenated. Supporters of the six-consciousness theory often misunderstand it by misreading the *Mahayana sūtras* and teachings. For example, Volume 11 of the *Mahāvaiṣṭhī Sūtras* states: “The Dharma cannot be seen, heard, felt, or

known. If one practices seeing, hearing, feeling, and knowing, then seeing, hearing, feeling, and knowing are not the pursuit of the Dharma." This highlights that the true Dharma, which is neither born nor destroyed—namely, the eighth *ālayavijñāna*—is devoid of seeing, hearing, feeling, and knowing, and does not recognize the six dusts. This teaching echoes the wisdom of Bodhisattva Vimalakirti: "Not knowing is Bodhi, because it does not know all the entrances."

If learning Buddhism can truly eradicate thoughts, then people would either permit their conscious minds to exist in a thoughtless state or control them to remain undisturbed. But how can such a conscious mind perceive the environment around it? It resembles a video that either disappears entirely or freezes on a single frame. How can individuals understand its meaning and content? Without the ability to perceive their surroundings, how can they navigate life's challenges and thrive? Therefore, the notion that humans possess just six consciousnesses and that cultivating one's conscious mind to achieve a thoughtless state denotes practicing Buddhism is evidently flawed. Even if one reaches a state free of thoughts and succeeds in meditating, it remains within the state of the conscious mind; similar to how the conscious mind diminishes after anesthesia, it differs significantly from the essence of Mahayana Buddha Bodhi enlightenment, as encapsulated in the phrase, "the great dragon is always in meditation," and has little connection to Buddhahood. This interpretation of the six consciousnesses strays from the authentic teachings of Buddhism. Thus, someone who practices Buddhism rooted in the six-consciousnesses theory, believing that achieving a state where no thoughts arise equates to enlightenment, will not only struggle to engage appropriately in the human realm but also misunderstand the Buddha's teachings upon reaching this so-called enlightened state. This misunderstanding will lead to erroneous views and knowledge about Buddhism, ultimately misleading both themselves and others.

The Buddha explained: "When an arhat achieves complete nirvana, the eighteen realms are entirely extinguished." This implies that complete nirvana signifies that "the future existence is forever extinguished," which encompasses the eighteen realms related to future life—specifically the six sense organs, six sense objects, and six consciousnesses. It emphasizes that human existence relies solely on the functioning of these six components. To clarify this sacred teaching, adherents of the six-consciousness theory in Sectarian Buddhism liken the mind-root to the seed of fading conscious mind, analogous to seeds that emerge after flowers wilt. For instance, Sthiramati remarks in Volume 1 of his *Mahayana Five Aggregates Treatise* that "The mind-realm is that which is extinguished without interval, etc., to illustrate the foundation of the sixth consciousness and to define the eighteen realms." This denotes that to highlight the foundation of the sixth consciousness and delineate the eighteen realms, it is the

preceding conscious mind that extinguishes without discontinuity (i.e., the seed after the conscious mind fades serves as the foundation of the conscious mind) that is recognized as the mind-root. In essence, what Sthiramati identifies as the mind-root is essentially the seed of the former mental consciousness that has been extinguished. He thus contends that the mind-root is merely another term for the mental consciousness, utilized to round out the theory encompassing the eighteen realms (consisting of six faculties, six sense objects, and six consciousnesses).

The foregoing statement contradicts *Mahayana sūtras*, such as the previously mentioned 'Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana,' where Bodhisattva Āśvaghoṣa not only clearly points out the existence of *manas* (mind-root), but also describes its nature in detail. What is puzzling is that Venerable Sthiramati sometimes says that *manas* is merely another name for the conscious mind. Yet in the same treatise, he describes the nature of *manas* in detail, as in Volume 1 of 'Mahayana Extensive Five Aggregates Treatise,' where he states: **'The supreme *manas* refers to the consciousness that takes *ālaya-vijñāna* as its object, and is perpetually associated with self-delusion, self-view, self-conceit, and self-love, continuing in this manner from before to after.'** This means that the most supreme *manas* is a consciousness that takes the various functional distinctions of the eighth consciousness as its own realm. From beginningless time, it has been continuously associated with self-delusion, self-view, self-conceit, and self-love, maintaining this nature without changing throughout.

From the two aforementioned passages by Venerable Sthiramati, we can clearly discover contradictions in his statements. His earlier text indicates that *manas* is merely the fallen seed of the conscious mind. If the seed has already fallen, how can it be continuously associated with the afflictions of self-delusion, self-view, self-conceit, and self-love? If we follow the explanation of Venerable Sthiramati and other six-consciousness theorists—that *manas* is the seed of the conscious mind—then these inherent qualities would be latent and not yet arisen, manifesting only after the conscious mind arises. If this were the case, there would be no need to establish *manas* separately, or even to establish afflictions associated with *manas*. Therefore, their explanation is not self-consistent because the mental consciousness's superior discernment of the six sense objects is incompatible with *manas*'s inferior discerning wisdom regarding the six sense objects.

Proponents of the six-consciousness theory include not only ancient figures such as Venerable Sthiramati but also modern scholars with similar views. For example, Venerable Yin shun (2011) states the following in his book *'My religious views '*:

“As for the *manas* that the conscious mind (in fact, also the five consciousnesses) depends on, this can be described as past cognitive activities (or called "past extinct mind"), but it is actually the accumulation of past cognition, forming a latent internal mind (or called "the combination of various consciousnesses named as one mind"—"the present mind"). This is not easily self-evident to ordinary people, yet it is the source of everything—the six consciousnesses. To give an example (previously using the analogy of ocean water that waves depend on): The six consciousnesses are like spring water flowing from mountain rocks, while *manas* is like an underground water source. Underground water is generally invisible, yet it exists deep below the ground. Where does underground water come from? It comes from rainwater and water flow that seep and store beneath the ground. *Manas* is the same, originating from past cognition, which has passed away, disappeared, yet transformed into a latent "subtle consciousness" within. In Mahayana Buddhism, it is further differentiated into *manas-vijñāna* and *ālayavijñāna*. **What is transformed from past mental consciousness** (encompassing the six consciousnesses), unified, subtle and latent *manas*, is extremely important in understanding the "human mind"! **"Human mind" is not merely the ordinary five consciousnesses and the mental consciousness.**”

In the above passage, Venerable Yin shun clearly asserts that *manas-vijñāna* and *ālayavijñāna* are merely parts of the mental consciousness, and under his influence, the theory that sentient humans have only six consciousnesses has become widely popular.

However, one of the difficult doctrinal problems that proponents of the six-consciousness theory, who advocate that human beings have only six consciousnesses, must face is this: How can the conscious mind, which can exist for only one life, be connected to the karma of the three lives during the process of human reincarnation? In Volume 7 of the *Madhyamika-karika*, Tsongkhapa said: "It is allowed that the mind that can take on a future existence is the conscious mind. It is also allowed that the conscious mind is the object of all defiled and pure phenomena.” This means that what can take on the afterlife is the conscious mind, and the conscious mind is also the object of all defiled and pure dharmas. Tsongkhapa used this statement to solve the difficult doctrinal problems he faced, but based on current observations, we can recognize that the conscious mind is the awareness that distinguishes between defiled and pure dharmas. The conscious mind can relate to all defiled and pure dharmas, rather than that defiled and pure dharmas are related to the conscious mind. In Mahayana Buddhism, which is based on the theory of the eight consciousnesses, the *ālayavijñāna* is the object of all pure and defiled dharmas. That is to say, all pure and defiled dharmas can appear is due to the flow of the seeds of the *ālayavijñāna*, and the flow of the seeds of the *ālayavijñāna* is due to the intention of the

manas consciousness. Therefore, it is obvious that Tsongkhapa's words transfer the self-nature that originally belonged to the manas and ālayavijñāna to the conscious mind.

The arising, abiding, changing, and extinction of the conscious mind are readily observable. During dreamless sleep, humans cannot notice subtle changes in their environments. For instance, mosquitos may enter their rooms at night and repeatedly bite them. In such moments, individuals often remain oblivious to their feelings. It is only when they notice swelling and itchiness from several bites that they wake up to swat away the mosquitoes. This experience sharply contrasts with daytime situations. When a mosquito approaches during the day, people typically react swiftly to repel it. This behavior suggests that sentient human mental consciousness is absent during dreamless sleep. Consequently, human sentient mental consciousness is fragmented and discontinuous from one day to the next. Given this interruption, it becomes evident how past conscious mind can awaken the subsequent conscious mind in relation to the next state. Moreover, if manas and the ālayavijñāna are merely components of the conscious mind, then the interruption of human conscious mind would also disrupt manas and the ālayavijñāna. This raises the question of how the karmic outcomes of the three lives of humans are interconnected.

In his book, *My Religious Views*, Venerable Yin shun (2011) contends that manas and the ālayavijñāna are merely subtle forms of consciousness. He notes, "The mind-root is the same. It originates from past cognition, which has passed and disappeared but has been transformed into a 'subtle consciousness' latent within. In Mahayana Buddhism, they are further divided into manas and the ālayavijñāna." However, the understanding of cognition from Tsongkhapa that Venerable Yin shun inherits contradicts Mahayana Buddhist principles. Misinterpreting manas and the ālayavijñāna, supporters of the six-consciousness theory argue that both represent only a fraction of the essence of the six-consciousnesses, which they label subtle consciousness. Consequently, it is easy to see why some erroneously think that silencing the conscious mind results in enlightenment and represents true Buddhist practice. This misunderstanding is illustrated by the following saying among proponents of the six-consciousness theory: "Kill thoughts and your Dharma body will live." This highlights that one cannot attain enlightenment or genuinely escape suffering by practicing Buddhism based on an inaccurate understanding of the six consciousnesses. The conscious mind, confined to a single location, remains unaware of the outside world. Without the ability to observe and address the emergence of afflictions, true contemplation or remediation of them becomes impossible, making real liberation from afflictions unachievable.

When practicing Buddhism with an understanding of the eight consciousnesses, how can we effectively navigate our surroundings? A verse from the Yogacara school helps illuminate this: "Eight brothers are born from the same womb. One is smart and the other is stupid; five perform business at the door while one manages the accounts at home." This suggests that everyone has eight consciousnesses. The mind-root (seventh consciousness) excels at adapting to environmental changes and making decisions swiftly, thanks to the collaboration of the consciousnesses. On the other hand, the eighth consciousness has limitations; it neither sees, hears, nor perceives the six sense realms, merely following the mind-root and the mental consciousness's thoughts. The five consciousnesses - represented by the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body - interpret the external objects of sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch. These consciousnesses and the conscious mind process, categorize, and evaluate the information about the five sense objects and related Dharma sense objects, thereby relaying this to the mind-root for decision-making regarding how to respond to the environment, including whether to move forward or retreat. Therefore, practitioners of the eight consciousnesses must engage in long-term practice to understand how these consciousnesses interact and complement each other in managing life's changes. They are required to observe the rise of afflictions by listening, contemplating, practicing, and verifying. Through the teachings of the Buddha, we can discover effective methods of tackling these challenges and adjust our mindset with actionable steps to overcome obstacles, thus demonstrating the effectiveness of the Buddha's teachings. Conversely, supporters of the six-consciousnesses theory often stress the importance of focusing the conscious mind in a singular state or achieving thought-free mental clarity, believing that this will liberate them from suffering and lead to enlightenment. This interpretation distorts the true essence of the Buddhist Dhamma.

In Volume 51 of the *Yogacarabhūmi Sūtras*, Chapter 2, Questions and Answers on the Second Stage of Right Determination, it is mentioned that the basis of seeds is the *ālayavijñāna*. However, it does not specify its existence, the causes and conditions for its existence, or a detailed definition of it. Why is this the case? How do we know that it exists? How should we come to understand its detailed definition? "The answer is: This is the most profound secret of the Buddha, the Tathagata, and therefore, it is not mentioned. As the Tathagata said, '*ālayavijñāna* is very profound and subtle, and all seeds flow like waterfalls. I do not explain it to ordinary people, fearing that they will discriminate and regard it as self.'" This verse, spoken by the Buddha, comes from the third chapter of the "Abhidharmakosha Sūtras," Volume 1. The so-called *ālayavijñāna* in the verse refers to the *ālayavijñāna*. The meaning of this verse is as follows: "The *ālayavijñāna* is very profound and subtle. All the seeds it holds are like the water

of a vast river that flows continuously. When I face ordinary people and ignorant saints of the Two vehicles, I do not explain or interpret the *ālayavijñāna* for them because I am afraid that they will develop false distinctions after listening to it and mistakenly cling to the *ālayavijñāna* as the self, such as the five aggregates." (*Commentary on the Cheng Weishi Lun*, Vol. 3, Venerable Pingshi, 2024, p. 213).

In other words, because “ordinary individuals who lack a bodhisattva nature, as well as ordinary and noble sentient beings of the two vehicles, cannot fully comprehend this essence, the eighth consciousness is deemed very profound. The two-vehicles saints aiming for quiescent extinction fail to grasp the significance of this eighth consciousness, rendering it extremely subtle. This eighth consciousness signifies the true functional distinction of all dharmas. When it interacts with external conditions, it will generate the seven evolving consciousnesses and waves of afflictions. The mind-body perpetually abides without interruption, incessantly effusing seeds like a vast flowing stream. Ordinary people refer to sentient beings without bodhisattva nature, while fools reference the two-vehicles saints striving for quiescent extinction. The World-Honored One, fearing that they might develop erroneous discriminations and attachments regarding this eighth consciousness—thereby risking post-mortem descent into the three evil destinies or obstructing the arising of the noble path in their future existences—chose not to expound its profound and subtle doctrinal principles to them. ” (*Commentary on the Cheng Weishi Lun*, Vol. 3, Venerable Pingshi, 2024, p. 212). The Buddha, aware that ordinary individuals or two-vehicle saints lacking a bodhisattva nature might develop incorrect discrimination and attachments regarding the eighth consciousness, leading to negative outcomes, compassionately chose not to elaborate on it. Thus, sentient beings who have not come to grips with the *ālayavijñāna*—whether they are Buddhist students or scholars—might not have had access to good teachers or may have encountered Buddhist writings that lack a solid dharma foundation, leading to their misconception that the six consciousnesses are true. However, it is essential for scholars constructing local social science theories that incorporate Buddhist culture to clarify this.

VII. Developing an Indigenous Social Science Theory that Integrates Buddhism's Eight Consciousnesses

To create a social science theory that reflects Buddhist culture, we adopt an “epistemological strategy for constructing a culturally inclusive theory” and apply “indigenous social science creative hermeneutics” to incorporate this culture effectively. Accurately

interpreting Buddhist culture is essential (Wang et al., 2024b). We must engage with the eight consciousnesses articulated by the Buddha and conduct textual analysis to authenticate the original texts. This involves using “linguistic-analytic hermeneutics” to clarify their meanings, applying “historical hermeneutics” to trace the evolution of thought around these texts, employing “critical hermeneutics” to understand the broader significance of classical cultural ideas, and, finally, using “creative hermeneutics” to imaginatively apply these classical concepts to modern contexts, thus generating new meanings. We conclude with “integrative hermeneutics.” The goal of this hermeneutic process is to promote cultural convergence between local and foreign cultures, as well as to encourage disciplinary convergence across various fields. This approach allows us to propose convergent principles of local social science creative hermeneutics that weave in cultural elements (Fu, 1986, 1999; Wang, 2020, 2024; Wang et al., 2024a, 2024b). Hence, the task of developing indigenous social science theories that integrate the Eight Consciousnesses of Buddhism is crucial and represents a significant challenge for scholars in the field.

This issue features three articles: "A Narrative Study on the Psychological Transformation of a Buddhist Female Family Caregiver" by Hung (2024); "Healing After Life Crises: The Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model" by Du, et al., (2025); and "A Preliminary Study of Couples Who Lived Separately Amidst the Covid-19 Pandemic" by Chor and Tan (2025). Each article adopts a qualitative research approach to examine the psychological processes and adjustment strategies employed during life crises. The first article, which addresses Buddhist interpretation, merits special attention.

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一位佛教女性家庭照顧者的心理轉化敘說研究

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摘要

本研究旨在探討一位佛教女性家庭照顧者在照顧中風丈夫過程中，面對家庭照顧責任的心理轉化經驗。女性家庭照顧者在華人以佛教為主的文化體系中，較缺乏諮商心理觀點的深入探究。文化是個體面對「困境」的自處之道，面對家庭照顧者受到忽視的心理狀態，也需要進一步的探討，幫助她們能因應家庭照顧的負擔。本研究採用敘事探究，透過與研究參與者進行的 6 次訪談，加上研究參與者在過程中產生的 63 筆自我反思紀錄，以此進行文本分析。結果發現，研究參與者的照顧歷程可劃分為四個階段，分別為：

（1）第一章：「生如水深火熱，無處容身，轉念無明」：由於台灣早期的家庭文化與價值觀，經歷著「丈夫的負心」與家庭中「惑與苦，啞巴吃黃連」；而丈夫因為種種因素在外拈花惹草，有著「身心俱疲，不忠誠的怨」；這樣的家庭背景下，心中滿是對於「心酸，對孩子的牽掛與歉疚」；（2）第二章：「生無來，滅無去，生滅見自己」：研究參與者選擇「了悟，惜緣與捍衛親子的關係」；在最無助的時候，如同苦之極境，自知無處躲藏，質面生活「集苦之眾，冷眼旁觀」；淬鍊後的自己以佛教為底蘊，「攝心為戒，因戒生定，因定發慧」，心中更加堅定於佛教的思維；（3）第三章：「名色由識，緣識有名色」：丈夫中風後，「角色反轉」，權力轉變之下，許多早期被忽視與傷害的景象浮現，因而對於「生」有著不同的體悟，認為「生緣老、死、憂、悲、苦、惱」；但在佛教信仰中因緣的思辨中，了悟「此有故彼有，此生故彼生」。最後研究參與者選擇接納與慈悲，靜看這段人生中的「慳、貪、嫉、妒」；（4）第四章：「所欲求者，唯佛法身及佛智慧」：在許多的心境掙扎與衝突中，因著佛教的信念，最後選擇「退一步，海闊天空」；而丈夫突然的意外在往後方知「塞翁失馬，焉知非福」；往後的許多照顧歷程中，更加深感受到「佛教的播種與影響」，研究參與者也同時悟道「多情乃佛心」，在心中發出慈悲，重新看待生命。研究參與者在研究過程中重述了自己的生命歷程，一方面重新省思家庭照顧經驗的點滴；另一方面，也提供相關家庭照顧者作為映照，指引他們在家庭照顧歷程的漫漫長途中，有著另一種思索與作為。

關鍵詞：本土化、佛教因應經驗、家庭照顧者

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壹、緒論

一、前言

當代的心理治療模式主要根基於西方文化的價值與假設，並以此延伸許多治療技術與策略；而儘管許多研究發現這些模式具有跨文化適應性；但其在價值與信念上的根本差異，容易導致處遇上的偏離（Koç & Kafa, 2019）。本土化模式的發展有其必要性，也方能在多元文化間彼此好奇的當代，保留住文化面貌。華人思想體系中多以集體主義著稱，從家族、社會乃至國家，有其本土化的智慧脈絡（夏允中、黃光國，2019）。如同Ranjbar 等人（2020）提到，帶著文化謙遜的觀點，與個案產生文化相逢，方能與個案有良好的接觸。

人的一生，就是不斷面對著許多生而為人的存在議題（Frankl, 1978），也會因著生命流轉而產生許多不可測之境。人便是在「存在的限制」和「存在的機會」中尋求平衡，以此開發出自我存在的潛力（Walsh & Vaughan, 2018; Yalom & Josselson, 2014）。多數研究者提到，苦難（suffering）是家庭的照顧經驗中的常見現象（Boss, 2010; Losada et al., 2010），如同盧怡任（2022）以現象學之治療觀點提出，「受苦轉變」源自於痛苦經驗中對於當下矛盾的覺察與決心改變的企圖。延續這樣的觀點，Hays（2009）提醒我們，貼近案主個人歷史與文化經驗的處遇，方能帶來合適的處遇成效。研究者期望透過本土化的敘說研究，進一步透過文化理解的視框，導引出潛藏於個體內的文化底蘊。

二、家庭照顧者現狀與照顧者負擔

衛生福利部（2021）年《106 年老人狀況調查暨主要家庭照顧者調查報告》中指出，隨著高齡化、少子化與家庭趨近小型化的時代來臨，家庭照顧者的負擔日漸增加；其中，有 35.23% 的家庭照顧者需要辭去工作，女性又較男性多了 19.51%。而在有工作的家庭照顧者中，有 32.21% 的人表示需要減少工作時數、請假與工作時間調整等。若照顧者年齡越高，則輪替率則越低，從未滿 45 歲之 63.04% 遞減至 65 歲以上之 36.78%，顯見照顧負擔隨著照顧者的年紀不斷升高。有 42.86% 的人表示在照護過程中曾經歷失眠、肌肉筋骨痠痛、憂鬱與高血壓等症狀；27.29% 的人發現自己在成為家庭照顧者後，在社交面向的關係經營下滑。比較嚴重的是，調查指出有 29.42% 照顧者認為，隨著自己需要調整工作，導致家庭經濟變得不好。「家庭照顧」的工作對於任一個人而言都是重大的身心考驗，也因而需要相關單位予以支持與關懷以避免其身心耗盡（Kail & Cavanaugh, 2017）。一般而言，家庭照顧者在負擔照顧責任的同時，也會經歷到自我、人際、社會、家庭與靈性等面向的壓力與衝突（許淑敏、邱啓潤，2003）。這樣的內心掙扎在一開始是壓抑，久而久之，會在家人的習以為常中受到忽略，最後因為細故爆發，導致不可轉圜的局面。

家庭照顧者是實質的服務者、照護的供給者，卻常被忽視他們被關注的需求。面對照顧的壓力與情緒衝突，長期與毫無終點的照顧任務導致他們多只能以合理化的方式看待，即使自己心中有許多的想法、衝突與自我發展的規劃，仍會因為如此的情境受限。蔡佳容等人（2016）以失智症家庭照顧者為例，發現家庭照顧者會因為無法確知被照顧者的需求，導致自己的不安與自責，有更多時候是處在心理矛盾狀態的。

華人社會中，當女性開始扮演家庭照顧者的角色後，相較於其他親屬有著工作可作為精神的轉移，女性家庭照顧者一方面需要忍受全日全時的照護責任；另一方面，還需要面對被照顧者的脾氣，是不可言喻的重擔。相較於兒童的照顧責任，老人的照顧更是充滿挫折與無助的（陳景寧，1996）。家庭照顧工作影響廣泛，從照顧者需要終止原本的工作、行動範圍開始受限到自我時間的減少等。這樣全天候的照顧責任，使得家庭照顧者長時間處在孤獨與孤軍奮戰的狀態下，除了身心狀態，也影響了其自我認同、人際關係與生命價值感（王增勇，2011）。更甚之，女性家庭照顧者也可能因此產生負向心理，如焦慮、擔憂、挫折、生氣、委屈、罪惡感、孤獨、無力感、哀傷、憂鬱等情緒（陳景寧，2016）。在老年化與少子化的當代，家庭照顧的議題絕不僅止於少數家庭，而是未來台灣每個家庭皆會面臨的狀況，如何洞悉本土女性家庭照顧者的現實感受與心理經驗，提供合適的支持服務是目前的當務之急。面對著近年來高升的家庭照顧悲劇，提供合適的文化心理處遇是其中的關鍵與焦點。

Zarit 等人（1986）將照顧者負擔定義為：「一種照顧者知覺到的情緒、社交、經濟、生理和靈性功能不正常。」這個定義擴及了多種層面，強調個體的主觀感受。一些照顧情境可能會造成照顧者負擔和壓力，舉例來說，像是日常生活壓力、社交隔離與經濟剝奪等。而誘發照顧者負擔的危機因素包含：1. 女性、2. 低教育成就、3. 與照顧者同住、4. 較高照顧時數、5. 本身患有憂鬱症、6. 社會隔離、7. 經濟壓力、以及，8. 對成為照顧者沒有選擇等（Adelman et al., 2014）。Navaie-Waliser 等人（2002）發現，缺乏訓練的照顧者會有更強烈的壓力，也容易產生照顧過程中的危險；儘管如此，就美國而言，家庭照顧者所隱含的照顧價值高達 1 兆 9600 億美元，這樣的數字遠超過國家或私人照護中心提供的照護預算，而這也意味著健康照護體系更依賴家庭照顧者。然而，因為缺乏相關政府與社會的關注，家庭照顧者的議題缺乏相關領域的探討。Sullivan 和 Miller（2015）認為照顧慢性病的家人會使個體在生理、情緒上有極大的損耗，甚至最後與他人隔絕。可以說，照顧責任是種負擔，考驗著照顧者如何在生理與心理上照顧自己。而若照顧者能控制五個常見於照顧者負擔的變項，如情緒、社交、經濟、生理和靈性，則能有助於照顧品質的提升，減低照顧負擔（Archbold et al., 1990）。

儘管家庭照顧的過程可能造成負面的影響，但這並不代表沒有正向幫助。Cohen 等人（2002）發現 73% 的照顧者可以辨認出至少一種特定的正向助益，這與更好的自評健康有關。從這樣的角度來看，家庭照顧者也能從家庭照顧工作中得到成就感，可幫助彼

此關係更加靠近 (Sullivan & Miller, 2015)。家庭照顧者在情緒上若是能得到正向支持，則會協助強化家庭關係，進而延續該照顧者的照顧工作，進而節省家庭支出，並提升家庭的相關身心健康指標（如，情緒、因應行為與自我效能等）(Adelman et al., 2014)。

面對家庭照顧者的照顧壓力，目前的處遇多透過家人或者相關單位輔以經濟、人力與物質的支持，如信仰、手足、陪伴、成長課程、長期照護支持 (盛秀明, 2011)；照顧者支持團體 (Gonyea, 1989)；專業人員的諮詢 (林文香, 1992) 等。上述相關的作為可以初步讓當事人獲得支持與陪伴，幫助他們渡過這一段照顧的經歷。Bastawrous (2013) 認為研究家庭照顧經驗可以使家庭照顧者了解自己角色的重要性，進一步幫助政府與社會理解他們的需求，提供合適的支持。而為了能真正理解家庭照顧者的現狀與經驗，可藉由個體的述說，凸顯他們所存在社會文化的背景脈絡 (Bruner, 1986)。Freedman 和 Combs (2012) 也提到，敘事可以給予當事人一個表達的空間、宣洩與回放自己的經驗，導引出自我的省思與成長，重構個人滿意的生命故事。敘說式的研究和紀錄，能引發當事人把自己與問題分開，重新釐清自己與問題的關係，有助於個體自我認同的形成，並協助賦權與賦能，找到解決問題的方法 (黃素菲, 2018)。敘說關注的是我們生命歷史的現在，藉由記憶和語言將過去的生命經驗連接成故事，使自己在過程中獲得意義感。

心理學領域中仍較少有以佛教的家庭照顧者作為敘說探究之探討，而若能以敘說探究的觀點梳理家庭照顧過程的感受經驗，可幫助增進實務工作者於家庭照顧者心理處遇的敏感度。

三、華人社會中「家」的特殊性

家在華人社會中具有重要的價值意涵，處在「家」中的個體也會因著家庭的文化氛圍受到影響。楊國樞 (1985) 提到，華人的家族主義來自於傳統的農耕社會時代，家族主義的概念較呈現在「重視團結和諧」、「家道興盛」與「家族繁衍」的三個核心。這樣的信念會著重家人間的「互助合作」、「忍辱負重」與「謙讓順從」；進一步使「家族富裕」與創造「家族榮耀」，幫助家族傳承，並使子孫繁盛。如黃光國 (1988) 提到，個人的生命是家族的一個環節，只要為了能光宗耀祖，一切都值得。因而，俗語如「衣錦榮歸」、「光宗耀祖」、「多子多孫」、「家和萬事興」、「家醜不可外揚」等，便容易成為生活在其中華人的潛在價值觀。家庭如同社會系統，也需要在家庭中建立價值、安全、成就、親密、挑戰、刺激與精神寄託，家庭系統的好與壞便決定著家人彼此相處的狀態是正向或者負向 (彭懷真, 1994)。一般華人的家族中，較重視服從與順應，因此會形成如父權與孝行的表現 (Hamilton, 1990)，多數傳統的華人家庭在表達方面也較為間接，較隱晦地表達自己的感受與想法。由於早期男尊女卑的傳統家庭信念，傳統社會中，夫妻關係仍較多存在著階級的意識，導致關係中容易壓抑與掩蓋情感。因此，在

華人的傳統夫妻關係中，較容易疏離淡漠，壓抑、限制或者拒絕溝通（Ho, 1981）。黃玉賢等人（2009）便提到，淡漠的家庭關係與文化中的長幼有序，容易導致妻子在夫家中感受到關係壓力與壓抑的情緒。而強調品行、家族傳承與制度的傳統華人家庭特徵中，我們可以看到這樣階級維持的方式，引導著一代一代連綿，維繫著家庭營運的穩定。李瑞全（2006）提到在傳統華人社會中接受非婚姻產生的家庭關係，如近親過繼、領養與結義等，顯現華人文化中更是強調「道義」的重要，這樣的倫常道矩引導著華人的「家」有著一種義務上的「互相」與「道義」的特徵，彼此禮讓包容。

家庭是華人的重要社會心理元素，家庭提供一條文化徑路；然而，卻也容易使人因而綑綁與縛住了自己，華人家庭是一種無形的期許與要求，多數人也會以家庭的狀態來評價自己的一生成敗（吳宜真、賈紅鶯，2012）。如同楊國樞（1992）認為華人的家庭有別於西方，包含：1. 家族取向；2. 關係取向；3. 權威取向；以及，4. 他人取向。也因而在華人的文化體系中有所謂：「清官難斷家務事」、「婆媳難拆是非牆」或「家醜不可外揚」等俗諺，句句都道破潛在於傳統社會中家庭互動文化的狀態。綜觀華人之所謂「家」，反觀其背後根深的佛教思想，佛家的「緣分」和「因果報應」觀，也如實的呈現在家庭與人際關係的氛圍中（李仁豪，2019）。

本研究中，研究參與者以其「佛教」的信念，有著對於佛教的望洋興嘆與歸宗的冀望。由於文化性對於自我影響的深刻，心中對於佛教篤信與罪業輪迴的信念，研究參與者在其中如何以佛教作為自己接受家庭照顧責任之應對與詮釋，是本研究想呈現之面貌。

四、以佛教的洞察家庭照顧責任

佛教旨在能明心見性，去除生死輪迴之苦，破除我執煩惱與究竟的解脫，期待以破除我執煩惱，達到究竟的解脫（林之丞、夏允中，2019）。其提倡眾生平等，擴及人類與有生命的眾生，導引著人能慈悲忍辱，摒除物欲，苦心修養，以能在此世圓滿（Shiah, 2016）。其中，佛教以四聖諦（苦、集、滅、道）與八正道（正見、正思維、正語、正業、正命、正精進、正念、正定）為核心。進一步，也可將八正道區分為三個面向作為：1. 智慧發展（正見、正思維）；2. 道德操守（正語、正業、正命）；3. 精神修煉（正精進、正念、正定）。綜上所論，佛教的精神旨在幫助個體認識真實的自我與真實的佛性，導引個體獲得生命的真實智慧，若能有效幫助家庭照顧者進行照顧工作時的思辨，其亦能作為另種入世的修為之途。

從一方面來看，佛教以生命全程作為立基，其回認了存在的延續性與複製性，可依據夏允中（2020）所提出「自性覺醒心理治療理論」之五個層面進行剖析：1. 居住環境的要求；2. 努力強化善的自我與縮小非理作意；3. 死亡智慧與死隨念；4. 不靜觀的靜坐與死隨念；5. 止的靜坐等，以茲獲得「自性」或者「涅槃」（nirvana）的狀態。藉由上

述的引導，揉合佛教智慧與修養作為，可以協助家庭照顧者轉化自身對於家庭照顧工作的「困頓」，進一步將生命與之串連，促發對生活的「了悟」。整體而言，佛教的觀點是透過「世代傳遞」、「人性共通」與「責任轉移」的觀點，協助個體獲得理解與對於生命的洞察，領悟生命的智慧（簡秀真等，2021）。因而在於家庭照顧者的照顧壓力而言，透過相關的覺察策略、調節策略、情緒調適與認知思辨，更是其中的關鍵（李仁豪，2019）。

華人文化中對於關係的重視，有相當程度源自於佛教的緣觀。「緣起緣滅」對於華人有著深遠的影響（謝廷豪等，2023），佛教所指稱的緣意味著因緣。在印度古文中，緣起（巴利文：paticca-samuppada），表示諸法「依緣而生，依緣而滅。」意味著世間物理之間，彼此依存相變。在「緣起」的觀點中，萬物緊密相連，息息相關。如同《雜阿含經》提到：「此有故彼有，此無故彼無；此生故此滅，此滅故彼滅。」在佛教中將緣起分為四緣：因緣、次第緣、緣緣、增上緣（印順，2003）。而《中觀》進一步認為緣尚包含四種特性：此緣性、相待性、生滅性、空寂性（劉嘉誠，2000）。因而如《華嚴經·因陀羅網》所述：「如是交映，重重影現，隱映互彰，重重無盡。」表述了緣之所生其實無法辯述主從，而是互為因果。而《中論》也提到：「不生不滅，不常不斷，不一不異，不來不出。」象徵在種種世間現象中，緣起緣滅為外在的形貌，然而內在總歸於素樸與安然。徐欣萍和黃光國（2013）的研究發現，緣觀在當代社會中會以「關係」、「天命觀」與「宗教」等主題透過文化認知基模影響著文化中的個體。

對於佛教的女性家庭照顧者而言，家庭照顧的責任不止於一種關係、天命所引導的責任，更至於靈性上給予自己的修煉。徐欣萍（2012）發現華人關係中，佛學的「因果報應」論與道家的「順應自然」互為表裡，導引出對於「命運」的認知與自覺，若個體表現出「忍耐/寬恕」行為則會產生正向的回饋並且強化對於文化信仰的概念。如此之道，是由於佛教根深對於生命的洞察與邏輯，一方面認同了生命的痛苦，另一方面也引導個體離開我執與法生慧命（羅家玲，2020），可以說佛教價值觀深入了華人的文化脈絡，並以之作為思考原理。

西方的價值觀以自我為中心，強調個體的自主性與獨立性。然而，佛教認為「自我」是執著的根源，導致痛苦的產生（Shiah et al., 2016）。根據佛教的十二因緣論，人生本質蘊含苦諦，需透過修行超越執著。相較於西方注重外在的「治療、支持與輔導」模式，佛教採取內省的修行觀點，引導個體在生活中轉化體悟與見解。這種轉化從「智慧獲得」、「認同建構」、「關係強化」及「生活實踐」等面向展開，強調個體透過自我覺察與內在提升，實現生命的意義與平衡。「無我」觀點的引入，讓個體對於世事有著了然於心，更進一步推動了在世修行的觀點，以此幫助人改變對生活的意識（夏允中等，2018）。透過身分轉化與階層的信念，將其角色認同的轉變從「下士道」、「中士道」乃至「上士道」，蘊含一種「普世」與「樸實」的價值，引導人對於生命抱持希望，作為安身立

命之道。整體而言，佛教所意指之修養之道包含：1. 我執與欲我的修造(李秀如等，2021)；2. 正念靜觀(林之丞、夏允中，2019；夏允中，2020)；以及，3. 智慧修養(夏允中，2020；賴賢宗，2003)；以及，4. 圓滿與無我(莊慧琳等，2014)等。藉由上述的修養之道，可幫助個體認知在世修養，以此破除對生命的誤解，提升自性。而還原華人對於佛教的文化性認同，一方面可以幫助家庭照顧者替換家庭照顧的概念；另一方面，也可以提供信念上的引導，從無私、利他與互利的層面上，發散自己內在齊心之感，增擴對「人在世」的善念與慈心(李仁豪，2019)。

以佛教協助家庭照顧者體悟生命之道，是一種台灣本土療癒之道的開展，其意在幫助人能了悟所謂生、老、病、死之人生本然。在修養與修行的人生之道上認識所謂的苦、集、滅、道。在受苦與成佛的人生修道場中，因著不斷洞悉與了悟，所以成就人生智慧的應變之道。本研究冀望透過研究參與者真實的生命經驗與每個轉折體悟的紀錄，更清晰看到佛教信仰在研究參與者進行家庭照顧經驗時，如何幫助克服與跨越早期經驗與家庭照顧責任的坎。

貳、研究方法

一、研究設計

質性研究對於歷程中的心理樣態與描述能夠提供動態的實質意涵與論述，並可透過連續不斷的符號資料，重新反思與表達，進而將深度且具有意義的心理感受具體化，使能產生發現與頓悟(鈕文英，2023)。Ricoeur (1990)認為自我可以透過敘事的方式發現，而我們也需要透過每日生活的「故事」引導我們在每日生活中有所「收穫」並發現生命中的意義。而敘事取向在社會學、心理學與教育學等領域中，為了進一步提升對於人的理解，漸漸受到廣泛使用(Combs & Freedman, 2012)。本研究採取敘事探究探討個體針對生命歷程的回顧與經驗，期望清楚探究「佛教女性家庭照顧者」如何克服自己內在的心理瓶頸，採納佛教的觀點，投入於家庭照顧工作中。期望帶給相關工作者針對當代家庭照顧議題有更進一步的釐清與理解。

二、研究參與者

本研究透過深度取樣，選取具有佛教背景且為女性的家庭照顧者，家庭照顧經驗自2016年9月開始至今，達七年以上，在生活中實際遭遇家庭的衝突與相關的心理議題。研究參與者為女性，年齡為55至60歲之間，宗教信仰為佛教；研究對象長期照顧的對象為丈夫，年齡為60至65歲之間，宗教信仰為佛道教，於2016年9月份因腦中風，開

始需要在家接受家庭照顧。被照顧者在無法自主行動，需要他人協助餵食、飲水並且長期臥床；此外，由於被照顧者情緒不穩，偶爾會因為情緒議題導致隨意大小便與打翻餐點等，與家人關係長期不睦。研究參與者在照顧歷程中歷經與被照顧者的口角、衝突、爭執等，並且有早期關係創傷的浮現，申請居家服務員與家庭喘息服務。

本研究為深度理解研究參與者從事家庭照顧相關的經歷，理解佛教信仰對於研究參與者的影響與歷程，向其說明研究目的與相關倫理規範後，認同研究者將其經驗透過學術發表，以增進相關場域的理解，開始進行本次研究。

三、研究工具

（一）研究者

本研究共一位研究者，第一研究者為諮商所博士生，信仰過程歷經佛道教與基督教，並有相關諮商理論、本土化研究、長期照護專業之跨領域合作等訓練。研究者沉浸於儒釋道信仰、基督信仰與生命歷程探究，並投入於本土化諮商研究中多年，透過與研究參與者的對話，同時與熟稔本土化諮商研究之教授定期進行研究內涵的討論與論述，以此釐清研究整體的論述，澄清相關佛教概念，協助研究者完成研究，形成整體性論述。藉由與研究參與者的對話與反思紀錄，審核相關結果的真確性，為求本研究能真實反映研究參與者的心理轉化樣態，研究者與研究參與者多次討論與詳細記錄其內在相關的變化。研究過程遵守相關保密原則，遵守研究倫理，在研究完成之後刪除相關資料。

（二）個別訪談

針對於研究參與者在家庭照顧的經歷與狀態，研究者在確保研究參與者生心理狀態安全與健康的前提下，透過「個別訪談歷程」，進行資料的蒐集。訪談過程中採半結構式的訪談，聚焦於研究參與者在家庭照顧過程中的感受與回憶，呈現出自己整體的生命脈絡與樣態。針對研究參與者的「早期經驗」（如，「你們是怎麼認識的？」、「在家庭的早期，與被照顧者的互動經驗為何？」）、「生命經驗」（如，「這麼多年的相處，是怎麼走過來的？」、「甚麼樣的原因讓你撐了過來？」）與「家庭照顧經驗」（如，「照顧的過程中遭遇甚麼困難？」、「有甚麼方式幫助自己在過程中克服這些情緒？」）進行訪問與討論，並將重要事件與心理的樣態進行標記。

研究者進一步邀請研究參與者將其生命樣態進行重構與命名，逐步釐清自己在家庭照顧過程中的心理歷程，進一步深入探討研究參與者在佛教信仰中的洞察與體會，了解佛教對於自己的啟發與影響。

（三）反思札記

研究者邀請研究參與者於訪談後進行相關反思活動，並且記錄自己在過程中的經驗與想法。鈕文英（2023）提到，研究參與者的個人反思札記可作為自己生活經驗主觀感受的紀錄，對於研究參與者而言可以在沒有壓力的狀態下進行情感的表達；此外，文字記載的邏輯性與思考性極高，可以從中清楚表達自己的感受。

研究者經過研究參與者的同意之下，去除個人資料之後，邀請研究參與者於具保密效果的平台中進行紀錄，研究者遵守相關倫理準則，於研究完成一年後刪除相關資料。

四、資料分析

（一）資料分析程序

本研究包含當事人的訪談資料與當事人的反思資料，資料蒐集的過程從 2019 年 7 月 30 號至 2020 年 8 月 31 號。資料蒐集的方式分為：1. 訪談；2. 自我反思對話。並邀請案主透過網路平台進行登錄與填寫，總計有 6 次的訪談（時間為 2020 年 3 月 12 日、2020 年 4 月 19 日、2020 年 4 月 20 日、2020 年 4 月 27 日、2020 年 7 月 16 日、2020 年 8 月 29 日），每次訪談時間約 30 分鐘至 1 小時；以及 63 筆自我反思對話（時間自 2019 年 7 月 30 日至 2020 年 8 月 31 日）。資料的編碼以「訪談或反思（I,R）-訪談日期（如 20190730）-第幾個段落-第幾個有意義的段落」，如，受訪者於 2019 年 7 月 30 日藉由反思對話方式取得之資料，其第一個段落的第一個有意義的段落，其編碼為「R-20190730-1-001」，研究在訪談後進行逐字稿的謄寫，反思日記的部分則透過擷取並且儲存於安全的文字形式。本研究採用敘事探究，並採用 Lieblich 等人（1998）提出之「整體—內容」分析法，步驟為：1. 反覆不斷閱讀故事文本，理解家庭照顧者的生命內涵；2. 透過文本與逐字稿、反思日記的核對，進行生命分期；3. 與研究參與者共同標定特殊焦點與主題；4. 標示不同的內涵與主題；5. 確認分析結果。受訪者的姓名在保密的前提下以英文字母 A 作為替代，研究者完成逐字稿後，經過 2 年的反思與探究，依據受訪者的敘述內涵形成本文，並且與受訪者進行分析意涵之釐清與探究（請見表 1）。研究結果最後以第三人稱撰述，與研究參與者進行討論後，以苦楝作為研究參與者（照顧者）的代稱，罌粟作為研究參與者丈夫（被照顧者）的代稱。

進一步，透過研究參與者生命階段重要主題的凝聚，研究參與者透過 Lieblich 等人（1998）所提出之「類別—內容」分析法，包含：1. 選擇替代文本；2. 定義內容類別；3. 將材料分類到類別中；4. 透過研究結果獲得結論等，構築出研究參與者在每個階段呈現之重要主題的「類別」（請見表 2）。

表 1

本研究「整體—內容」分析舉例

| 敘事內容主題 | 敘事文本 |
|--|---|
| 面對丈夫的自我中心，自己困於家庭文化的限制下，只能吞下去，演出一個賢妻良母的樣子 | 「這 38 年來，一起生活在一起，我能包容他的一切一切，他卻無法包容我的一切一切」（R-20200701-1-001） 「做不夠周全的，再改善吧，不然呢？一旦選錯了劇本，就做好一個稱職的演員吧，把它演完」（R-20200701-1-003） |

表 2

本研究「類別—內容」分析舉例

| 生命重要情節 | 研究者理解之內容意義 | 「重要階段」類別 |
|--|--|----------------------|
| （一）丈夫的負心 （二）惑與苦，啞巴吃黃連 （三）身心俱疲，不忠誠的怨 （四）心酸，對孩子的牽掛與歉疚 | 此階段為研究參與者與丈夫在早期的夫妻狀態，呈現出丈夫對於家庭的不忠與失信。研究參與者也表達出自己在家庭初期所感受到各種難以言喻的苦。 | 第一章：生如水深火熱，無處容身，轉念無明 |

（二）研究檢核與提升

本研究以 Riessman（1993）所提出之敘事探究品質指標進行驗證，包含：

1. 說服力：本研究透過研究者與研究參與者針對不同階段進行確認與釐清，並在往復不斷的反思與討論中，漸漸浮現研究參與者在生命歷程中的種種經歷，透過長達三年的資料蒐集與核對，包含「研究參與者的訪談記錄」、「研究者的分析」與「研究參與者的回應與反思」等，彼此互為主體且回歸經驗真實的企圖下，綜合呈現研究參與者在家庭照顧歷程中的經驗與內在狀態。

2. 契合度：研究者完成敘事文本後，回寄研究參與者進行檢視與核對，研究參與者表達此文本之符合度為 100%，顯示此敘事文本契合研究參與者之生命經驗與主題。

3. 連貫性：本研究一方面按照時序轉變編排，進一步形成有意義與連貫的主體與內容，符合研究參與者在家庭照顧的經驗，另一方面也貼合相關佛教與華人家庭理論與文獻的結果，呈現出研究參與者在佛教中體會的因應作為與轉變。

4. 實用性：本研究之結果可提供相關「家庭照顧者」處遇人員參考。面對處在台灣華人家庭情境的家庭照顧者，生活難如同西方諮商理論區分之自我與家庭，而需要在過程中建立新的認同，幫助轉化家庭照顧過程中痛苦與心酸。當家庭照顧者感受到自己對

於家庭成員間的凝聚具有使命感，且本身有佛教的相關信念（如，「此世是還上輩子的債」、「這輩子的功課沒有修完，下輩子會更難」等），在安全保護的前提下，如何協助其貼近佛教信仰概念，是處遇歷程中需要思考的關鍵。

研究者綜合研究參與者的訪談與反思，促進實務工作者在面對佛教家庭照顧者晤談工作中的理解，增進家庭照顧者處遇的效能與權益的促進。

（三）研究倫理

質性研究應該重視倫理議題，特別在涉及文化、個人感受、經驗與生命事件的內容（鈕文英，2023）。研究者在訪談過程中告知個案相關的保密措施，並且刪除涉及隱私之資訊，包含姓名、單位、地區等進行變更。研究過程中所蒐集之相關資料皆妥善保存，在研究完成一年後皆進行資料的銷毀。研究者在訪談過程中降低相關意識與意圖的表達，幫助受訪者可以盡情地說出自己的感受與經驗，避免研究者主觀的影響或者扭曲。受訪者可以討論任何對於研究相關的好奇與議題，也具有自主權，可以自由選擇是否繼續研究。研究者適時提供相關支持、關心與資源，促進受訪者在過程中的身心照護。

參、研究結果

前言

在訪談的過程中，研究參與者吐露了自己早期經歷丈夫的外遇、忽視與情緒勒索。夾雜著「受害者」與「照顧者」這兩種身分所建構的照顧議題是矛盾的。當早期施加暴力與傷害的伴侶因失能而成為了「被照顧者」，「報仇」與「以德報怨」的雙重議題便成為了內心掙扎的兩難。在佛教「慈悲」的信念中，研究參與者回顧了家族經歷與自我生命史，發現家庭照顧歷程對於自己的意義。

即使「丈夫」早期的放蕩不羈，語言、行為與生活相處上的壓力與爭執歷歷在目，在佛教「善念」的指引下，依舊選擇給予中風的丈夫較好的照顧。歷經創傷的受訪者面對丈夫仍有許多負向情緒，在照顧過程中經歷憂鬱症與思覺失調症。爾後，研究參與者透過佛教的角度重新解釋「這世」的苦難，案主重新省思了自己與丈夫在「上世」的「未修」，導致到這世的「重修」，企望一切「因果」在這世完結，渡化彼此萬世千秋的「糾葛」。

一、揭幕：波濤的開端，無序

芷棟在青春年少的時光，也與一般的女子相仿。由於住在鄉村，沒有過多的遊樂，沒有深交的朋友，「輕描淡寫」，或許是最可以描述她生活的四個字。從小乃至

高中，課業對於她而言並不是感興趣的事，因為是家中最小的孩子，因為家務繁忙，平時需要務農，或多或少是被家庭所忽略的。

高中畢業之後，大哥當兵，大姊嫁人，只剩自己與二姐在家。由於經濟負擔沉重，務農為主的家只有固定收成的季節才有收入。剛好附近縣市有著蘆筍加工廠，因緣際會下，與二姐、堂姐及一些朋友們進到工廠當作業員。一段時間後，因為家庭與經濟的考量，辭職回到家中，重新在附近尋找工作。

那時的她，常感受到旁人對於自己的敵意，曾因為新人身份的過度表現，導致了資深同事的不高興，時不時，便會被找出去談判。對於人也因而多少有些不信任，曾誓言不婚不嫁，孤老一生。「曾省思著，為什麼總是我？」，也在一而再再而三不愉快的經驗後，開始有了「自己這世是來修上輩子的脾氣」這樣的想法。

民國六十年代的鄉村，是個鄉里間熱絡與緊鄰的時代。當自己到了附近的皮包工廠工作後，認識了翬粟。在翬粟恃強凌弱的個性威嚇下，不斷到苦棟家中叨擾，苦棟的父親一方面不捨女兒，另一方面又不勝其擾，依舊約定了讓苦棟嫁了過去。在當時傳統社會聽父命的文化下，苦棟不敢不從，一方面擔憂自己堅持不嫁導致翬粟對家中帶來更大的破壞，另一方面也擔憂著父親在氣急之下，身體因而不堪倒下。相權衡後，只好順從著這樣的安排，開始自己無序的一生。

二、第一章：生如水深火熱，無處容身，轉念無明

（一）丈夫的負心

苦棟回想起過往，一切歷歷在目。來到夫家後的種種挑戰，一筆一筆都在心中無法忘懷，如同進入「無明」的世界。不同觀點錯雜與複雜的家庭系統，公公坐擁二房導致的關係紊亂讓翬粟養成日日在外的習慣。自己雖然包容了他許多天地不容的作為，對方卻沒有相對地給予關懷與支持，反倒是變本加厲，「這 38 年來，一起生活在一起，我能包容他的一切一切，他卻無法包容我的一切一切」（R-20200701-1-001）。苦棟回憶自己在妻子角色的點點滴滴，覺得似乎就像一齣人生劇，只能盡其所能去做，盡其所能去演，認為自己就是個演員，只能把自己的角色演到人生的最後一天，「我做不夠周全的，再改善吧，不然呢？一旦選錯了劇本，就做好一個稱職的演員吧，把它演完」（R-20200701-1-003）。

（二）惑與苦，啞巴吃黃連

苦棟分享著自己與翬粟在關係中互異的價值觀，提到了自己的內心總是脆弱與不踏實的，變成了夫妻之後便總是會掛念著丈夫，盡力做到妻子的角色，做什麼像什麼。相對來說，翬粟是比較大男人主義且粗心的，常常以自我為中心，以自己想要什麼為主，

導致忽視自己，「進入到新的家庭，我會比較脆弱，偶爾會有些不講理，但其實有更多沒安全感的心是在另一半身上，先生是比較沒有細心，比較大男人主義，也往往忽略了另一半的感受」（I-20200427-1-010），因而苦棟在家庭中常常就是那個需要幫忙罌粟擦屁股的角色。加上罌粟是長男，讓自己在家庭中的壓力又更大。罌粟婚後的不負責，喜歡在外面與其他女人共享纏綿，無奈因身處在保守的農村小鎮，只能自己咬牙苦撐，「我在家裡辛苦勞累不停為家庭付出，而先生藉一點點的理由，在外面拈花惹草，把他的溫柔體貼善解人意放在外面跟別的女人享樂，而把家裡的另一半當沒一回事！」（I-20200427-1-011）。面對於丈夫在關係中的背叛，苦棟在心中總不是滋味，覺得自己身為妻子的「被愛的需求」總是空缺。心中滿滿的無奈、懷疑與無助。然而，解鈴還須繫鈴人，苦棟心中期待的夫妻情感需求受限於面子，無法跟丈夫傾訴，自己也不知該如何開口，「他寧可在外找樂子，也不給家裡的我安慰及溫柔一點，回家不給一點點夫妻情，這叫我怎麼開口？」（I-20200427-1-012）、「我想不出理由，丈夫情願把溫柔給外面的女人，我在家也需要他一點點的安慰，這個安慰他不給我，又有誰能給？這是做妻子的悲哀，有苦難言啊，講出來怕被人笑罵，不知羞恥，所以誰也不會去講到這點」（I-20200427-1-013）。夫妻關係中的情與義，有著這個身份獨特的需求，當彼此有了夫妻的這個身份，有許多對於「專屬於自己」的想法，便會不斷在心中迴盪。苦棟在回憶的過程中也傳達著一份哭訴，自己所求不多，只要一份專屬於夫妻間的愛，「如果有個女人一直講：『丈夫什麼都給外面的女人，這話很深很奧妙。』女人、男人、夫妻，這三個東西真的很難理清，情和義，該給與不給，為什麼寧可讓另一半守空房也不願給她一點溫馨」（R-20200427-1-014）。

（三）身心俱疲，不忠誠的怨

面對罌粟外遇不斷的行為，苦棟覺得自己身心俱疲，也無力再多做些什麼，對於罌粟將自己的積攢當作理所當然，而且花用也毫不手軟，自己感受到有所不滿、有所不甘，也因此有著怨懟。「我該怎麼辦？他滿頭腦就想把家裡的一些積蓄都用在外面女人身上，就很不甘願啊。一想到他把辛苦的勞力當成理所當然的事，把我當成奴隸來對待，哪個女人要這樣？每個人都有自尊心，一旦自尊心被踐踏了，事情就沒有那麼好說了！」（I-20200427-1-015）

相仿的，苦棟孀孀與姑姑的丈夫也有外遇出軌的行為。這或許是一種家庭集體的關係詐騙，心中的怨恨只能深藏，咬牙切齒，暗地自傷，「之前我有提到，我的孀孀及我姑姑也一樣，她們心裡充滿對另一半的怨氣。聽她們的語氣，沒有要原諒另一半」（R-20200425-1-002）。

（四）心酸，對孩子的牽掛與歉疚

苦棟提到孩子，悲從中來，為他們感受到難過與辛苦。她提到長子曾在學校門口接到爸爸的電話，氣急敗壞地叫他出來，竟只是為了要拿回給予孩子的零用錢，那是孩子的生活費，但豐粟卻只顧自己的玩樂，不顧孩子的死活。重新再一次回想，苦棟站在孩子的立場重新經歷，才知道孩子或許也忍受了許多丟臉與無助，為他們感受到難過、難受。

「我到了昨天才意識到我兒女們上學，在學校那種無助，知道家裡狀況而不敢說。面對這樣家庭環境的孩子，不知道心裡是什麼滋味？無人可依靠的狀況，也無法瞭解大人的心態與作法。這樣的情況與五味雜陳，我不知道丈夫又是做何感想？學校裡的費用及有的沒有的活動都沒錢繳，是現在根本無法回想的畫面。所以我之前有講過，我們怎樣活過來？真的是『不清楚怎麼過來的』。」
(R-20191018-1-003)

在述說過往經歷的過程中，苦棟也不斷出現了自怨自艾，最後只能說自己太過天真愚笨，面對自己處在這樣的情境中，是否自己過度犧牲奉獻？雖然自己沒事，但其實小孩也無辜受了許多波折辛苦。自己所承受的許多痛苦只能自己忍著，沒有人理解、也沒有人可以幫忙解決，「別人可以笑我蠢，我也能接受，因為笨、蠢，才會成長不是嗎？這是我的部分，孩子有孩子們的責任，我不希望孩子們知道我的想法」(R-20200306-1-004)、「現在的我……心很酸……想哭又哭不出來」(R-20200306-1-005)。

苦棟心中在這時所體察的佛教智慧為「了悟『無明』」，見解自己對於一切的「無知」，面對生活八萬四千種煩惱，發現自己竟失去了原先的覺性與清明。她知悉根本的執著與煩惱，為求能破除，因此心生以佛教轉念，從而開始引動，期望以「悟」與「修」，斷除煩惱。

三、第二章：生無來，滅無去，生滅見自己

(一) 了悟，惜緣與捍衛親子的關係

苦棟回憶起自己在家庭生活的種種，只有自己獨自拚搏，獨自嘗盡家庭生活中的苦衷，獨自面對旁人的消遣。陪伴在這一段路上的，或許只有依靠著自己的孩子們，而孩子也是這世重要的任務與緣分。擁有了這樣的信念，也讓自己堅持下去。想方設法，其實是為了孩子而忍受這一切，「我這一路走來，非常艱難非常苦，不知不覺很心酸」(I-20200312-1-018)、「我之前都是有了今天而不知道明天會怎麼樣？也就是過一天算一天，一步一步地往前邁進，心裡想著的是，能給孩子的一天算一天」(R-20200714-1-005)。

想著過去辛苦的每一天，或許都是用生命再換取繼續前進的希望，也因此自己苦歸苦，只求得能讓孩子好好地成長，「我當時心裡只求，能夠陪孩子們，希望他們能獨當一面。在這社會上，他們能夠自己端一碗飯吃，這樣就不會餓著了。你知道我為什麼有

這樣念頭嗎？因為我身體已經到極限了」（R-20200714-1-006）。面對家庭中的混亂，苦棟身處在罌粟大家庭中的左右為難，自己一個外人也難以啟齒。罌粟在家庭中的不可理喻彷彿是一種逃避，逃避著許多難以面對與難以解決的問題，似乎自己也在其中看見了深藏在家庭中的盤根錯節，「我不斷疑問，為什麼一直丈夫沒做什麼表態，只能心痛，心痛到怨我自己的無能」（R-20200425-1-004）、「家裡一個比一個強硬，誰也不屈誰，看了心也痛，又不知道該怎麼勸」（R-20200422-1-008）。重新回顧著過去的點滴，苦棟頓時發現自己彷彿在一種苦修的境地，面對著自己的懦弱與丈夫的暴戾無序，為了繼續前進，只能咬牙撐起，「從以前直到現在，我們活在陰影下生活，所以我講要死沒勇氣，不死更累……，你要我怎麼講呢？不會講。所以我是帶著很疲憊的心在活，而眼前的場景又是我的責任，這個家是我介入的，後面就一肩扛起，不然怎麼辦？我就是已經沒什麼了」（R-20191004-1-003）。

（二）集苦之眾，冷眼旁觀

回憶著過往的點滴，苦棟描述著自己的無力與無奈。當想起那一段只有自己與孩子的過往，仍會感受到心酸與心力交瘁。家中經營的豬肉攤需要請公婆來幫忙，罌粟又一副吊兒郎當，四處溜達，只是伸手要錢。在心中回首，百感交集。坐月子的自己身體不適、無法起身，也沒有幫手，數不盡幾個被婆婆洗臉的日子，想起時仍有許多怨嘆。

「我看手機時，卡通人物較可愛，我看了也比較順眼，人物比較不習慣，也沒心情可看！連續劇的劇情我不太接受，是人演的，我比較排斥是我一路走過，遇到過，凡想得到的畫面，嚴格來講，我最深痛的，你知道嗎？一個人無助的時候，只能待在臥室，身邊又有小孩，那種無力的心情，是要做什麼？」（R-20200714-1-001）

苦棟生命中一幕幕的過往隨著罌粟中風後開始不用提心吊膽；諷刺的是，許多傷痛總在夜深人靜又攀附上了心頭，歷歷在目。許多的辛酸血淚，也慢慢解凍，化開在自己的生活中，才知道自己原來忍了這麼多、這麼久。「所以我一看到人演的戲，看到裡面的戲碼就會傷情。以前沒網路倒還好，現在有了，這些戲碼和自己以前經歷過、嚐過的，沒什麼差別，這就是人嗎？而我是現代人，古代的生活是苦了點，但已經是現代了呀。丈夫還沒中風前，我還沒有意識到，直到丈夫中風後，才一直浮上檯面，像電影般顯現出來，才發現原來自己是這樣活過來」（R-20200714-1-003）。對於人的陰影是有的，苦棟提到自己在參加許多活動時，自己也會無緣無故與人齟齬，加深了對於生活、世界與社會的抗拒。「什麼樣的人，做什麼事，講出來的什麼話，人太恐怖了，看清楚了，才知人多陰險」（R-20200710-1-006）。

（三）攝心為戒，因戒生定，因定發慧

日子的不斷改變，為了求生只能不斷調整，從某一個時刻開始，當苦棟對於夫妻關係的感情不再注意也不再需求，她以佛教之教誨，捨身求定，發願求慧，以至思索關於「生存」之如何以。苦棟只知道自己需要「念轉」，重新思索世間因緣的義理，確認自己此世的圓滿在於自我的修養與扶持子女的獨立，因而將怨恨轉化，把孩子扶養長大，「我的態度及習氣比較強，鄉村的人常常宣傳我是全村莊最蹣腳的女人、最厲害的女人、最惡毒的女人，沒人可比」（R-20200703-1-006）、「在他們的眼裡，把我解讀成最厲害的女人及最蹣腳的女人，丈夫也這樣認為」（R-20200702-1-001）。

對於罌粟的一切，苦棟認為自己一籌莫展，「你知道為了丈夫，我做多少功課嗎？你想得到的，想不到的，通通都用了，什麼撇步都用了，一個人的心門沒打開，一句話，無路可行……」（R-20200425-1-008）。重新看待過往的經歷，苦棟表示自己也曾經迷惘，因許多人的批評而自我懷疑；然而，繼續前進是心中不變的信念。

「我認為就是一一直向前走才是對的，我知道前方有某個東西在等我。在我生活裡，包括丈夫及親人，都不瞭解我為的是什麼，講了完全聽不入，沒辦法懂，所以我才會覺得很累。所收到的都是責備的話，所以聽到負面的我才不去面對，對我來講都是空話。有時候我也在想，我所面對都是這種負面的態度，難道是我的人格問題？我錯了嗎？哪個關卡出問題？想了又想，就是走不出這個坎」（R-20191016-1-005）。

在生與滅之間，苦棟重新覺悟。面對於生之道，以「惜緣」作為自己處世的原則，骨肉的生存，成為自己繼續前進的依憑。轉念後，佛教的戒定慧成為自己的修持，導引著自己不求乎之外，乃是由心而發，看淡世事。

四、第三章：名色由識，緣識有名色

（一）生緣老、死、憂、悲、苦、惱

幾年前罌粟中風，苦棟感受到這是他幾年以來的無節所致，飲食無節、起居無節、生活無節，也因而更體認的佛教「因緣相生、因果相應」的義理。有感子女需要負擔家中經濟，因而苦棟成為照顧者的角色。面對長期過往的痛苦，苦棟了然於心，而佛教的引導讓她忘去總總怨懟，知道人於世便是如何自處在「生老病死」與「憂悲恐驚」中，選擇結緣，了卻這世的怨情，「我現在的心境，只能把罌粟當作療養院的一位無家可歸的老人，讓他回歸他自己想要的日子吧。有些事情勉強不來的，既然他自己選擇的路，就自己負責吧。每個人都有自己的選擇，選對了是福氣，選錯了也是自己去承擔吧，別人無法代替，能夠體會到及領悟到的，全看他自己」（R-20200306-1-003）。

儘管如此，苦棟在照顧過程中，一幕幕曾經被拋棄與散盡家財的畫面仍浮上心頭。夫妻之間的有名無實，是街坊鄰居的笑話，也是罌粟過往拈花惹草的藉口。罌粟彷彿再

次要債，要自己繼續償還，繼續這一切痛苦的延續，而自己的怨氣在這時也不斷沸騰，「但問題來了，丈夫要家人照顧，但看了就來氣。丈夫對不起我在先，還把我的積蓄散發用盡，用那些積蓄去外面風流啊。病了人家不要了，回家黏著他曾經瞧不順眼的我」（R-20200430-1-004）。苦棟用一種戲謔的語氣嘲諷自己，描述家中兒女看著丈夫的中風，一時之間，只有過去許許多多的仇恨與不諒解，「丈夫曾經半點溫柔也不給我，這下子生病了要我照顧，苦啊難啊。況且子女們都有些不諒解，大家都一個牛脾氣，一個比一個還拗」（R-20200430-1-005）、「孩子們，他們的想法比較簡單，想要直接送到養老院。但事情沒有那麼簡單處理，有那麼簡單處理我也不會弄到這種地步，讓這些孩子跟著受苦，簡直是黏到口香糖一樣」（R-20190929-1-001）。

想起照顧罌粟的種種，苦棟就感受到頭痛，自己想要擔起這個工作也沒有那麼容易。苦棟一整天的時間就耗在一個曾經傷害自己的人身上，對方也沒有表達什麼感謝或者變化，似乎總是理所當然地要求，要不然就是生氣，「只是丈夫要起來泡茶，而我又剛好出去走走，也沒幾分鐘，我回來聽到丈夫敲叩的聲音，我就進去看看，結果就氣呼呼的踐臉。幫他準備好他要的東西後，問他還需要什麼的，連要回應都不應我一聲」（I-20200312-1-003）。婚姻是一條鎖鏈，面對著這樣的關係，苦棟想要嘗試帶著佛教的信念以德報怨，透過自己在這個家的修行改變丈夫的態度，但這個過程中是艱難的，心中夾雜著許多兩難與手足無措。罌粟長期的離家與背叛的記憶尚在心中，因而要如何表達與互動變成是一種挑戰，愛與不愛的糾結，總是難以取捨左右，「我的難處就在這小小的空間，丈夫一叫沒人理他，他就這副德性，我擺脫不了，婚姻關係還在，我哪邊都不是」（I-20200312-1-005）、「丈夫無時無刻發脾氣，跟他講話時不時就很痛苦，就像火山。哪個時候爆發我也難控制，不面對他也不行。要面對他，說實在的，不知道要用哪個心情對待」（R-20190730-1-001）。

緩和之後，回歸緣觀與修養，重新釐清與了解過往這一切之後，苦棟獲得更多體悟，「現在有些明白了，也不會那麼不甘了，有了這樣的經驗，也不會那麼氣憤了，只能接受現在的往前走，也別無選擇，要顧全圓滿，讓步再讓步。「我想，也只有這樣，才不會到最後成了罪人，帶給孩子們那種無法表達的恨意，世間沒有誰對誰錯，只有自己該扛的責任所在」（R-20200723-1-006）。

佛教的精神幫助苦棟看清楚眼前的腳步與任務，自己人生私慾渺小，而為大愛奉獻則偉大。信仰的依託成為了自己的指引，也因而能在生命中的每一次如死之境中，出死人生。「我也不想再做什麼了，心裡想，反正人生當中對我來講，只能笑笑而過，身邊也沒有什麼人可掛念的。還好，有機會讓我重生，現在才知道，我還有很多事情都沒完成，要把這些所有的任務完成，才不枉此生」（R-20200714-1-008）。苦棟也覺察到自己對於夫妻的定義與根深柢固的相信，也許對於自己而言，夫妻關係是一種「使命」，在彼此承諾相守的那一剎那，即便另一半的違背導致自己的失落，但對於她而言，這樣

的情感有著信仰上的意涵，也因此總是選擇圓滿，尋找著對於自己而言有意義的部分去維繫夫妻關係，「夫妻之間就是這樣，各自尋找自己要的那份愛、那份情，無法割捨的情懷，誰也無法去觸碰各自的底線。夫妻倆的情誼，誰都無法幫他們解開」（I-20200427-1-004）。

（二）此有故彼有，此生故彼生

苦棟表示自己總是在善與惡之間徘徊，但因為佛教信仰的關係，知道有需要把持的行為與方向，也因著佛教中強調「因」、「緣」與「果」，在哲理與邏輯的思考下，引導著自己從「以暴制暴」的心態逐步緩降為「以德報怨」的作為。苦棟不斷思考著所謂的「緣起緣滅」，如同《雜阿含經》提到：「有因有緣世間集，有因有緣世間滅。」在這世因緣的交會中，苦棟認為自己所受的苦積累於前世，乃至這是再次糾結，而需要自己妥善處理解開。緣起流轉的十二緣起，互為連動。佛教因緣觀的思維幫助苦棟在生活中不斷思考、對話與感受，降低了自己犯錯的可能。然而，面對著生活許多的煩悶，總是不斷思考，不斷詢問自己的內心，不斷嘗試了解究竟這樣的給予是對或者是錯。起伏不定的情緒隨著想法在心中冒出，快要煩躁起來的心常常不知道該如何是好。

「我知道現在的我心很亂。內心中的善與惡在做戰，好與壞在徘徊。我慌亂地找方向，但我告訴自己不能錯亂，正確的觀念要把持住，不然我也不知道會發生什麼？我這幾天一直在跟我的心戰爭，很難平穩，處在煩躁的狀態。我也一遍一遍問自己，那個環節出錯了？哪個地方要改進？脾氣一直要暴躁起來，又告訴自己不能壓抑。」（I-20200312-1-008）

罌粟中風後，他的情緒因為活動受到拘束而更加起伏不定，苦棟感受到自己與孩子們也無法影響罌粟的喜怒好惡。但信仰所帶來的是一種堅定與明確的心，評估著利弊與累世的牽掛，即便辛苦也需承擔著一切。苦棟的內心不斷期望罌粟有所改變與調整，放下虛浮與慾望，減少因為生活不滿足而有的暴戾之氣。「我們就做個無頭蒼蠅一樣，見招拆招吧！希望丈夫早日領悟吧，這樣一家大小才有出頭天」（I-20200312-1-012）。苦棟有感於自己對於這個家的責任，感受到孩子是為了自己而站出來，不然他們也沒有必要繼續在家庭中受罪。有感於這樣的狀況，苦棟也提到，這樣的家庭狀況其實比比皆是，鄰里間的婦女大多也不知道怎麼做，只能選擇繼續忍或者解除婚姻關係。自己只是按照著佛教的十二因緣，理解了自身之苦的原理，依據佛教的「緣起緣滅」，化解自己與罌粟的累世糾葛。

「只要有我在，他不能怎樣，因他沒輒，他只對我。孩子是無辜的，他們也是代我受罪，孩子不忍看我這樣受罪，想要把丈夫送養老院。但也沒辦法，他是孩子的父親。像我這樣的家庭很多，但他們不會講出來，因為沒辦法，沒有錢送到養老院。」（R-20191004-1-008）

對於罌粟所有的埋怨，夾雜了許多過往的經歷。苦楝感受到對方在關係上的踐踏、忽視與語言辱罵，種種不堪的過往讓她因而悟到：「我剛剛意識到，天毒，地毒，人的心更毒，怎麼生存，自求多福！」（I-20200716-1-001）。

（三）慳、貪、嫉、妒

帶著佛教渡人信念的苦楝望著臥床的罌粟，依舊也是希望他能夠「放下屠刀，立地成佛」了悟此生應該完成的戒諦。然而，她面對著罌粟目前臥床而更加變本加厲的狀態，自己也無能為力。對於苦楝而言，她可以體會罌粟內心中因為身體狀態改變的自卑，也可以了解無法再和從前一樣「囂張」的壓抑；然而，面對罌粟內心中膨脹的自我想像，她也無能為力。

「我也是在努力幫他過心裡的坎，如他自己跟自己過不去，我也沒辦法。男人的自尊心有那麼重要嗎？又不是在外人面前，也不知道怎麼想的。」（R-20200709-1-004）

「我當下真的心很痛很痛，不知道該怎麼形容？我一個人面對一個充滿仇恨的人，不知道該怎麼面對。」（R-20200615-1-008）

「丈夫的心思與執著，他心中的執念一直放不開，最後傷害的是他自己，我也無法再做什麼改變。恨也好，怨也罷，他的心裡深處一直帶著怨氣與恨，只有他自己能去化解開來，旁人無法介入。」（R-20200629-1-004）

許多時候，苦楝的心情是糾結與紛亂的，她覺得自己已經做到盡善盡美卻仍舊被丈夫嫌得一無是處，自己有沮喪、苦悶與無助。心裡的悲慟似乎也化為身體中的氣結，忍氣吞聲不知為何與為誰。

「我要怎麼說服我自己，是不是自己還欠很多累世的債？我真不知道該說什麼？暫時還留命一條，但時好時壞，說真的哪個時候離開，誰都說不準。」（I-20200829-1-011）

「這次丈夫有驚到了，我這次腳酸軟沒辦法走路，坐也不行，都要躺著，躺在床上也很痛，本來我身體不是很好，三不五時就要去做推拿。」（R-20200728-1-001）

罌粟的仇恨夾雜的許多不滿與憤懣，苦楝也只能在自己的生活中暗自祈求，面對著對方在語言上的無法溝通，只能透過佛教的方式多做努力，而這也是自己唯一能為這世做到的表現，盡力呵護，善盡做為妻子的職責，「我的電波發出善意，他接收不到、無法感應、無法接納，這是他自己的造化，誰也無法改變誰，盡力了，以呵護他的方式來做了」（R-20200611-1-002）。

此時，苦楝以緣觀立基，看著罌粟從前的囂張跋扈，至今吃喝拉撒需要他人之手，心發慈悲與感悟。其中，也經歷了死亡真相與不靜觀的體悟。恍如昨日的威風凜凜，如

今竟以如不堪之殘燭，感嘆生之瞬變。苦棟心中的因果相生之理益發強烈，因而為罌粟感到不值，令苦棟轉化了自己過去被欺凌的悲戚，發出對「生命竟自我摧殘」的不捨與痛心。

五、第四章：所欲求者，唯佛法身及佛智慧

（一）退一步，海闊天空

苦棟回憶了這樣長期的生活，也提到自己不是沒有離婚的念頭。面對丈夫過於強勢的追求與控制，自己相反地會擔心自己家人與朋友的安危，由於丈夫背景的複雜，許多的威脅在生活中此起彼落，顧慮著許多，最後也只能放下，順服在這段婚姻生活中。

「這樣過活，我不是沒想過跟他分開各人走各人路，但他不要，所以我不能離婚，我的每個地方與每個角落他都清清楚楚，而我如果選擇這樣做，他都能把我找出來，像是有跟我聯絡的，也不會讓他好過，都會受災殃，最後我只好忍下來。」（R-20191004-1-007）

丈夫長期的霸道與強勢，也導引著苦棟述說了許多心中的無助。要錢沒錢，要人沒人，要愛沒愛，曾有多次要離婚的衝動浮現，但丈夫的一句：「不要！」打了回票，好像因此也沒有什麼立場可以做些什麼。苦棟表示自己的無可奈何，即便許許多多的志工、社工、心理師與居服員進到了家中，但是關係中的死結，仍待解鈴人解開，而自己只能用佛教最基本的方式，維持最基礎的和平，「我是很希望我能忍，因為除了忍我沒有選擇。我只能顧全大局，不然怎麼辦？我也無解，沒有更好的方法，不是嗎？」（R-20200625-1-005）。

面對這一切讓自己煩惱與困窘的點點滴滴，苦棟提到自己已經處理過與思索過，而知道與罌粟相處的界線，也保證自己的行為不會超出理智而有不當的狀況。

「不必太擔憂我是不是會做傻事或魯莽事，我知道我該做什麼。孩子的前途我也是要考慮的，也不是想做什麼就做什麼。已經走到這一步了，還是要向前看，不是嗎？」（R-20200307-1-001）

「這是我一直在堅持的原則，不然我也不會一直忍快要到盡頭了，我不會放棄的，會走完這一生的旅程。」（R-20200307-1-002）

（二）塞翁失馬，焉知非福

2020年年初，罌粟因為意外造成了腿部骨折，臥床的時間增加，苦棟也因而有了更多機會對於丈夫表達自己的感受與想法。因為這樣的機會，苦棟有了充足的時間能向丈夫表達，讓丈夫知道自己所期待的家庭與夫妻關係。

「今天我試探丈夫，大致上說了他姑姑家的情形，我說：「我們是否應該好好相處，不要有什麼不開心的就生氣，大家生活都不容易，情緒方面如有什麼的，沒有過不去的坎，互相體諒一下，也就過了，好好相處過好每一天，不是很好嗎？」（R-20200622-1-002）

苦楝接連幾次的示好與表達，是期待丈夫能夠接受自己的看見與想法，也期望在餘生透過修為，改善丈夫與子女的關係。苦楝也曾向翬粟說道：「做不順你意的，你多體諒，一家人沒有什麼，剩下的日子，我們就心平氣和的生活下去，再來我也不會多說什麼，我會默默地做，餘生多包涵」（R-20200709-1-003）。

苦楝分享著自己去到親戚家中的經驗，提到自己的姑姑與自己有著同樣的遭遇，先生的不負責任、暴戾與後來的身體病痛……。苦楝似乎能以著過來人的角度與身分理解與協助姑姑紓解內心中糾結的情緒。面對著彼此相似的處境，一方面有著同仇敵愾，另一方面也似乎透過對方的述說紓解自己的心情，「昨天我有去南投姑姑家，我人一到馬上坐下，姑姑就一直說她的心情及處境，每個家庭生活方式不一，而同樣的是，怎麼樣面對而已。沒有誰對或誰的錯，每個人的認知差別很大」（R-20200622-1-001）。

（三）佛教的播種與影響

苦楝在長期的敘說與對話中，漸漸地有著不同的想法與概念。對於翬粟過去的種種因為自己帶著佛教的思想，以自己的不足作為檢討。重新看著彼此相處的點點滴滴，因而有著許多的自我反省，想著自己哪些部分沒有做得完全，導致了彼此的衝突，「丈夫不知足也不奇怪，有可能我們做的不是很理想或不周全，我可能還要多加檢討自己哪裡須改進」（R-20200611-1-003）。

苦楝回到自己內心的覺察，幫助自己對於許多細微的變化都能有所掌握，不論是自己的情緒、外在的環境，或者彼此相處過程的衝突，因著佛教的幫助讓自己能夠自持，對於未來也能有正向的期待。

「我這陣子以來，心中有股無名氣在流動著，很想揍人，我知道後果，但還是壓著。」（R-20200720-1-002）

「我希望大家都能夠和平共處，我也不知道能不能撐得過，我只能靠意志力，盡量避免衝突。」（R-20200720-1-006）

佛教信仰如同細絲，在自己最萎靡的時候出現，在最無助的時候顯明，幫助自己在近乎崩潰的時候有著重新站起來的力量，苦楝也因而提到，自己會以雲淡風輕的方式看待著過去的情緒，重新轉化過去的情緒。此外，自己也會思考還有什麼樣的使命與功課等待自己，如何能在人生的最終有著正確的理解。另外，苦楝面對著許多生活中的不適與掙扎，也將其解釋為一種「處罰」，讓自己有著更慎重的氣度，「最重要的是，眼前的事，眼前的路，要怎樣才能更完美的達成，才是最重要的吧」（I-20200716-1-021）。

（四）多情乃佛心

經過了這一段的家庭照顧經驗，苦棟有所領悟，佛教之於修行並不限於出世出家，而同時也入世進到現實世界中，因應出所謂的「方便法門」。苦棟總結自己的經驗，提到自己所領悟的「佛」並非空談的門道，而是強調進入生活的真實佛教。走過了人生經歷，苦棟感覺到自己也可以透過合宜的方式引導著身旁的家人與朋友因應生命中的善緣與惡緣。

「今早我那位對我不錯的孀孀拿點東西來給我，跟她坐了一下，就在講那些無關緊要的事情，我一直在勸她什麼都不重要，重要的是照顧妳自己才是最重要，妳要看身邊兒媳及孫子在身邊，而自己還能自理這就是福份要珍惜。」（R-20191018-1-004）

「從那天我和丈夫聊了一下，至今他的態度有點改善了，講也沒有那樣強硬了，居服員也有改善了點，態度方面也有收斂了點。」（R-20200715-1-001）

有著更多的認同與想法在佛教的信仰中，苦棟更感受到自己成為照顧者的認同與使命，自己與信仰交會出來的樣態，或許也便是在過程中，幫助著家庭中的每個人更帶著寬容、善良與互相扶持。

「希望丈夫能真正的有所體會，也祈禱丈夫不要再出什麼亂子才好。」（R-20200715-1-002）

「我也是不想去戳丈夫的錯點，他能夠明白最好，也算是各退一步，不失顏面，大家還是好朋友，好聚好散的結局，也是我的心願，看到的局面。」（R-20200715-1-003）

苦棟反思自己從過往至今的生命理路，因著發願求取菩提智慧，以「慈悲」、「感恩」、「善念」與「圓滿」做為處世準則。同時，她也廣結善緣，期望能使慈心廣布社會。心理上，隨著自我修行的果效，漸能放開自己執著於罣礙錯誤的「我執」，破除對於生之「無明」，轉化自己委曲求全的認同，在鄰里親戚中成為過來人的身分講述，指引旁人迷津。

肆、討論與建議

本研究以質性研究取向敘說探究的方式探討佛教女性家庭照顧者面對家庭照顧責任的心理轉化經驗。研究者進一步分析出研究參與者在家庭照顧的經驗中四個階段的轉變，透過本研究發現了家庭照顧經驗的心境轉折，另一方面也凸顯佛教實踐於家庭照顧情境的關鍵。支持了 Ranjbar 等人（2020）和 Koç 與 Kafa（2019）「文化謙遜」的想法，從個體所存在的文化場域中汲取因應概念，創造出個體因應生命事件的能力。

本研究著重照顧歷程中的挫折與矛盾，面對許多時候照顧者獨自處理「自身」和「被照顧者」的情緒，圍繞在其身旁的諸多人物，都容易不斷喚起潛伏於心中的矛盾與仇恨，也因而需要頓悟與洞見，讓自己在「照顧者」的角色中堅持。研究參與者與佛教的交織，也便如同夏允中等人（2018）所述，漸漸以「修養」作為照顧歷程中的隱喻，協助自我能超越許多生活困境，支持與修復生命與照顧歷程的挫折與創傷。

研究者最後總結苦棟於生命歷程中所體察的佛教智慧，以及其所帶來的心理轉化（請見表3）。

表 3
心性階段變化圖

| 階段 | 意涵 | 心中所體察的 佛教智慧 | 心理轉化 |
|------------------|--|--|--|
| 生如水深火熱，無處容身，轉念無明 | <u>苦棟</u> 來到夫家後產生的種種挑戰如同水深火熱，讓自己無地自處，只能啞巴吃黃連。 | 了悟「無明」，見解自己對於一切的「無知」。面對生活八萬四千煩惱，發現自己失去原先的覺性。 | 在念與念間， <u>苦棟</u> 知根本的執著與煩惱，為求能破除，因此心生以佛教轉念，從而開始引動，期望以「悟」與「修」，斷除煩惱。 |
| 生無來，滅無去，生滅見自己 | <u>苦棟</u> 體察置身的處境後，悟到只有自己能夠使身處的環境改變，自己嘗盡家庭生活的苦衷與旁人的消遣，為了孩子們而堅強。 | 面對於生之道，以「惜緣」作為自己處世的原則，骨肉的生存，成為自己繼續前進的依憑。 | 佛教的戒定慧成為自己的修持，導引著自己不求乎之外，乃是由心而發，看淡世事。 |
| 名色由識，緣識有名色 | <u>罌粟</u> 中風後， <u>苦棟</u> 體察生本然之「生老病死」、「憂悲苦惱」，由 <u>罌粟</u> 之境感悟「此生故彼有，此生股彼生」之義理，從而使自己開創對話與對於生命智慧的思索。 | 以緣觀立基，體認「因緣相生、因果相應」，為殘弱的生命發出慈悲。歷經死亡真相與不靜觀的體悟。 | 轉化了自己過去被欺凌的悲戚，發出對「生命竟自我摧殘」的不捨與痛心。 |
| 所欲求者，唯佛法身及佛智慧 | <u>苦棟</u> 重回自我的洞察與體認，佛教修為的圓滿之道引領自己重新看待這段生命與照顧的經驗，了悟自己在此段的修與得，亦以此引導旁人於生命自處之道。 | 發願求取菩提智慧，以「慈悲」、「感恩」、「善念」與「圓滿」做為處世準則。同時廣結善緣，期望慈心廣布社會。 | 藉由修行，放開自我執著於 <u>罌粟</u> 錯誤的「我執」，破除對於生之「無明」，轉化自己委曲求全的認同，在鄰里親戚中成為過來人的身分講述，指引旁人迷津。 |

一、存在與佛法的無我無執

西方因應存在困境，提出人有挑戰所經歷之痛苦、罪惡、沮喪與死亡的能力（Frankl, 1978），然而其所指稱的意義是未指向的、回歸於人本體的。從這樣的哲學觀點出發，雖肯定自我可以「追尋人生意義與目的」、「突破人生的苦難與限制」、「克服人生的孤獨與死亡」（Walsh & Vaughan, 2018）；然而，當研究參與者在早期處在困境時，窮盡於尋求自身的滿足與期待卻總是落空，源自於己身所思索的「生命意義」不斷受到否定，內心因而產生極大的怨懟與否定，反而強加了對於自我不信任與否認生活環境的信念。如同 Hays（2009）提到，以個人主義為主的處遇在不同文化價值的地區可能會產生介入的失敗或者其他衍生議題。此也回應了 Shiah 等（2016）所描述，個人主義容易產生對於自我的執著，導致內心最深處的挫敗。即使人以自身的才智嘗試解答生命的難題，但卻也是因著這份欲念與大我，引誘了人遁入執著的苦道。相仿於華人文化中對於家庭的執著包含了家族、關係、權威與他人等面向（彭懷真，1994；楊國樞，1992），也因而容易產生許多預設立場與面子的議題，這是研究參與者所經歷的執著與苦，也在這樣的處境中歷經了家庭照顧對於自己的種種擊打。研究參與者在家庭的經營中除了應對左鄰右舍各方面的恥笑、閒言閒語，也想著如何可以以身作則，讓家中的孩子們在基本的需求滿足中成長，在兩相競逐之間，便也容易陷入過往研究中提到的家庭照顧的「苦難」（Boss, 2010; Losada et al., 2010）。而關係層面，研究參與者也經歷了華人傳統夫妻較為疏離淡漠的狀態，產生內在較多的不滿與壓抑（Ho, 1981；黃玉賢等，2009）。

佛教的觀點串接過去、當下與未來，這樣的價值與立基也使得個體能夠有不同的視野與觀點，也解釋了「佛教所指稱的無我」。原來家庭照顧場境的許多現實，如同瘡疤一再被掀開，原有對於家庭和樂的想像其實是許多惶恐的總和，不知道未來因著丈夫的行為又會發生甚麼驚天動地，因而李仁豪（2019）採取普遍一致的「苦」作為立基，揭示了存在一切皆為「苦」，這樣的觀點也幫助「苦受」的人們獲得意識上的解脫，免除了「是否我做錯甚麼？」的質疑。當結合了佛教的觀點，串接了華人文化的價值體系，也變使得盧怡任（2022）提出之「處遇結構」取向治療觀點產生連結，研究參與者也在過程中發展自我處境的多義化。結合這樣的視野，因而解答了「我」不必是「我」的前提，而是在「我」之外，並創造一個適於文化存在的空間，面對人生的無常，以致人生終程的涅槃。「家庭照顧」因而可以脫離「負擔」的既定印象，成為激發人在面對生命執著與無力境況的回頭靜省。

二、不善心所在家庭照顧者自我反思效果

夏允中（2020）提到，「非理作意」會導致「執著」，並對情緒產生影響，其中主要來自內在對於美好與不美好的過度執著與想像，造成佛教中所謂的「不善心所」，最後引發「煩惱情緒」。如同研究參與者所經驗的「伴侶關係」、「對於鄰人的指指點點」和「與照服員的角色衝突」等，研究參與者透過佛教的思維重新架構自己的理解，漸漸梳理出自己在底心深處的「不善心所」與企圖，而終見到了自己的「執著」與「不善心所」。然而情緒的本質是變動與短暫的，其卻有可能對於我們的想法帶來極端的影響。「不善心所」，雖驅使著人有想望，然而卻也使人產生妄想與欲求，容易遮掩住了本性與智慧。如此固著於一物一事一景的結果，便是失去對於生命本質的主掌，失落了生命本質的善變與無常。

如同相關研究指出華人文化重視「整體」、「天地人和諧」的觀點（夏允中等人，2018；徐欣萍、黃光國，2013），研究參與者在照顧歷程中也藉由相關網絡的連結引發自己「修養」己身的洞察與實踐，投入修行幫助自己獲得一個更加全觀的視野，而終能對於家庭照顧有著不同的理解。不執著是對於想法與感覺的不堅持與不固著（Sahdra et al., 2010），而如同研究參與者透過自己所領悟的「無明」、「惜緣」、「因緣相生、因果相應」、求取菩提智慧、「慈悲」、「感恩」、「善念」與「圓滿」等，藉由修行，放開自我執著，幫助自己獲得生命的彈性與自在，也更能自處在生活情境中（林之丞、夏允中，2019；李秀如等，2021；夏允中，2020；莊慧琳等，2014；賴賢宗，2003）。透過心理的調節自我平衡，對於週遭的事物的見解與看見，擁有對於生命的自主（趙舒禾、陳秉華，2013）。

面對家庭照顧如此長期與龐大的責任，自我與受照顧者的彼此交互影響所影響的範圍廣布，擴及自我、家庭與生活的社區；最後，是需要透過自我的緩和引發的智慧來協助自己度過這樣的處境。所謂的「不執著」為要達到自性本空，意味著我們的認知、情感與行為等面向都不會有受到困擾的現象，以此為基礎，可以透過此境界來達到「真實智慧」（簡秀真等，2021；羅家玲，2020）。

三、女性家庭照顧者身心負擔

研究參與者的家庭照顧經驗顯示，家庭照顧的責任對於研究參與者而言帶來強烈的身心負擔，相仿過去的許多調查與研究（王增勇，2011；陳景寧，2016；許淑敏、邱啓潤，2003；衛生福利部，2021；Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016）。隨著高齡化社會的來臨，家庭照顧責任將是未來許多家庭需要面對的議題。相仿於先前的研究發現，照護工作所會遭遇的困境包含經濟，面對被照顧者的情緒負擔與其他家庭事務；同時，身處於鄉村的社會情境中，他們也需要面對左鄰右舍的指指點點，這些面向都是容易壓倒家庭照顧者的最後一根稻草（許淑敏、邱啓潤，2003）。此外，研究參與者歷經早期被照顧者所施

加的精神與肢體暴力，「施予照顧」與「報復」兩者的人性衝突對於當事人而言都是極大的拉扯，而這樣的心理衝突也呈現在過往許多的家庭照顧情境中(蔡佳容等人, 2016)。似乎，在家庭照顧的過程中，詢問「是否願意繼續照顧」的行為選擇背後，都潛藏著「為什麼是我要照顧」的價值思辨。華人文化中以佛教著稱的根基仍潛移默化，對於夫妻間的關係也以「百年修得同船渡，千年修得共枕眠」等作為論述。如同研究參與者面對自己早期的經驗，仍因為文化中對於夫妻道義的重視，不斷探求支持自己進行家庭照顧責任的理由(李瑞全, 2006)。在這樣的價值信念中，過往的經驗雖讓自己感受到難受與痛苦，卻指向著對於生命的堅韌力，藉由此生的「緣分」與「因果報應」觀點(李仁豪, 2019; 徐欣萍, 2012)，引導人相信有「這世」在家庭照顧歷程需要堅持下去的理由。從本研究中也發現，隱藏創傷的壓抑，總會在某一個時刻中浮現，也會分別影響了自己在生命過程中的許多抉擇。在傳統農村社會的社群文化束縛中，「離婚」對於女性的嘲諷意味極大，相仿於過往研究，家庭營運的好壞也是自我認同的一部分(吳宜真、賈紅鶯, 2012)。不論是受到家內的輕忽，也容易被外人所言語，導致女性需要承受來自於男權社會的各種情緒暴力。面對著種種不力的威脅，也因而需要較多外界的支持與轉移，紓解其根深於家庭所衍生的種種情緒。

四、此研究對於研究者的個人影響

華人的家庭文化在進入到多元文化並立的當代似乎受到了忽視，因為較強調「自我」與「標新立異」的流行趨勢，導致身在台灣的我們遺忘了本土底蘊的文化根基。作為一個實務工作者、諮商研究者與文化的學習者，這三個角色不斷在研究進行的歷程中穿梭與反思，幫助自己洞察未見的現象，也引導著自己重新述說身而為人的意義。與研究參與者進行互動與對話的過程中，會有著強烈的感受，源自於她對於自己受到忽視的不滿、怨懟，也有著自己因著這些佛法的感悟沒有受到深層的理解而發的失落。面對著家庭中親子的矛盾隨著上一代的錯亂延伸至自己的孩兒，心生傷感與憂心，認為世代似乎搖搖欲墜，而自己堅持的道理如遙遙無期。

開始進行與研究參與者的生命對話實屬契機，從一開始看見研究參與者數次流下挫折與失落的眼淚，到最後看見她在對話中慢慢浮起對於自己生命的理解與連結，體認到如同 Combs 和 Freedman (2012) 與黃素菲 (2018) 的觀點，藉由敘說的過程幫助個體表達，串接了生命故事，使其生發出生命的意義與渴望；同時，這個過程也賦能與賦權了個體，幫助她能獲得穩固的自我認同，能更堅韌地面對生命的挑戰。Sullivan 和 Miller (2015) 提到，家庭照顧的過程讓研究參與者產生極大的深心耗損，這樣的狀態也容易受到忽視與不理解，因而將負面的情緒壓抑在心底深處(蔡佳容等, 2016)。隨著研究參與者回顧自己的生命歷程，也如同是陪伴她走過生命中種種重要的事件，歷歷在目，

深感於她對於家庭之愛，也有感佛法對於她的影響之深，進而體認到重視文化脈絡的重要性。而協助研究參與者在過程中省思照顧歷程與佛教的連結，逐步提升靈性覺察，就如同夏允中（2020）倡議以自性覺醒作為介入，讓個體自我活出真實圓滿的生活境界。

佛教之於華人社會的重要性可彰顯在此，協助原本僵固的思維獲得轉變，化解自我心中之忿恨，為生命找到不同的意義與方向。隨著不同的生命路徑浮現，將原本家庭照顧的「負擔」帶入佛教修養之意涵，創造出個體追尋真實自我的指引。

五、對於未來研究之建議

在台灣進入高齡化社會的當代，家庭照顧已是我們無法逃避的議題，或許在都市中，資源相對普及，也有較多社福單位團體與長照站，提供家庭照護方面的協助。然而在鄉村地區，一方面還保留著傳統華人家庭的「家醜不可外揚」，並重視「圓滿」與「面子」，導致許多家庭照顧者方案支持介入的困難。其中，「照顧者—被照顧者」的關係脈絡，也因而容易在如此長期的依伴關係中牽扯出家庭生命歷程中的諸多糾葛。

本研究呈現了研究參與者在生命早期因媒妁之言建立的婚姻關係，步入晚年後，其中的關係歷程也因著丈夫的身體狀況改變，開始有了權力位階的轉變。而相關觀點的探索，也多會在不同的視框中產生變化。限於本次研究的目標，許多觀點與議題仍無法測知，包含：家庭歷程的轉變、其他家庭成員的心理面貌、其他支持系統的合作模式與被照顧者的狀態等；此外，針對相關心理素質部分，也需要透過相關實證量表的調查，驗證相關特質狀態的轉變，諸如：正向心理特質的探究、情緒議題的探討、相關生心理狀態的相關性研究等，都是未來潛在的研究議題。

隨著家庭照顧的議題更加廣泛，加上家庭照顧者在價值觀與態度與西方主流的社會文化（如，基督教文明、一神文明、健保體制、家庭觀念等）互有差異，也因而需要以本土化的觀點重新探究，協助場域的工作者能以著「文化謙遜」的視框進行現場的互動，提供文化體系的個體更合適的介入與建議。

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A Narrative Study on the Psychological Transformation of a Buddhist Female Family Caregiver

Yi-You Hung

Abstract

This study aims to explore the psychological transformation experiences of a female Buddhist family caregiver while caring for her husband who suffered a stroke. In the cultural context of Chinese Buddhism, female family caregivers often lack in-depth exploration from a counseling psychology perspective. Culture serves as an individual's coping mechanism in the face of "challenges." The psychological states of family caregivers, which are often overlooked, require further investigation to help them cope with the burdens of caregiving. The study adopts a narrative inquiry approach, analyzing six interviews conducted with the research participant. Additionally, 63 self-reflection records generated by the participant during the process are used for text analysis. The results reveal that the caregiver's journey can be divided into four stages:

1. Chapter 1: "Life Like Deep Water and Fiery Heat, Nowhere to Hide, Lost in Confusion": (1) Early Taiwanese family culture and values contribute to experiences of "husband's unfaithfulness" and family dynamics marked by "bewilderment and suffering." (2) The husband's infidelity and emotional exhaustion lead to feelings of "anguish and guilt" related to their children.
2. Chapter 2: "Birth Has No Origin, Death Has No End, Birth and Death Reveal the Self": (1) The caregiver chooses to "awaken, cherish relationships, and defend the parent-child bond." (2) In moments of helplessness, akin to extreme suffering, she realizes there is no escape and observes life's hardships with detachment. (3) Her Buddhist foundation strengthens through "mindfulness, precepts leading to concentration, and concentration leading to wisdom."
3. Chapter 3: "Name and Form Arise from Consciousness, Consciousness Is Conditioned by Name and Form": (1) After her husband's stroke, roles reverse, and past neglect and hurt resurface. (2) She contemplates "life's karmic connections: old age, death, sorrow, suffering, and vexations." (3) Within Buddhist beliefs of interdependence, she understands "this arises from that, this life from that life."
4. Chapter 4: "What One Seeks Is Only the Dharma Body and Buddha's Wisdom": (1) Amidst internal struggles, her Buddhist faith leads her to choose "retreat and embrace vastness." (2) The sudden accident with her husband later reveals the

wisdom of "misfortune may be a blessing." (3) Throughout subsequent caregiving experiences, she feels the impact of "Buddhist seeds and influence." (4) She realizes that "compassion is the Buddha's heart" and reevaluates life. The participant's retelling of her life journey serves two purposes: personal reflection on caregiving experiences and providing guidance for other family caregivers on their lengthy path of caregiving.

Keywords: Buddhist coping experience, family caregivers, indigenization

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I. Introduction

1. Preface

Contemporary psychotherapy models are mainly based on the values and assumptions of Western culture, and many therapeutic techniques and strategies are extended from them. Although many studies have found that these models are cross-culturally adaptable, their fundamental differences in values and beliefs can easily lead to deviations in treatment (Koç & Kafa, 2019). The development of the indigenous model is necessary, and it is the only way to preserve the cultural features of today's world, where multiple cultures are curious about each other. The Chinese ideological system is mostly known for collectivism, which has its indigenous wisdom context from family and society to the country (Shiah & Hwang, 2019). As Ranjbar et al. (2020) mentioned, only by having a cultural encounter with the client with a culturally humble perspective can we have a good engagement with the client.

Throughout life, people constantly face many existential issues related to being human (Frankl, 1978). Many unpredictable situations will also arise due to the flow of life. People seek a balance between "existential limitations" and "existential opportunities" to develop their potential for existence (Walsh & Vaughan, 2018; Yalom & Josselson, 2014). Most researchers mentioned that suffering is a common experience in family caregiving experiences (Boss, 2010; Losada et al., 2010). As Lu (2022) proposed from the perspective of phenomenological therapy, "suffering transformation" stems from the awareness of the current contradictions in the painful experience and the determination to change. Continuing with this view, Hays (2009) reminds us that only treatment that is close to the client's personal history and cultural experience can produce appropriate treatment results. The researchers hope to use localized narrative research to further guide the cultural heritage hidden within individuals through the perspective of cultural understanding.

2. Current Status and Burden of Family Caregivers

The Ministry of Health and Welfare (2021) pointed out in its "106th Annual Survey on the Status of the Elderly and Report on the Survey of Primary Family Caregivers" that with the advent of an era of aging, declining birthrates, and smaller families, the burden on family caregivers is increasing; 35.23% of family caregivers need to quit their jobs, and the number of women is 19.51% higher than that of men. Among employed family caregivers, 32.21% said

they needed to reduce their working hours, take leave, or adjust their working hours. The older the caregiver, the lower the rate of rotation care, decreasing from 63.04% for those under 45 to 36.78% for those over 65. It is evident that the care burden increases with the caregiver's age. 42.86% of people said they had experienced insomnia, muscle aches, depression, and high blood pressure during the caregiving process; 27.29% found that their social relationship management declined after becoming family caregivers. More seriously, the survey showed that 29.42% of caregivers believed that their family finances had deteriorated as they needed to adjust their work. Family care work is an excellent test of one's physical and mental health and, therefore, requires support and care from relevant units to avoid physical and psychological exhaustion (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2017). Generally speaking, while shouldering caregiving responsibilities, family caregivers experience stress and conflicts in self-, interpersonal, social, family, and spiritual aspects (Hsu & Chiu, 2003). Such inner struggles are suppressed at first, but over time, the family will ignore them as they become accustomed to them. Finally, they will erupt over trivial matters, leading to an irreversible situation.

Family caregivers are the actual service providers and care providers, but their need for attention is often overlooked. Faced with the pressure and emotional conflicts of caregiving, the long-term and endless tasks force them to think rationally. Even if they have many ideas, conflicts, and plans for self-development in their hearts, they are still restricted by such situations. Tsai et al. (2016) took family caregivers of dementia patients as an example. They found that family caregivers would feel uneasy and self-blame because they could not be sure of the needs of the cared-for persons and were often in a state of psychological conflict.

In Chinese society, when women begin to play the role of family caregivers, compared to other relatives who have jobs as a mental diversion, female family caregivers need to endure full-time care responsibilities. On the other hand, dealing with the temper of the person being cared for is an unspeakable burden. Compared with caregiving responsibilities for children, caregiving for the elderly is full of frustration and helplessness (Chen, 1996). The impact of family care work is wide-ranging, ranging from the need for caregivers to stop their original work to a restricted range of activities to reduced self-time. Such round-the-clock caregiving responsibilities cause family caregivers to be lonely and fight alone for a long time. In addition to their physical and mental states, it also affects their self-identity, interpersonal relationships, and sense of life value (Wang, 2011). What's worse, female family caregivers may also experience adverse psychological problems, such as anxiety, worry, frustration, anger, grievance, guilt, loneliness, powerlessness, sadness, depression, etc. (Chen, 2016). In today's age of aging and declining birthrates, the issue of family care is by no means limited to a few families; it is a situation that every family in Taiwan will face in the future. Understanding local female family caregivers' real feelings and psychological experiences and providing appropriate support services is currently a top priority. Faced with the rising number of family care tragedies in recent years, providing appropriate cultural and psychological treatment is the key and focus.

Zarit et al. (1986) defined caregiver burden as a caregiver's perceived emotional, social, economic, physical, and spiritual dysfunction. This definition extends to multiple levels and emphasizes the individual's subjective feelings. Some caregiving situations may cause caregiver burden and stress, such as daily life stress, social isolation, and economic deprivation. The risk factors that induce caregiver burden include: 1. being female; 2. having low educational achievement; 3. living with a caregiver; 4. having a higher number of care hours; 5. suffering from depression; 6. being socially isolated; 7. having financial pressure; and 8. having no choice to become a caregiver (Adelman et al., 2014). Navaie-Waliser et al. (2002) found that poorly trained caregivers experience more significant stress and are more likely to encounter dangers during the caregiving process. Nevertheless, in the United States, the value of care provided by family caregivers is as high as \$1.96 trillion, far exceeding the care budget provided by state or private care centers. This means that the healthcare system is more dependent on family caregivers. However, the issue of family caregivers has not been discussed in relevant fields due to the lack of attention from relevant governments and society. Sullivan and Miller (2015) believed that caring for a family member with a chronic illness can cause great physical and emotional damage to the individual and may even isolate the individual from others. It can be said that care responsibility is a burden that tests how caregivers take care of themselves physically and mentally. If caregivers can control five common variables of caregiver burden, such as emotional, social, financial, physical, and spiritual, it can help improve the quality of care and reduce caregiving burden (Archbold et al., 1990).

Although the family care process may have negative effects, this does not mean that it does not provide positive help. Cohen et al. (2002) found that 73% of caregivers could identify at least one positive benefit associated with better self-rated health. From this perspective, family caregivers can also gain a sense of accomplishment from family care work, which can help bring the relationship closer (Sullivan & Miller, 2015). If family caregivers receive positive emotional support, it will help strengthen family relationships and continue the caregiver's care work, thereby saving family expenses and improving the family's relevant psychological indicators (such as emotions, coping behaviors, and self-efficacy) (Adelman et al., 2014).

Faced with the care pressure of family caregivers, the current approach is mostly through family members or related units supplemented with economic, human, and material support, such as faith, siblings, companionship, growth courses, and long-term care support (Sheng, 2011); caregiver support groups (Gonyea, 1989); consultation from professionals (Lin, 1992), etc. The actions mentioned above can initially provide the parties with support and companionship, helping them to get through this care experience. Bastawrous (2013) believed that studying family caregiving experiences can enable family caregivers to understand the importance of their roles, further help the government and society understand their needs, and provide appropriate support. Individual narratives can highlight the social and cultural context

in which family caregivers exist in order to truly understand their current situation and experience (Bruner, 1986). Freedman and Combs (2012) also mentioned that narrative can allow participants to express themselves, vent and replay their own experiences, guide self-reflection and growth, and reconstruct a personally satisfying life story. Narrative research and documentation can trigger the parties to separate themselves from the problem and re-clarify their relationship with it. This helps form individual self-identity and assists in empowerment and finding solutions to the problem (Huang, 2018). The narration focuses on the present of our history, connecting past life experiences into stories through memory and language to gain a sense of meaning in the process.

There are still few studies in psychology that use Buddhist family caregivers as a narrative inquiry. If the family caregiving experience can be sorted out from the narrative inquiry perspective, it can help practitioners increase their sensitivity to the psychological treatment of family caregivers.

3. The Special Characteristics of “Home” in Chinese Society

Family has important value connotations in Chinese society, and individuals in the "family" will also be influenced by the family's cultural atmosphere. Yang (1985) mentioned that Chinese familism originated from a traditional agricultural society. The concept of familism is mainly reflected in the three core elements of "attaching importance to unity and harmony," "prosperity of the family," and "family growth." Such a belief will emphasize "mutual assistance and cooperation," "bearing humiliation," and "humility and obedience" among family members. It will also make the "family rich" and create "family glory," help the family inheritance, and make the descendants prosperous. As Hwang (1988) mentioned, an individual's life is a link in the family, and everything is worth it as long as it can bring honor to the family. Therefore, sayings such as "return home in glory", "bring honor to the family", "have many children and grandchildren", "a harmonious family brings prosperity", "don't air your dirty laundry in public", etc., easily become the underlying values of the Chinese living there. Like a social system, the family needs to establish values, security, achievement, intimacy, challenge, stimulation, and spiritual sustenance. The quality of the family system determines whether the relationships between family members are positive or negative (Peng, 1994). In general, Chinese families emphasize obedience and compliance, which forms patriarchy and filial piety (Hamilton, 1990). Most traditional Chinese families are also more indirect in their expressions, expressing their feelings and thoughts more subtly. Due to the traditional family belief of male superiority and female inferiority in the early days, in conventional society, there is still a lot of class consciousness in the relationship between husband and wife, which makes it easy to suppress and conceal emotions in the relationship. Therefore, in traditional Chinese couples, there is a greater tendency for alienation, indifference, suppression, restriction, or

refusal of communication (Ho, 1981). Huang et al. (2009) mentioned that the indifferent family relationship and the cultural hierarchy of seniority can easily lead to wives feeling relationship pressure and repressed emotions in their husbands' families. In the traditional Chinese family characteristics that emphasize character, family inheritance, and systems, we can see that this way of maintaining class guides the continuity from generation to generation and maintains the stability of family operations. Li (2006) mentioned that in traditional Chinese society, family relationships outside of marriage, such as adoption by close relatives, foster care, and sworn brotherhood, were accepted. This shows that Chinese culture emphasizes the importance of "morality." Such ethical norms guide the Chinese "family" to have the characteristics of "mutuality" and "morality" in terms of obligations and to be courteous and tolerant of each other.

Family is an important social and psychological element for Chinese people. It provides a cultural path but can also easily bind people and restrict themselves. Chinese families are an invisible expectation and requirement, and most people evaluate their success or failure in life based on the status of their family (Wu & Jia, 2012). As Yang (1992) believed, Chinese families are different from Western families in that they include: 1. family orientation; 2. relationship orientation; 3. authority orientation; and, 4. other orientation. Therefore, in the Chinese cultural system, there are proverbs such as "It is difficult for a judge to settle family disputes", "It is difficult for a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law to break down the wall of gossip" or "Family disgrace should not be made public". Each proverb reveals the state of family interaction culture latent in traditional society. Looking at what the Chinese call "family" and the deep-rooted Buddhist ideas behind it, the Buddhist concepts of "fate" and "cause and effect" are also faithfully presented in the atmosphere of family and interpersonal relationships (Li, 2019).

In this study, the participants, based on their belief in "Buddhism," expressed their frustration with Buddhism and hope to return to their roots. Due to the profound influence of culture on the self, the belief in Buddhism, and the belief in karma and reincarnation, this study aims to present how the research participants use Buddhism as a response and interpretation to accept their family care responsibilities.

4. A Buddhist Perspective on Family Care Responsibility

Buddhism aims to enlighten the mind and see nature, eliminate the suffering of the cycle of life and death, break the ego and troubles, and achieve ultimate liberation. It hopes to attain ultimate liberation by breaking the ego and troubles (Lin & Shiah, 2019). It advocates the equality of all beings, including humans and all living things. It guides people to be compassionate and tolerant, abandon material desires, and cultivate themselves diligently to achieve perfection in this world (Shiah, 2016). Buddhism is centered on the Four Noble Truths (suffering, origin, cessation, and path) and the Eightfold Path (right view, right thinking, right

speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration). Furthermore, the Eightfold Path can be divided into three aspects: 1. Wisdom development (right view, right thinking); 2. Moral conduct (right speech, right action, right livelihood); 3. Spiritual practice (right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration). To sum up, the spirit of Buddhism aims to help individuals understand their true self and true Buddha nature and to guide them to gain the true wisdom of life. If it can effectively help family caregivers think critically when carrying out their care work, it can also serve as another way of worldly cultivation.

On the one hand, Buddhism is based on the whole process of life, and it recognizes the continuity and reproducibility of existence. It can be analyzed according to the five levels of the "Self-Awakening Psychotherapy Theory" proposed by Shiah (2020): 1. Creating a conducive living environment; 2. Efforts to strengthen the good self and reduce irrational thoughts; 3. Wisdom of death and mindfulness of death; 4. Meditation without contemplation and mindfulness of death; 5. Meditation of cessation, etc., to obtain the state of "self-nature" or "nirvana." Through the above guidance, combined with Buddhist wisdom and self-cultivation, family caregivers can be assisted in transforming their own "difficulties" in family care work, further connecting their lives with it, and promoting "enlightenment" of life. Overall, the Buddhist perspective is to help individuals gain understanding and insight into life and comprehend the wisdom of life through the concepts of "generational transmission," "common human nature," and "transfer of responsibility" (Chien et al., 2021). Therefore, regarding family caregivers' caregiving stress, the key is to use relevant awareness strategies, regulation strategies, emotional adjustment and cognitive thinking (Li, 2019).

The emphasis on relationships in Chinese culture largely derives from the Buddhist concept of karma. "Dependent origination and cessation" profoundly impacts the Chinese (Hsieh et al., 2023). The term "karma" in Buddhism means cause and condition. In ancient Indian texts, dependent origination (Pali: *paticca-samuppada*) means that all dharmas "arise depending on conditions and perish depending on conditions." It means that the physical world is interdependent and changes with each other. From the perspective of Dependent Origination, all things are closely connected and interdependent. As mentioned in the *Miscellaneous Āgamas*: "If this exists, that exists; if this does not exist, that does not exist; if this arises, this ceases; if this ceases, that ceases." In Buddhism, dependent origination is divided into four causes: causal conditions, sequential conditions, conditional conditions, and enhancing conditions (Yin Shun, 2003). The *Madhyamika School* further believes that dependent origination encompasses four characteristics: the nature of this cause and effect, the nature of relativity, the nature of birth and death, and the nature of emptiness (Liu, 2000). Therefore, as stated in the *Indra Net* of the *Avatamsaka Sutra*: "Like this, reflections intersect, layer upon layer of shadows appear, hidden and reflected, layer upon layer, endless." This expresses that it is impossible to distinguish the main and the subordinate in the birth of causes and conditions;

instead, they are mutually cause and effect. The "Madhyamaka Shastra" also mentions: "Neither born nor destroyed, neither permanent nor discontinuous, neither the same nor different, neither coming nor going." It symbolizes that among all worldly phenomena, dependent origination and extinction are the external forms, but the inner self is always simple and peaceful. Hsu and Hwang (2013) found that in contemporary society, the concept of fate affects individuals through cultural cognitive schemas involving themes such as "relationships," "fate," and "religion."

For Buddhist female family caregivers, the responsibility of family care is not just a relationship or a responsibility guided by destiny but also a spiritual practice for themselves. Hsu (2012) found that in Chinese relationships, the Buddhist theory of "cause and effect" and the Taoist theory of "following nature" complement each other, leading to the recognition and awareness of "fate." If an individual shows "tolerance/forgiveness" behavior, it will produce positive feedback and strengthen the concept of cultural beliefs. This path is due to Buddhism's deep insight and logic into life. On the one hand, it recognizes life's suffering, and on the other hand, it guides individuals to leave their ego and live a life of wisdom born from the Dharma (Luo, 2020). Buddhist values have penetrated deeply into the cultural context of the Chinese people and serve as a principle of thinking.

From a holistic perspective, the center of Western values is the self, but in Buddhism, the self is the root of human attachment (Shiah et al., 2016). The Twelve Links of Dependent Origination mentions the suffering of being born as a human being. In contrast to the Western view, Buddhism adopts a cultivation perspective, guiding people to transform their own understanding and insights in the process. It replaces the external perspective of "treatment, support, and counseling". It starts from the self-context of "wisdom acquisition," "identity construction," "relationship strengthening," and "life practice," focusing on individual self-empowerment. The introduction of the "nonself" perspective allows individuals to have a clear understanding of worldly affairs. Further, it promotes the perspective of practice in the world, helping people change their consciousness of life (Shiah et al., 2018). Through identity transformation and class beliefs, the role identity changes from "the way of the lower class", "the way of the middle class" to "the way of the upper class", which contains a kind of "universal" and "simple" value, guiding people to have hope for life as a way to settle down. In general, the path of cultivation referred to in Buddhism includes: 1. Cultivation of ego and desire (Li et al., 2021); 2. Mindfulness and meditation (Lin & Shiah, 2019; Shiah, 2020); and 3. Cultivation of wisdom (Lai, 2003; Shiah, 2020); and 4. Perfection and selflessness (Chuang et al., 2014), etc. The above-mentioned ways of self-cultivation can help individuals understand how to cultivate themselves in the world, thereby eliminating misunderstandings about life and improving their self-nature. Restoring the Chinese people's cultural identity with Buddhism can, on the one hand, help family caregivers replace the concept of family care. On the other hand, it can also guide beliefs, radiate one's inner sense of unity from selflessness, altruism, and

mutual benefit, and expand one's good thoughts and compassion for "people in the world" (Li, 2019).

Using Buddhism to help family caregivers realize the way of life is a development of Taiwan's local healing method, which aims to help people understand the true nature of life, such as birth, aging, sickness, and death. Through self-cultivation and practice in the path of life, we can understand the so-called suffering, accumulation, cessation, and path. In the life practice of suffering and becoming a Buddha, we can achieve the wisdom of adapting to life because of continuous insight and realization. This study hopes to more clearly see how Buddhist beliefs help participants overcome and transcend the barriers of early experiences and family care responsibilities when they are experiencing family care through the records of their real-life experiences and insights at each turning point.

II. Research Methods

1. Research Design

Qualitative research can provide dynamic, substantive implications and discourses for psychological patterns and descriptions. It can also enable reflection and expression through continuous symbolic data, thereby concretizing deep and meaningful psychological feelings and enabling discoveries and insights (Niu, 2023). Ricoeur (1990) believes that the self can be discovered through narrative, and we also need to use the "stories" of daily life to guide us to "gain" something in our daily lives and discover the meaning of life. The narrative approach has gradually been widely used in fields such as sociology, psychology, and education to enhance further the understanding of people (Combs & Freedman, 2012). This study adopts narrative inquiry to explore individuals' review and experience of their life course. It hopes to clearly explore how "Buddhist female family caregivers" overcome their own internal psychological bottlenecks, adopt Buddhist perspectives, and devote themselves to family care work. We hope to provide relevant workers with further clarification and understanding of contemporary family care issues.

2. Study Participants

This study used in-depth sampling to select a female family caregiver with a Buddhist background. Her family caregiving experience has lasted for more than seven years since September 2016, and she has encountered family conflicts and related psychological issues in her life. The study participant was female, aged between 55 and 60 years old, with Buddhist religious beliefs; the person receiving long-term care was her husband, aged between 60 and

65 years old, whose religious beliefs were Buddhism and Taoism. He suffered a stroke in September 2016 and began to need family care at home. The person being cared for is unable to move independently, needs help from others in feeding and drinking, and is bedridden for a long time. In addition, due to the unstable emotions of the person being cared for, he may occasionally urinate or defecate at will and spill meals due to emotional issues, resulting in long-term discord with family members. The study participant experienced quarrels, conflicts, and arguments with the care recipient during the care process and had early relationship trauma emerge, so they applied for home care and family respite services.

This study aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the research participants' experiences in family caregiving and the impact of Buddhist beliefs on the research participants. After explaining the purpose of the study and the ethical standards related to them, the researchers agreed to publish their experiences in academic publications to enhance their understanding of the relevant field and begin this study.

3. Research Tools

(1) Researchers

The researcher of this study is a doctoral student at the Institute of Counseling. His faith journey has included Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity. The researcher has also received training in counseling theory, localized research, and cross-disciplinary cooperation in the long-term care profession. The researcher is immersed in exploring Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and life course and has been engaged in indigenous counseling research for many years. Through dialogue with research participant and regular discussions and expositions on the research content with professor familiar with indigenous counseling research, the overall research discourse is clarified, relevant Buddhist concepts are explained, and researcher is assisted in completing the study and forming a holistic discourse. The authenticity of the relevant results was reviewed through dialogue and reflection records with the research participant. For this study to truly reflect the psychological transformation patterns of the research participant, the researchers discussed with her many times and recorded her internal changes in detail. The research process adheres to relevant confidentiality principles and research ethics, and relevant data is deleted after completion.

(2) Individual Interviews

The researcher collected data on the participant's experiences and status of family care through an "individual interview process" while ensuring the participant's physical and mental safety and health. The research participant's feelings and memories during the family care

process were the focus of a semi-structured interview, which presented her overall life context and pattern. I interviewed and discussed the research participant's "early experiences" (e.g., "How did you meet?", "What were your interactions with the care recipient in the early days of your family?"), "life experiences" (e.g., "How did you get through all these years?", "What kept you going?"), and "family care experiences" (e.g., "What difficulties did you encounter during the care process?", "What methods helped you overcome these emotions during the process?"), and marked important events and psychological patterns.

The researcher further invited the research participant to reconstruct and name her life patterns, gradually clarify her psychological processes in the family care process, and further explore the research participant's insights and experiences in Buddhist beliefs to understand the inspiration and influence of Buddhism on her.

3. Reflection Notes

The researcher invited the research participant to conduct relevant reflection activities after the interview and record her experiences and thoughts. Niu (2023) mentioned that the personal reflection notes of research participants can serve as a record of their subjective feelings about their life experiences, which allows research participants to express their emotions without any pressure; in addition, written records are highly logical and thoughtful and can be used to express one's feelings clearly.

After obtaining the research participant's consent and removing her personal information, the researcher invited the participant to record her information on a confidentiality platform. The researcher abided by relevant ethical guidelines and deleted the relevant data one year after the research was completed.

4. Data Analysis

(1) Data Analysis Procedures

This study includes interview data from the participant and her reflection data, which were collected from July 30, 2019, to August 31, 2020. The data collection methods are divided into: 1. Interview and 2—self-reflection dialogue. The participant was invited to log in and fill out the forms through the online platform. A total of 6 interviews were conducted (March 12, 2020; April 19, 2020; April 20, 2020; April 27, 2020; July 16, 2020; and August 29, 2020), each lasting approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour, and 63 self-reflection dialogues (from July 30, 2019, to August 31, 2020). The data were coded as "interview or reflection (I, R) - interview date (e.g., 20190730) - paragraph - meaningful paragraph". For example, the first meaningful paragraph of the first paragraph of the data obtained by the participant through reflective

dialogue on July 30, 2019, was coded as "R-20190730-1-001". Verbatim transcriptions followed the interviews, while reflective diaries were captured and stored in a secure text format.

This study adopted narrative inquiry and the "whole-content" analysis method proposed by Lieblich et al. (1998). The steps are as follows: 1. Read the story text repeatedly to understand the family caregiver's life connotation; 2. Divide the life stage by checking the text with the transcript and reflective diary; 3. Identify special focuses and themes with the research participant; 4. Identify different connotations and themes; 5. Confirm the analysis results. The participant's name in the transcripts was replaced with the letter A to maintain confidentiality. After completing the transcript, the researcher reflected on and explored the contents of the participant's narratives for two years before formulating this article. I also clarified and explored the analytical implications with the participant (see Table 1). The research findings were finally written from the third-person perspective, after discussion with the research participant, using "neem" as a proxy for the research participant (caregiver) and "poppy" as a proxy for the research participant's husband (care recipient).

Table 1

Examples of "Whole-Content" Analysis of This Study

| Narrative content theme | Narrative text |
|---|---|
| Faced with her husband's egocentrism, she was trapped in the constraints of family culture and could only swallow her grievances and act like a good wife and mother. | "We have lived together for 38 years. I can tolerate everything about him, but he cannot tolerate everything about me." (R-20200701-1-001) "If you haven't done enough, improve it. Otherwise, what should you do? Once you have chosen the wrong script, just be a competent actor and finish it." (R-20200701-1-003) |

Furthermore, through the condensation of important themes in the life stages of the research participants, the research participants used the "category-content" analysis method proposed by Lieblich et al. (1998), which includes: 1. selecting alternative texts; 2. defining content categories; 3. classifying materials into categories; 4. drawing conclusions through research results, etc., to construct "categories" of important themes presented by the research participants in each stage (see Table 2).

Table 2

Examples of "Category-Content" Analysis in This Study

| Important life events | The researcher's understanding of the content | "Important phase" category |
|--|---|---|
| (1) The husband's unfaithfulness (2) Confusion and suffering, a dumb person eating coptis root (3) Physically and mentally exhausted, disloyal resentment (4) Sadness, worry and guilt towards children | This stage is the early stage of the relationship between the research participant and her husband, showing the husband's infidelity and breach of trust to the family. The study participant also expressed the various unspeakable sufferings her felt in the early days of their families. | Chapter 1: Life is in dire straits, with nowhere to go, like encountering ignorance |

(2) Research, Verification and Improvement

This study validated the narrative inquiry quality indicators proposed by Riessman (1993), including:

a. Persuasiveness: Through the confirmation and clarification of different stages by the researchers and research participants, and in the continuous reflection and discussion, the various experiences of the research participants in their life course gradually emerged. Through three years of data collection and verification, including "interview records of the research participant," "analysis by the researcher," and "responses and reflections of research participant", etc., each of them is mutually subjective and attempts to return to the truth of experience and comprehensively presents the experience and inner state of the research participant in the family care process.

b. Fitness: After the researcher completed the narrative text, I sent it to the research participant for review and verification. The research participant expressed that the fitness of this text was 100%, indicating that this narrative text fits the research participant's life experience and theme.

c. Coherence: This study is organized according to the time sequence to further form a meaningful and coherent subject and content, which is consistent with the research participants' experience in family care. On the other hand, it is also in line with the results of relevant Buddhist and Chinese family theories and literature, presenting the responses and changes experienced by the research participants due to their Buddhist beliefs.

d. Practicality: The results of this study can provide reference for those who deal with "family caregivers". For family caregivers in Chinese family situations in Taiwan, it is difficult to distinguish between self and family as in Western counseling theory. Instead, they need to establish a new identity in the process to help transform the pain and sadness in the family care process. When family caregivers feel that they have a sense of mission for the cohesion of family members and have relevant Buddhist beliefs (such as "this life is to repay the debt of the previous life", "if the lessons of this life are not completed, the next life will be more difficult", etc.), how to help them get closer to the concept of Buddhist beliefs while ensuring safety and protection is the key thing to consider during the process.

The researcher combined interviews and reflections from study participant to promote practitioners' understanding in their work with Buddhist family caregivers and to enhance the effectiveness and promotion of the rights of family caregivers.

(3) Research Ethics

Qualitative research should consider ethical issues, especially those related to culture, personal feelings, experiences, and life events (Niu, 2023). During the interview process, the researcher informed the participant of the relevant confidentiality measures and deleted any privacy-related information, including changes to name, unit, region, etc. All relevant data collected during the research process will be adequately preserved and destroyed one year after completion. During the interview process, researcher reduce the expression of relevant consciousness and intentions to help the participant express her feelings and experiences freely and avoid subjective influence or distortion of researcher. Participants can discuss any curiosity or issues related to the research, have autonomy, and freely choose whether to continue the research. The researcher promptly provided relevant support, care, and resources to promote the physical and mental health of the participant during the process.

III. Research Results

Preface

During the interviews, the research participant revealed her early experiences with her husband's infidelity, neglect, and emotional blackmail. The care issue, which is constructed by mixing the two identities of "victim" and "caregiver", is contradictory. When the partner who inflicted violence and harm in the early stage becomes the "cared-for person" due to disability, the dual issues of "revenge" and "repaying evil with kindness" become a dilemma of inner struggle. In line with the Buddhist belief in compassion, the research participant reviewed their family experiences and her life history and discovered the significance of her family caregiving experience to herself.

Even though her husband's early years of unruly behavior, language, behavior, and the pressures and conflicts in their daily lives were still vivid in her mind, under the guidance of Buddhism's "good thoughts", she still chose to give her husband who had a stroke better care. The participant who had experienced trauma still had many negative emotions towards her husband and experienced depression and schizophrenia during the care process. Afterward, the research participant reinterpreted the sufferings of "this world" from a Buddhist perspective. The participant re-examined her and her husband's "lack of cultivation" in the "previous life", which led to their "re-cultivation" in this life, hoping that all "cause and effect" would be completed in this life and that they could transcend each other's "entanglements" for thousands of years.

1. Unveiling: The beginning of the waves, disorder

"Neem" is similar to that of ordinary girls during their youth. Since she lives in the countryside, she doesn't have much fun and no close friends. "Understatement" may be the four words that best describe her life. From childhood to high school, schoolwork was not something she was interested in, because as the youngest child in the family, she was more or less neglected by her family due to busy housework and the need to work on the farm.

After graduating high school, her eldest brother joined the army, and her eldest sister married, leaving only her and her second sister at home. Due to the heavy economic burden, families who mainly engage in farming can only have income during the fixed harvest season. There happened to be an agricultural product processing factory in the nearby county. By chance, she worked as an operator in the factory with her second sister, cousin, and some friends. After a while, due to family and financial considerations, she resigned and returned home, looking for a job nearby.

At that time, she often felt hostility from others. Her excessive performance as a newcomer had made her senior colleagues unhappy, and she was sometimes called out for negotiations. As a result, she was somewhat distrustful of people and once vowed never to marry or live alone for the rest of her life. "I once thought, why is it always me?" After repeated unpleasant experiences, she began to think, "I am here to cultivate my temper from my previous life."

The countryside in the 1960s was an era of close interaction and neighborhood development. When she went to work in a nearby leather bag factory, she met "Poppy". "Poppy" used his bullying personality to intimidate "Neem". "Poppy kept bothering Neem at home. On the one hand, Neem's father was reluctant to let his daughter go, but he could not stand Poppy's harassment, so he still agreed to let Neem marry him. In the traditional society of that time, people obeyed their father's orders, so "Neem" dared not disobey. On the one hand, she was worried that if she insisted on not getting married, "Poppy" would bring greater damage to the family. On the other hand, she was also worried that her father would collapse due to his anger. After weighing the pros and cons, she had no choice but to accept this arrangement and began her own disorderly life.

2. Chapter 1: Life Is in Dire Straits, with Nowhere to Go, Like Encountering Ignorance

(1) The Husband's Unfaithfulness

When Neem recalls the past, everything is vivid in his mind. The challenges she faced after arriving at her husband's home are unforgettable in her heart as if she had entered a world

of "ignorance." The confusion of different viewpoints, the complex family system, and the disordered relationships caused by her father-in-law's ownership of a second wife made "Poppy" develop the habit of being away from home every day. Although she tolerated her husband's many unacceptable actions, her husband did not show any care or support, which made things worse. "We have lived together for 38 years. I can tolerate everything about him, but he cannot tolerate everything about me" (R-20200701-1-001). "Neem" recalled every detail of her role as a wife and felt that it was like a life drama, and she could only do her best and act as best as she could. She thought she was just an actor and could only play her role until the last day of her life. "I'll improve on what I didn't do well enough, but what else? Once I've chosen the wrong script, I'll just be a competent actor and finish it" (R-20200701-1-003).

(2) Confusion and Suffering, A Dumb Person Eating Coptis

"Neem" shared the different values she and "Poppy" have in their relationship and mentioned that she was always feels fragile and unsteady inside. After they became husband and wife, she always missed her husband, tried her best to fulfill her role as a wife, and did everything well. Relatively speaking, "Poppy" is more chauvinistic and careless. He is often self-centered and focuses on what he wants, which leads to neglecting "Neem." "When I enter a new family, I am more vulnerable and sometimes a little unreasonable, but in fact, I feel more insecure about my partner. My husband is less considerate and more chauvinistic, and he often ignores his partner's feelings." (I-20200427-1-010). Therefore, "Neem" often needs to help "Poppy" clean up her mess in the family. In addition, "Poppy" is the eldest son, which puts even more pressure on "Neem" in the family. "Poppy" is irresponsible after marriage and likes to have affairs with other women outside. However, because she lives in a conservative rural town, "Neem" can only grit her teeth and endure. "I work hard at home and make continuous contributions to the family, but my husband uses the slightest excuse to flirt with other women outside, using his tenderness, thoughtfulness, and understanding to enjoy himself with other women outside, and he doesn't care about the other half of the family at all!" (I-20200427-1-011).

Faced with her husband's betrayal in the relationship, "Neem" always feels uncomfortable and that her "need to be loved" as a wife is always unmet. Her heart is whole of helplessness, doubt, and helplessness. Neem's desire for a loving relationship with her husband. But being limited by face issues, she was unable to talk to her husband, and she didn't know how to start. "He would rather have fun outside than give me comfort and tenderness at home. He doesn't

even give me a little love when he comes home. How can I ask for his help?" (I-20200427-1-012) "I can't think of why my husband would rather give his tenderness to other women. I also need a little comfort from him at home. If he doesn't give me this comfort, who else can? This is the sadness of being a wife. I have a lot of pain, but I can't express it. If I tell others about it, I'm afraid people will laugh at me and call me shameless so that no one will talk about this" (I-20200427-1-013). The love and righteousness in a husband-wife relationship have unique demands of this identity. When they have this identity of husband and wife, many thoughts of "being exclusive to oneself" will constantly echo in their hearts. "Neem" also cries while reminiscing, saying that she does not ask for much, just love that is exclusive to husband and wife. "If a woman keeps saying, 'My husband gives everything to other women, this is very deep and mysterious.' These three things are hard to sort out for women, men, and husband and wife. Love and righteousness, what to give and what not to give, why would one rather let the other half stay in an empty room than give her a little warmth" (R-20200427-1-014)?

(3) Physical and Mental Exhaustion, Disloyalty and Resentment

Faced with "Poppy's" constant extramarital affairs, "Neem" felt exhausted physically and mentally and unable to do anything more. She felt dissatisfied and resentful of "Poppy" for taking her savings for granted and spending them without mercy. "What should I do? He only wants to spend all the family savings on women outside, which makes me very unwilling. When I think about how he takes my hard work for granted and treats me like a slave, which woman would want to do this? Everyone has self-esteem, and once self-esteem is trampled on, things will not be so easy to deal with!" (I-20200427-1-015)

Similarly, the husbands of Neem's aunts also had affairs. This may be a collective relationship fraud within the family. The resentment in one's heart can only be hidden deep, with gnashing of teeth and secret self-harm. "I mentioned before that my aunts are the same. They are full of resentment towards their other half. From their tone, it seems they don't want to forgive their husbands" (R-20200425-1-002).

(4) Sadness, Worry, and Guilt towards Children

When "Neem" mentioned the children, she felt sad and sorry for them. She mentioned that her eldest son once received a call from his father at the school gate. He angrily called him out to get back the pocket money given to the child, which was the child's living expenses. However,

"Poppy" only cared about his fun and didn't care about the child's life or death. Thinking back again, "Neem" experienced it again from the child's perspective and realized that the child might have also endured a lot of humiliation and helplessness and felt sad and upset for them. "It was not until yesterday that I realized how helpless my children were at school. I knew the situation at home but dared not speak out. How do you feel when facing a child from such a family environment? There is no one to rely on, and it is impossible to understand the mentality and actions of adults. This situation brings mixed feelings. I don't know what my husband feels. I had no money to pay for school fees and various activities, which is a scene that I can't even imagine now. So I have talked about this before: How do we survive? I really don't know how I got here." (R-20191018-1-003)

In recounting her past experiences, "Neem" also constantly complained about herself, and in the end, she could only say that she was too naive and stupid. Facing herself in such a situation, was she overly sacrificing? Although she was fine, the child also suffered a lot of hardships. She has to endure all the pain by herself; no one understands her, and no one can help her solve it. "Others can laugh at me for being stupid, and I can accept that because being stupid and foolish is the way to grow, right? This is my part. Children have their responsibilities, and I don't want them to know my thoughts" (R-20200306-1-004), "Now I... feel very sad... I want to cry, but I can't" (R-20200306-1-005).

The Buddhist wisdom that "Neem" realized in her heart at this time was the "realization of ignorance." She realized her own "ignorance" about everything. Facing the 84,000 troubles in life, she found that she had lost her original awareness and clarity. She knew the fundamental attachments and troubles, and to get rid of them, she decided to change her mindset through Buddhism. Thus, she began to move forward, hoping to eliminate troubles through "enlightenment" and "cultivation."

3. Chapter 2: There is No Coming of Life, No Going of Death, Seeing Oneself in Life and Death

(1) Understanding, Cherishing, and Protecting the Parent-Child Relationship

"Neem" recalled her family life. She had to struggle alone, endure all the hardships of family life alone, and face other people's entertainment alone. Perhaps the only ones who will accompany you on this journey are your children, and children are also a critical mission and destiny in this life. Having such belief allows me to persevere. I tried every possible way to

endure all this for the sake of my children. "My journey has been challenging and painful, and I feel very sad without realizing it" (I-20200312-1-018). "Before, I had today but didn't know what tomorrow would be like. I just have lived one day at a time, moving forward step by step, thinking in my heart that I could give my children one day at a time" (R-20200714-1-005).

Thinking about every hard day in the past, perhaps I was exchanging my life for the hope of moving forward. Therefore, despite the hardships, I hope my children can grow well. "At that time, I only wanted to be with my children and hope they could be independent. In this society, they can eat food so they won't be hungry. Do you know why I had such thoughts? Because my body has reached its limit" (R-20200714-1-006). Faced with the chaos in the family, "Neem" is caught in a dilemma within the Poppy family, and it is difficult for him as an outsider to speak up. Poppy's unreasonableness in the family seems to be a way of escaping from the many difficulties to face and problems to solve. It seems that she has also seen the intricacies hidden in the family. "I kept wondering why my husband never expressed his opinion. I could only feel heartache, so much so that I blamed myself for my incompetence" (R-20200425-1-004), "Everyone in the family is more stubborn than the other, and no one will give in. It hurts my heart to see this, but I don't know how to persuade them" (R-20200422-1-008). Looking back at the past, "Neem" suddenly found herself in a state of asceticism. Facing her cowardice and her husband's brutality and disorder, she could only grit her teeth and hold on to move forward. "From the past until now, we have lived in the shadows. So I don't dare to die, and it's even more tiring not to die... How do you want me to explain it? I can't. So, I live with an exhausted heart, and the scene before me is my responsibility. I am the one who got involved in this family, and I have to shoulder the responsibility alone. What else can I do? There is nothing to be afraid of these burdens" (R-20191004-1-003).

(2) The Masses of Suffering Gather Together and Watch with Indifference.

Recalling the past, "Neem" describes her powerlessness and helplessness. She still feels sad and exhausted whenever she thinks of the past when it was just her and her children. She needed to ask her parents-in-law to help run the pork stall at home, and "Poppy" was nonchalant again, wandering around, just asking for money. Looking back in her heart, she has mixed feelings. During the confinement period, she felt unwell and unable to get up, and she had no help. She can't count how many times her mother-in-law scolded her, and she still has many complaints when thinking about it. When I look at my phone, cartoon characters are cuter and more pleasing to the eye. I am not used to human figures, and I am not in the mood to look at

them! I don't quite accept the plots of TV series in which humans act out. What I reject more are the scenes I have experienced and encountered. Strictly speaking, they are the ones that hurt me the most, do you know? When a person is helpless and can only stay in the bedroom with children around him, what should he do with that helpless feeling? "(R-20200714-1-001)

After "Poppy" suffered a stroke, "Neem" no longer had to worry about the past scenes in her life; ironically, many of the pains always came back to her mind in the dead of night, and they are still vivid in her mind. A lot of bitterness and tears slowly thawed and melted into her life. Only then did she realize that she had endured so much and for so long. "So whenever I see people acting in a play and the drama in it, I get sad. It was fine before there was no Internet, but now that we have it, these scenes are no different from what I have experienced and tasted. Is this what a human being is? But I am a modern person. Life in ancient times was a bit hard, but it is already modern. Before my husband had the stroke, I was not aware of it. It was not until after he had the stroke that it surfaced and appeared like a movie, and I realized that this was how I survived." (R-20200714-1-003). People do have shadows. "Neem" mentioned that when she participated in many activities, she would have conflicts with others for no reason, which deepened her resistance to life, the world, and society. "What kind of person they are, what they do, what they say, people are so scary. Only when you see clearly will you know how insidious they are" (R-20200710-1-006).

(3) To Control the Mind Is to Practice Precepts; From Precepts Comes Concentration, and From Concentration Comes Wisdom

The days kept changing, and she had to adjust to survive. From a particular moment on, when "Neem" no longer cared about and had no need for the relationship between husband and wife, she followed the teachings of Buddhism, sacrificed her life for concentration, made a vow to seek wisdom, and even pondered how to "survive". "Neem" only knew that he needed to "change his mind", rethink the principles of karma in the world, and confirm that his perfection in this life lies in self-cultivation and supporting his children's independence. Therefore, he transformed his resentment and raised his children. "My attitude and habits are stronger. People in the countryside often promote me as the most capable, powerful, and vicious woman in the village. No one can compare to me." (R-20200703-1-006) "In their eyes, I am the most powerful and capable woman, and my husband thinks so too" (R-20200702-1-001).

"Neem" felt helpless in dealing with "Poppy". "Do you know how much work I have done for my husband? I have tried everything you can and cannot think of and used all the tricks. But

if a person's heart is not open, there is no way out..." (R-20200425-1-008). Looking back on his past experiences, "Neem" said that he had been confused and doubted himself due to criticism from many people; however, moving forward was his unchanging belief. "I think the right thing to do is keep moving forward, knowing something awaits me. No one, including my husband and relatives, understands what I am doing. No matter what I say, they can't listen or understand. That's why I feel very tired. I receive only blaming words, so when I hear negativity, I don't face it because, to me, it's all empty talk. Sometimes, I wonder if I always face such negative attitudes. Is it a personality problem? Am I wrong? Which level has the problem? I've thought about it repeatedly but can't overcome this hurdle" (R-20191016-1-005).

4. Chapter 3: Name and Form are Born from the Consciousness at Conception, because of the Consciousness at Conception, Name and Form Exist.

(1) Birth, Aging, Death, Sorrow, Grief, Suffering, and Annoyance

A few years ago, "Poppy" suffered a stroke. "Neem" felt this was caused by her undisciplined diet, daily life, and lifestyle over the past few years. As a result, she realized the Buddhist principle of "cause and effect". Feeling that children need to support the family financially, "Neem" becomes the caregiver. Neem understood the pain of the past, and the guidance of Buddhism made her forget all her grudges. She knew how people are in the world of "birth, aging, sickness and death" and "worry, sorrow, fear, and shock". She chose to make connections and end the grudges of this world. "My current state of mind is to treat Poppy as a homeless old man in a nursing home and let him return to the life he wants. Some things cannot be forced. Since he has chosen his path, he should be responsible. Everyone has his or her own choice. If you make the right choice, it is a blessing. If you make the wrong choice, you must bear the consequences yourself. No one else can replace you. What you can experience and understand depends entirely on yourself." (R-20200306-1-003)

Despite this, as "Neem" takes care of her husband, memories of being abandoned and having her family's wealth squandered keep coming back to her mind. Our couple's relationship was in name only, a joke among the neighbors and an excuse for "Poppy" to have affairs with other women. "Poppy" seemed to be asking for repayment again and to continue all this pain while my resentment was boiling. "But the problem is, my husband wants his family to take care of him, but it makes me angry when I see him. My husband was unfair to me first, and he spent all my savings on having affairs outside. When he was sick, she didn't want him anymore,

and he came home to stick to me, whom he once disliked" (R-20200430-1-004). "Neem" mocks herself in a playful tone, describing the children at home watching her husband suffer a stroke. For a moment, there was only the hatred and misunderstanding from the past. "My husband never showed me any tenderness before, and now he is sick, and I have to take care of him. It is so hard. Moreover, my children are somewhat unsympathetic. They are all stubborn and are more stubborn than the other." (R-20200430-1-005). "The children have simple ideas and want to send him directly to a nursing home. But the thing is not that simple. I would not have let it go to this extent if it was that simple. Letting these children suffer is like being stuck to chewing gum" (R-20190929-1-001).

"Neem" felt a headache when thinking about caring for "Poppy", and it would not be easy for him to take on this job. "Neem" spent the entire day with a husband who had hurt her, but he did not express any gratitude or change. He always seemed to take it for granted or was throwing a tantrum. "My husband was about to get up to make tea, and I happened to be out for a walk for a few minutes. When I returned, I heard my husband knocking, so I went in to check and found him furious. After I helped him prepare what he wanted, I asked him if he needed anything else, but he didn't even respond to my request" (I-20200312-1-003). Marriage is a chain. Faced with such a relationship, "Neem" wants to try to repay evil with kindness with the Buddhist belief and change her husband's attitude through her own practice in this family. However, the process is difficult, and she is filled with many dilemmas and helplessness. The memory of "Poppy"'s long absence and betrayal is still in her heart, so how to express and interact has become a challenge to her. The entanglement of love and not love is always tricky to choose. "My difficulty lies in this small space. When my husband calls, no one responds. He is just like this, and I can't get rid of him. The marriage is still there; no matter what I do, it will not work." (I-20200312-1-005) "My husband loses his temper all the time. It's painful to talk to him. He's like a volcano. I can't control when he explodes but can't avoid facing him. Honestly, I don't know how to deal with him." (R-20190730-1-001)

After easing up, returning to the view of fate and self-cultivation, re-clarifying and understanding all the past, "Neem" gained more insights. "Now I understand a little and won't be so unwilling. With this experience, I won't be so angry. I can only accept the current situation and move forward. I have no choice but to consider perfection and make concessions again and again. I think, only in this way can I avoid becoming a sinner in the end and bringing unspeakable hatred to my children. There is no right or wrong in the world, only the responsibilities I should bear" (R-20200723-1-006).

The spirit of Buddhism helps "Neem" to see the steps and tasks ahead. Her selfish desires are insignificant, but her dedication to great love is great. The support of faith has become her guide, and it can return to life from death every time. "I don't want to do anything anymore. I think to myself, I can only laugh it off in life, and there's no one around me to worry about. Fortunately, I have the opportunity to be reborn. Now I know that I still have a lot of things to do. I must complete all these tasks to make my life worthwhile" (R-20200714-1-008). "Neem" also realized her own definition of husband and wife and deep-rooted belief. Perhaps for her, the husband-wife relationship is a "mission" from the moment they promised to stay together. Even if her partner's betrayal leads to her loss, for her, such emotion has religious implications, so she always chooses perfection and looks for the meaningful part to maintain the relationship. "It's like this between husband and wife. They are looking for the love and affection they want and cannot give up their feelings. No one can touch each other's bottom line. No one can help them to solve the friendship between husband and wife" (I-20200427-1-004).

(2) This Exists Because That Exists; This Arises Because That Arises

"Neem" said that she always hesitated between good and evil, but because of her Buddhist beliefs, she knew that she needed to control certain behaviors and directions. Because Buddhism emphasizes "cause", "condition," and "effect", through philosophical and logical thinking, she has guided herself to gradually slow down from the mentality of "fighting violence with violence" to the action of "repaying evil with virtue". "Neem" constantly ponders the so-called "cause and effect", as mentioned in the Samyuktagama: "The world is created by cause and effect, and the world ends by cause and effect." In the intersection of cause and effect in this life, "Neem" believes that the suffering she has experienced has accumulated in her previous life, and that this is an entanglement again, which she needs to properly deal with and resolve. The twelve links of dependent origination are interconnected. The Buddhist theory of karma helps "Neem" to constantly think, communicate, and feel in life, reducing the possibility of making mistakes. However, facing many troubles in life, she always thought, asked her own heart, and tried to understand whether such giving was right or wrong. Fluctuating emotions pop up in the mind along with thoughts, and the heart that is about to become irritated often doesn't know what to do. "I know that my heart is in turmoil right now. The good and evil in my heart are fighting, and good and bad are wavering. I frantically looked for direction, but I told myself not to get confused and to hold on to the correct concept, otherwise I didn't know what would happen? I have been fighting with my heart these past few days. It is hard to calm

down, and I am in a state of irritability. I also asked myself again and again, what went wrong? Which area needs improvement? My temper always gets bad, but I tell myself not to suppress it. " (I-20200312-1-008)

After "Poppy" suffered a stroke, his mood became more volatile due to the restrictions on his activities, and "Neem" felt that she and the children were unable to influence "Poppy's" likes and dislikes. But faith brings a firm and clear mind, which evaluates the pros and cons and concerns of past lives and takes on everything, even if it is hard. "Neem" constantly hopes that "Poppy" will change and adjust, let go of vanity and desires, and reduce the violent temper caused by dissatisfaction with life. "Let's just be like headless flies and deal with each move as it comes! I hope my husband will realize it soon so that our whole family can have a bright future" (I-20200312-1-012). "Neem" feels responsible for the family and that the children stood up for him; otherwise, they would not need to continue suffering in the family. Feeling this way, "Neem" also mentioned that such family situations are everywhere, and most women in the neighborhood don't know what to do and can only choose to continue to endure or dissolve the marriage. She understood the principle of her suffering according to the Buddhist principle of the twelve links of dependent origination. She will resolve her lifelong entanglement with "Poppy" based on the Buddhist principle of "cause and effect". "As long as I am here, he can't do anything. He has no other choice but to target me. The children are innocent. They are suffering for me. They can't bear to see me suffer like this and want to send their father to a nursing home. But we can't do that. He is the father of the children. There are many families like mine, but they won't tell anyone because they have no choice and no money to send their family members to a nursing home. "(R-20191004-1-008)

All the complaints about "Poppy" are mixed with many past experiences. "Neem" felt trampled, ignored, and verbally abused by her partner in the relationship. All these unbearable past experiences made her realize: "I just realized that the sky is poisonous, the earth is poisonous, and people's hearts are even more poisonous. How can we survive? We must rely on ourselves!" (I-20200716-1-001).

(3) Stinginess, Greed, Jealousy, and Envy

"Neem", who has the Buddhist belief of saving people, looks at "Poppy" lying in bed, and still hopes that he can "lay down the butcher knife and become a Buddha right away" and realize the precepts that he should complete in this life. However, she is powerless to do anything as "Poppy" is now bedridden, and his condition is getting worse. For "Neem", she can understand

the inferiority complex that "Poppy" feels because of his changed physical condition, and she can also understand his depression of not being able to be as "arrogant" as before. However, she is powerless in the face of Poppy's inflated ego. "I am also trying to help him get over his mental hurdle. If he can't get over it himself, I can do nothing. Is a man's self-esteem that important? It's not in front of outsiders, so I don't know what he is thinking." (R-20200709-1-004) "My heart was really hurting at that moment. I don't know how to describe it. I was alone facing a person full of hatred. I didn't know how to face it." (R-20200615-1-008) "My husband's thoughts and persistence, the obsession in his heart that he couldn't let go of, ended up hurting himself, and there was nothing I could do to change it. Be it hatred or resentment, he has always been carrying resentment and hatred deep in his heart, and only he can resolve it, and others cannot intervene." (R-20200629-1-004)

Many times, "Neem" felt tangled and confused. She felt she had done everything perfectly, but her husband still thought she was useless. She felt frustrated, depressed, and helpless. The grief in my heart seemed to turn into anger in my body, and I had to swallow my anger in silence, not knowing why or for whom. "How can I convince myself that I still owe a lot of debts from past lives? I don't know what to say. I'm still alive for now, but it's sometimes good and sometimes bad. No one can predict when I'll leave." (I-20200829-1-011) "My husband was shocked this time. My legs were so sore that I couldn't walk or sit. I had to lie down. It was painful to lie in bed. My health wasn't perfect, to begin with, so I had to go for a massage now and then." (R-20200728-1-001)

The hatred in "Poppy's" heart is mixed with a lot of dissatisfaction and resentment. "Neem" can only pray secretly in her own life. Facing the inability to communicate with the other party in language, she can only make more efforts through Buddhist methods. And this is the only thing she can do for this world: protect him as much as possible and fulfill her duties as a wife. "My radio waves sent out goodwill, but he couldn't receive them, sense them, or accept them. This is his fate, and no one can change anyone. I tried my best and did it in a way that protected him" (R-20200611-1-002).

At this time, "Neem" established his foundation with the view of fate. Seeing that "Poppy" used to be arrogant and domineering and now needs others to help her eat, drink, defecate, and urinate, he felt compassion and enlightenment. In the process, I also experienced the truth of death and the realization of not being able to observe quietly. It seems as majestic as yesterday, but now it is like a dying candle. I sigh at the fleeting nature of life. Neem's belief in the law of cause and effect strengthens, and he feels sorry for Poppy. This transforms Neem's sadness

about being bullied in the past, and she expresses her reluctance and pain for "Poppy" for "destroying his own life."

5. Chapter 4: What We Desire Is Only The Dharmakaya and The Wisdom of The Buddha

(1) Take A Step Back, And The World Will Be Wider

"Neem" recalled this long period of life and mentioned that he had thought about divorce. Faced with her husband's overly vigorous pursuit and control, she would worry about the safety of her family and friends. Due to my husband's background complexity, many threats emerged in our lives. I had many concerns, but in the end, I had no choice but to let go and submit to this marriage. "Living like this, I have thought about separating from him and going our separate ways, but he doesn't want to, so I can't divorce him. He knows every place and every corner of me clearly, and if I choose to do this, he can find me. If anyone contacts me, he will not let them have an easy time, and they will all suffer. In the end, I had no choice but to endure it. "(R-20191004-1-007)

Her husband's long-term dominance and strength also led "Neem" to express her helplessness. I have no money, no friends, and no love. I have wanted to divorce many times, but my husband's words "No!" rejected me. It seemed that I had no right to do anything. "Neem" expressed her helplessness. Even though many volunteers, social workers, psychologists, and home care workers have entered her home, the knot in the relationship still needs to be untied by the person who tied it. And I can only use the most basic Buddhist methods to maintain the most basic peace. "I really hope I can endure it because I have no choice but to endure it. I can only consider the overall situation; what else can I do? I have no solution; there is no better way, right?" (R-20200625-1-005).

Faced with all these troubles and embarrassments, "Neem" mentioned that she had dealt with and thought about them, knew the boundaries of getting along with "Poppy", and ensured that his behavior would not exceed reason and lead to inappropriate situations.

"Don't worry too much about whether I will do something stupid or reckless. I know what I should do. I also have to consider my children's future, and I can't just do whatever I want. Now that I've come this far, I must look forward, right?" (R-20200307-1-001) "This is the principle I have always adhered to. Otherwise, I would not have endured until the end. I will not give up and will complete this journey of life." (R-20200307-1-002)

(2) A Blessing in Disguise

At the beginning of 2020, "Poppy" broke his leg due to an accident and had to spend more time in bed. This gave "Neem" more opportunities to express her feelings and thoughts to her husband. Because of this opportunity, "Neem" had ample time to express to her husband what she expected in terms of family and marital relationships. "Today, I tested my husband by telling him about the situation at his aunt's home. I said, "Shouldn't we get along well and not get angry when we are unhappy? Life is not easy for everyone. If there is anything wrong with our emotions, no hurdle cannot be overcome. We can get over it by being considerate of each other. Isn't it good to get along well and live every day well?" (R-20200622-1-002)

"Neem"'s repeated attempts to make peace and express her feelings are in the hope that her husband will accept her views and ideas and that she can improve the relationship between her husband and children through self-cultivation over the rest of her life. "Neem" also said to "Poppy": "If something doesn't go your way, please be understanding. It's no big deal for a family. We can live peacefully for the rest of our lives. I won't say much. I will do it silently. Please bear with me for the rest of my life" (R-20200709-1-003).

"Neem" shared her experience of visiting her relatives' home and mentioned that her aunt had the same experience as herself, with her husband being irresponsible, violent, and subsequently suffering from physical illness..."Neem" seems to understand and help the aunt relieve the tangled emotions in her heart from the perspective and identity of a person who has experienced them. Faced with similar situations, they support each other and vent their anger for each other, and on the other hand, they seem to relieve their own emotions through each other's narration. "Yesterday, I went to my aunt's house in Nantou. I sat down as soon as I arrived, and my aunt kept talking about her mood and situation. Every family has a different lifestyle, but how to deal with it is the same thing. There is no right or wrong, and everyone's cognition is very different" (R-20200622-1-001).

(3) The Seeding and Influence of Buddhism

"Neem" gradually has different ideas and concepts during the long-term narration and dialogue. Although "Poppy" had many problems in the past, because she has Buddhist thoughts, she can reflect on her own shortcomings. Looking back at our moments together, she reflected on herself and wondered what she had not done well enough that led to the conflict. It's not

surprising that my husband is not satisfied. It's possible that what I'm doing is not ideal or thorough. I may need to reflect more on where I need to improve." (R-20200611-1-003).

"Neem" returns to one's inner awareness and helps herself to be in control of many subtle changes, whether it is her own emotions, the external environment, or conflicts in the process of getting along with each other. With the help of Buddhism, she can maintain self-control and have positive expectations for the future. "I've had a lot of anger flowing in my heart lately, and I want to beat someone up, but I know the consequences, so I'm suppressing it." (R-20200720-1-002) "I hope everyone can live in peace. I don't know if I can survive this. I can only rely on my willpower and try to avoid conflict." (R-20200720-1-006)

The Buddhist faith is like a thin thread that appears when you are at your lowest point, manifests itself when you are most helpless, and helps you to have the strength to stand up again when you are close to collapse. "Neem" also mentioned that he would calmly examine and transform past emotions. In addition, I will also consider what mission and lessons are waiting for me and how to have a correct understanding at the end of life. In addition, "Neem" faces many discomforts and struggles in life, and interprets them as a kind of "punishment", which makes him more cautious. "The most important thing is how to achieve the things in front of you and the road ahead more perfectly" (I-20200716-1-021).

(4) Affection Is The Heart of Buddha

After this period of family care experience, "Neem" realized that Buddhist practice is not limited to leaving the world and becoming a monk, but also involves entering the real world and responding to the so-called "convenient method". "Neem" summed up her own experience and mentioned that the "Buddha" she realized was not an empty talk but a real Buddhism that emphasized entering life. After experiencing life, "Neem" feels she can also guide her family and friends to deal appropriately with life's good and bad karma. "This morning, my aunt, who was very kind to me, brought me some food. I sat with her for a while and talked about unimportant things. I kept telling her that nothing mattered. The most important thing was to take care of yourself. You have your daughter-in-law and grandson by your side and can still care for yourself. This is a blessing, and you should cherish it." (R-20191018-1-004) "Since that day, I talked to my husband, and his attitude has improved a bit. He is not as tough as before. The caregiver has also improved a bit and has calmed down a bit." (R-20200715-1-001)

With more identification and ideas in the Buddhist faith, "Neem" feels more identified with and has the mission of being a caregiver. The way that she interacts with her faith may

help everyone in the family be more tolerant, kind, and supportive of each other. "I hope my husband can truly understand this, and I also pray that he won't cause any more trouble." (R-20200715-1-002) "I don't want to point out my husband's faults. It would be best if he could understand. We can both take a step back and save face. We can still be good friends. A good ending is what I wish for and what I want to see." (R-20200715-1-003)

"Neem" reflects on her past to present life path. Because she vowed to seek Bodhi's wisdom, she uses "compassion," "gratitude," "good thoughts," and "perfection" as her principles in life. At the same time, she also makes friends with many people, hoping to spread compassion throughout society. Psychologically, with the effectiveness of self-cultivation, she was able to gradually let go of her erroneous "ego" that was obsessed with "Poppy", break through the "ignorance" about life, transform her identification with compromise, and become a person who has experienced it among her neighbors and relatives, telling her story and guiding others out of confusion.

IV. Discussion and Suggestions

This study uses a qualitative narrative research approach to explore the psychological transformation experiences of a Buddhist female family caregiver as she faces family care responsibilities. The researcher further analyzed the four stages of the study participant's family caregiving experience and discovered the psychological transitions in the family caregiving experience. On the other hand, it also highlights the importance of Buddhist practice in family care situations, supporting the idea of "cultural humility" by Ranjbar et al. (2020) and Koç and Kafa (2019). It draws on the concept of coping from the cultural field in which the individual exists to create the individual's ability to cope with life events.

This study focuses on the setbacks and contradictions in the caregiving process. In many cases, caregivers must navigate their own emotions as well as those of the individuals they care for alone. The numerous people around them can easily trigger the contradictions and resentment hidden in their hearts. Therefore, they need enlightenment and insight to continue in the role of "caregiver." As Shiah et al. (2018) described, the interweaving of research participants with Buddhism gradually led to using "cultivation" as a metaphor in caregiving. This assists the self in overcoming numerous life challenges and aids in healing from setbacks and traumas associated with life and the caregiving process.

The researcher finally summarized the Buddhist wisdom that "Neem" has realized in her life journey and the psychological transformation it has brought (see Table 3).

Table 3*Heart Stage Changes Chart*

| Stages | Implications | Buddhist Wisdom Perceived in the Heart | Psychological transformation |
|--|--|---|---|
| Life Is in Dire Straits, with Nowhere to Go, Like Encountering Ignorance | The various challenges that "Neem" encountered after arriving at her husband's house felt like being in dire straits, leaving her feeling helpless and with nowhere to turn. | Recognize "ignorance" and comprehend one's own "ignorance" regarding everything. Confronted with the 84,000 worries in life, she realized she was losing her original awareness. | "Neem" understands her attachments and troubles, and to overcome them, she shifts her mindset with Buddhism, aiming to find relief through "enlightenment" and "cultivation." |
| There is No Coming of Life, No Going of Death, Seeing Oneself in Life and Death | Upon reflecting on her circumstances, "Neem" recognized that she was the only one capable of transforming her surroundings. She endured the challenges of family life and the distractions of others, yet she stayed resilient for her children. | In terms of life's path, she adopted the principle of "cherishing relationships" as her approach to dealing with the world, with the survival of flesh and blood becoming her reliance to continue moving forward. | The Buddhist precepts, concentration, and wisdom become her personal practice, guiding her to avoid seeking externally and instead act from the heart while viewing worldly affairs with lightness. |
| Name and Form are Born from the Consciousness at Conception, because of the Consciousness at Conception, Name and Form Exist | After "Poppy" has a stroke, "Neem" gains insight into life: "birth, aging, illness, and death"; "worry, sadness, suffering, and annoyance. "Observing Poppy's condition leads her to understand that "this life exists because of that life; this life impacts that life." This realization sparks a dialogue and reflection on the wisdom of existence. | Inspired by karma, she understands that cause and effect are interlinked, demonstrating compassion for those who are vulnerable. She confronts the reality of death and acknowledges the presence of impurity. | She transformed the sadness from being bullied in the past into expressing her reluctance and pain over her husband's "life destroying itself." |
| What We Desire Is Only The Dharmakaya and The Wisdom of The Buddha | "Neem" returned to self-insight and understanding. The ideal path of Buddhist practice led her to re-examine this phase of life and care experience, recognize her own practice and progress during this period, and use it to guide others in navigating their own lives. | Commit to pursuing Bodhi wisdom by embracing "compassion," "gratitude," "positive thoughts," and "perfection" as guiding principles. Additionally, she should cultivate meaningful friendships and aspire to share kindness within the community. | With practice, she can release the misguided "ego" linked to "Poppy," overcome her "ignorance" about life, shift her perspective on compromise, grow into someone enriched by her experiences with neighbors and relatives, and help others navigate their confusion. |

In response to the existential dilemma, the West proposes that people can challenge the pain, sin, depression, and death they experience (Frankl, 1978). However, its meaning is

undirected and returns to human ontology. From this philosophical perspective, although it is asserted that the self can “pursue the meaning and purpose of life, ” “break through the suffering and limitations of life, ” and “overcome loneliness and death in life” (Walsh & Vaughan, 2018), when the research participant faced difficulties in the early stages, she tried her best to seek satisfaction and fulfillment but consistently failed. This failure arose because the "meaning of life" they contemplated was consistently denied, leading to significant resentment and denial within their hearts. Consequently, this fostered a belief in self-distrust and a rejection of their living environment.

1. Existence and the Buddhist Concept of Non-self and Non-attachment

As Hays (2009) points out, interventions primarily based on individualism may lead to failure or other derivative issues in regions with different cultural values. This also responds to what Shiah et al. (2016) described: individualism easily produces attachment to the self, leading to deep inner frustration. Even when people try to solve life's difficulties with their own intelligence, it is because of this desire and the greater self that people are enticed into the suffering path of attachment. Similar to how attachment in Chinese culture regarding family includes aspects of clan, relationships, authority, and others (Peng, 1994; Yang, 1992), it easily generates many preset positions and face-saving issues. This represents the attachment and suffering experienced by the research participant, who also endured various blows from family caregiving in such circumstances. In managing family matters, the research participant not only dealt with ridicule and gossip from neighbors but also thought about how to set an example allowing her children to grow up with their basic needs met. Between these competing demands, she easily fell into the "suffering" of family caregiving mentioned in previous research (Boss, 2010; Losada et al., 2010). In terms of relationships, the research participant also experienced the traditionally distant and indifferent state of Chinese couples, generating more internal dissatisfaction and suppression (Huang et al., 2009; Ho, 1981).

The Buddhist perspective connects the past, present, and future. These values and foundations enable individuals to have diverse perspectives and viewpoints, explaining the concept of "no self" in Buddhism. Many realities of family care resemble scars that have been repeatedly uncovered. A harmonious family's original vision is shaped by numerous fears. She couldn't predict what earth-shattering events might arise in the future due to her husband's behavior. Li (2019) adopted the universal concept of "suffering" as a foundation, revealing that everything in existence involves suffering. This perspective assists individuals who "suffer" in

gaining conscious liberation and alleviates the question of "Did I do something wrong?" When combined with Buddhist perspectives and the values of Chinese culture, it connects with the "structure of encounter" therapeutic framework proposed by Lu (2022), allowing research participants to explore the ambiguity of their own situations. This perspective implies that "I" does not have to be confined to "I." Instead, it exists beyond "I," creating a space that accommodates cultural existence in facing the impermanence of life and attaining nirvana at life's end. Consequently, "family care" can transcend the stereotype of being a "burden," transforming into an opportunity for individuals to reflect on their obsession with life and feelings of powerlessness.

2. The Effect of Unwholesome Mental Factors on Family Caregivers' Self-reflection

Shiah (2020) noted that "irrational thoughts" lead to "attachment" and influence emotions, primarily stemming from excessive inner attachment and the imagination of beauty and ugliness. These factors create the so-called "unwholesome mental factors" in Buddhism and ultimately trigger "distressing emotions." Through experiences such as "partner relationship," "neighbors' [pointing fingers]," and "role conflict with caregivers," the research participant restructured her understanding through Buddhist thinking, gradually sorting out their "unwholesome mental factors" and intentions deep within their hearts, ultimately recognizing their own "attachment" and "unwholesome mental factors." However, emotions are inherently changeable and transient, possessing the potential for extreme effects on our thoughts. While "unwholesome mental factors" drive individuals to desire, they also lead to delusions and cravings, which can easily obscure one's true nature and wisdom. Being fixated on a single thing, event, or scene results in losing control over life's essence and obscuring the fickleness and impermanence inherent in existence.

As relevant studies have pointed out, Chinese culture values the concepts of "wholeness" and "harmony between heaven, earth, and man" (Hsu & Hwang, 2013; Shiah et al., 2018). During the caregiving process, the research participants used the connections in their relevant networks to trigger insights and practices for "cultivating" themselves. Their practice allowed them to gain a more comprehensive perspective, leading to an altered understanding of family caregiving. Non-attachment refers to the non-persistence and non-fixation of thoughts and feelings (Sahdra et al., 2010). The research participants realized, through their understanding of "ignorance," "cherishing fate," and "cause and effect," the importance of seeking bodhi wisdom, "compassion," "gratitude," "good thoughts," and "perfection" through practice. This

process of letting go of self-attachment helped them gain flexibility and freedom in life, allowing them to be more at ease in various situations (Chuang et al., 2014; Lai, 2003; Li et al., 2021; Lin & Shiah, 2019; Shiah, 2020). Through psychological regulation and self-balance, individuals can gain insights and perspectives on their surroundings and maintain autonomy over their lives (Chao & Chen, 2013).

Faced with such a long-term and significant responsibility of family care, the interaction between oneself and the person being cared for has a wide-ranging impact, extending to oneself, family, and the community in which one lives; ultimately, one needs to gain wisdom through self-pacification to navigate such a situation. The concept of "non-attachment" refers to achieving the emptiness of self-nature, which means that our cognition, emotions, behaviors, and other aspects will not be troubled. Based on this, we can attain "true wisdom" through this state (Jian et al., 2021; Luo, 2020).

3. Physical and Mental Burden on Female Family Caregivers

The family caregiving experiences of the study participant demonstrated that the responsibility of family care imposed substantial physical and mental burdens on them, akin to findings from various past surveys and studies (Chen, 2016; Hsu & Chiou, 2003; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2021; Wang, 2011). With the rise of an aging society, family care responsibilities will be an issue many families will confront in the future. Consistent with previous studies, the challenges faced in care work encompass financial strain, the emotional burden of the individual receiving care, and other family issues. Additionally, living in a rural setting exposes caregivers to criticism from neighbors, which can often become the breaking point for them (Hsu & Chiou, 2003). Furthermore, the research participant reported experiencing mental and physical violence from the person she was caring for in the early stages of caregiving. The conflict between "providing care" and "seeking revenge" created significant tension among those involved, and such psychological struggles have been observed in many family care situations historically (Tsai et al., 2016).

It seems that behind the behavioral choice of asking "whether one is willing to continue providing care" in the family caregiving process lies the value deliberation of "why should I be the one to provide care." The foundation of Chinese culture, known for its Buddhist influence, still subtly affects views on marital relationships, often expressed through sayings like "it takes a hundred years of cultivation to ride in the same boat, a thousand years to share the same pillow." Like the research participant facing her early experiences, she continued to seek

reasons to support her family caregiving responsibilities due to the cultural emphasis on marital obligations (Li, 2006). Within this value system, although past experiences caused discomfort and pain, they pointed toward resilience in life. Through the perspectives of "destiny" and "karmic retribution" in this life (Hsu, 2012; Li, 2019), individuals are guided to believe there are reasons to persevere in the family caregiving process "in this lifetime." This study also found that the suppression of hidden trauma will eventually surface at some point and separately influence many choices in one's life journey. Within the constraints of traditional rural community culture, "divorce" carries strong connotations of mockery for women. Similar to previous research, the success or failure of family management is also part of self-identity (Wu & Jia, 2012). Whether neglected within the family or subjected to verbal criticism from outsiders, women must endure various forms of emotional violence from a patriarchal society. Facing such ineffective threats, they therefore need more external support and diversion to alleviate the deep-rooted emotions derived from family.

4. Personal Impact of This Study on Researchers

Chinese family culture appears to have been overlooked in today's multicultural world. Due to the growing trend of emphasizing "self" and "being different," we in Taiwan have lost sight of the cultural roots of our Indigenous heritage. As a practitioner, counseling researcher, and cultural learner, I continually navigate and reflect on these three roles throughout the research process. I seek insight into unseen phenomena and strive to reinterpret the essence of being human. While interacting with the research participant, she experienced profound emotions stemming from her dissatisfaction and resentment regarding her disappointment that her Buddhist insights were not deeply comprehended. Facing parent-child conflicts within families that extend the confusion of the previous generation to her own children, she felt a sense of sadness and concern, pondering that the generational bonds seemed to be falling apart and the principles she upheld appeared to be endlessly distant.

The beginning of the life dialogue with the research participant presented an opportunity. From the outset, I observed the research participant shed tears of frustration and loss multiple times. Ultimately, throughout the dialogue, I witnessed her slowly gaining understanding and connection with her own life. I realized that, as Combs and Freedman (2012) and Huang (2018) pointed out, the process of narration helps individuals express themselves, links life stories, and generates meaning and desire in life. At the same time, this process also empowers the individual, aiding her in developing a strong self-identity and facing life's challenges more

tenaciously. Sullivan and Miller (2015) noted that family caregiving causes research participants significant emotional exhaustion. This situation also renders them vulnerable to neglect and misunderstanding, thereby suppressing negative emotions deep within their hearts (Tsai et al., 2016). As the research participant reviewed her life journey, it felt as though she had accompanied herself through various pivotal events in her life, which vividly came to mind. She profoundly felt her love for her family and Buddhism's significant influence on her, leading her to recognize the importance of considering cultural context. Assisting research participants in reflecting on the connection between the caregiving process and Buddhism and gradually enhancing their spiritual awareness, as Shiah (2020) advocated by using self-awakening as an intervention, enables the individual to live a truly fulfilling life.

The significance of Buddhism in Chinese society is evident here. It aids in transforming rigid thinking, resolving feelings of resentment, and discovering varied meanings and directions for life. As different life paths unfold, the initial "burden" of family care is integrated into the essence of Buddhist cultivation, offering guidance for individuals to pursue their true selves.

5. Suggestions for Future Research

As Taiwan enters an aging society, family care has become an unavoidable issue. In urban areas, resources are relatively abundant, with more social welfare groups and long-term care centers providing assistance in family care. However, in rural regions, the traditional Chinese belief of "not airing dirty laundry in public" remains strong, along with an emphasis on "perfection" and "face." This cultural context makes it challenging for many family caregivers to access support and intervention. Consequently, the relationship dynamic of "caregiver-care recipient" often leads to numerous entanglements throughout the family life course in such a long-term dependent relationship.

This study examines the marriage relationships of participants established through matchmaking in their early lives. As they progressed into their later years, the power dynamics within these relationships began to shift due to changes in the husband's physical condition. The exploration of related viewpoints will also evolve from different perspectives. Due to the objectives of this study, many viewpoints and topics remain unexplored, including changes in family processes, the psychological outlook of other family members, the cooperation model of various support systems, and the status of care recipients. Additionally, to address the relevant psychological qualities, it is essential to verify changes in the status of pertinent traits through investigations involving empirical scales. These encompass the exploration of positive

psychological traits, discussions on emotional issues, and correlation research of related psychological states, all of which represent potential research topics for the future.

As the topic of family care becomes more extensive and the values and attitudes of family caregivers differ from those of mainstream Western social culture- such as Christian civilization, monotheistic civilizations, health insurance systems, and family concepts- it is necessary to re-explore from a localized perspective. This will assist field workers in conducting on-site interactions within the framework of "cultural humility" and provide more appropriate interventions and suggestions to individuals within the cultural system.

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人生危機後的療癒：意義建構創傷心理治療模式

杜爰瑾、郭靜璇、夏允中*

摘要

經歷高度壓力或創傷事件後，可能會撼動個體原有的生命意義，使得原先的信念或假設受到挑戰，並伴隨負向情緒與身心症狀的出現。多數人的創傷是能夠復原的，甚至是發展出創傷後成長。而影響個體能否達到創傷後成長的重要關鍵，是其對於創傷事件的認知思考歷程，這歷程涉及個體對於受創事件的意義再建構。本研究最主要的動機與目的為提出個體在經歷創傷事件後的心理治療模式。因此本文先探討創傷後成長與心理治療的關係，結合創傷後成長的相關理論、研究及意義建構模式，來提出意義建構創傷心理治療模式。此模式共提出六步驟，說明當人們面對情境事件的發生，導致自身的意義信念感到衝突時，意義被重新建構的過程。第一步是介紹意義建構創傷心理治療模式，讓個案了解治療歷程；第二步是評估個案的整體意義，了解個案原先的信念、目標或主觀意義；第三步是指認出個案不成功適應的原因，即情境事件帶來的意義與整體意義不一致；第四步是鼓勵個案覺察社會文化影響，包括近端影響如社會角色、遠端影響如大眾媒體；第五步是協助個案進行意義建構歷程；第六步是治療效果的指標，即十二個意義建構（創傷後成長），協助個案檢視意義建構的結果。綜上所述，本文最重要的貢獻是提出了意義建構模型應用於創傷的心理治療模式，希望未來有實徵研究來支持與修正本模式。

關鍵詞：心理治療、創傷後成長、意義建構模型

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壹、前言

日常壓力源有許多不同種類，小至生活瑣事，大至天災，都可能為個體帶來壓力。然而有些壓力是具有創傷性的（蕭仁釗、李介文，2014），尤其生活中時常出現高度的壓力事件，這些壓力事件例如自然災害（如水災、地震）、嚴重疾病（如罹患癌症）、交通事故、親人或愛人的死亡（如流產）、工作（如失業）、離婚、戰爭、謀殺或影像性虐待等（Alvarez-Calle, M., & Chaves, C., 2023; Ferris & O'Brien, 2022; Maitlis, 2020; McGlynn et al., 2021; Ramos & Leal, 2013），或者目睹威脅生命者皆可能導致創傷（周欣穎、林怡君，2021）。經歷高度創傷事件有可能為個體帶來多面向的衝擊，個體會經驗到某些痛苦，可能導致其看待自我、他者與世界的角度出現變化，甚至摧毀原先形塑個體生命目的與意義的核心基模、目標和假設（Pals & McAdams, 2004），此外亦可能伴隨著身心症狀的出現，像是哀傷、恐慌、焦慮、攻擊、睡眠障礙等（方嬋娟，2017），有些人則會惡化並發展成創傷後壓力症（posttraumatic stress disorder）。

不過在經過一段時間的調適後，創傷亦有可能恢復原先的功能。研究發現超過半數的個體會在創傷事件後的二十四個月復原（Rosellini et al., 2018）。除此之外，有些個體甚至能從創傷經驗中，重新長出新的力量。在創傷後之所以能夠產生正向的結果，可能源於許多因素，像是個人特質，如五大人格中的外向性、友善性、嚴謹性與外向性（Henson et al., 2022; Ramos & Leal, 2013; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004）、復原力（Henson et al., 2022）、對創傷願意揭露的程度高（Ramos & Leal, 2013）、社會支持（Alvarez-Calle, M., & Chaves, C., 2023; Prati & Pietrantonì, 2009; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004）、宗教靈性的信仰（Prati & Pietrantonì, 2009; Ramos & Leal, 2013）、有接受心理健康服務（Jordan et al., 2023）及正向的因應策略（Henson et al., 2022; Ramos & Leal, 2013）等。此外，經歷過創傷事件後的重新建構生命意義，例如反思和重新評估也可能有助於促進創傷後成長（Henson et al., 2022; Prati & Pietrantonì, 2009; Ramos & Leal, 2013; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004）。因此在經歷壓力或創傷事件後，往往會改變個體的生命意義，例如賦予創傷新的意義性、可理解性與可管理性（manageability），使其產生控制感與提升自尊，個體較能夠因此產生心理幸福感（葉怡梅等，2014）。心理幸福感較高的個體，其身體狀態傾向更為健康，也更能積極應對生活中的挑戰，表現出更強的復原力、忍受力和樂觀態度（楊錦登，2020）。由上可知，創傷後成長的發展跟個體對於創傷事件的重新詮釋有重大的關係，這也是本研究最主要想探討的主題。

鑑於創傷後成長對個體身心健康的重要性，本研究最主要的動機與目的就是要探究個體經歷創傷事件後的療癒，評估創傷事件的所帶來的意義性，從而調整生命意義內涵的歷程。因此建構「意義建構模型應用於創傷的心理治療歷程模式」，來系統性的說明

個體面臨壓力衝擊後，內在認知運作過程。本文以下說明創傷後成長的意涵、創傷後成長與心理治療的相關研究，以及最後提出「意義建構創傷心理治療模式」，這也是本研究最重要的貢獻。

貳、創傷後成長

一、創傷後成長的定義

當個體處於高壓力事件或經歷重大生活創傷，可能會為個體在各層面上，如行為、心理和情感等帶來負向影響，而導致破壞性的結果（Ramos & Leal, 2013）。若是長期有相關症狀，像是被動的侵入性的思考相關的回憶，逃避創傷相關的刺激，過度警覺，情緒和認知功能的障礙等，就很有可能是創傷後壓力症（posttraumatic stress disorder）。根據精神疾病診斷準則手冊第五版（DSM-5）中，對於創傷事件的定義包括直接經歷或親身目擊具威脅性的死亡、重傷或性暴力的事件；知道這些事件正發生在親密的親戚或朋友身上；一再經歷或大量暴露在令人感到嫌惡的創傷事件細節。當創傷壓力症超過三個月以上，則容易慢性化，進而影響學習、工作或人際等功能（唐子俊，2020）。同時，嚴重的創傷對人們的信念提出了極大的挑戰，容易形成「世界不穩定、不安全、我一文不值」的信念（Quan et al., 2022）。

「創傷後成長」（posttraumatic growth）指個體在奮力通過極富考驗的生活困境與危機下，不僅是倖存下來，還經歷了心理層次上的正向改變體驗（Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004）。

「成長」意謂個體的發展甚至超越了過去的心理功能或適應能力，並在過程中獲得了正向改變（Ramos & Leal, 2013; Tedeschi et al., 2018）。也就是說，個體在經歷生活創傷事件可能會試圖發現新的可能性，並獲得精神力量，以應對生活的挑戰（Kim et al., 2016）。創傷後成長關注個體在創傷事件後的正向改變體驗，而非在創傷事件期間的改變，因此「創傷後」通常需要一段較長的時間，在這段時間中個體發展出正向改變體驗導致正向的認知、情緒與行為的改變。

Tedeschi 與 Calhoun（1996）發展創傷後成長量表（the posttraumatic growth inventory, PTGI），接著發展創傷後成長量表擴充版（posttraumatic growth inventory-expanded, PTGI-X）測量創傷事件倖存者的個人優勢，包含對自我、與他人關係、對存在哲學看法的變化（Tedeschi et al., 2017; Tedeschi et al., 2018）。透過因素分析歸納出五面向的正向改變體驗，包括：

（一）與他人建立關係（relating to others）：

在困難的時候能夠依賴他人、接受他人幫助、願意表達情感、更能同理他人、更願意與他人建立更親密的關係。

（二）願意嘗試新的可能性（new possibilities）：

願意嘗試改變、願意發展新的興趣、願意為人生做出不同的選擇。

（三）發現個人力量成長（personal strength）：

發現自己是有力量的、知道自己能處理困難、更能自我信任（self-reliance）。

（四）對生命感激（appreciation of life）：

欣賞生命的價值、對生命感到珍惜與感激。

（五）靈性與存在哲學的轉變（spiritual and existential change）：

擁有更堅定的宗教信仰、對靈性有更多的理解、存在哲學的改變。

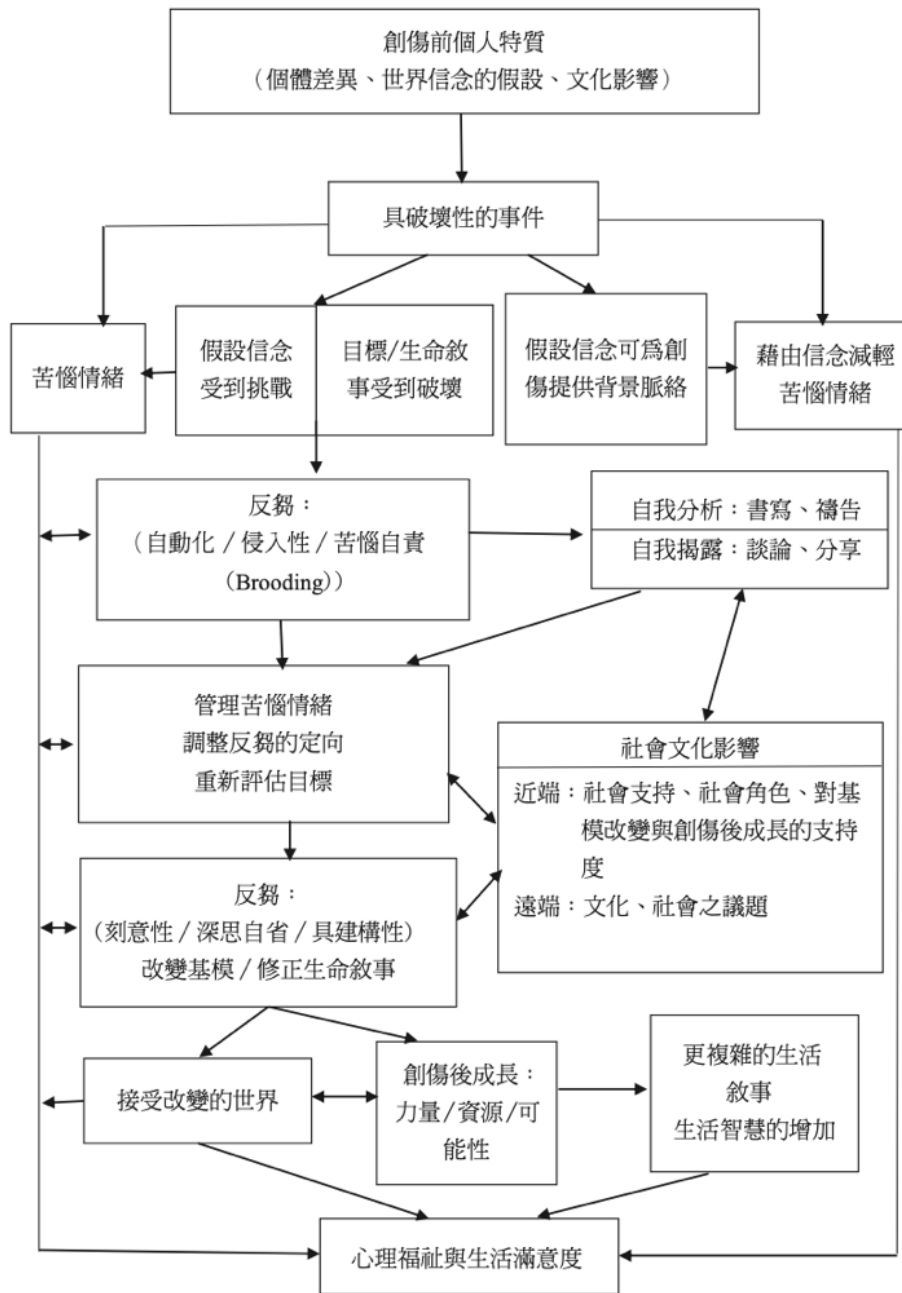
二、創傷後成長與心理治療

目前 Tedeschi 與 Calhoun（2004）提出創傷後成長的發展模型是比較廣為人知且重要的（Zoellner & Maercker, 2006）。Calhoun 等（2010）進一步修訂此模型，陳柔君與涂珮瓊（2022）將其翻譯為中文版本（圖 1）。

在具破壞性的事件（即創傷事件）發生之前，個體的個人特質包含個別差異、對世界信念的假設與文化經驗，都有可能影響個體能否經歷創傷後成長的可能性，並以此規劃、組織與知覺他人和環境，也提供個體認知、情緒的方向，使之能依循此方向來理解世界與做出相應的行為，其中對世界的假設也是個體安全感的來源，使個體相信自己是安全受到保護的（蕭仁釗、李介文，2014）。具破壞性的事件發生後，會產生數種認知情緒反應，如：苦惱情緒、假設信念受到挑戰、目標或生命敘事受到破壞、假設信念可為創傷提供背景脈絡、藉由信念減輕苦惱情緒等。其中，當信念可為創傷提供背景脈絡，個體可以藉由信念減輕苦惱情緒時，可協助個體增進心理福祉與生活滿意度。然而，當破壞性事件衝擊原先個體對世界的基本假設或目標，導致個體的假設信念受到挑戰、目標或生命敘事受到破壞，認知系統在事件發生前後產生了巨大的落差，進而引發了許多痛苦和苦惱情緒（陳柔君、涂珮瓊，2022）。此後，個體會進入反芻的認知思考。反芻思考指與事件有關的重複性思考，是有意識的、圍繞特定主題，且無需特定環境線索，甚至能在間接線索下，非預期地產生（Martin & Tesser, 1996）。

圖 1

修改版創傷後成長模型



Calhoun 等（2010）對於創傷後的反芻思考進行了研究，分析出兩種不同的反芻，第一種屬於自動化的侵入性反芻（intrusive rumination），會不由自主地想起與創傷有關的線索，使個體產生不適感受。第二種屬於一段時間後會轉變為主動刻意的精緻性反芻（deliberate rumination），後者會使個體重新理解創傷事件，重建新的信念與生命意義。精緻性反芻為刻意性、深思自省，且具建構性的歷程，有助於改變基模，修正個體的生命故事。精緻性反芻與創傷後的成長呈正相關，意即當個體越是進行精緻性反芻，思考

如何從事件中找出積極意義，越有可能促進創傷後成長（Taku & Cann, 2014）。要從侵入性反芻轉變為精緻性反芻，關鍵在於管理苦惱情緒，其他的條件因素，如調整反芻的定向或重新評估目標，也有助於反芻焦點從侵入性轉為更刻意、更有意識的思考歷程，且這些因素容易受到個人特性與社會文化因素之影響（陳柔君、涂珮瓊，2022）。

在認知處理的歷程中，自我揭露有助於應對甚至促進創傷後成長（Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004）。侵入性反芻可能會引發以書寫和禱告的形式進行的自我分析，以及透過談論和分享創傷經歷來進行的自我揭露（Weiss, 2014）。此外社會文化亦是影響因子之一，文化影響的程度進一步可以區分近端與遠端兩種，近端影響來自與個人互動的真實人群，而遠端影響則是地理位置的模糊化或通過大眾媒體（如電影、書籍、電視節目或播客等）、自媒體（self-media）傳播，進而透過文化影響個體（Calhoun et al., 2010）。

由上述可知，破壞性事件啟動了認知與情緒處理歷程，包括對目標、假設信念的重新評估與生命敘事的重建。此過程可能會造成個體對自身力量、資源與可能性的認識，也就是發展出創傷後成長，進而接受改變的世界，以及發展出更複雜的生活敘事、生命智慧的增加（Weiss, 2014）。

Calhoun 等（2010）修改後的模型仍然強調了創傷後成長始於個人核心信念或目標的破壞。然而新增了一條路徑，即當個體的原有信念能夠解釋創傷事件時，這些信念為個人提供了背景脈絡，使其能夠調節負面情緒，並且不會觸發創傷後成長。此外，還強調了創傷後成長與心理福祉和生活滿意度之間的關係，創傷後成長可能有助於個人智慧的增長，從而提高心理福祉和生活滿意度。

Tedeschi 與 Calhoun（2004）認為創傷後的改變並非創傷本身所導致，而是在經歷創傷後，個體所經歷的反芻與基模調適的認知歷程。根據兩人提出的創傷後成長模型可知，當個體對世界的假設或核心信念被挑戰時，除了負向情緒的出現之外，同時會出現自動化認知處理歷程，即重複性且具侵入性的反芻思考，包括自動化回憶起與創傷有關的線索、對創傷事件反覆思索。隨著時間的增加，侵入性反芻會轉向主動刻意的精緻性反芻，精緻性反芻會使個體修正其基模，重新理解創傷事件，進而重寫生命故事。因此反芻思考過程是個體發展創傷後成長的關鍵（蕭仁釗、李介文，2014）。此外獲得專業人員的關注並促進建設性的反思，可增加創傷後成長的正向心理轉變（Lundberg et al., 2023），而心理健康服務在促進創傷後成長可以發揮關鍵性作用（Jordan et al., 2023），同時心理治療為探索創傷後的正向改變提供了良好的情境（Zoellner & Maercker, 2006）。

雖然此模型並不是專為創傷心理治療所創，但其架構可說明個體面對破壞性事件的狀態及內在動力的轉變，可以用在心理治療。然而，一般心理治療模式還要包含分析架構，如多元的評估指標項目與治療流程等。此模型雖然有提出意義建構，如反芻、管理苦惱情緒、自我分析與揭露方法、社會文化影響等面向。但沒有詳細提出意義的情境意

義建構的解釋歷程、產生治療效果的指標、心理治療技術等。故本文將此模型之基礎，用來建構本文所提出「意義建構創傷心理治療模式」，文後會有詳細的說明。

參、意義建構創傷心理治療模式

一、創傷後成長與意義建構

創傷經驗越嚴重，需要更多的認知資源去處理隨之而來的情緒和行為問題（Quan et al., 2022），個體較難僅透過解決問題的方式進行處理。Park 回顧有關個體在應對壓力事件的情境中的意義之文獻後，提出意義建構模型（meaning making model, MMM）說明個體如何在壓力或壓力事件下，發展其意義系統與運作之歷程（Park, 2005／2010）。

在此意義建構模型中包括整體意義（global meaning）和情境意義（situational meaning）兩個概念。整體意義包括信念、目標與主觀意義，是在生命早期所建構的，並且會根據個人經歷進行修正或調整。其中信念包括對公正、控制、可預測性、一致性等廣泛觀點，以及個人對自己的看法，是人們解釋世界經驗的核心架構。目標則是對所期望的過程、事件或結果的內部表徵。目標可以是所期望的最終狀態，也可以是已經擁有但希望保持的狀態，例如健康或與親人的關係。目標通常包括關係、工作、宗教、知識和成就。主觀意義指感覺自己有目的或方向。整體意義對於個體的思想、行為和情緒反應會產生強大的影響。情境意義是指在特定環境遭遇中的意義。因此，情境意義始於可能具有壓力的事件的發生，描述了一系列持續進行的過程和結果，包括對事件的意義進行評估、評估情境意義和整體意義之間的差異、意義建構、形成的意義以及對事件的調整（Park, 2010）。

當個體面對壓力事件威脅時，特定情境中情境意義與整體意義的不一致會使個體感受到痛苦，從而促使個體調適兩者差異。透過意義建構的過程，重新獲得意義感（鄭凰君、劉淑慧，2022）。意義的追尋與個體日後的適應有所關聯，也就是說當個體對於創傷事件的詮釋以正向的角度重新評估，則可能經驗個人的成長；反之若個體以負向的角度理解創傷事件，則可能會連帶地引起負向的情緒或行為反應（陳亭君等，2010）。在創傷發生後，除了痛苦情緒之外，個體也會對於創傷事件產生重複性的認知思考，這種深入思考和重新詮釋創傷事件的認知過程，是影響個體能否達到創傷後成長的重要關鍵（Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004）。正向的重新詮釋是一種有效的策略，可以鼓勵個體積極尋找創傷經驗或壓力事件背後的意義，也是幫助個體接受創傷的重要動力（Quan et al., 2022）。換言之，創傷事件若能置於宏觀的意義架構中詮釋，整理成生命歷程中的意義事件，並重新敘說，逆境也可能轉化成為向上成長的動機（曾文志、林仁祥，2021）。

Park (2010) 意義建構模型提出個體面對壓力後，生命意義經由一系列意義建構歷程，以達成同化或調適的適應歷程。本文認為意義建構模型將個體面對創傷事件後的心理調適與意義建構歷程詳細說明，可以用來解釋創傷後成長的歷程，因此非常適合用來作為創傷後成長的心理治療模式。以下先說明意義建構模型的內涵，接著來提出意義建構創傷心理治療模式。

二、意義建構模型：創傷後成長歷程

Park (2010) 意義建構模型 (圖 2) 解釋個體面對與處理外在壓力事件對其整體意義的威脅。整體意義 (global meaning) 是個體用以解釋世界或經驗的核心基模，包含信念、目標與主觀意義或目的。在壓力情境出現時則會產生情境意義 (situational meaning)，即特定情境中出現的意義。

多數情境的意義通常可以用個體的整體意義解釋之，然而當情境意義與個體整體意義顯著不一致，個體會對此進行解讀與評估並會自動化地比對兩者之間存在的一致性。當情境意義與整體意義兩者一致時，便能成功調適；當情境意義與整體意義產生差異與不一致時，可能會產生苦惱情緒，從而促使個體透過自動化／具意圖性的深思熟慮、同化／調適歷程、尋求可理解性／重要性或認知和情緒的處理等方式進行意義建構歷程，重建對於壓力或創傷事件的意義。以下針對「意義建構歷程」進行說明：

(一) 自動化/具意圖性的深思熟慮 (automatic versus deliberate processes)：

此為意義生成的過程，自動化侵入性的思考是創傷後壓力症主要症狀之一(唐子俊，2020)。而具意圖性的深思熟慮則是透過正向的重新評估、調整目標、規劃以目標或問題為導向的應對方式及促進精神層面的信念與體驗。而創傷的復原通常包含對自動化／具意圖性的深思熟慮之處理過程 (Park, 2010)。

(二) 同化/調適歷程 (assimilation versus accommodation processes)：

當原先建立的整體意義與事件所引發的情境意義兩者之間有差異時，必然需要改變其中一個意義，使兩者更加一致以達到內在平衡。當個體改變情境意義來符合原先整體意義是為同化；改變情境意義的同時也調整整體意義是為調適 (Park, 2010)。

(三) 尋求可理解性／重要性 (searching for comprehensibility versus searching for significance)：

個體會從事件的理解中，尋找意義並試圖回答因事件而產生的疑問，如為什麼會發生？產生了什麼影響？個體從中去理解事件的意義為何。尋求事件的可理解性是為了讓

事件能夠符合個體內在的意義系統；尋求事件的重要性是為從中尋求意義與事件本身存在的價值（Park, 2010）。

（四）認知和情緒處理（cognitive versus emotional processing）：

認知層次的處理強調個人信念的重塑，涉及重新評估與反覆比較，強調將經驗與過往存在的基模做整合，或加以修改。情緒層面的處理強調情感的探索與體驗，意即讓個體在安全地環境中，暴露在害怕的感受中，從而習慣化並調節負向影響，並試圖理解自己感受（Park, 2010）。

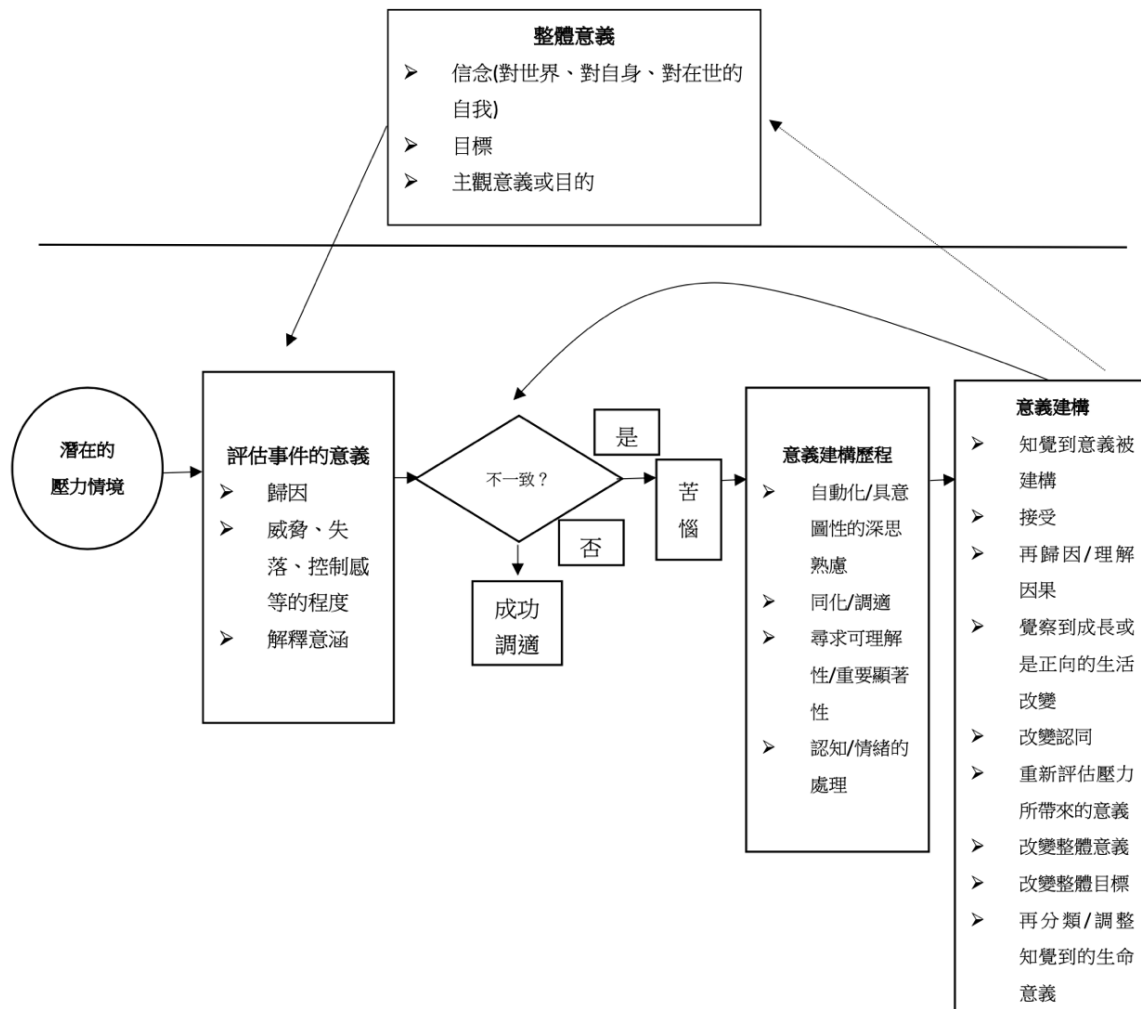
而當壓力或創傷事件的意義進行建構後，個體有可能會知覺到意義被建構、接受改變的世界、形成新的歸因、覺察成長、改變認同、重新評估壓力帶來的意義、改變原先的整體意義與目標或調整知覺到的生命意義，是為意義建構。以下進行說明：

1. 知覺到意義被建構（sense to having “made sense”）：此為最常見的結果之一，即個體知覺到事件產生新的意義或是對於事件的理解產生變化。
2. 接受（acceptance）：個體對於事件的發生以接受的態度面對或是接受創傷事件的程度。
3. 再歸因／理解因果（re-attributions/causal understanding）：對事件起因的重新歸因理解，可視為個體意義建構後的產物。
4. 覺察到成長或是正向的生活改變（perceptions of growth or positive life changes）：此意義建構結果是最常被評估的。覺察到正向的改變可以是人際關係的改善、個人資源與因應技巧的提升、對生命生活有更多的欣賞。
5. 改變認同（change identity）：意義建構可能涉及個體對於自己身份認同的重建。個人故事因經驗或事件而發生變化。
6. 重新評估壓力源所帶來的意義（reappraised meaning of the stressor）：個體通常會轉變事件的情境意義，減少情境意義與整體意義的差異，使其更符合原先存在的整體信念。
7. 改變整體意義（changed global beliefs）：除了通過改變壓力源的情境意義來解決差異外，個體還可改變其整體意義。
8. 改變整體目標（changed global goals）：意義建構也可能讓個體放棄無法實現的目標，或者轉而選擇其他目標。
9. 再分類／調整知覺到的生命意義（restored/changed sense of meaning in life）：
個體重新知覺與感受生命意義的增減。

本文認為這九個意義建構即創傷後成長。因此意義建構模型假設被破壞的整體意義是在壓力事件發生後，導致痛苦感受和意義重構的關鍵因素（George & Park, 2016）。

圖 2

意義建構模型 (Park, 2010)



意義建構模型在許多文獻中都獲得支持，Larner 與 Blow (2011) 以退伍軍人為研究對象，其結果發現意義的建構與因應是創傷後成長歷程的核心機制。Ferreira-Valente 等 (2021) 以慢性疾病患者為研究對象，其結果與意義建構模型內涵一致。Fitzke 等 (2021) 以歷經創傷事件的中年人為研究對象，其結果支持了意義建構模型中意義建構的歷程。

Tedeschi 與 Calhoun (2004) 創傷後成長模型雖然描述了創傷事件發生至產生創傷後成長之過程，但並未詳細敘述影響個體創傷後成長的關鍵，即意義建構的歷程。相較之下，Park (2010) 提出的意義建構模型填補了此方面的不足，更完整地闡述了個體調適核心信念的過程。儘管 Park 的模型能夠解釋個體面對外在壓力事件對其意義系統的威脅，但無法解釋個體不成功適應的原因，也未說明促進創傷成長的治療技術，以及社會文化對個體的影響。為了更全面的說明創傷成長的治療歷程，本文將進一步探討和說明這些方面，並提出意義建構創傷心理治療模式。

三、意義建構創傷心理治療模式

本文在 Park (2010) 意義建構模型框架下，加入 Tedeschi 與 Calhoun (2004) 的創傷後成長模型中的概念，即「社會文化影響」，並發展出意義建構創傷心理治療模式。另外，本模式也加入「情緒困擾來源」、「治療目標與要點」與「治療技術」、「意義建構創傷心理治療模式六步驟」等內涵，以下說明之。

(一) 辨識情緒困擾的來源

當發生創傷事件時，首先會衝擊到個體的內在感受與認知歸因，撼動原先的整體意義，隨後個體會評估事件本身的意義。若個體原先對於事件的信念、整體意義能夠為創傷提供背景脈絡，能解釋創傷事件意義，則可能順利調適認知與情緒。假設整體意義與情境意義無法一致，便會產生負向感受，並且進入意義建構的歷程。

(二) 治療要點與目標

鄭鳳君與劉淑慧 (2022) 指出個體修復意義感的方式包括改變對情境的看法、重新建構信念或修改目標、質疑或修改生命意義的主觀感受或接受情境的存在。基於此提出以下治療要點與目標：

1. 減輕情緒困擾：初始階段以減緩負向情緒症狀為主，使個體情緒狀態維持平穩之後，再引導個體嘗試思辨及評估其信念、目標與主觀知覺目標與意圖等整體意義。
2. 知覺到生命意義感，提升到認知的意識層面：接著透過認知層面的思考，引導個體覺察負向情緒背後的歸因與評估，例如「創傷事件為何對我有這樣的影響？」協助個體認識與理解形塑整體意義形成的因果關係與因應模式。
3. 改變情境意義：協助個體探索更深層的意義，例如「創傷事件對我的影響為何？」、「經歷創傷事件對我的影響為何？」、「經歷創傷事件帶來了什麼改變？」引導個體用新的眼光看待創傷事件，或是重新詮釋壓力事件所帶來的意義。
4. 調整整體意義：陪伴個體重新檢視原先的價值觀與動機、調整過去的人生目標，或是改變個人的信仰。

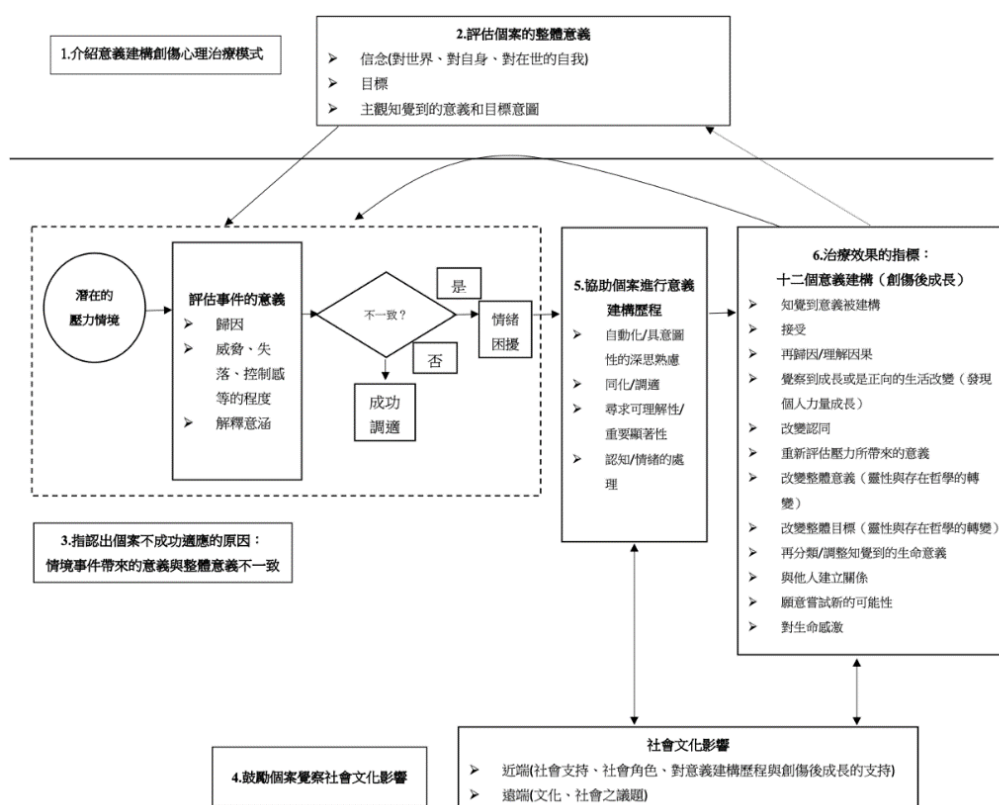
(三) 意義建構創傷心理治療模式：六步驟

本文以 Park (2010) 意義建構模型為基礎，提出其應用於創傷的心理治療六步驟模式 (圖 3)。並針對意義建構的歷程有更詳細說明，此部分為本模型第五步驟與第六步驟。在 Park 提出的意義建構模型提供了九個意義建構的內容，可以被視為創傷後成長的內容。然而，Tedeschi 與 Calhoun (2004) 提出的創傷後成長的正向改變體驗中，「與他人建立關係」、「願意嘗試新的可能性」和「對生命感激」等三項，Park 並未對此進行

描述。「發現個人的力量」可以歸類為 Park 意義建構模型中的「覺察到成長或正向生活的改變」，而「靈性與存在哲學的轉變」則可歸類為「改變整體意義」和「改變整體目標」。因此，原本的 Park (2010) 意義建構模型中的九個意義建構增加了 Tedeschi 與 Calhoun 所提出的正向改變體驗中的三個方面，共同構成了十二個意義建構，這些也可以被視為創傷後成長。

圖 3

意義建構創傷心理治療模式



1. 介紹意義建構創傷心理治療模式：一開始會向個案介紹意義建構模型的心理治療歷程，介紹說明接下來的治療步驟。且在後續的治療各階段，會適時地與個案重新討論此意義建構模型，幫助個案有更清晰的理解。
2. 評估個案的整體意義：此階段治療師協助個案梳理自身整體意義的重要內涵，除了以口語探問的方式外，過程中可以搭配使用合適的量表，進行個案整體意義、生活適應或壓力評估等情況的測量，量化的測驗搭配開放式問句能更全面地理解個案整體意義內涵。
3. 指認出個案不成功適應的原因：由於情境事件帶來的意義與整體意義不一致。第三階段個案會經歷「評估事件意義」的心理歷程。初步評估過程涉及各種面向，包括歸因、評估威脅、失落、控制感等的程度與解釋事件意涵。人們對自身的遭遇進行評估

或賦予特定意義，確定他們的威脅和可控程度，歸因於原因，並辨別其含義（Park, 2010／2022）。此階段個案會意識到壓力情境的情境意義為何，並會自動化地與原先存在的整體意義相互對比。治療師可以引導個案覺察痛苦的來源，並非情境意義本身，而是情境意義與整體意義的不一致所導致（Park, 2022）。而當不一致造成的心理落差感受愈大，情緒困擾程度也隨之愈大。若最終個案的情境意義與整體意義兩者達成一致，即為成功適應；反之，若兩者有所衝突或差距過大，治療師可以指認出個案的狀態，亦是增進個案覺察。

4. 鼓勵個案覺察社會文化影響：Calhoun 等（2010）指出不同文化背景的人在看待所處世界事件時存在一些非常基本的差異，因此認知過程可能會受到文化影響。治療師需要非常敏感地考慮到個案自身的文化影響，包括遠端和近端的文化，前者像是大眾媒體的傳播，後者像是與個案直接互動的他者。在協助個案籌劃未來的過程中，治療師必須對文化高度敏感，能夠從個案的文化敘事（cultural narratives）中，看出其問題經驗的關鍵所在（黃光國，2013）。王智弘（2017）指出具備華人文化辯證思維的治療師，可以藉由自身的經歷與生命體悟，與個案一起探討如何面對痛苦和創傷所帶來的生命智慧，幫助個案理解，那些難以改變或接受的狀況中，尋找並賦予其成長的價值與意義。華人文化是以儒釋道智慧為主，目前已經有學者提出了儒家智慧與心理治療（何幸儒等，2022；夏允中，2023）、佛家智慧與心理治療（夏允中，2020；簡秀真等，2021）及道家智慧與心理治療（Liu et al., 2016; Shiah, 2021）。讀者可以參考以上的文章來將華人文化的與我們所提出的模式運用於華人文化社會中。
5. 協助個案進行意義建構歷程：當發現個案因為情境意義與整體意義的不一致而產生情緒困擾（distress）時，治療師除了同理與協助個案進行覺察，此階段可以引導個案重新建構情境意義，以因應創傷情境。根據 Park（2010）意義建構模型解釋歷程有四個向度，分別是「自動化／具意圖性的思慮」、「同化／調適歷程」、「尋求可理解性／重要性」、「認知／情緒處理」。
6. 治療效果的指標：十二個意義建構（創傷後成長）。有些個體會改變對事件原因的理解，轉而接受一種更加積極的觀點，是為意義建構。個體也可能因經歷了創傷而以更積極方式改變自己（Park, 2022）。本文認為此十二個意義建構可視為創傷後成長的結果，亦為治療效果的指標。

（四）治療技術

目前對於創傷的治療技術繁多，不同取向的治療學派，其治療技術可能也不盡相同。除了心理諮商的晤談之外，其他相關技術不勝枚舉。任何能夠在治療歷程中對個案有所協助的技術皆可使用。

肆、案例說明

本文主要為結合創傷後長與意義建構歷程，闡述一個新的模式將意義建構應用於創傷心理治療之中，提出六步驟的心理治療歷程，並以案例逐步說明。此案例是依據作者過往接觸與整合數位有相似經驗之個案，在保密的前提下改編個案基本資料而成。案例基本資料如下：小樺，女性，20歲大學生，家境優渥，個案自述從小便時常遭受案父的言語暴力，即便至今仍會出現相關的夢境，近期由於案父的去世，個案也因此出現情緒上的困擾。

一、介紹意義建構創傷心理治療模式

治療師一開始向小樺介紹意義建構模型的心理治療模式，讓小樺在過程中能理解接下來的治療歷程。

二、評估個案的整體意義

透過口語談話或媒材等方式，陪伴進行內在覺察，了解小樺的自我概念與對案父的看法，例如：小樺一直沒有自信、覺得自己不夠好、比不上別人。小樺對案父的感受是矛盾的，十分痛恨案父的言語暴力，但同時又渴望靠近案父，得到案父的關愛。認為「家」應該是溫暖與相互支持的，卻時常遭受案父的否定、嚴格管控、謾罵貶損，進而感到孤單並害怕和案父接觸，這也是小樺對家如此沒有歸屬感的原因。

三、指認出個案不成功適應的原因

由於情境事件帶來的意義與整體意義不一致，兩種狀態同時出現，使得小樺產生情緒困擾。例如：案父的去世，小樺原先以為自己應該會是痛快的（整體意義），然而當案父真的離開人世，小樺卻又產生不捨的感受（情境意義）。

四、鼓勵個案覺察社會文化影響

小樺的朋友很少，一直覺得跟朋友訴說煩惱會被討厭，因此生活中沒有什麼人能夠理解小樺的困擾。親戚覺得案父對於小樺的嚴厲，是父母為了小樺好（近端文化影響）。同時，大眾媒體對富裕生活的渲染與追捧，有著「擁有更好的物質條件，應該過著快樂無虞的生活」之想像，讓小樺對於內在的糾結覺得有口難辯。也嘗試在社群媒體上發文

訴說低落無奈心情，卻得到網友「討拍、炫耀文、創作文、不知足」等回應，更增添小樺孤單的感受（遠端文化影響）。

五、協助個案進行意義建構歷程：意義建構歷程有四個向度。

（一）「自動化／具意圖性的思慮」

探索小樺自我概念，如：自己一無是處。透過治療者介入，小樺發現自己「一無是處」為不合理的想法。

（二）「同化／調適歷程」

協助小樺調整情境意義以符合整體意義，如：暴力就是不允許的，案父長期暴力，任何人在這情境下都會無法接受（整體意義），而案父的言語暴力可能不完全來自於小樺表現，有可能是因為工作壓力或是其個性所導致（調整情境意義）。

（三）「尋求可理解性／重要性」

協助小樺探索案父言語暴力下，在過往學習、人際關係、親密關係的影響為何，以及重新框架自己的創傷經驗。

（四）「認知／情緒處理」

協助小樺探索此事件所帶來的深層情緒，並進行情緒抒發，提供支持。同時也協助小樺整合對於案父的正負面形象。

六、治療效果的指標

十二個意義建構（創傷後成長）。小樺在接受治療後開始接受自己的原生家庭（接受），不再將報復父親視為必須（改變整體意義、改變整體目標）。同時也意識到案父的言語暴力，並不等於真實的自我，不再覺得自己毫無用處（知覺到意義被建構、改變認同、再分類／調整知覺到的生命意義）。治療過程中小樺重新框架自己童年經驗，而因為自己曾經有過類似的受暴經驗，使小樺認為或許是老天爺冥冥之中引導自己走向兒少保護的工作（再歸因／理解因果、重新評估壓力所帶來的意義），因此小樺決定嘗試投入兒少保護的工作（覺察到成長或是正向的生活改變），也開始嘗試往相關領域發展（願意嘗試新的可能性）。對於自己的人生能夠走到今天，小樺更懂得感激那些曾經在生命歷程中留下的朋友們，也更願意敞開自己的心房和朋友互動（對生命感激、與他人建立關係）。

伍、結論

本文的貢獻，在於嘗試結合創傷後成長的歷程與意義建構的治療模式，並說明在發生創傷事件後，個體可能會經歷的心理歷程，特別是在人生哲學層面的轉化。生命意義的心理治療歷程主要是以意義建構模型作為基礎，解釋個體經歷危機後，面對情境意義與整體意義不一致而產生的負向苦惱情緒與無意義感，透過反覆芻思、評估，進行一系列重構意義的過程，最終調整情境所帶來的意義，重新建立新的生命意義觀。經歷過困難卻存活下來的個體經常會發現，創傷生活事件使個人功能的發展超越創傷前的水平，並增加了他們對生活欣賞（Kim et al., 2016）。

本文提出的模式屬於形式性（formal）與普遍性（universal），適用於任何一種文化。同時針對創傷所提出的意義建構歷程，可以解釋有涉及到意義建構歷程的其他心理療癒模式。再者本模式可以引導未來的研究，找出普遍性模式的實質性（substantial）內容，也就是文化的內容，來建構本土化實質性內容的「意義建構創傷心理治療模式」，呼應本土心理學的研究假設為華人文化智慧蘊育華人人格特質、信念與適應歷程（Hwang& Chang, 2009；楊淑蘭，2019）。

本文所提出的模型有兩個限制，第一個限制為雖然本文初步探討意義建構模型應用於創傷的心理治療歷程模式，未來仍然需要實徵研究來驗證或修正本文所提意義建構模型應用於創傷的心理治療模式，並提出後續的相關應用。第二個限制為本文未能描述如何具體應用文化智慧於治療步驟中，未來仍需要更多實徵研究來彌補此限制。

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Healing After Life Crises: The Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model

Ching-Hsuan Kuo Yuan-Chin Tu Yung-Jong Shiah*

Abstract

Experiencing high levels of stress or trauma may shake an individual's preexisting sense of life meaning, challenging their beliefs or assumptions. It may be accompanied by the emergence of negative emotions and physical symptoms. Most individuals are resilient to trauma, and some even develop posttraumatic growth. The critical determinant of whether an individual achieves posttraumatic growth lies in their cognitive processing of the traumatic event, which involves the reconstruction of meaning regarding the experienced trauma. The main motivation and objective of this study are to propose a psychological therapy model for individuals following traumatic events. Therefore, this paper first explores the relationship between posttraumatic growth and psychotherapy. It combines theories and research on posttraumatic growth and the meaning-making model to propose a meaning-making trauma psychotherapy model. This model outlines six steps that explain how meaning is reconstructed when individuals experience a conflict between their situational meanings and overall beliefs. The first step introduces the meaning-making trauma psychotherapy model to help the client understand the therapeutic process; the second step assesses the client's global meaning to understand their preexisting beliefs, goals, or subjective meanings; the third step identifies the reasons for the client's maladaptive responses, namely the discrepancy between the meaning of the situation and the global meaning; the fourth step encourages the client to recognize societal and cultural influences, including proximal influences such as social roles and distal influences such as mass media impact; the fifth step assists the client in the meaning making process; the sixth step serves as an indicator of therapeutic efficacy: the twelve meanings constructed

(posttraumatic growth), helping the client examine the results of meaning construction. In summary, the main contribution of this paper is proposing the application of the meaning making model to trauma therapy, and it is hoped that future empirical research will support and refine this model.

Keywords: meaning making model, posttraumatic growth, psychotherapy

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I. Introduction

There are many different types of everyday stressors, ranging from minor daily hassles to major disasters, all of which induce stress in individuals. However, certain forms of stress are particularly traumatic (Hsiao & Lee, 2014). Specifically, the frequent occurrence of high-intensity stress events in life—such as natural disasters (e.g., floods, earthquakes), severe illnesses (e.g., cancer), traffic accidents, the death of a loved one (e.g., miscarriage), work-related stress (e.g., unemployment), divorce, war, murder, or sexual abuse—could be profoundly distressing (Alvarez-Calle & Chaves, 2023; Ferris & O'Brien, 2022; Maitlis, 2020; McGlynn et al., 2021; Ramos & Leal, 2013). Additionally, witnessing life-threatening events also lead to trauma (Chou & Lin, 2021). Experiencing highly traumatic events has a multidimensional impact on individuals, often resulting in significant distress. Such experiences may alter how individuals perceive themselves, others, and the world, potentially shattering the core schemas, goals, and assumptions that previously shaped their sense of life purpose and meaning in life (Pals & McAdams, 2004). Moreover, these events may be accompanied by various physical and psychological symptoms, including grief, panic, anxiety, aggression, and sleep disorders (Fang, 2017). In severe cases, some individuals may experience further deterioration and develop posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

After a period of adjustment, individuals gradually restore their original functioning following trauma. Research indicates that more than half of those who experience a traumatic event recover within 24 months (Rosellini et al., 2018). Furthermore, some individuals not only recover but also derive new strengths from their traumatic experiences. The emergence of positive outcomes after trauma could be attributed to various factors, including personality traits—specifically, extroversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness, as identified in the Big Five personality traits (Henson et al., 2022; Ramos & Leal, 2013; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004)—as well as resilience (Henson et al., 2022), a strong willingness to disclose trauma (Ramos & Leal, 2013), social support (Alvarez-Calle & Chaves, 2023; Prati & Pietrantonio, 2009; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004), religious and spiritual beliefs (Prati & Pietrantonio, 2009; Ramos & Leal, 2013), access to mental health services (Jordan et al., 2023), and effective coping strategies (Henson et al., 2022; Ramos & Leal, 2013). Additionally, reconstructing the meaning of life after trauma—through reflection and reevaluation—may contribute to posttraumatic growth (Henson et al., 2022; Prati & Pietrantonio, 2009; Ramos & Leal, 2013; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). After experiencing stress or trauma, individuals often reassess their sense of life purpose, discovering new meaning, comprehensibility, and manageability in their experiences. This process fosters a sense of control, enhances self-esteem, and promotes psychological well-being (Yeh et al., 2014). Individuals with higher

psychological well-being tend to enjoy better physical health, cope more effectively with life challenges, and exhibit greater resilience, endurance, and optimism (Yang, 2020). Thus, posttraumatic growth is closely linked to an individual's reinterpretation of their traumatic experience, which is the central focus of this study.

Given the importance of posttraumatic growth for an individual's physical and mental well-being, the primary motivation and objective of this study are to explore the healing process following traumatic experiences. Specifically, this research aims to assess the meaning derived from traumatic events and examine the process of adjusting one's sense of life meaning. To achieve this, the study constructs the "Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model", a systematic framework that explains the internal cognitive processes individuals undergo when facing stress and trauma. The following sections will discuss the concept of posttraumatic growth, relevant research on posttraumatic growth and psychotherapy, and finally, introduce the "The Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model", which represents the key contribution of this study.

II. Posttraumatic Growth

1. Definition of Posttraumatic Growth

When individuals experience high-stress events or significant life traumas, they may suffer negative impacts across multiple dimensions, including behavioral, psychological, and emotional aspects, potentially leading to destructive outcomes (Ramos & Leal, 2013). If these symptoms persist over time—such as intrusive and involuntary traumatic memories, avoidance of trauma-related stimuli, hypervigilance, and emotional or cognitive dysfunction—there is a high likelihood of developing posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition (DSM-5), trauma is defined as directly experiencing or witnessing a life-threatening event, serious injury, or sexual violence; learning that such events have occurred to a close relative or friend; or repeated or extreme exposure to aversive details of traumatic events. If PTSD symptoms persist for more than three months, they are likely to become chronic, further impairing an individual's ability to learn, work, or maintain interpersonal relationships (Tang, 2020). Furthermore, severe trauma profoundly challenges an individual's core beliefs, often leading to perceptions that "the world is unstable and unsafe" or "I am worthless" (Quan et al., 2022).

Posttraumatic Growth (PTG) refers to the positive psychological changes of individual experiences after overcoming significant life adversities and crises—not merely surviving but

achieving psychological transformation (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). The term "growth" suggests that an individual's development exceeds their previous psychological functioning or adaptive capacity, resulting in positive changes throughout the process (Ramos & Leal, 2013; Tedeschi et al., 2018).

In other words, individuals who experience traumatic life events may seek new opportunities and develop psychological resilience to cope with future challenges (Kim et al., 2016). Posttraumatic growth (PTG) emphasizes the positive transformations that occur following a traumatic event, rather than the changes that take place during the traumatic experience itself. Since PTG often requires an extended period to manifest, individuals engage in a gradual process during which they experience positive psychological, emotional, and behavioral changes over time.

Tedeschi and Calhoun (1996) developed the Posttraumatic Growth Inventory (PTGI) to assess the positive psychological changes experienced by trauma survivors. Subsequently, they expanded this tool into the Posttraumatic Growth Inventory-Expanded (PTGI-X) to measure survivors' perceived personal strengths, including changes in self-perception, relationships with others, and views on existential philosophy (Tedeschi et al., 2017; Tedeschi et al., 2018). Through factor analysis, they identified five key dimensions of positive transformation:

(1) Relating to others

The capacity to depend on others during challenging times, accept assistance, express emotions more openly, cultivate greater empathy, and foster deeper, more meaningful relationships.

(2) New possibilities:

A willingness to embrace change, explore new interests, and make diverse life choices.

(3) Personal strength

Recognizing one's inner strength, believing in one's ability to overcome challenges, and fostering greater self-reliance.

(4) Appreciation of Life

Developing a deeper understanding of life's value, cultivating gratitude, and cherishing meaningful experiences.

(5) Spiritual and Existential Change:

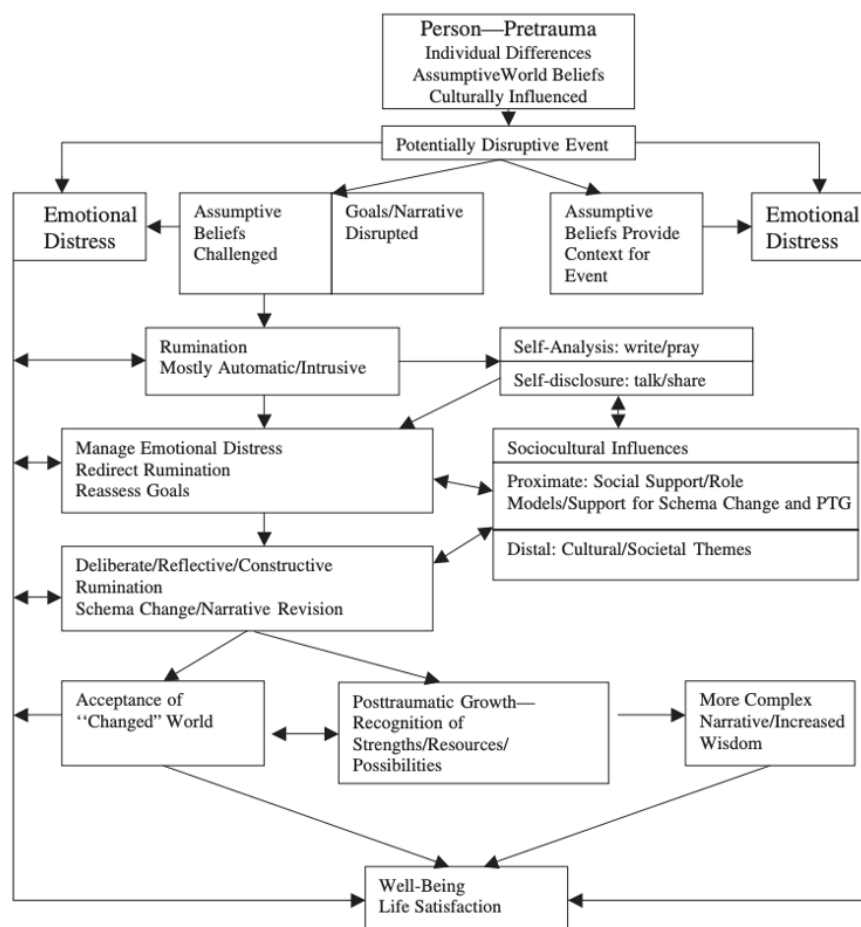
Strengthening religious beliefs, deepening spiritual understanding, and experiencing shifts in existential philosophy.

2. Posttraumatic Growth and Psychotherapy

Currently, the posttraumatic growth (PTG) development model proposed by Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) is one of the most well-known and significant frameworks in this field (Zoellner & Maercker, 2006). Later, Calhoun et al. (2010) refined this model (Figure 1), and Chen Rou-Jun and Tu Pei-Chiun (2022) translated it into a Chinese version.

Figure 1

Posttraumatic Growth Model



Before a destructive event (i.e., a traumatic event) occurs, an individual's traits—including personal differences, beliefs about the world, and cultural experiences—influence the likelihood of experiencing posttraumatic growth. These factors guide the individual in planning, organizing, and perceiving others and their environment, while also providing cognitive and emotional direction that enables them to understand the world and respond appropriately. Assumptions about the world serve as a source of the individual's sense of safety, fostering a belief that they are secure and protected (Hsiao & Lee, 2014). After a destructive event, various

cognitive and emotional reactions may arise, such as distress, challenges to belief systems, disruption of goals or life narratives, and the possibility that belief systems provide a contextual framework for understanding the trauma. Beliefs could also help alleviate distress. When beliefs offer a framework to contextualize the trauma and help reduce distress, they contribute to enhancing psychological well-being and life satisfaction. However, when a destructive event impacts an individual's fundamental assumptions or goals about the world, it challenges their belief system and disrupts their goals or life narrative. This creates a significant gap between their cognitive system before and after the event, which in turn triggers much emotional pain and distress (Chen & Tu, 2022). Subsequently, the individual enters into a state of rumination. Rumination refers to repetitive thinking related to the event, which is conscious, centered around a specific theme, and does not require particular environmental cues. It even occurs unexpectedly through indirect cues (Martin & Tesser, 1996). Calhoun et al. (2010) studied posttraumatic rumination and identified two different types: The first type is intrusive rumination, which is automatic and involuntary, causing the individual to recall trauma-related cues that lead to discomfort. The second type, deliberate rumination, develops over time into active, intentional rumination. This type helps the individual to reinterpret the traumatic event and reconstruct new beliefs and meanings of life. Deliberate rumination is a conscious, reflective, and constructive process that enables the change of cognitive schemas and revises the individual's life story. Deliberate rumination is positively correlated with posttraumatic growth, meaning that the more an individual engages in deliberate rumination and reflects on how to find positive meaning from the event, the more likely it is to promote posttraumatic growth (Taku & Cann, 2014). To shift from intrusive rumination to deliberate rumination, managing distressing emotions is key. Other factors, such as adjusting the direction of rumination or reevaluating goals, also contribute to shifting the focus of rumination from intrusive thoughts to more intentional, conscious thinking. These factors are easily influenced by personal traits and sociocultural factors (Chen & Tu, 2022).

In the process of cognitive processing, self-disclosure aids in coping with and even fostering posttraumatic growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). Intrusive rumination could trigger self-reflection through writing or prayer, as well as self-disclosure by discussing and sharing traumatic experiences (Weiss, 2014). Additionally, socio-cultural factors serve as another influential element. The extent of cultural influence could be further categorized into proximal and distal influences. Proximal influences stem from direct interactions within personal social networks, while distal influences emerge from geographic diffusion or mass media, such as movies, books, television shows, or podcasts, as well as self-media, which disseminate and impact individuals through cultural channels (Calhoun et al., 2010).

As demonstrated above, destructive events initiate cognitive and emotional processing, which includes reevaluating goals, belief systems, and reconstructing life narratives. This process enhances an individual's awareness of their strengths, resources, and possibilities, ultimately fostering posttraumatic growth. Consequently, individuals may come to accept a transformed world and develop more intricate life narratives, accompanied by an increase in life wisdom (Weiss, 2014).

The modified model proposed by Calhoun et al. (2010) continues to emphasize that posttraumatic growth begins with the disruption of an individual's core beliefs or goals. However, it introduces an additional pathway: when an individual's original beliefs adequately explain the traumatic event, these beliefs provide a contextual framework that helps regulate negative emotions and prevents the onset of posttraumatic growth. Furthermore, the model highlights the relationship between posttraumatic growth, psychological well-being, and life satisfaction. Posttraumatic growth may contribute to an increase in personal wisdom, thereby enhancing both psychological well-being and life satisfaction.

Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) propose that the changes following trauma are not solely a result of the trauma itself, but rather stem from the cognitive processes of rumination and schema adjustment that individuals undergo after the traumatic event. According to their model of posttraumatic growth, when an individual's assumptions about the world or core beliefs are challenged, negative emotions emerge alongside an automatic cognitive processing cycle. This cycle includes repetitive and intrusive rumination, characterized by the automatic recollection of trauma-related cues and ongoing reflection on the traumatic experience. Over time, this intrusive rumination evolves into more deliberate and purposeful rumination, which aids individuals in correcting their schemas, reinterpreting the traumatic event, and ultimately rewriting their life narrative. Consequently, the rumination process is essential for the development of posttraumatic growth (Hsiao & Lee, 2014). Furthermore, receiving professional support and encouraging constructive reflection enhance the positive psychological transformations associated with posttraumatic growth (Lundberg et al., 2023). Mental health services play a crucial role in facilitating posttraumatic growth (Jordan et al., 2023), while psychological therapy provides a valuable context for exploring positive changes following trauma (Zoellner & Maercker, 2006).

Although this model was not specifically designed for trauma therapy, its framework could elucidate the internal motivational changes and states individuals experience when confronted with traumatic events, making it applicable in psychological treatment. However, conventional psychotherapy models must also incorporate analytical frameworks, including multiple assessment indicators and treatment processes. While this model highlights aspects of meaning

construction—such as rumination, managing distressing emotions, self-analysis, disclosure methods, and socio-cultural influences—it lacks a comprehensive explanation of the meaning construction process in specific contexts, indicators of therapeutic outcomes, and therapeutic techniques. Therefore, this article will utilize the foundation of this model to develop the "The Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model," which will be elaborated upon later in the text.

III. The Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model

1. Post-Traumatic Growth and the Construction of Meaning

The more severe the traumatic experience, the greater the cognitive resources required to process the associated emotional and behavioral challenges (Quan et al., 2022). Individuals are less likely to manage these challenges solely through problem-solving strategies. Park, after reviewing the literature on how individuals derive meaning in response to stressful events, proposed the Meaning Making Model (MMM). This model elucidates how individuals construct and navigate their meaning systems in the face of stress or trauma (Park, 2005, 2010).

In the Meaning Making Model, two essential concepts are global meaning and situational meaning. Global meaning refers to the beliefs, goals, and subjective interpretations that individuals develop early in life, which are subsequently adjusted or refined through their personal experiences. This framework serves as the core structure for interpreting and making sense of the world. Beliefs encompass broad perspectives on concepts such as justice, control, predictability, consistency, and self-perception, which are crucial for how individuals understand their experiences. Goals represent the internal representations of the desired processes, events, or outcomes that individuals aspire to achieve. These goals could reflect either the ultimate desired states, such as personal growth or success, or states that have already been attained and are hoped to be maintained, such as health or meaningful relationships. Meanwhile, subjective meaning refers to the sense of having purpose or direction in life.

Global meaning profoundly impacts a person's thoughts, behaviors, and emotional responses, shaping how they interpret and react to various experiences. In contrast, situational meaning arises from specific encounters within a particular context. It begins when a stressful event occurs and encompasses a series of ongoing processes and outcomes, including the evaluation of the event's significance. This process also involves assessing the discrepancy between situational meaning and global meaning, constructing new meanings, and ultimately adjusting to the event based on this reconstructed understanding. Therefore, when individuals confront a traumatic or stressful event, they not only evaluate its immediate significance (situational meaning) but also reconcile it with their broader worldview (global meaning), integrating these elements to make sense of the experience (Park, 2010).

When individuals encounter stressful events that pose a threat, the discrepancy between situational meaning and global meaning within a specific context could lead to emotional distress, prompting the individual to reconcile the two. Through the process of meaning-making, individuals regain a sense of purpose and significance (Zheng & Liu, 2022). The pursuit of meaning is closely linked to an individual's future adaptation. In other words, when individuals reevaluate traumatic events from a positive perspective, they may experience personal growth. Conversely, if they interpret the traumatic event negatively, it may result in adverse emotional or behavioral responses (Chen et al., 2010). Following a trauma, in addition to experiencing painful emotions, individuals often engage in repetitive cognitive processing of the event. This process of deep reflection and reinterpretation of the trauma is a crucial factor in whether an individual achieves post-traumatic growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). Positive reinterpretation is an effective strategy that encourages individuals to seek the meaning behind traumatic experiences or stressful events actively. It serves as a significant motivator to help individuals accept the trauma (Quan et al., 2022). In other words, when a traumatic event is framed within a broader context of meaning—understood as a significant event in one's life journey and re-narrated, adversity could potentially transform into a motivating force for upward growth (Zeng & Lin, 2021).

Park's (2010) meaning-making model posits that after individuals encounter stress, their perception of life's meaning undergoes a series of processes aimed at making sense of their experiences. Ultimately, this leads to either assimilation or adjustment as they adapt to the situation. This model offers a comprehensive explanation of the psychological adjustments and meaning-making processes that individuals undergo following traumatic events. Consequently, it serves as an effective framework for understanding post-traumatic growth, making it particularly suitable as a psychological therapy model for this phenomenon. Below, the meaning-making model will be further elaborated upon, followed by the proposal of a Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model.

2. Meaning Construction Model: Post-Traumatic Growth Process

Park's (2010) meaning-making model (Figure 2) explains how individuals face and process external stressful events that threaten their overall meaning. Global meaning refers to the core schemas individuals use to interpret the world or their experiences, including beliefs, goals, and subjective meaning or purpose. When a stressful situation arises, situational meaning emerges, which refers to the meaning associated with a specific context or event.

In most situations, the meaning of an event could typically be explained through an individual's overall meaning system. However, when the situational meaning significantly differs from the individual's global meaning, the person will assess and automatically compare

the consistency between the two. If there is consistency between the situational meaning and the global meaning, the individual successfully adapts to the situation. However, when a discrepancy or inconsistency arises between the two, it may trigger distressing emotions, which could motivate the individual to engage in a meaning-making process. This process involves reflective thinking, assimilation/accommodation, and seeking comprehensibility/importance, or cognitive and emotional processing, to rebuild the meaning of the stressful or traumatic event. Below, I will explain the meaning-making processes:

(1) Automatic vs. Deliberate Processes

This refers to the process of meaning generation. Automatic intrusive thinking is a major symptom of post-traumatic stress disorder. On the other hand, deliberate thinking involves consciously and positively reassessing the situation, adjusting goals, planning goal- or problem-oriented coping strategies, and fostering beliefs and experiences at a spiritual level. Recovery from trauma often involves processing both automatic and deliberate thinking (Park, 2010).

(2) Assimilation vs. Accommodation Processes

When the global meaning initially established by the individual conflicts with the situational meaning triggered by the event, there is a need to adjust one of the meanings to create more consistency between them and restore internal balance. Assimilation occurs when the individual modifies the situational meaning to fit the pre-existing global meaning. Accommodation, on the other hand, occurs when the individual adjusts the situational meaning while simultaneously changing the global meaning to achieve a better alignment (Park, 2010).

(3) Searching for Comprehensibility vs. Searching for Significance

Individuals seek meaning from the event by trying to answer questions such as: Why did this happen? What impact did it have? They attempt to understand the event's meaning. Searching for comprehensibility aims to make the event fit within the individual's existing meaning system, whereas searching for significance is the search for the inherent value or importance of the event itself (Park, 2010).

(4) Cognitive vs. Emotional Processing

Cognitive processing focuses on reshaping personal beliefs, involving the reevaluation and comparison of experiences to existing schemas, or integrating and modifying them. Emotional

processing, in contrast, emphasizes the exploration and experience of emotions. This involves safely exposing the individual to distressing emotions, allowing them to become accustomed to and regulate negative effects, while also attempting to understand their emotional responses (Park, 2010).

When the meaning of a stressful or traumatic event is constructed, the individual may perceive that meaning has been made, accept a changed world, form new attributions, become aware of personal growth, alter their identity, reassess the meaning of the stress, and adjust their overall meaning and goals or perceived life meaning. This process is referred to as meaning-making. The following further explains the key aspects of this process.

a. Perceiving that meaning has been made (sense of having "made sense") : This is one of the most common outcomes, where the individual perceives that the event has taken on new meaning or that their understanding of the event has changed. The individual may realize that they have come to a clearer understanding of what the event means in the context of their life, often resulting in a shift in how they interpret and react to similar events in the future. This perception of "making sense" could lead to a sense of relief, greater understanding, and sometimes emotional healing.

b. Acceptance: This refers to the individual's attitude of facing the event with acceptance or the degree to which they accept the traumatic event. It signifies a shift from resistance or denial to a willingness to acknowledge the reality of the experience, which could be a crucial step in processing the trauma.

c. Re-attributions/Causal understanding: This involves the individual reinterpreting the cause of the event, which could be seen as a product of meaning-making. It allows the person to make sense of why the event happened, often reframing the narrative in a way that makes the event more comprehensible and less overwhelming.

d. Perceptions of growth or positive life changes

This is one of the most frequently assessed outcomes of meaning-making. Individuals may recognize positive changes, such as improvements in interpersonal relationships, increased personal resources and coping skills, or a greater appreciation for life and its experiences.

e. Change in identity: Meaning-making may involve the individual reconstructing their sense of identity. This often occurs when experiences or events lead to a shift in how a person sees themselves, as they incorporate new perspectives into their personal story and self-concept.

f. Reappraised meaning of the stressor: Individuals typically shift the situational meaning of the event to reduce the discrepancy between situational meaning and global meaning. This process helps to align the event's interpretation with their pre-existing beliefs, making the experience more consistent with their worldview.

g. Changed global beliefs: In addition to changing the situational meaning of the stressor, individuals may also alter their global beliefs, such as their views on the world, others, or

themselves. This could be a profound transformation that influences how they navigate future challenges.

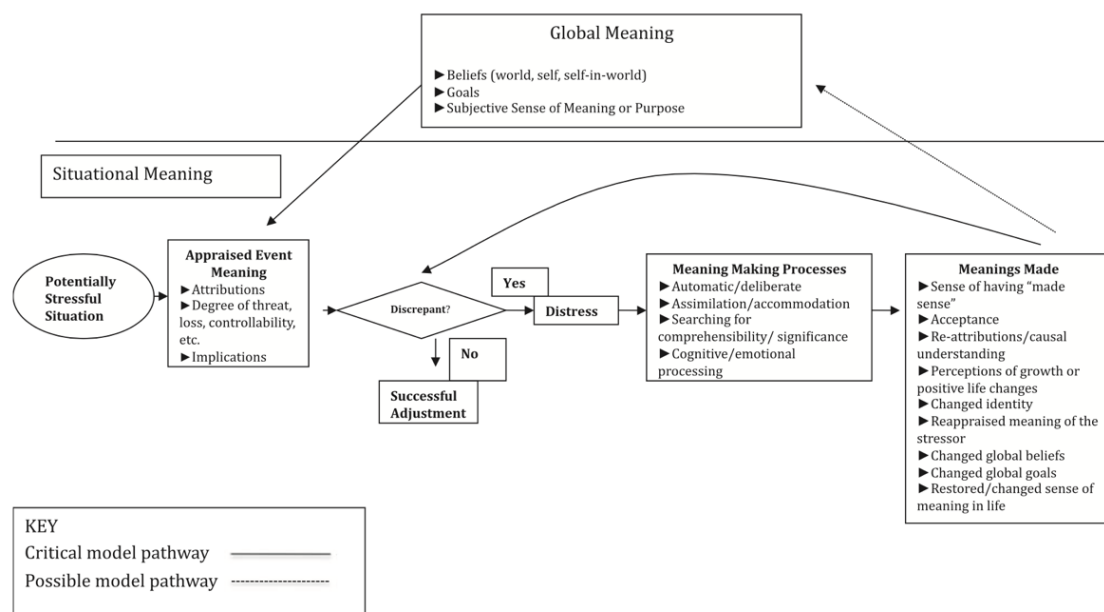
h. Changed global goals: Meaning-making may lead individuals to abandon goals that are no longer attainable or meaningful or to adopt new, more realistic goals. This process could be pivotal in helping individuals find new directions and a sense of purpose following trauma.

i. Restored/changed sense of meaning in life: This refers to the individual's renewed or altered perception of life's meaning. As a result of the meaning-making process, people may experience a deeper or more nuanced understanding of their purpose and values, which could bring about a sense of fulfillment and resilience.

These nine elements of meaning-making can be seen as manifestations of post-traumatic growth. The meaning-making model posits that the destruction of one's global meaning is a key factor leading to distress and meaning reconstruction following a stressful event (George & Park, 2016).

Figure 2

Meaning Making Model (Park, 2010)



The Meaning-Making Model has been supported by numerous studies. Larner and Blow (2011) researched veterans and found that meaning-making and coping are core mechanisms in the process of post-traumatic growth. Ferreira-Valente et al. (2021) studied patients with chronic illnesses, and their findings were consistent with the concepts within the Meaning-Making Model. Fitzke et al. (2021) examined middle-aged individuals who had experienced

traumatic events, and their results supported the meaning-making process described in the model.

Although Tedeschi and Calhoun's (2004) Post-Traumatic Growth Model describes the process from the occurrence of a traumatic event to the emergence of post-traumatic growth, it does not elaborate on the key mechanism influencing individual post-traumatic growth—the process of meaning-making. In contrast, Park's (2010) Meaning-Making Model fills this gap by more comprehensively explaining how individuals adjust their core beliefs. While Park's model effectively illustrates how external stressors threaten an individual's meaning system, it does not explain why some individuals fail to adapt successfully, nor does it address therapeutic techniques that facilitate post-traumatic growth or the influence of sociocultural factors on individuals. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the therapeutic process of post-traumatic growth, this paper will further explore these aspects and propose a Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model.

3. Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model

Building upon Park's (2010) Meaning-Making Model, this paper integrates concepts from Tedeschi and Calhoun's (2004) Post-Traumatic Growth Model, specifically the influence of sociocultural factors, to develop the Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model. Additionally, this model incorporates key elements such as "Sources of Emotional Distress," "Therapeutic Goals and Key Points," "Therapeutic Techniques," and the "Six Steps of the **Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model**." The following sections provide a detailed explanation of these components.

(1) Identifying the Sources of Emotional Distress

When a traumatic event occurs, it first impacts an individual's internal emotions and cognitive attributions, shaking their pre-existing global meaning system. Subsequently, the individual evaluates the meaning of the event itself. If their prior beliefs and global meaning provide a context for understanding the trauma, they may successfully adjust their cognition and emotions. However, if there is a discrepancy between the global meaning and situational meaning, negative emotions arise, prompting the individual to enter the meaning-making process.

(2) Key Therapeutic Points and Goals

Cheng & Liu (2022) suggest that individuals restore their sense of meaning by changing their perception of the situation, reconstructing beliefs or modifying goals, questioning or adjusting their subjective sense of life meaning, or accepting the existence of the situation. Based on this, the following therapeutic points and goals are proposed:

a. Alleviating Emotional Distress

The initial phase focuses on reducing negative emotional symptoms to stabilize the individual's emotional state. Once stability is achieved, the individual is guided to analyze and evaluate their beliefs, goals, subjective perceptions, and intentions within their global meaning system.

b. Perceiving Life Meaning and Bringing It to a Cognitive Level

Through cognitive reflection, individuals are encouraged to identify the attributions and evaluations behind their negative emotions, for example, asking, “Why has this traumatic event affected me in this way?” This helps them understand the causal relationships that shape their global meaning system and coping patterns.

c. Transforming Situational Meaning

Individuals are guided to explore deeper meanings of the trauma by asking questions such as “How has this traumatic event influenced me?” or “What changes has this experience brought to my life?” The goal is to help them reinterpret the meaning of stressful events and view trauma from a new perspective.

d. Adjusting Global Meaning

This involves re-examining core values, motivations, and past life goals or even redefining personal beliefs and worldviews to create a more adaptive and meaningful perspective on life.

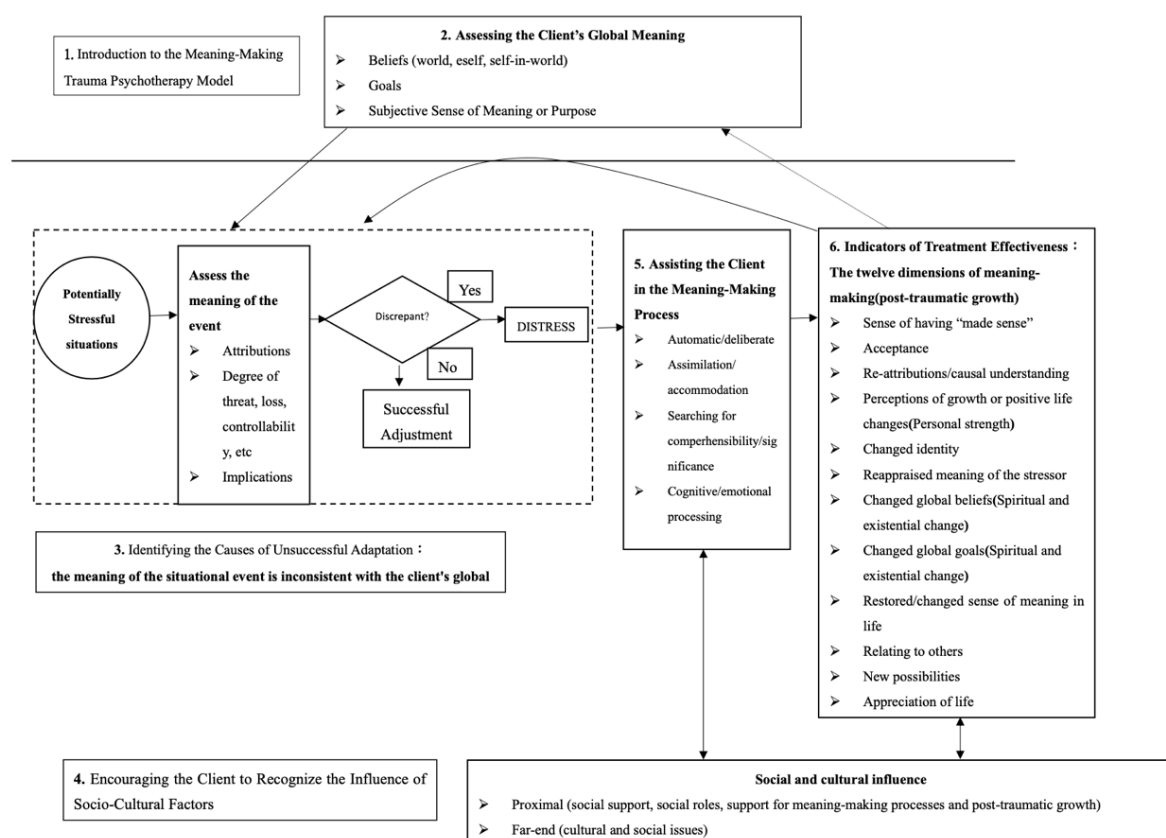
(3) Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model: Six-Step Process

Building on Park's (2010) Meaning-Making Model, this study proposes a six-step framework for applying the model to trauma-focused psychotherapy (Figure 3). This framework provides a more detailed elaboration of the meaning-making process, specifically in Steps Five and Six. Park's meaning-making model originally outlined nine meaning-making outcomes, which can be understood as the components of post-traumatic growth (PTG). However, Tedeschi & Calhoun's (2004) PTG model describes three additional aspects of positive change following trauma—“Relating to Others,” “Exploring New Possibilities,” and “Appreciation of Life”—which Park's model does not explicitly address. Among the components of PTG, “Recognizing Personal Strength” could be aligned with Park's category of “Perceiving Growth or Positive Life Changes”, while “Spiritual and Existential Transformations” could be classified under “Changed Global Meaning” and “Changed Global

Goals.” Thus, by integrating Tedeschi & Calhoun’s three additional components, the original nine meaning-making outcomes in Park’s model expand to twelve meaning-making outcomes, further enriching the conceptualization of post-traumatic growth.

Figure 3

Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model



a. Introduction to the Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model

The therapy begins with an introduction to the meaning-making model and its therapeutic process, explaining the steps involved. Throughout the different stages of treatment, the model could be revisited and discussed with the client to enhance their understanding and clarity.

b. Assessing the Client’s Global Meaning

At this stage, the therapist helps the client explore the key components of their global meaning. In addition to verbal inquiry, appropriate assessment tools could be used to measure the client's global meaning, life adaptation, or stress levels. Combining quantitative assessments with open-ended questions allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the client's overall meaning framework.

c. Identifying the Causes of Unsuccessful Adaptation

This stage occurs when the meaning of the situational event is inconsistent with the client's global meaning. The client will go through the psychological process of "evaluating the meaning of the event." The initial evaluation process involves various aspects, including attributions, the extent of perceived threat, loss, control, and the interpretation of the event's significance. People assess their experiences or assign specific meanings, determining the threat level, controllability, causal attributions, and the event's meaning (Park, 2010, 2022). In this phase, the client will become aware of the situational meaning of the stressful event and will automatically compare it with their existing global meaning. Therapists guide the client to recognize that the source of their distress is not the situational meaning itself but the inconsistency between situational meaning and global meaning (Park, 2022). As the psychological gap caused by the inconsistency grows, emotional distress intensifies. If the client's situational meaning and global meaning ultimately align, this constitutes successful adaptation. However, if there is a significant conflict or a large gap between the two, the therapist could identify the client's state, which also enhances the client's awareness.

d. Encouraging the Client to Recognize the Influence of Socio-Cultural Factors

Calhoun et al. (2010) pointed out that people from different cultural backgrounds may have fundamental differences in how they perceive events in the world, meaning that their cognitive processes could be influenced by culture. Therapists need to be highly sensitive to the cultural influences on the client, including both distal and proximal cultures. The former refers to influences like mass media, while the latter refers to individuals who directly interact with the client. When assisting the client in planning for the future, the therapist must be keenly aware of cultural aspects, and capable of identifying key elements of the client's problem experience through their cultural narratives (Huang, 2013). Wang Zhihong (2017) noted that therapists with a Chinese cultural dialectical mindset could use their personal experiences and life insights to help the client explore how to confront the wisdom in pain and trauma, thus helping the client understand how to find and assign growth value and meaning in situations that are difficult to change or accept. Chinese culture is primarily influenced by Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist wisdom. The scholars have already explored the application of Confucian wisdom in psychotherapy (He Xingru et al., 2022; Shiah Yung-Jong, 2023), Buddhist wisdom in psychotherapy (Shiah Yung-Jong, 2020; Jian Xiuzhen et al., 2021), and Taoist wisdom in psychotherapy (Liu et al., 2016; Shiah, 2021). The above articles could be used as the cultural insights and integrate them with the model presented here, particularly within Chinese cultural societies.

e. Assisting the Client in the Meaning-Making Process

When the client experiences emotional distress due to the inconsistency between situational meaning and global meaning, the therapist, in addition to empathizing with the client and assisting them in becoming aware of this, could guide the client to reconstruct the

situational meaning as a way of coping with the traumatic situation. According to Park's (2010) Meaning-Making Model, the process involves four dimensions: automatic vs. deliberate thinking, assimilation vs. accommodation process, searching for comprehensibility vs. searching for significance, and cognitive vs. emotional processing. These dimensions help the client adjust their perspective on the trauma and reframe the meaning of the event, thus facilitating the meaning-making process.

f. Indicators of Treatment Effectiveness

The twelve dimensions of meaning-making (post-traumatic growth) serve as indicators of therapeutic effectiveness. Some individuals may change their understanding of the causes of the event and adopt a more positive perspective, which is a form of meaning-making. Individuals may also undergo a positive transformation in themselves as a result of experiencing trauma (Park, 2022). This paper argues that these twelve dimensions of meaning-making could be viewed as the outcomes of post-traumatic growth and as indicators of treatment effectiveness.

(4) Treatment Techniques

There are currently numerous treatment techniques for trauma, and the techniques may vary depending on the therapeutic orientation. In addition to the counseling sessions, other related techniques are numerous. Any technique that could assist the client during the therapeutic process could be utilized.

IV. Case Illustration

This article primarily integrates post-traumatic growth and the meaning-making process, illustrating a new model by applying meaning construction to trauma psychotherapy through a six-step therapeutic process, which will be explained through a case example. This case is based on previous experiences with similar cases encountered and integrated by the author, with client details adapted for confidentiality. The basic details of the case are as follows: Xiao Hua, a 20-year-old female university student, comes from an affluent family. She reports experiencing verbal abuse from her father since childhood, and even now, she still has recurring dreams related to these events. Recently, following the death of her father, Xiao Hua has been experiencing emotional distress.

1. Introduction to the Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model

At the beginning of therapy, the therapist introduces the meaning-making model to Xiao Hua, helping her understand the upcoming therapeutic process. This initial step ensures that Xiao Hua has a clear understanding of the treatment journey ahead and how meaning construction will be applied throughout her trauma recovery.

2. Assessing the Client's Overall Meaning

Through verbal discussions or other tools, the therapist helps Xiao Hua engage in inner awareness exercises to better understand her self-concept and her views on her father. For instance, Xiao Hua expresses a lack of self-confidence, feeling that she is not good enough or doesn't measure up to others. Her feelings toward her father are conflicted: she despises his verbal abuse but simultaneously longs for his affection and approval. She believes that "home" should be a place of warmth and mutual support, yet she often experiences rejection, strict control, and insults from her father. As a result, she feels isolated and afraid of interacting with him. This deep sense of alienation is why Xiao Hua struggles to feel a sense of belonging within her family.

3. Identifying the Reasons for the Client's Unsuccessful Adaptation

The mismatch between the situational meaning and the overall meaning creates a conflict, leading to emotional distress for Xiao Hua. For example, with the death of her father, Xiao Hua initially believed that she should feel relieved or liberated (overall meaning), yet when her father passed away, she instead experienced feelings of sadness and longing (situational meaning). This discrepancy between her expected emotional response and the actual emotions she felt highlights the inconsistency between the meaning she assigned to the situation and her broader sense of meaning, contributing to her emotional struggles.

4. Encouraging the Client to Recognize the Social and Cultural Influences

Xiao Hua has few friends and feels that sharing her troubles will make others dislike her, which leaves her feeling misunderstood. Her relatives believe that her father's strictness is for her good, reflecting the influence of proximal cultural norms. At the same time, the media's portrayal and glorification of a wealthy lifestyle fosters an image that having better material conditions should lead to a carefree and happy life, which makes Xiao Hua feel unable to express her inner conflicts. She has tried to share her feelings of sadness and helplessness on social media, but has received responses labeling her posts as attention-seeking, bragging, or

ungrateful, further intensifying her feelings of loneliness and isolation—this represents the influence of distal culture.

5. Assisting the Client in the Meaning-Making Process: The Meaning-Making Process Has Four Dimensions

(1) Automatic/Intentional Thinking

Exploring Xiao Hua's self-concept, such as the belief that "I am worthless." Through the therapist's intervention, Xiao Hua realizes that the idea of being "worthless" is an irrational thought.

(2) Assimilation/Adjustment Process

Helping Xiao Hua adjust the situational meaning to align with her overall meaning. For example, violence is unacceptable, and her father's prolonged verbal abuse is something that anyone in this situation would struggle to accept (overall meaning). However, Xiao Hua also learns that her father's verbal violence may not be entirely a reflection of her actions; it could be due to factors such as work stress or his personality (adjusting the situational meaning).

(3) Seeking Comprehensibility/Importance

Assisting Xiao Hua in exploring the impacts of her father's verbal abuse on her past learning, relationships, and intimate connections, and reframing her traumatic experience.

(4) Cognitive/Emotional Processing

Helping Xiao Hua explore the deep emotions brought about by the event and express those emotions, providing emotional support. Simultaneously, the therapist helps Xiao Hua integrate both the positive and negative images of her father.

6. Indicators of Treatment Effectiveness

Twelve dimensions of meaning-making (post-traumatic growth). After receiving therapy, Xiao Hua begins to accept her family of origin (acceptance) and no longer views revenge against her father as a necessity (changing overall meaning, changing overall goals). She also becomes aware that her father's verbal abuse does not define her true self and she no longer feels worthless (perception of meaning being constructed, changing identity,

reclassification/adjusting perceived life meaning). During the therapy process, Xiao Hua reframes her childhood experiences. Because she had similar experiences of being abused, she comes to believe that perhaps fate has guided her toward a career in child protection (re-attribution/understanding causality, re-evaluating the meaning of stress). As a result, Xiao Hua decides to pursue work in child protection (awareness of growth or positive life change) and begins to explore career opportunities in this field (willingness to try new possibilities). Xiao Hua also learns to appreciate the friends who have been part of her life journey and becomes more willing to open up and interact with them (gratitude for life, establishing relationships with others).

V. Conclusion

The contribution of this article lies in attempting to combine the process of post-traumatic growth with the therapeutic model of meaning-making while explaining the psychological processes an individual may experience after a traumatic event, particularly the transformation at the level of life philosophy. The psychological therapeutic process of life meaning primarily relies on the meaning-making model, explaining how an individual, after experiencing a crisis, faces negative distress and a sense of meaninglessness caused by the inconsistency between situational meaning and overall meaning. Through repeated reflection and evaluation, a series of meaning reconstruction processes occur, ultimately adjusting the meaning brought by the situation and establishing a new perspective on life meaning. Individuals who have survived hardships often find that traumatic life events lead to a level of personal growth beyond pre-trauma levels and increase their appreciation for life (Kim et al., 2016).

The model proposed in this article is formal and universal, making it applicable to any culture. At the same time, the meaning-making process proposed for trauma could be used to explain other therapeutic models that involve meaning-making processes. Furthermore, this model could guide future research in identifying the substantive content of a universal model, which refers to cultural content. This could lead to the construction of a localized and substantive version of the "Meaning-Making Trauma Psychotherapy Model," echoing the research hypothesis of Indigenous psychology, which suggests that Chinese cultural wisdom nurtures Chinese personality traits, beliefs, and adaptation processes (Hwang & Chang, 2009; Yang Shulan, 2019).

The model proposed in this article has two limitations. The first limitation is that while this article provides a preliminary exploration of applying the meaning-making model to trauma psychotherapy, further empirical research is still needed to verify or modify the model proposed here and to suggest subsequent related applications. The second limitation is that this article does not describe how to specifically apply cultural wisdom in the treatment steps, and future empirical studies are required to address this limitation.

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新冠疫情下分居夫妻的模糊性失落經驗之初探

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摘要

新冠疫情引發全球性封鎖、旅行禁令及邊境關閉。馬來西亞的行動管制令（MCO）導致馬來西亞與新加坡之間的國際邊境關閉，直接影響每日跨境新馬兩地的通勤者，其中包括跨境工作的已婚夫婦。因此，這些夫妻不得不分隔兩地，面對不確定性，並被迫做出適應性調整。目前針對疫情期間遠距離關係的研究仍然有限，尤其是因疫情而被迫分居的已婚夫婦的經驗較少受到關注。這種突如其來的分離涉及多重失落，過去的研究將模糊性失落視為一種不確定的失落狀態，雖然現有文獻對模糊性失落的探討已相當豐富，但針對疫情期間分居夫妻所經歷的失落與哀傷的研究仍然匱乏。因此，本研究旨在探討夫妻在行動管制令期間的分離與適應經驗。

本研究採用現象學方法，從夫妻的角度探討其生活經驗。研究透過網路平台，有目的地招募了五位已婚夫婦進行深度訪談，並對訪談記錄進行轉錄與分析。初步數據顯示，所有受訪夫妻皆面臨在配偶缺席的情況下管理家庭的挑戰。他們努力應對分離焦慮、不安以及渴望與配偶團聚的情緒。這些夫妻發展出新的日常習慣，並透過親友、同事等社交支持體系獲得心理支持。儘管虛擬溝通存在一定的限制，資訊科技仍然是維持婚姻關係的重要溝通工具。本研究強調「人不在，心在」的知覺狀態。儘管夫妻被剝奪了身體上的接觸與陪伴，他們仍透過肯定配偶對家庭的貢獻、維持日常溝通、思念彼此的存在與肢體接觸，以及相互表達關心來維繫親密感。這些夫妻憑藉著維持家庭穩定的堅定意志，努力在分隔兩地的情況下尋找最適應的生活方式，從而減少模糊性失落所帶來的影響。

關鍵詞：新冠疫情、已婚夫婦、行動管制令、現象學、分居

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壹、緒論

2020 年代見證了 2019 冠狀病毒疾病（COVID-19）的全球大流行，2020 年 1 月 24 日，馬來西亞首次出現新冠疫情爆發（Kaur, 2020）。在疫情發生後的短短兩個月內，隨著社區確診病例不斷增加，馬來西亞政府實施了行動管制令（Movement Control Order, MCO）（Hafifi et al., 2021; Kaur, 2020; Kliem, 2021）。行動管制令隨即導致馬來西亞與新加坡之間的國際邊界關閉（Domingo, 2020; Tay et al., 2020）。

過去，新柔長堤每日承載約 25 萬至 30 萬名旅客，其中約 10 萬人固定往返於兩地通勤工作（Domingo, 2020; Tan & Joyce, 2021）。然而，此次前所未有的邊境封鎖使得許多以往每日往返於馬來西亞家中與新加坡工作地點的夫妻被迫分離。為了保住工作，許多經濟支柱不得不留在就業國，而其配偶則滯留在家鄉。

在疫情期間，馬來西亞與新加坡的邊界經歷了多次行動管制令，至 2021 年底，邊界已經持續封閉近 20 個月。這段漫長的分離，不僅使許多夫妻承受了巨大的痛苦，也影響了約 10 萬名日常往返柔佛與新加坡工作的馬來西亞人，以及曾定期跨州通勤的民眾（Domingo, 2020; Tan & Joyce, 2021）。

已婚夫妻在分居期間經歷了一種「非死亡性喪失」（non-death loss），這種損失涉及一種非絕對的存在與缺席狀態，該概念由 Pauline Boss 定義為「模糊性喪失」（ambiguous loss）（Bertuccio & Runion, 2020; Boss, 1999; Celik & Halil, 2018; Craig & Moore, 2019; Leone, 2021; Özgeldi & Gölge, 2018; Thøgersen & Glintborg, 2020）。具體而言，模糊性喪失可分為兩種類型：（1）「人不在」、「心在」的知覺；（2）「心不在」、「人在」的知覺（Boss, 1999）。在配偶因疫情而被迫分隔兩地的情況下，夫妻雖然身體上分離，卻仍可能感受到彼此的心理存在。

既有研究多集中於「居家辦公政策」，但對於「因工作政策而被迫分居的夫妻」卻鮮有關注。此外，雖然部分研究探討了疫情期間的遠距離關係（Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2020; Wijayant, 2021），但針對因疫情導致夫妻分離的婚姻關係的研究仍然不足。

儘管模糊性喪失已是廣泛研究的議題（Bertuccio & Runion, 2020; Cattaneo, 2020; Leone, 2021; Zhai & Du, 2020），但疫情期間夫妻分離所引發的模糊性喪失卻屬於較新的研究領域。有學者甚至將 Covid-19 本身視為一種模糊性喪失，因其帶來的未知性與不確定性（Bertuccio & Runion, 2020; Leone, 2021; Zhai & Du, 2020）。然而，關於疫情期間夫妻關係與模糊性喪失的體驗，目前尚無詳細的文獻記錄。儘管這種喪失與心理健康息息相關，卻鮮少受到深入探討。因此，本研究旨在達成以下研究目標：

- （一）探討夫妻在新冠疫情期間分居的生活體驗。
- （二）描述夫妻在新冠疫情期間分開過日子經歷的生活經驗。

（三）呈現夫妻在新冠疫情期間模糊性失落的生活經驗。

貳、文獻探討

一、分離

Theresa Benedek 指出，分離是一種創傷性的經歷，會引發焦慮的普遍反應（Bowlby, 1960）。她進一步闡述，與所愛之人分離或預期分離，會增加對重新團聚的渴望。每當面對分離的威脅或伴侶的實際分離時，便會引發分離焦慮（Jeremy, 1993）。分離的早期階段通常充滿強烈的分離焦慮、主觀上的疏離感、抗議、緊張、擔憂、痛苦、焦躁、絕望、渴望、冷漠、退縮以及憤怒的抗議情緒（Bowlby, 1980; Jeremy, 1993）。個人可能會在生理和心理上尋找失去的那個人，這意味著在心中重現所愛之人，並期盼能夠與其重聚（Jeremy, 1993）。

二、模糊性失落

模糊性失落指的是非死亡性喪失，包含「人不在」、「心在」的知覺以及「心不在」或「人在」的知覺（Boss, 1999; Boss, 2016）。前者包括軍事部署、工作調遷、監禁、領養和綁架等情況；後者則包括癡呆症、慢性疾病和昏迷等情況（Boss & Yeats, 2014; Knight & Gitterman, 2019）。

在新冠疫情期間分居的夫妻，雖然對方不在身邊，但他們在心理上感受到的存在感可能會有所不同。除了失去身體互動的主要缺失外，分居的夫妻還必須忍受陪伴、聯繫、自由、未來感、身體親密感、社會支持以及家庭角色等次要缺失（Richardson et al., 2020; Weinstock et al., 2021; Zhai & Du, 2020）。在面對新冠疫情期間的不確定性時，夫妻往往也會因為這些缺失過於混亂，讓他們難以理清狀況，因而感到無助（Stanley & Markman, 2020）。儘管夫妻們仍對與配偶團聚抱有希望，但對於何時能夠團聚或何時新冠疫情會結束的無法預見，使他們感到絕望。總體而言，模糊性失落的破壞性在於它未被充分承認和驗證（Craig & Moore, 2019; Leone, 2021; Sathekge, 2019）。這種缺乏承認的狀態會削弱個體的應對能力及其充實生活的能力。

在新冠疫情期間，分居的夫妻面臨著團聚和關係延續的各種不確定性（Leone, 2021）。在模糊性失落的情境中，人們幾乎無法對現狀產生控制感。忍受共同生活與分開生活之間的差異，對夫妻來說是一種巨大的壓力。他們經歷了生活方式的劇變，卻無法確定何時才能適應這種模糊性失落。近期關於新冠疫情的研究顯示，心理上的影響包括困惑、失落、孤獨、孤立、無助、無聊、沮喪、焦慮、內疚、恐懼和憤怒（Boss & Yeats, 2014;

Best et al., 2020; Brooks et al., 2020; Fraenkel & Cho, 2020; Günther-Bel et al., 2020; Hardesty et al., 2019; McCracken et al., 2020)。具體而言，焦慮和孤獨感在模糊性失落中尤為普遍（Boss & Yeats, 2014; Bolmsjö et al., 2018）。除了忍受身體接觸和互動的缺失外，夫妻還會經歷日常習慣和儀式的消失（McGraw, 1992）；他們可能會對親密關係的意義產生懷疑，並加強對親密的渴望。

參、研究方法

一、研究設計

本研究採用質性研究方法，旨在描述與詮釋在新冠疫情期間分居伴侶的主觀體驗。質性分析適合將語言與非語言表達進行分類與詮釋，進而建構具意義的結構（Metzler, 2014）。本研究採用現象學取向作為方法論指引，能深入理解經驗者內在非評價性的反思與想法，從而掌握所探討現象的意涵（Chong, 2019）。現象學強調經驗者當下的主觀感受與經驗（Zinker, 1978, as cited in Groenewald, 2004），特別適用於理解伴侶在新冠疫情情境下對失落與分離的經驗。為了保留資料的原貌與真實性，本研究運用現象學還原（phenomenological reduction）技術，儘可能懸置研究者自身的詮釋與意義建構（Hycner, 1985）。

二、研究對象

本研究的研究對象為因新冠疫情而處於分居狀態的已婚伴侶。納入標準為：經歷至少連續六個月的分離，且其伴侶關係經歷了從日常的身體接觸到完全無法實體接觸的重大生活變化。研究採用目的性取樣，以招募曾實際經歷此現象之資訊提供者。研究初期邀請對象為夫妻雙方，然而僅有一對夫妻雙雙同意參與訪談，其他夫婦則因無法配合時間或對訪談感到不自在而婉拒參加。故多數訪談最終僅與其中一方（丈夫或妻子）進行。所有訪談皆透過 ZOOM 線上平台進行，每次訪談時間約為 45 分鐘至 1 小時不等。

三、倫理考量

為確保研究過程符合法律與倫理規範，本研究在開始前已獲得倫理審查同意，以強化受訪者知情同意程序的合規性。為保護資訊提供者的權益並避免其處於脆弱位置，研究者在訪談前充分向受訪者說明其身份將全程匿名處理，並在知情同意階段邀請其自行選擇使用的化名。若受訪者在訪談過程中出現情緒反應或表達需求，研究者亦已預先準

備必要的情緒支持資源與轉介機制。為提高訪談提問的有效性及遵循科學研究倫理，訪談大綱事前經由學術及諮詢專業領域的專家審閱與確認。

四、研究程序

有意願參與研究的資訊提供者將由研究者以電話聯繫，進行訪談邀請。在聯繫過程中，研究者會說明訪談所需投入的時間、研究主題的性質，以及潛在的利益與風險，以協助受訪者在充分知情的前提下做出參與與否的決定。本研究在正式開始前已完成倫理審查程序。為了提醒受訪者準時出席，研究者會在預定訪談日前一天以簡訊發送提醒。為記錄研究者於訪談現場的感官經驗、知覺與反思，研究者同時撰寫田野筆記（Miles & Huberman, 1984，引自 Groenewald, 2004）。在質性研究中，研究者本身及其溝通能力即為研究工具（Flick, 2018）。本研究採用深入的現象學取向訪談，以探究參與者對所經驗現象的主觀理解。訪談大綱（見附錄 A 與附錄 B）由兩位具博士學位的質性研究專家共同審閱與確認，並先行進行一場試訪以蒐集受訪者的回饋。根據專家與試訪者的建議，研究者在修訂訪談大綱後再進行正式訪談。訪談完成後，研究者將資料進行謄寫，並依據簡化版的 Hycner 詮釋歷程模型進行分析。

為維持研究對象經驗之真實性與完整性，研究者採取現象學所主張的「開放性」態度，致力於「懸置」（bracketing）自身的預設、詮釋與偏見，以忠實貼近經驗者的主觀意義（Giorgi, 1975，引自 Hycner, 1985；Metzler, 2014）。Flick（2004）指出，經驗對經驗者而言是真實的。因此，透過經驗的真實性與其在不同情境下的一致性，研究的內容效度能獲得合理支持（Seidman, 2006）。此外，為提升研究效度，研究者也實施「溝通式效度驗證」（communicative validation），將初步分析結果呈現給資訊提供者進行審閱與確認。為減少個人主觀性與偏誤，研究者亦與同儕進行編碼交叉比對。研究團隊之間亦持續進行多次討論，以保持反思性，最終達成主題與次主題的共識，並歸納出跨個案的共通與獨特主題。

肆、研究結果

一、受訪者基本資料

本研究之受訪者為因馬來西亞與新加坡邊境關閉而被迫與配偶分居的馬來西亞工作者，採用立意取樣法選出。所有受訪者均自願參與本研究，並同意進行深度訪談。雖然受訪者來自不同背景，但皆具備共同特徵，即曾與配偶分隔兩地至少連續六個月。本研究共訪談五位受訪者，年齡介於 36 至 48 歲，婚齡皆超過八年，其中四位受訪者已婚。

並育有子女。在訪談期間，有兩位華裔男性與一位馬來裔女性居住於新加坡，另有兩位華裔女性則居住於馬來西亞。受訪者的基本資料彙整如表一所示。

表一

受訪者基本資料概覽

| 受訪者 化名 | 性別 | 種族 | 年齡 | 分居時間（以 訪談時為準） | 婚齡 （年） | 子女人數 （年齡） | 備註 |
|-----------|----|-----|----|------------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| *Danny | 男 | 華裔 | 42 | 17 個月 | 8 | 7 歲 4 歲 | 在新加坡工 作，配偶與子 女在馬來西亞 |
| Charles | 男 | 華裔 | 41 | 6 個月 | 12 | 9 歲 7 歲 | 在新加坡工 作，配偶與子 女在馬來西亞 |
| Noriza | 女 | 馬來裔 | 41 | 11 個月 | 13 | 12 歲 8 歲 5 歲 | 在新加坡工 作，配偶與子 女在馬來西亞 |
| *Hana | 女 | 華裔 | 36 | 17 個月 | 17 | 7 歲 4 歲 | 與孩子居住在 馬來西亞，配 偶在新加坡工 作 |
| Candy | 女 | 華裔 | 48 | 20 個月 | 20 | 無 | 獨自在馬來西 亞居住，配偶 在新加坡工作 |

附註：

i. 為保障參與者隱私，所有受訪者皆使用化名。

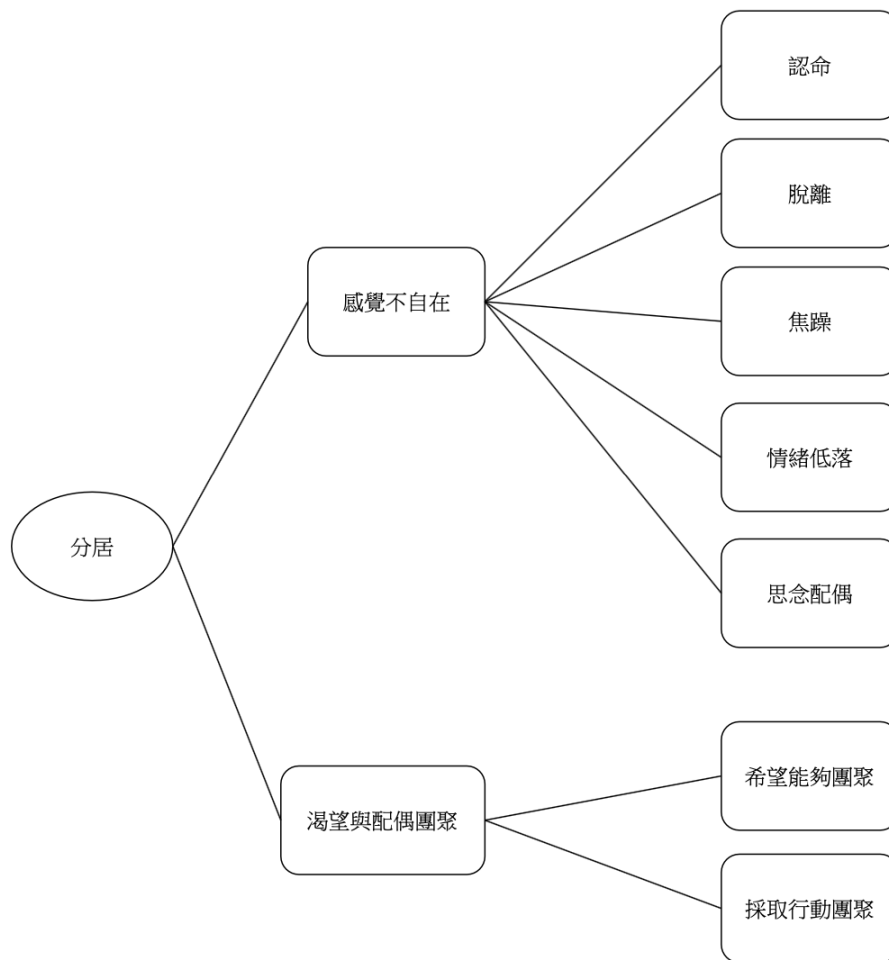
ii. *Danny 與 Hana 為夫妻關係。

二、分居的生活經驗

受訪者描述了在新冠疫情期間，與配偶分隔兩地的親身經歷。研究從訪談資料中歸納出兩個核心主題，呈現其分離經驗的本質樣貌，分別為：「感覺不自在」與「渴望與配偶團聚」。圖一呈現此主題下的主題與次主題架構。

圖一

分居的生活經驗之主題和次主題



(一) 感覺不自在

受訪者透露了兩個感覺不自在的主要特徵：一是失去了夫妻在一起時的默契感，二是懷念過去的日子。感覺不自在的情緒可細分為五個次主題：認命、脫離、焦躁、情緒低落以及思念配偶。

1. 認命

儘管不情願，所有受訪者都已接受這段不愉快的分離，並且為了生計必須忍受這種情況。Charles 等認為，除了跨越國界為家庭努力賺錢之外，並沒有太多選擇。特別是 Charles，他仔細考慮了為了工作而分離的必要性。作為高層管理者，他在思考是否要離開妻子，保持現有的生活標準，還是辭職並可能降級，回到馬來西亞與妻子定居。他開始質疑自己是否能夠接受職業道路的逆轉，以及家庭成員是否能接受生活標準的下降。Charles 這樣說：

「在這裡（新加坡）的目的是工作，除非我們能夠接受並改變生活方式，否則無法團聚。如果我回去找一份收入較低的工作，那麼整個生活方式將會有所改變。孩子們的生活可能會受到影響，我們的生活也不會好過，這意味著我們將回到一種小型的“kampung”（馬來語，意指郊區）生活。其實這樣的生活是可以過下去的，但這真的是我們所想要的嗎？如果到時候疫情結束了，恢復的速度可能依然緩慢，而我們的年齡也在增長。如果想要找到更好的工作，或許早已錯過了市場的機會……像我現在是高層管理者，如果我回到（馬來西亞）擔任一個主管，那將是另一個考量，我是否能夠接受，以及該如何接受……」(Charles, Line 74-78)

此外，這段分離發生得非常突然，源於馬來西亞宣布了前所未有的行動管制令。受訪者對分離將持續多久完全沒有概念。他們大多認為分離時間可能會是幾週到幾個月，但沒有一個人曾經想過會是幾年。Candy 清楚地回憶起她丈夫離開家的那一刻：

「其實，封城是從 2020 年 3 月開始的。我當時沒想到會這麼久。我不覺得我們會分開那麼長時間，因為當時封城是預計兩週而已。我們當時太天真了……」(Candy, Line 34)

2. 脫離

兩位受訪者表示，家庭只有在他們面對面團聚時才算完整。他們的經歷突顯了在夫妻分居期間所感受到的脫離感。Charles 認識到，沒有妻子和孩子的陪伴，他不再有動力外出。這種脫離感也源於他將自己、妻子和孩子視為一個「整體」的感受。他透過回憶往昔時光，使用「整體」這個比喻來表達他對分離的感受。他說：

「我們總是一起出去，像一個「整體」（作為一個家庭）。沒有他們，我就沒有動力去外面活動……」(Charles, Line 56)

Charles 進一步用“pinang dan sirih”(馬來語)這個比喻來描述他與妻子之間的關係，這個比喻象徵著一種不可分割的聯繫。同樣地，Noriza 認為，只有當她與家人在一起時，家庭才算是真正完整的。她這樣表達：

「和他們（家人）用手機打招呼，效果完全不同。因此，我覺得我必須在他們（丈夫和孩子）身邊，這才是真正的家庭，才是一個完整的家。」(Noriza, Line 61)

3. 焦躁

Noriza 和 Candy 在與配偶分居期間經歷了焦躁的情緒。Noriza 無法在租來的房間裡放鬆，因為她覺得自己是孤單的，沒有任何人陪伴。她懷念過去與家人一起外出的時光。然而，她寧願待在租來的房間裡，也不想獨自出門，因為她不喜歡一個人外出。因此，她發現自己陷入了一種不愉快且混亂的境地。她這樣表達：

「沒錯，因為那是在一個小房間裡，嗯，（我）只有一個人，沒有人可以和我溝通。雖然我可以進行視頻通話，就像我平常會和家人視頻通話一樣，但這缺乏那種真實的『人對人』的互動。這種聯繫真的不一樣，讓人感到非常不舒服。因為我不喜歡獨自走在街上，我無法一個人走路或一個人吃飯，所以我寧願待在房間裡，但在房間裡又會感受到那種不適的情緒。對，這真的很複雜。」（Noriza, Line 79）

Candy 表達了更強烈的焦躁反應：

「一開始的時候，會有點低落，只想獨自待在家裡。怎麼說呢……當你找不到人可以聊天時，獨自在家時，你會開始變得疑神疑鬼。尤其是晚上，當你（可能）聽到一些聲音時，你會覺得有點……怎麼說呢……那種恐懼的感覺會在那裡……」（Candy, Line 98）

4. 情緒低落

所有三位女性受訪者均表示，在與配偶分居期間感到情緒低落。Hana 在想到丈夫的缺席時，偶爾會感到情緒低落，並在這種情緒的影響下感到精疲力竭。同樣，Noriza 在情緒低落時也會突然感到沮喪，並會尋求他人的陪伴。Candy 則描述了空虛與低落交織的情感，她這樣表達：

「有時候會覺得非常空虛（精神上），然後我會非常低落，那是一種非常、非常低落的感覺……」（Candy, Line 128）

5. 思念配偶

所有受訪者都承受著無盡的思念之情。Candy 每當看到一些好東西時，便會想起她的丈夫，因為她希望能與他分享。Danny 在看到當地的新加坡家庭時，會特別思念他的妻子和孩子。Noriza 在週末最為思念丈夫，因為她經常回想和丈夫一起度過的日子，那時她沒有工作。同時，她也感覺到丈夫同樣在思念她。此外，兩位受訪者表示，她們總是思念自己的配偶。

（二）渴望與配偶團聚

受訪者在分居經驗中表現出行為與情感兩個層面，並表達了渴望與配偶實體團聚的心情。在情感層面上，所有受訪者均希望能夠團聚。而在行為層面上，三位受訪者不僅停留在想法上，還積極尋找團聚的替代方案。

1. 希望能夠團聚

儘管與最初的分離時期相比，這段分居的經歷不再那麼難以忍受，但所有受訪者仍然希望邊界能夠重新開放。然而，除了邊境封閉的限制外，金錢也成為了另一個阻礙團聚的問題。有趣的是，兩位男性受訪者都幻想自己能夠中大獎，從而實現與家人的團聚。Hana 分享說，她的丈夫希望能夠通過自願退休計劃來實現團聚。她詳細闡述了丈夫的意圖：

「嗯，他告訴我，如果公司提供自願裁員計劃，他一定會自願離職。這樣他就可以拿到補償金（錢）回家。他一直這樣對我說。對他來說，辭職是不可能的，因為我們的經濟狀況非常緊張。由於生活費用高昂，辭職對他來說風險太大，除非公司提供自願裁員計劃。我可以感受到他真的很想回來。」（Hana, Line 304）

2. 採取行動團聚

受訪者與配偶已經竭盡所能嘗試各種方式與家人團聚。Danny 在 2021 年支付了隔離費用並耗盡了假期，與家人團聚了一個月。他計劃在 2022 年初再進行一次短暫的團聚。此外，Candy 的丈夫決定等到疫情狀況好轉後再回家。Charles 也積極探索團聚的途徑。以下摘錄突顯了 Charles 的努力：

「我在探索很多方法，如何能夠團聚。要麼我找到一份更好的工作，能夠負擔全家人來（新加坡）一起生活，要麼我可以在馬來西亞找到一份能夠負擔的工作……這樣就能夠支撐全家人一起生活在這裡（馬來西亞）。」（Charles, Line 65）

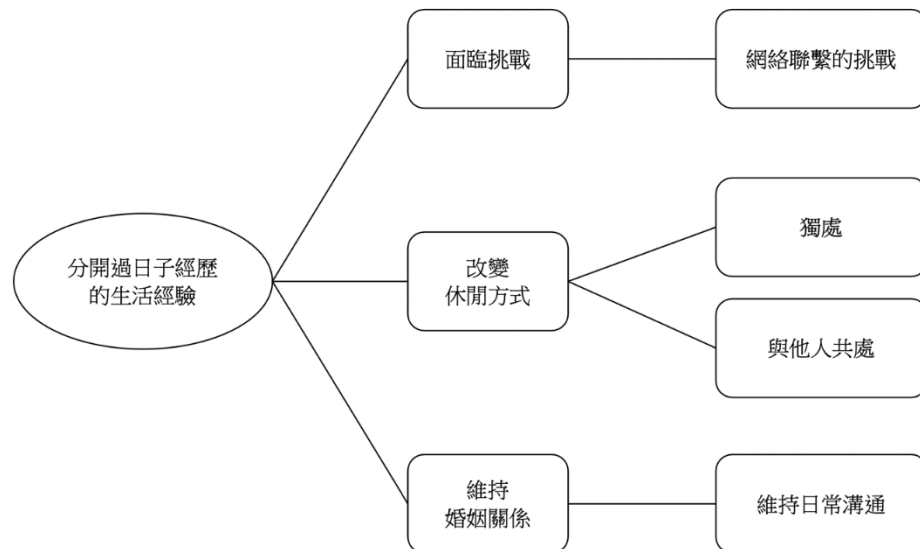
三、分開過日子經歷的生活經驗

受訪者描述了在新冠疫情期間，與配偶分開過日子經歷的生活經驗。研究中識別出三個主要主題：面對挑戰、改變休閒時間的方式以及維護婚姻關係。儘管夫妻雙方在虛擬溝通上面臨挑戰，他們仍然努力維護婚姻，保持日常的交流。此外，一些受訪者採取

了新的休閒安排，例如運動和養成新習慣。圖二展示了分開過日子經歷的生活經驗之主題和次主題。

圖二

分開過日子經歷的生活經驗之主題和次主題



(一) 面臨挑戰

其中一個明顯的次主題是網絡聯繫的挑戰。儘管所有受訪者都認同科技在維持人際關係中的重要作用，但三位受訪者發現虛擬溝通存在諸多困難。Noriza 表示，長時間的通話和與丈夫的在線聊天既不可行又令人感到疲憊。與面對面的溝通不同，當她與丈夫在一起時，她可以自由地交流，而在螢幕前長時間互動卻讓她感到非常疲倦。同樣，Candy 也認為長時間對著螢幕使她感到疲憊，因此她僅選擇使用語音通話和簡訊與丈夫進行溝通。然而，Noriza 對簡訊的局限性感到沮喪，認為在缺乏情感表達的情況下，簡訊容易引發更多的誤解。Noriza 表達了她對簡訊的失望：

「特別是他在白天工作時，WhatsApp 通話經常會出現連接問題，因此無法撥打電話。我們也不想花錢打國際電話，只能發送簡訊。有時候，一個簡單的陳述變得複雜，因為無法通過簡訊表達你的喜怒哀樂。他聽不到你的聲音，也無法從簡訊中感受到你的情緒。本來應該是簡單的陳述，但對他來說，卻似乎是在責怪他。」
(Noriza , Line 95)

至於 Charles，他認為虛擬溝通永遠無法滿足夫妻關係的需求。他強調，人類需要的是身體上的陪伴。Candy 也偏好與丈夫面對面的互動，她這樣表達：

「對我來說，夫妻關係只有在兩個人能夠身處在一起時才會是最好的，那是我最渴望的。」（Candy，Line 270）

（二）改變休閒方式

那些獨自生活（沒有孩子）的受訪者相比於分開前，擁有更多的休閒時間。他們透過改變休閒時間的利用方式來調整自己沒有配偶和孩子的生活。

1. 獨處

Danny 利用休假時間參加課程、跑步，並在新加坡四處遊覽。Charles 則從事兼職工作，參拜寺廟，並養成了新的閱讀習慣。與 Charles 類似，Candy 也培養了種植蔬菜的新興趣。她研究土壤和種植技巧，以確保蔬菜能夠健康成長。具體而言，Noriza 選擇將休閒時間花在圖書館。她認為，雖然自己是獨自一人，但仍然被一些人圍繞。她這樣表達：

「嗯，我會去圖書館。那裡（圖書館）有書籍和人。我們在圖書館裡不能與他人交談，因此我不需要與別人交流，也不必娛樂他人。畢竟，圖書館裡還有其他人在。」（Noriza，Line 184）

2. 與他人共處

此外，那些獨自生活的受訪者也會與他人共度休閒時光。Noriza 和 Candy 花更多時間待在辦公室，因為她們可以與同事互動。Danny 則定期與在新加坡的親戚見面，並邀請朋友一起騎自行車。同樣，Noriza 也邀請朋友參加戶外活動，如健行和打羽毛球。

（三）維持婚姻關係

顯然，所有受訪者都在竭盡所能維護婚姻關係，並通過保持日常溝通來實現這一目標。Danny 會在用餐時間、休息時間和睡前與妻子進行每日通話。Noriza 則會在白天透過文字訊息與丈夫保持聯繫，晚上則進行視訊通話。Charles 和 Candy 也會定期與配偶聯繫。Charles 認為，無論工作多忙，都應該保持與妻子的聯繫，以照顧她的情感需求。Hana 也會接到丈夫每天定時的電話。

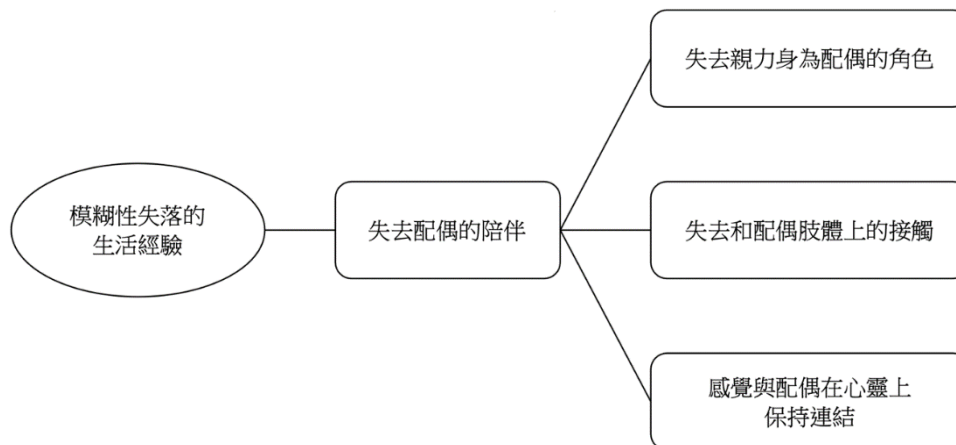
四、夫妻模糊性失落的生活經驗

受訪者描述了在分開生活過程中，配偶「人不在」所帶來的經驗。儘管所有受訪者都經歷了配偶人不在的絕對狀態，但他們在心理上仍感覺與配偶相連。關於模糊性失落

的生活經驗，確定了一個核心主題：失去配偶的陪伴。圖三顯示了模糊性失落的生活經驗中所出現的主題和次主題。

圖三

模糊性失落的生活經驗之主題和次主題



（一）失去配偶的陪伴

雖然所有受訪者都清楚意識到，自己將在一段未知的時間內與配偶分隔兩地，失去對方的實體陪伴，但他們的經驗卻各有細微差異。其中浮現出三個次主題：失去親力身為配偶的角色、失去和配偶肢體上的接觸，以及感覺與配偶在心靈上保持連結。

1. 失去親力身為配偶的角色

三位受訪者表示，他們失去了實際扮演配偶角色的機會。他們認為自己無法如以往那樣，實質地支持自己的配偶。Noriza 說，在婆婆去世時，她無法親自在身邊支持丈夫，這令她感到極度悲傷。她如此描述自己當時強烈的情緒反應：

「他（丈夫）那時候在電話裡哭，我好害怕。那是我第一次聽到他哭……當他告訴我（他母親過世了）時，我根本不知道怎麼安慰他。我不在他身邊。我真的……唉。我覺得自己整個崩潰了，因為有很多事情是我無法給他的。你就是做不到，不能擁抱他，什麼也做不了……」（Noriza, Line 114）

同樣地，Candy 也因無法像過去那樣支持丈夫而感到情緒低落。當丈夫情緒低落時，她思考自己是否能以新的方式來安慰他。她回憶起過去他們一起散步、坐在長椅上吃冰淇淋、共進美食的時光，這些簡單的活動總能讓丈夫開心起來。她這樣描述：

「我內心感到有些失落，我會覺得……喔，我沒辦法做這些事（像以前那樣讓他開心）。看到他難過，我也會跟著難過，我真的很難過。然後我會覺得自己什麼都做不了。那時我也在想，我是否應該試著做些什麼（讓他開心）。如果我要做，我該怎麼做？我在內心經歷著這種拉扯。」(Candy, Line 323)

接著，有些訪談者認為，由於無法與配偶實體相伴，導致自己無法好好地扮演配偶的角色。有兩位訪談者表示自己無法為配偶煮飯，另外兩位則提到無法幫忙做家事。Noriza 坦言，因為不能為丈夫煮飯而感到內疚。她說：

「他（丈夫）不喜歡吃我媽媽煮的東西。所以，他每天三餐都在外面吃。我覺得自己對他有所虧欠，因為他不像其他人那樣會自己煮飯。嗯，他真的不會煮。所以在這方面（煮飯），我覺得我沒有給他他應得的照顧。」(Noriza, Line 239)

不僅女性受訪者表達了這樣的經驗，男性受訪者也有類似的感受。Charles 如此表示：

「我不能為她煮飯了，而她喜歡吃我做的菜。」(Charles , Line 40)

2. 失去和配偶肢體上的接觸

所有受訪者都無限期地失去了與配偶之間的身體接觸。Charles 無法再像以前那樣親吻或觸摸妻子；Noriza 提到她無法擁抱丈夫；而 Candy 更是感到在無法擁抱和親吻丈夫的情況下，自己彷彿只是丈夫的一位普通朋友。她深切地表達了這種失落感：

「我無法與他（丈夫）建立任何形式的親密感，例如給他一個擁抱或一個吻，這是不可能的。這種失落感讓我覺得我們之間的關係僅僅是互相更新近況的朋友。就像我在與一位朋友聊天，我無法做任何超越友誼的事情來安慰他（丈夫）。」(Candy , Line 315)

3. 感覺與配偶在心靈上保持連結

儘管與配偶分隔兩地，三位受訪者仍然感受到與配偶的心靈連結。Danny 認為他能輕易地感受到妻子的存在，甚至覺得自己並不孤單，彷彿妻子就在他身旁。Danny 舉出一個例子來說明這種感受：

「我們每晚都會聊到她入睡。基本上，我覺得她就在我身邊。」（Danny，Line 190）

同樣地，Charles 大部分時間都覺得自己與妻子保持連結。他用三種方式表達他的感受：

「她一直與我同在。」（Charles，Line 103）

「每一次，我都能感受到她就在我身旁。」（Charles，Line 124）

「沒有任何時刻是我感覺不到她的存在的。」（Charles，Line 132）

接著，Hana 也感受到她與丈夫之間的心靈連結。她表示，無論自己在做什麼，丈夫總是在她心中，讓她能夠感受到他的陪伴。像 Charles 一樣，她也用「每一刻」來形容丈夫的存在感。在每一次通話中，她都能感受到丈夫的關心，透過他在視訊中凝視自己和孩子的方式，她明白他真的非常想念他們。當丈夫談論未來時，她感到無比激動，因為她知道，只有真正與你心靈相通的人，才會展現出如此一致的言行。她這樣說道：

「我的意思是……我們真的能感受到，那是真正想念我們的人……還是假的。我能感受到，我們的心互相碰觸著，當我們談到未來時，他並不是隨口說說。他是認真的，真的在努力規劃與實踐。他說到做到，正在付諸行動中……」（Hana，Line 292）

伍、綜合討論

一、分離焦慮

在探討新冠疫情期間分隔兩地的生活經驗時，受訪者描述了他們對突如其來的分離所產生的情緒感受。這些感受與過去關於分離焦慮的研究結果一致，包含疏離感、不安與渴望（Bowlby, 1980；Jeremy, 1993）。受訪者將配偶視為婚姻中可以依賴的「安全基地」，這是一個讓他們能夠安心生活、工作與享受人生的穩定支柱。這顯示出配偶關係在情感層面上形成了一種獨特的依附關係（Berscheid, 2010）。因此，受訪者在與配偶分離期間普遍表現出焦躁不安與動力下降的感受。

根據 Theresa Benedek 提出的「與所愛之人分離所引發的焦慮假設」，大多數受訪者確實表達了在分離後對重新團聚的渴望（引用自 Bowlby, 1960）。然而，有別於 Ash 和 Huang (2022) 以及 Wang 等人 (2020) 所描述的強烈痛苦經驗，本研究所揭示的情緒反應較為細膩，呈現出孤獨所帶來的不適與輕微的不安感。這與 Jeremy (1993) 研究中的發現相似——受訪者大致上表現得平靜。這些夫妻普遍以一種無奈且理性的態度看待突如其來的分離，認為這是為了生計所必須做出的選擇。與文獻中所提及的分離初期常見的激烈情緒反應（如緊張、抗拒、絕望與疼痛等）（Bowlby, 1980；Jeremy, 1993）不同，本研究中的受訪者並未表現出強烈的分離焦慮。這或許可歸因於疫情期間，經濟收入的不確定性與生計壓力超過了分離所帶來的焦慮感。在如此情況下，夫妻寧願犧牲實體相處的時間，也要確保家庭的經濟穩定。對他們而言，維持家庭的運作更為重要，這種信念也成為他們忍受分離的心理支撐力量。

二、科技的角色

整體而言，本研究與 Fraenkel 和 Cho (2020) 以及 Morris (2020) 的研究結果一致，認為科技在連結分隔兩地的夫妻之間扮演了重要角色。然而，在虛擬溝通的實用性方面，則出現了混合的結果。與 Watson 等人 (2021) 的研究一致，部分受訪者表示在使用數位媒介時經常遇到連線不穩的問題，需忍受技術上的困難。此外，本研究發現，對於某些夫妻而言，文字訊息的溝通方式在傳遞情感與語意上是有挑戰性的，這一發現與先前關於虛擬溝通限制的研究結果一致，多數受訪者認為虛擬交流永遠無法取代面對面的互動（Galea et al., 2020; Krapf, 2018; Vohra & Taneja, 2020; Shibusawa et al., 2021）。因此，本研究指出，在遠距分隔期間，夫妻之間的日常對話不僅在「數量」上有所減少，在「品質」上亦有所折扣。

三、因應策略

在休閒時間的安排方面，受訪者回報了新的休閒方式。與先前的研究結果一致，受訪者透過邀請朋友一起運動、投入更多時間於工作，以及與同事、親戚和朋友建立更緊密的關係來獲得社會支持（Boss & Yeats, 2014; Kenen, 2021）。這些重新建立的社會支持網絡，包括親戚、朋友與同事，對於心理健康而言，是一項重要的保護方式（Boss & Yeats, 2014）。此外，受訪者在面對模糊性失落的哀慟過程中也獲得了社會支持（Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983）。因此，社會支持對於協助夫妻在面對模糊性失落時過上更好的生活至關重要。

四、模糊性失落

本研究強調了人際接觸的重要性。與 Bolmsjö 等人 (2018) 的研究相似，受訪的夫妻在親密關係中經歷了身體接觸的缺失。儘管處於明顯的身體分離狀態，部分受訪者仍表示感受到心靈上的連結。雖然他們失去了配偶的實體陪伴，但仍保有心理上的存在感。值得注意的是，三位受訪者皆使用類似的表達「每一刻」(every moment) 和「每一次」(every time) 來形容心靈連結的深度。在心理存在的深度方面，兩位男性受訪者明確表示，他們感覺配偶「就在身邊」；而另一位女性受訪者則清楚表達，她的配偶「一直在她心中」。此外，這種經驗並不因分離的時間長短或性別而有所不同。本研究顯示，分離的時間與性別對於模糊性失落的經驗並無顯著影響。整體而言，受訪者的經驗大致符合 Boss (1999) 所提出的模糊性失落形式。然而，本研究特別突顯了在身體缺席的狀態下，配偶仍具備心理上的存在感，顯示即使分隔兩地，配偶的心理存在仍然可以被感知。這種配偶心理存在的感受，透過以下方式具體呈現：承認配偶對家庭的付出、透過社交媒體進行每日溝通、思念配偶的陪伴與身體接觸，以及彼此表達關心之情。

陸、研究限制與未來研究建議

由於本研究為初步探討，且受訪者人數有限，其關於夫妻模糊性失落經驗的研究發現僅限於因邊境封鎖而身體分離的馬來西亞夫妻。在研究進行期間，大多只有一方配偶接受訪談，因此值得注意的是，所呈現的經驗無法全面反映夫妻雙方的模糊性失落經驗，若能讓夫妻雙方皆接受訪談，將更能全面呈現整體現象中的夫妻經驗。因此，未來研究應考慮同時訪談夫妻雙方。儘管本研究中性別因素與夫妻分離的時間長短對其模糊性失落經驗並無顯著影響，仍建議未來可針對分居夫妻進行縱貫性研究，以更深入地理解他們的整體經驗。

柒. 結論

與配偶的分離引發了分離焦慮，表現為脫離、焦躁以及渴望與配偶團聚。然而，受訪者在忍受無法承受的分離焦慮時卻顯得冷靜，因為維持家庭生計的需求超越了他們的焦慮。科技在維護夫妻婚姻關係中扮演了重要角色，儘管虛擬溝通存在局限性，受訪者仍堅持每天進行溝通。隨著時間的推移，他們通過探索新的休閒方式來緩解分離焦慮所帶來的不適。他們養成了新的習慣和例行公事，並建立了新的社會支持系統，擁有強烈的心理存在感和維持家庭生計的良好意圖，夫妻們努力在彼此的心理陪伴下過上最好的生活。

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Appendix A

Interview Outline (English)

Note to interviewee

“Now we shall begin the interview. Are you ready to start now?”

| Types of questions | Interview Question (English) |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Establishing Context | You mentioned that you have married for () years, could you share about your marriage life these years ? |
| | How would you describe your marital relationship? |
| | You mentioned that the last date meeting physically was around (), could you share what made you decide to leave your husband/wife to live separately? |
| Reconstructing the phenomenon | Could you share your experience of living separately with your husband/wife amidst pandemic? |
| | What are you like when your husband/wife is not with you? |
| | How do you cope when your husband/wife is not with you? |
| | What is most challenging to you when your husband/wife is not with you? |
| | Can you share the moments when you truly hope that your husband/wife is with you? |
| | In what way you feel (connected with/ the presence of) your husband/wife when living separately amidst pandemic? |
| | Could you share your challenge to stay in this marriage while living separately amidst pandemic? |
| | When living separately amidst pandemic, is there any time that you cannot feel that your husband/wife is with you even with frequent contact? |
| | At the most challenging moment, what made you persist in this marriage? |
| | How do you maintain your marriage relationship ? What would you expect your husband/wife to keep the marriage alive? |

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| | How do you make decision concerning family with your husband/wife while living separately ? |
| Reflecting on meaning | From what you shared with me, how would you describe the changes in your marriage life when living apart amidst pandemic? |
| | Being a husband/wife, do you notice any changes in yourself? Do you notice any changes in your spouse? |
| | With this ongoing pandemic/separation, how do you see your marriage relationship progress? |
| Summary questions | Before we come to the end of the interview, is there anything else about your experience that you think is relevant to our topic but we have not yet had a chance to discuss? |

The current interview protocol adopted Seidman (2006) interview structure

Appendix B

Interview Outline (Chinese)

Note to interviewee

“現在我們開始進行訪談。 你覺得可以嗎？”

| Types of questions | Interview Question (Chinese) |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Establishing Context | 前面你有提到你們結婚()年， 可以不可以講一下這()年的婚姻生活？ 如果要你形容你的婚姻關係，你會怎麼樣形容？ |
| | 前面你有提到你們上一次見面是()，你能分享是什麼讓你決定在這個疫情底下離開你的丈夫/妻子分開生活嗎？ |
| Reconstructing the phenomenon | 你能分享一下你與丈夫/妻子因疫情而分開兩地的生活嗎？ |
| | 當你的丈夫/妻子不在你身邊時，你是怎樣的？ |
| | 當你的丈夫/妻子不在你身邊時，你是怎麼度過這些日子的？ |
| | 你的丈夫/妻子不在你身邊時，你個人認為最困難的是什麼？ |
| | 你能和我分享一下有沒有哪一個時刻，你特別渴望你的丈夫/妻子就在你身邊？ |
| | 因疫情而分開兩地居住期間，你是如何感受到你的丈夫/妻子依然和你在一起？ |
| | 在這分開生活期間要維持這段婚姻關係，你個人覺得最挑戰/困難的什麼？ |
| | 因疫情而分開兩地居住期間，即使有聯繫，有沒有什麼時候是你無法感受到你的丈夫/妻子和你在一起？ |
| | 在這個最具有挑戰的時刻，是什麼讓你堅持在這段婚姻走下去？ |
| | 你是怎樣維繫你們的婚姻關係？你期待你的丈夫/妻子怎樣維繫你們的婚姻關係？ |
| Reflecting on meaning | 在分開兩地居住期間，你如何與丈夫/妻子做與家庭相關的決定？ |
| | 你認為因疫情而分開后的婚姻生活有哪一些變化？你有什麼體會？ |
| | 身為一個丈夫/妻子，你發現自己有什麼變化嗎？ |
| | 你發現你的太太/妻子有什麼變化嗎？ |
| Summary questions | 隨著這種持續的疫情和分開兩地居住，你如何看待未來的婚姻關係？ |
| | 在我們結束採訪之前，你認為還有什麼與我們的主題相關但我們還沒有機會討論的的經歷嗎？ |

The current interview protocol adopted Seidman (2006) interview structure

A Preliminary Study of Ambiguous Loss Experiences Among Couples Living Separately During the Covid-19 Pandemic

Shih-Ling Chor Joo-Siang Tan*

Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic triggered worldwide national lockdowns, travel bans and border closures. The movement control order (MCO) in Malaysia had resulted in international border closure between Malaysia and Singapore. This restriction directly impacted daily border commuters, involving married couples who work across the border. As a result, married couples had to live apart, enduring uncertainties and being forced to make adjustments. Few studies addresses the long-distance relationships during the pandemic; however, the experience of married couples who live separately due to the pandemic are underrepresented. Such sudden separation involved multiple losses. Previous research studied ambiguous loss as a situation of unclear loss. Although research about ambiguous loss is abundant, little attention had been placed on the loss and grief of couples living separately amidst pandemic. Therefore, this study explores couples' experience of separation and adjustment during the movement control order. A phenomenological approach is used to study the lived experiences from the couples' perspective. Five married informants were recruited purposively for in-depth interviews via online platforms. The recorded interviews were transcribed and analyzed. The preliminary data revealed that all couples struggled to manage their family without the physical presence of their spouse. Couples strive to cope with the uneasy feelings of detachment, restlessness and yearning to be together with their loved one. They develop new habits and gain social support from the newly formed social support of relatives, friends and colleagues. Notwithstanding the limitation of virtual communication, information technology is a significant communication tool in preserving marital relationships during separation. This research highlights the phenomenon of physical absence with psychological presence. Despite being deprived of physical touch and presence of spouse, separated couples continue to feel connected through acknowledging spouse's contribution to the family, maintaining daily communication, missing spouse's presence and physical touch and through mutual expression of concern. The couples

strive to live to their best condition with a strong will to maintain family sustainability which helps them withstand the separation and ambiguous loss.

Keywords: Covid-19 pandemic, married couple, movement control order, phenomenology, separation

| | |
|----------------|--|
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I. Introduction

The 2020s decade witnesses an ongoing pandemic of Coronavirus disease 2019 (Covid-19). The first Covid-19 outbreak was detected in Malaysia on 24th January 2020 (Kaur, 2020). About two months after the first outbreak, Movement Control Order (MCO) was implemented in response to the rising community Covid-19 cases (Hafifi et al., 2021; Kaur, 2020; Kliem, 2021). The MCO led to an immediate effect of international border closure between Malaysia and Singapore (Domingo, 2020; Tay et al., 2020).

The Johor-Singapore Causeway used to accommodate 250,000 to 300,000 travellers every day, with approximately 100,000 regular commuters for work purposes (Domingo, 2020; Tan & Joyce, 2021). This unprecedented closure had separated many couples where daily commute between Malaysia's home and Singapore's workplace was a norm. To secure the job, the breadwinners must remain in the country of employment while leaving their spouse in the home country.

The international border between Malaysia and Singapore remained closed throughout multiple series of MCO amidst the pandemic. Till end of 2021, the border had been closed for nearly twenty months, resulting in a long, painful separation among couples who lived separately. This had impacted approximately 100,000 Malaysians who used to commute daily between Johor and Singapore for work purposes, on top of Malaysians who used to travel weekly to other states in Malaysia (Domingo, 2020; Tan & Joyce, 2021).

Married couples experience non-death loss during the separation. Such loss involves a non-absolute state of presence and absence known as ambiguous loss, a term initially coined by Pauline Boss (Bertuccio & Runion, 2020; Boss, 1999; Celik & Halil, 2018; Craig & Moore, 2019; Leone, 2021; Özgeldi & Gölge, 2018; Thøgersen & Glintborg, 2020). Specifically, ambiguous loss refers to a type of non-death loss presented in two forms: physical absence with psychological presence; psychological absence with physical presence (Boss, 1999). While experiencing spouse's physical absence, couples might experience some forms of psychological presence.

Given that previous research tended to focus on work from home policy, little attention has been placed on the work policy whereby couples are forced to live apart amidst the pandemic. Also, few research addressed long-distance relationships during the pandemic (Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2020; Wijayanti, 2021), therefore, the study of marital relationships for couples separated due to the pandemic is underrepresented.

Although research about the ambiguous loss is abundant (Bertuccio & Runion, 2020; Cattaneo, 2020; Leone, 2021; Zhai & Du, 2020), the context of ambiguous loss for couples living separately amidst the pandemic is relatively new. Some researchers view Covid-19 itself as an ambiguous loss due to the unknowns associated with the pandemic (Bertuccio & Runion, 2020; Leone, 2021; Zhai & Du, 2020). Specifically, couples' relationship and experience of ambiguous loss has yet to be documented in detail. The grieving of ambiguous loss surrounded couple relationship amidst the pandemic is under-represented despite its high relevancy to mental well-being. As such, this research seeks to achieve the following research objectives:

- i. To explore couples' lived experience of separation amidst the Covid-19 pandemic.
- ii. To delineate couples' lived experience of living separately amidst the Covid-19 pandemic.
- iii. To depict couples' lived experience of loss while living separately amidst the Covid-19 pandemic.

II. Literature Review

1. Separation

Theresa Benedek stated that separation is a traumatic experience with a universal response of anxiety (Bowlby, 1960). She further elaborated that both separation and expectation of separation from loved one increase yearning to be together. Separation anxiety arises with each threat and real couples' separation (Jeremy, 1993). Early stage of separation is often filled with intense separation anxiety, subjective feelings of detachment, protest, tense, worry, pain, restless, despair, yearning, apathy, withdrawal and anger protest (Bowlby, 1980; Jeremy, 1993). An individual could search for the lost one, both physically and psychologically, which entails replaying the loved one in mind and hoping to reunite with the loved one (Jeremy, 1993).

2. Ambiguous Loss

Ambiguous loss refers to non-death loss that involves physical absence with psychological presence or psychological absence with physical presence (Boss, 1999; Boss, 2016). The former includes situation like military deployment, work relocation, incarceration, adoption and kidnapping; the latter includes situations like dementia, chronic illnesses and coma (Boss & Yeats, 2014; Knight & Gitterman, 2019).

In the situation of couples living separately during the pandemic, their loved one is physically absent. However, their experience of psychological presence could vary. Apart from the primary loss of physical interaction, separated couples endure the secondary loss of companionship, connection, freedom, futurelessness, physical intimacy, social support and family role (Richardson et al., 2020; Weinstock et al., 2021; Zhai & Du, 2020). Helplessness grew as the loss is too confusing for couples to make sense of the situation (Stanley & Markman, 2020) when dealing with uncertainties during Covid-19 pandemic. While couples remain hopeful to reunion with their spouse, the uncertainty about when their loved one will be home, or when the pandemic will end leads to despair. Overall, ambiguous loss is devastating due to its unacknowledged and unvalidated nature (Craig & Moore, 2019; Leone, 2021; Sathekge, 2019). The lack of acknowledgement undermines individual coping and ability to live one's life to fullness.

Separated couples face uncertainty in reunion and continuity of relationship amid the pandemic (Leone, 2021). People have very little perceived control in ambiguous loss. Enduring the differences between staying together and living separately is stressful for couples. They underwent an abrupt change in lifestyle, not knowing when they could come to terms with the ambiguous loss. Recent studies about the pandemic have demonstrated the experience of psychological impacts such as confusion, loss, loneliness, isolation, helplessness, boredom, depression, anxiety, guilt, fear and anger (Boss & Yeats, 2014; Best et al., 2020; Brooks et al., 2020; Fraenkel & Cho, 2020; Günther-Bel et al., 2020; Hardesty et al., 2019; McCracken et al., 2020). Specifically, anxiety and loneliness are prevalent in ambiguous loss (Boss & Yeats, 2014; Bolmsjö et al., 2018). Besides enduring the loss of physical contact and interaction, couples experience loss in routines and rituals, they could doubt the meanings of intimate relationship and increase yearning for intimacy (McGraw, 1992).

III. Methodology

1. Research Design

Qualitative research method is used to describe and interpret the subjective experience of couples who lived separately amidst the pandemic. Qualitative analysis is suitable in classifying and interpreting verbal and non-verbal language into meaning-making structures (Metzler, 2014). Phenomenological approach is selected to guide the methodological choice. It allows the researcher to tap into the experiencer's internal non-evaluative reflections and thoughts to

understand the meaning of phenomenon being studied (Chong, 2019). The phenomenological approach emphasizes the "here and now" of experiencer's experience (Zinker, 1978, as cited in Groenewald, 2004), which is suitable to understand couples' experience of loss and separation during Covid-19 phenomenon. In order to preserve the originality of data, phenomenological reduction is used to suspend researcher's interpretation and meaning as much as possible (Hycner, 1985).

2. Sampling

The current research involves married couples who have been living separately due to Covid-19 pandemic. The inclusion criteria involve couples who went through at least a continuous separation period of six months while experiencing significant changes in couple's ways of living from daily physical presence to a complete physical absence. Purposive sampling is used to identify informants who had the experience of the phenomenon being studied. The invitations were initially extended to both husband and wife. Yet only one couple agreed to be interviewed while other couples were either not available or not comfortable to be interviewed. Hence, most of the interviews were carried out with either the husband or wife. The interview was done online via ZOOM platform with each interviewing session ranging from forty five minutes to one hour.

3. Ethical Consideration

Ethical clearance was sought before commencing this study to improve compliance with the consent process. To protect against informants' vulnerability, the informants were reassured that their identity will remain anonymous. All informants were invited to use their preferred pseudonyms from the beginning of the informed consent process. Emotional support and referrals were made available to informants who require further support. Experts in academic and counselling reviewed and verified the interview protocol to increase the validity of interview question besides ensuring its compliance to ethics of scientific research.

4. Research Procedure

Interested informants were contacted through phone call for an interview invitation. Time commitment, nature of research topic as well as potential benefits and risks were highlighted

so that informants could make an informed decision to participate in the study. Ethical clearance was sought before commencing the study. An appointment reminder was sent via text messages a day before the scheduled interview. Field note was used to record the conscious experience of the researcher senses, perception and reflection (Miles & Huberman, 1984 as cited in Groenewald, 2004). The researcher and the communicative competencies are the instruments in qualitative research (Flick, 2018). This study adopts in-depth phenomenologically based interview to explore the phenomenon being studied. The interview protocol (Appendix A & Appendix B) were developed and verified by two qualitative researchers with doctorate degree. A pilot interview was conducted to receiving feedback from interviewee. The interview protocol was then revised after considered reviewers and interviewee's comments and feedbacks. After the interview session, the data was transcribed and analysed based on the simplified Hycner's model of explication process.

To preserve the integrity of the phenomenon of study, the researcher adopted the phenomenology attitude of openness. The researcher worked towards "bracketing" assumptions, interpretations and biases to stay true to the experiencer's meaning (Giorgi, 1975, as cited in Hycner, 1985; Metzler, 2014). Flick (2004) commented that experience is authentic for the experiencer. Therefore, the content validity can be reasonably justified through the authenticity and consistency across the context (Seidman, 2006). To increase the validity of research, communicative validation was carried out by presenting the data to the informants for review and validation. The codes were cross checked with peer coders to reduce personal subjectivity and bias. Multiple discussions among researchers were conducted to remain reflexive before finalizing the themes and sub-themes. Both general and unique themes across all the research respondents were extracted.

IV. Findings

1. Demographic Information

The informants were purposively selected from the population of Malaysian workers who lived apart from their spouse due to the closure of the Malaysia-Singapore border. All informants willingly participated in this study and consented to be interviewed. Despite various backgrounds, these informants shared similar context whereby they lived apart from their spouses for at least a continuous period of six months. Five informants, ranging from 36 to 48 years old and who had been married for at least eight years, were interviewed. Four participants

are married with children. At the point of the interview, two Chinese male informants and one Malay female informant were residing in Singapore; whereas two Chinese female informants were residing in Malaysia. Table 1 displays the overview of informants' demographic data.

Table 1

Demographic data of informants

| Informants | Gender | Race | Age | Duration of Separation (at the point of interview) | Years of marriage | Number of children (Age) | Remark |
|------------|--------|---------|-----|--|-------------------|--|---|
| *Danny | Male | Chinese | 42 | 17 months | 8 | 7 years old 4 years old | Works in Singapore while spouse and children remain in Malaysia |
| Charles | Male | Chinese | 41 | 6 months | 12 | 9 years old 7 years old | Works in Singapore while spouse and children remain in Malaysia |
| Noriza | Female | Malay | 41 | 11 months | 13 | 12 years old 8 years old 5 years old | Works in Singapore while spouse and children remain in Malaysia |
| *Hana | Female | Chinese | 36 | 17 months | 17 | 7 years old 4 years old | Live in Malaysia with children while spouse is working in Singapore |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------|---------|----|-----------|----|-----|----------------|
| | | | | | | | Live in |
| | | | | | | | Malaysia alone |
| Candy | Female | Chinese | 48 | 20 months | 20 | Nil | while spouse |
| | | | | | | | is working in |
| | | | | | | | Singapore |

Note:

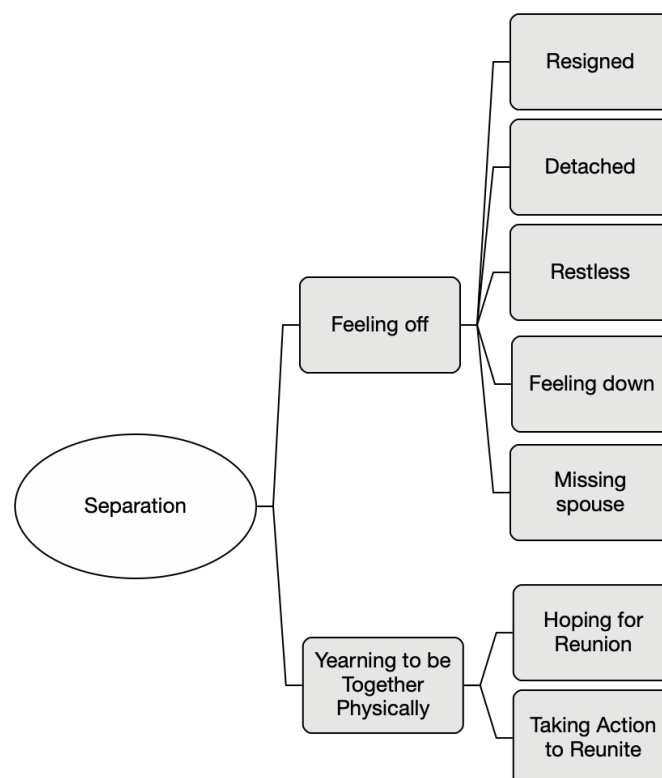
- i. Informants were assigned pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of the informants.
- ii. * Danny and Hana are couple.

2. Lived Experience of Separation

The informants described how they experienced the separation with their spouse amidst the Covid-19 pandemic. Two essential themes were identified for the lived experience of separation: feeling off and yearning to be together physically. Figure 1 shows the themes and sub-themes emerged for the lived experience of separation.

Figure 1

Themes and Sub-themes of Lived Experience of Separation



(1) Feeling off

The informants revealed two prominent features of feeling off: losing the vibe they once experienced when physically together and missing the old days. There are five sub-themes for feeling off: resigned, detached, restless, feeling down and missing spouse.

a. Resigned

Although reluctant, all informants had accepted the unpleasant separation whereby they had to bear with it for the sake of earning a living. Charles, Hana and Danny perceive that there was not much choice besides crossing the country border for their family. Particularly, Charles carefully examined the need to separate for work. At the top management level, he was contemplating leaving his wife to maintain the current standard of living or resigning and perhaps downgrading to settle down with his wife in Malaysia. He wondered if he would accept the career path reversal and if all family members could accept a level down of living standard. Charles put it this way:

“The purpose is to work here (Singapore), unless we can accept and switch to a different lifestyle so that we can reunite. If I go back to find a job in Malaysia with any lower income job, then the whole lifestyle is different. Children may not have a better life and we don't have a good life, that is, we will revert to a small “kampung” (Malay language, which means outskirts) life. Actually, it is possible to live, but is it what we want? If the pandemic is gone by then, it may be slow to return and age is catching up. If you want to find a better job, maybe already set out of the market... Like I am at the top management level, if I were to return (to Malaysia) and be a supervisor, it will be another consideration whether I can take it or not or how...” (Charles, Line 74-78)

Besides, the separation happened abruptly upon the announcement of the unprecedented movement control order in Malaysia. The informants had no clue about how long the separation would be. Most of them perceive that the separation would probably last from weeks to months, but none of them ever thought it would be years. Candy could recall the separation moment vividly when her husband left home:

“In fact, the lockdown started in March 2020. I didn't think it would be so long. I don't think we would be separated for so long because the lockdown was supposed to be two weeks back then. We were naive....” (Candy, Line 34)

b. Detached

Two informants shared that family is only complete when they were together physically. Their experience emphasizes the feeling of detachment while the couples lived separately. Charles recognized that he no longer motivated to go out without his wife and children. The detachment is felt as he views himself, his wife and children as a “package”. The simile of the package is used as he reminisced the old days. He expressed it by saying:

"We always going out together in a “package” (as a family), without them, I am not motivated to go outing...” (Charles, Line 56).

Charles further described his relationship with his wife using the metaphor of "*pinang dan sirih*" (Malay language) which refers to a relationship that supposed to be inseparable. In the same vein, Noriza viewed that her family is only complete when she is physically present with her family member. She expressed it this way:

“Comparing to using a mobile phone to say hello to them (family), the effect is totally different. So I think I have to be by their (husband and children) side, that’s what a family should be, a family.” (Noriza, Line 61)

c. Restless

Noriza and Candy experience restlessness while living apart from their spouse. Noriza could not relax in the rented room alone as she feels she had no one. She misses the time she used to go out with her family. However, she would rather stuck in the rented space than going out as she dislikes going out alone. Thus, she found herself caught up in an unpleasant and confusing situation. She put it this way:

“That's right, because it's in a small room. Well, (I'm) just one person, no one can communicate with you. Although it is possible to make a video call, like I usually make video call with my family member, it is lack of that kind of real “person to person” interaction. The connection is really different. It's very different. .it is very uncomfortable and because I don't like walking on the street alone, I can't walk alone or eat alone, so I would rather stay in the room, but I will feel that way (feeling uncomfortable) again in the room. Yes, it's complicated.” (Noriza, Line 79)

Candy expressed a more vigorous reaction of restlessness:

“Well, at first, you're going to be a little bit down, just wondering staying at home alone. How to say this...you can't find someone to talk to, and when you are alone at home, you will start to be suspicious, because at night you (might) hear a little noise, you feel a little...how to say...the fear will be there...” (Candy, Line 98)

d. Feeling Down

All three female informants reported feeling down while living apart from their spouse. Hana experiences an occasional low mood when she thought about the physical absence of her husband. She feels drained following the low mood. Similarly, Noriza experiences a sudden feeling of down, and she will be looking for someone to be with her when that feeling is triggered. Candy described a mixed feeling of emptiness and down. She expressed as such:

“Sometimes it is very empty (spiritually), then I will be very down, it's the kind of very, very down feeling...” (Candy, Line 128)

e. Missing Spouse

All informants endure endless missing towards their spouse. Candy misses her husband whenever she saw something good as she wants to share it with her husband. Danny misses his wife and children when he saw local Singaporeans with their family. Noriza misses her husband the most during weekends as she frequently reminisced the old days with her husband when she was not working. At the same time, she felt that her husband misses her too. Besides, two informants miss their spouse all the time.

(2) Yearning to be Together Physically

The informants demonstrated both behavioural and affective components of the separation experience in which they were yearning to be together physically. Affectively, all informants hope for a reunion. Behaviourally, three informants had gone beyond thought by actively looking for reunion alternatives.

a. Hoping for Reunion

Although the separation is no longer unbearable as compare to the initial period, all informants are still hoping for the border to reopen. However, besides the constraint of border closure, money is the next concern that hinders reunion. Interestingly, both male informants fantasized of winning a lottery in order for them to reunite with their family. Hana shared that her husband was hoping for a voluntary retirement scheme to reunite. She elaborated her husband's intention:

" Well, he told me that if the company offers a voluntary retrenchment scheme, he will definitely volunteer for retrenchment. Then he can go home with the compensation (money). This is what he always says to me. It is impossible for him to resign as we are very tight financially. Since the living expenses are high, it is very risky for him to resign unless the company offers a voluntary retrenchment scheme. With this, I can feel that he really wants to come back." (Hana, Line 304).

b. Taking Action to Reunite

Informants and spouse had tried all their ways to reunite with their family. Danny had paid quarantine fees and exhausted leave for one month reunion in 2021. He plans for another short reunion in early 2022. Besides, Candy's husband had decided to return home until the pandemic situation gets better. Also, Charles had actively explored ways to reunite with family. The below excerpt highlighted Charles's exploration:

"I'm exploring many ways about how to reunite. Either I find a better job that can afford the whole family to come (to Singapore) to live together, or I could find a job in Malaysia that can afford... that means enough to support the whole family here (in Malaysia)." (Charles, Line 65)

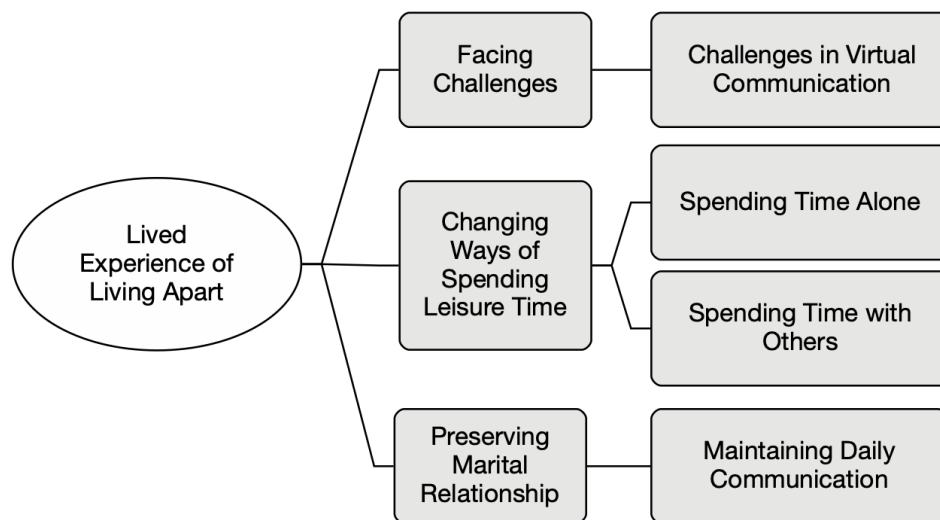
3. Lived Experience of Living Apart

The informants described how they experienced living apart with their spouse amidst the Covid-19 pandemic. Three essential themes were identified: facing challenges, changing ways of spending leisure time and preserving the marital relationship. Although the couples faced challenges in virtual communication, they strove preserve their marriage by maintaining daily communication. In addition, some informants adopted new ways of spending leisure time like

exercising and developing new habit. Figure 2 shows the themes and sub-themes that emerged for the lived experience of living apart.

Figure 2

Themes and Sub-themes of Lived Experience of Living Apart



(1) Facing Challenges

One distinctive sub-theme is challenges in virtual communication. Although all informants recognize the role of technology in maintaining their relationship, three of them found virtual communication challenging. Noriza revealed that making long hour calls and online chatting with her husband were not feasible and exhausting. Unlike physical communication, whereby she could chat while interacting with her husband freely, it is very tiring to stay on the screen. Similarly, Candy feels it is tiring to stay on the screen, so she only uses audio calls and text messages to communicate with her husband. However, Noriza feels frustrated with the limitation of text messages whereby it creates more misunderstanding in the absence of emotional elements. Noriza expressed her frustration with text messages:

“Especially if he's working during the day, there are connection problems with WhatsApp call in his office. So, there's no way to call. We also do not want to spend money making international calls. I can only text him. Sometimes, a straightforward statement becomes complicated because you can't express your joy or sorrow using

text. He couldn't hear you and feel you from the text. It was supposed to be a statement, but to him, as if I were blaming him." (Noriza, Line 95)

As for Charles, he feels that virtual communication is never enough in a couple relationship. He emphasized that human needs to be together physically. Candy prefers to interact with her husband in person too. She put it this way:

"To me, couple relationship only works best when two people can be together physically, and that is what I want the most." (Candy, Line 270)

(2) Changing Ways of Spending Leisure Time

The informants who stayed alone (without children) had more leisure time than the time before separation. They had adjusted their lifestyle by changing how they spend their leisure time without their spouse and children.

a. Spending time alone

Danny took up courses, jogged and went around Singapore during his off days. Charles worked part-time, went to the temple, and developed a new reading habit. Like Charles, Candy developed a new habit of planting vegetables. She researched about soils and planting tips to ensure her vegetables grew well. Specifically, Noriza had chosen to spend her leisure time in a library. She perceives that she was still surrounded by some people, although she was alone. She put it this way:

"Well, I will go to the library. There (the library) are people and books. We couldn't talk to others (in the library). So I don't need to talk to others and don't have to entertain others. After all, there are people in the library." (Noriza, Line 184)

b. Spending time with others

In addition, the informants who lived alone also spent leisure time with others. Noriza and Candy spent more time in the office as they can be with their colleagues. Danny met his relatives in Singapore regularly. He also invited friends for cycling. Similarly, Noriza invited friends for outdoor activities such as hiking and playing badminton.

(3) Preserving Marital Relationship

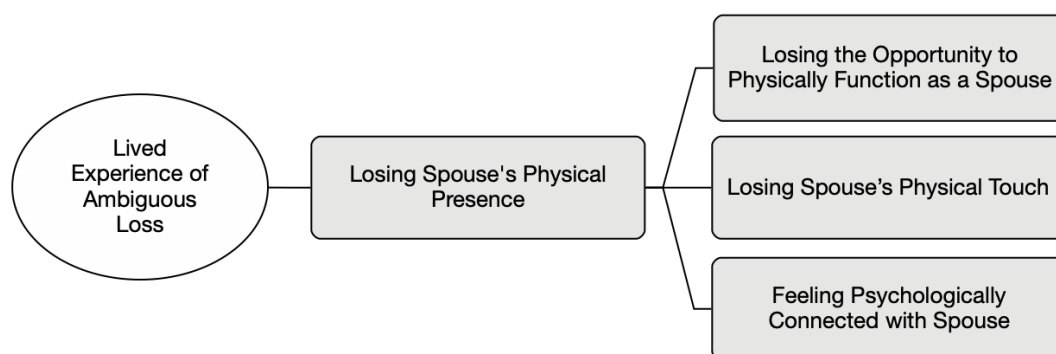
Obviously, all informants are putting their best effort to preserve their marital relationship by maintaining daily communication. Danny makes daily calls to his wife during mealtime, break time, and before sleep. Noriza contacts her husband regularly via text messages during the daytime and video call at night. Charles and Candy contact their spouse consistently at a regular time. Charles believes that it is important to take care of his wife's emotional needs by keeping in touch with her no matter how busy is his work schedule. Hana receives regular daily calls from her husband too.

4. Couples' Lived Experience of Ambiguous Loss

The informants described how they experience their spouse's physical absence while living apart. Although all informants experience a clear state of physical absence, yet they feel connected with their spouse psychologically. As for the lived experience of ambiguous loss, one essential theme is identified: losing spouse's physical presence. Figure 3 shows the themes and sub-themes emerged for the lived experience of ambiguous loss.

Figure 3

Themes and Sub-themes of Lived Experience of Ambiguous Loss



(1) Losing Spouse's Physical Presence

Although all informants realized and clearly recognized that they are going to live without the physical presence of their spouse for an unknown duration, their experiences are subtly different. Three sub-themes emerged: losing the opportunity to physically function as a spouse, losing spouse's physical touch and feeling psychologically connected with spouse.

a. Losing the Opportunity to Physically Function as a Spouse

Three informants feel that they had lost the opportunity to function physically as a spouse. They perceive that they have lost the ability to support their spouse the usual way. Noriza expressed herself feeling “falling apart” when she could not physically present to support her husband when her mother-in-law passed away, which deeply saddened her. Noriza described her intense reaction:

"He (husband) was crying on the phone that time, I was so scared. I heard him crying for the first time...and when he told me (his mother had passed away), I don't know how to comfort him. I'm not next to him. I was really...oops. I felt like I was falling apart because there are many things that you couldn't give him. You just couldn't make it, couldn't hug him, just couldn't do anything..." (Noriza, Line 114).

Similarly, Candy felt emotionally down, realizing that she could not do what she used to do. She contemplated exploring new ways of supporting her husband when he was having a bad day. She reminisced that they usually go out for a walk, strolling and sitting down on a bench for an ice-cream treat, having a good meal together, and that easily cheer up her husband. She put it this way:

"I feel a little lost in me, and I feel that...oh, I can't do this (usual way of cheering up her husband). Watching him sad like this made me sad, I feel sad. Well, I am sad, and then I will feel that I just can't do anything. Then I wondered if I should try doing something (to cheer up my husband). If I want to do it, how should I do it? I experience this kind of pull in me." (Candy, Line 323)

Next, some informants feel that they could not play their spouse's role well because they could not be with their spouse physically. Two informants expressed that they could not cook for spouse while another two informants mentioned that they are not able to do house chores. Noriza revealed guilt feeling as she could not cook for her husband. She put it this way:

"He (husband) doesn't like to eat the dishes (that) my mother cooks. So, he eats outside every day for all three meals. I feel like I owe to him because he can't cook and won't cook like others. Well, he can't cook. So in this regard (cooking), I feel that I have not given him what he deserved from me. (Noriza, Line 239).

Not only female informants, male informants shared similar experience. Charles expressed his thought:

"I can't cook for her, and she likes to eat the food I cook for her. (Charles, Line 40)

b. Losing Spouse's Physical Touch

All informants were indefinitely losing the physical touch of their spouse. Charles could not kiss or touch his wife like he used to do. Noriza mentioned that she could not hug her husband. Candy feels like she was just a casual friend to her husband when she could not hug or kiss him. She expressed an intense feeling of loss:

"I can't establish any kind of intimacy with him (husband). For example, giving him a hug or a kiss. It can't be. That loss made me feel like we were just friends providing updates to each other. It's like I'm chatting with a friend, and I can't do anything beyond that to comfort him (husband)." (Candy, Line 315)

c. Feeling Psychologically Connected with Spouse

Despite physically separated from their spouse, three informants still feel connected with their spouse. Danny could easily feel his wife. He just feels like he is not alone, as if his wife is just beside him. Danny described an instance where he could feel his wife:

"We will chat until she sleeps every night. Basically, I feel that she is just by my side." (Danny, Line 190)

Similarly, Charles feels connected with his wife most of the time. He expressed his experience in three ways:

"She is with me every moment." (Charles, Line 103)

"I could feel her beside me every time." (Charles, Line 124)

"There is no moment that I can't feel her." (Charles, Line 132)

Next, Hana feels connected with her spouse too. She mentioned that her husband is always in her mind. She feels that he is always with her for everything that she did. Like Charles, she

used the phrase "every moment" to describe the extent of her husband's presence. She feels her husband's concern in every phone calls. She feels that he really misses her and their children from the way he looked at them through video calls. She was thrilled when her husband spoke about their future. She knew that all these could only be felt when someone is truly presence with you. She put it this way:

"I mean...we can really feel that someone is truly miss us...or fake it. I can feel it, our hearts touch each other's, and when we talk about our future, he is not just saying it. He really means it. He really works things out. He is serious in execution. He is really doing it, in execution, in progress..." (Hana, Line 292)

V. Discussion

1. Separation Anxiety

While studying the lived experience of separation amidst the Covid-19 pandemic, the informants described their feelings of abrupt separation. Similar to the previous research findings on separation anxiety, these informants revealed feelings of detachment, restlessness and yearning (Bowlby, 1980; Jeremy, 1993). It is suggested that their spouse serve as a safety base that they hold on to in their marriage, a safe space that allows them to live freely, work and enjoy their life. This shows that spouse's relationship forms a unique attachment especially in the emotional domain (Berscheid, 2010). Hence, the informants reported feeling restless and demotivated while living apart from their spouse.

Aligned with Theresa Benedek's assumption of separation anxiety from a loved one, most informants expressed a yearning to be together following separation (as cited in Bowlby, 1960). However, unlike the painfulness suggested by Ash and Huang (2022) and Wang et al. (2020), this study revealed a subtle feeling of discomfort and uneasiness associated with loneliness. Similar to the research findings by Jeremy (1993), the informants seem to be calm. The couples resignedly viewed the abrupt separation as unavoidable as they need to earn a living. None of the informants reported intense separation anxiety like tense, protest, despair, pain during the early separation stage, as indicated in the literature review (Bowlby, 1980; Jeremy, 1993). It is comprehensible that the need to sustain income could be more intense than separation anxiety, especially during the pandemic when many people struggle with income loss. The couples

sacrifice the time of being together physically as a married couple for the sustainability of the family. For them, maintaining the family is more important and this allow them to withstand the separation.

2. Role of Technology

Overall, this study agreed with Fraenkel and Cho (2020) and Morris's (2020) findings that technology has a significant role in bridging couples living apart. Yet, mixed results were found in the practicality of virtual communication. Aligned with Watson et al. (2021) study, some informants struggled and tolerated the digital media's connectivity. This study discovered that text communication could be challenging for some couples in conveying the intended meaning. In the same vein, the finding aligned with the previous finding of the limitation of virtual communication, where most informants perceived that virtual communication could never replace face-to-face communication (Galea et al., 2020; Krapf, 2018; Vohra & Taneja, 2020; Shibusawa et al., 2021). Therefore, it is suggested that the couples were deprived of having the usual quantity and quality of conversation.

3. Coping Strategies

In terms of spending leisure time, the informants reported new ways of spending their leisure time. Consistent with the research findings, the informants gained social support by inviting friends for exercise, spending more time at work and building better bonding with colleagues, relatives and friends (Boss & Yeats, 2014; Kenen, 2021). The newly formed social support of relatives, friends and colleagues serves as a significant protective factor for mental well-being (Boss & Yeats, 2014). Furthermore, the informants gain social support in grieving over their ambiguous loss (Janoff-Bulman & Frieze, 1983). Thus, social support is crucial in helping couples to live better in the ambiguous loss.

4. Ambiguous Loss

This study reinforced the importance of the human touch. Similar to the study of Bolmsjö et al. (2018), the couples were deprived of physical touch in their intimate relationship. While there is a clear state of physical absence, some informants reported experiencing psychological connection. They lost their spouse's physical presence while retaining psychological presence.

Strikingly, all three informants used a similar quantifier of "every moment" and "every time" to express the breadth of the psychological presence. In terms of the depth of psychological presence, both male informants explicitly mentioned that their spouse is "just beside" them. Another female informant expressed clearly that her spouse is "always in her mind". Also, this experience does not differ regardless of the duration of separation and gender. This study showed that separation duration and gender do not play a significant role in ambiguous loss experience. Overall, the experience of informants mostly aligned with the form of ambiguous loss presented by Boss (1999). However, this study highlighted the phenomenon of physical absence coupled with psychological presence of the spouse, which has shown that the psychological presence of spouse is experienced despite physical separation. The feeling of spouse's psychological presence is manifested through acknowledging spouse contribution to the family, daily communication through social media, missing spouse's present and physical touch and through mutual expression of concern.

VI. Limitation and Recommendation for Future Study

Since this is a preliminary study with a small size of informants, the research findings of couples' ambiguous loss experience were only restricted to Malaysian couples who were physically separated due to border closure. At the time of the study, mostly one spouse accepted the interview invitation; thus, it is worth noting that the shared experience could not reflect both husband and wife's ambiguous loss experience. A comprehensive couples' experience of the whole phenomenon can be achieved when both husband and wife accept to be interviewed. Hence, future study should consider interview both husband and wife. Even though gender factor and length of separation between couples are not significant in shaping couples' ambiguous loss experience in this study, it is recommended to conduct longitudinal research on couples who are living separately to have a better understanding of their overall experience.

VII. Conclusion

The separation with spouse had triggered separation anxiety, manifested in feelings of detachment, restlessness and yearning to be together with the loved one. Yet, the informants appeared calm in enduring the unbearable separation anxiety as the need to sustain family was beyond the separation anxiety. Technology plays a significant role in preserving couples' marital relationship. Despite the limitation of virtual communication, the informants persist in daily communication. As time passed, they ease the discomfort of separation anxiety by

exploring new ways of spending their leisure time. They develop new habits, new routines and form new social support. With a strong sense of psychological presence and good intention to sustain the family's livelihood, the couples strive to live to their best with each other's psychological presence.

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Appendix A

Interview Outline (English)

Note to interviewee

“Now we shall begin the interview. Are you ready to start now?”

| Types of questions | Interview Question (English) |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Establishing Context | You mentioned that you have married for () years, could you share about your marriage life these years ? |
| | How would you describe your marital relationship? |
| | You mentioned that the last date meeting physically was around (), could you share what made you decide to leave your husband/wife to live separately? |
| Reconstructing the phenomenon | Could you share your experience of living separately with your husband/wife amidst pandemic? |
| | What are you like when your husband/wife is not with you? |
| | How do you cope when your husband/wife is not with you? |
| | What is most challenging to you when your husband/wife is not with you? |
| | Can you share the moments when you truly hope that your husband/wife is with you? |
| | In what way you feel (connected with/ the presence of) your husband/wife when living separately amidst pandemic? |
| | Could you share your challenge to stay in this marriage while living separately amidst pandemic? |
| | When living separately amidst pandemic, is there any time that you cannot feel that your husband/wife is with you even with frequent contact? |
| | At the most challenging moment, what made you persist in this marriage? |
| | How do you maintain your marriage relationship ? What would you expect your husband/wife to keep the marriage alive? |

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| | How do you make decision concerning family with your husband/wife while living separately ? |
| Reflecting on meaning | From what you shared with me, how would you describe the changes in your marriage life when living apart amidst pandemic? |
| | Being a husband/wife, do you notice any changes in yourself? Do you notice any changes in your spouse? |
| | With this ongoing pandemic/separation, how do you see your marriage relationship progress? |
| Summary questions | Before we come to the end of the interview, is there anything else about your experience that you think is relevant to our topic but we have not yet had a chance to discuss? |

The current interview protocol adopted Seidman (2006) interview structure

Appendix B

Interview Outline (Chinese)

Note to interviewee

“現在我們開始進行訪談。 你覺得可以嗎？”

| Types of questions | Interview Question (Chinese) |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Establishing Context | 前面你有提到你們結婚()年， 可以不可以講一下這()年的婚姻生活？ 如果要你形容你的婚姻關係，你會怎麼樣形容？ |
| | 前面你有提到你們上一次見面是()，你能分享是什麼讓你決定在這個疫情底下離開你的丈夫/妻子分開生活嗎？ |
| Reconstructing the phenomenon | 你能分享一下你與丈夫/妻子因疫情而分開兩地的生活嗎？ |
| | 當你的丈夫/妻子不在你身邊時，你是怎樣的？ |
| | 當你的丈夫/妻子不在你身邊時，你是怎麼度過這些日子的？ |
| | 你的丈夫/妻子不在你身邊時，你個人認為最困難的是什麼？ |
| | 你能和我分享一下有沒有哪一個時刻，你特別渴望你的丈夫/妻子就在你身邊？ |
| | 因疫情而分開兩地居住期間，你是如何感受到你的丈夫/妻子依然和你在一起？ |
| | 在這分開生活期間要維持這段婚姻關係，你個人覺得最挑戰/困難的什麼？ |
| | 因疫情而分開兩地居住期間，即使有聯繫，有沒有什麼時候是你無法感受到你的丈夫/妻子和你在一起？ |
| | 在這個最具有挑戰的時刻，是什麼讓你堅持在這段婚姻走下去？ |
| | 你是怎樣維繫你們的婚姻關係？你期待你的丈夫/妻子怎樣維繫你們的婚姻關係？ |
| Reflecting on meaning | 在分開兩地居住期間，你如何與丈夫/妻子做與家庭相關的決定？ |
| | 你認為因疫情而分開后的婚姻生活有哪一些變化？你有什麼體會？ |
| | 身為一個丈夫/妻子，你發現自己有什麼變化嗎？ |
| | 你發現你的太太/妻子有什麼變化嗎？ |
| Summary questions | 隨著這種持續的疫情和分開兩地居住，你如何看待未來的婚姻關係？ |
| | 在我們結束採訪之前，你認為還有什麼與我們的主題相關但我們還沒有機會討論的的經歷嗎？ |

The current interview protocol adopted Seidman (2006) interview structure

「本土諮商心理學學刊」編輯委員會組織要點

- 一、「本土諮商心理學學刊」編輯委員會（以下稱本編委會）由「本土諮商心理學學刊」主編邀請組成之，任期為四年。
- 二、本編委會置主編一人，編輯委員若干名，共同執行學刊之編輯與審查工作。
- 三、本編委會下置編輯助理一至三人，擔任本學刊編輯之行政工作。
- 四、本要點經本編委會會議通過後施行，修訂時亦同。

「本土諮商心理學學刊」編輯委員會編審工作要點

- 一、「本土諮商心理學學刊」（以下稱本學刊）為定期出版之學術性期刊。本學刊之編輯委員會為處理文稿編審相關事宜，特訂定本要點。
- 二、本學刊常年徵稿，每年三月、六月、九月、十二月各出刊一期，每期刊出至少三篇，以文稿審查通過先後為序。主編於接到稿件後兩個月內進行審查作業。
- 三、本學刊審查作業採匿名制，學刊論文稿件經主編和編輯助理執行匿名作業後，再送交編輯委員提出審查委員推薦名單。如投稿人為編輯委員，於推薦該稿件之審查委員人選時，應迴避之。
- 四、依匿名審查者之審查意見決定稿件處理方式如下表所示：

「本土諮商心理學學刊」稿件審查處理方式一覽表

| 處理方式 | | 第一位審查委員結果 | | | |
|-------------------|-------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | | 同意刊登 | 修正後刊登 | 修正後再審 | 不宜刊登 |
| 第二位 審查委 員結果 | 同意刊登 | 同意刊登 | 修正後刊登 | 修正後刊登 或再審* | 送第三位複審 |
| | 修正後刊登 | 修正後刊登 | 修正後刊登 | 修正後刊登 或再審* | 送第三位複審 |
| | 修正後再審 | 修正後刊登 或再審* | 修正後刊登 或再審* | 不予刊登 或再審* | 不予刊登 或再審* |
| | 不宜刊登 | 送第三位複審 | 送第三位複審 | 不予刊登 或再審* | 不予刊登 |

*由主編依論文品質及審查意見裁量決定。

- 五、本學刊編輯委員另訂定文稿審查暨著作財產權處理要點，以俾利審查之進行。

「本土諮商心理學學刊」徵稿通告

一、主旨

「本土諮商心理學學刊」由國立彰化師範大學輔導與諮商學系本土諮商心理學研究發展中心、世界本土諮商心理學推動聯盟與台灣心理諮商資訊網共同出版暨發行，採學刊與電子形式出刊。本學刊以發表心理衛生、輔導、諮商心理、臨床心理、復健諮商、社會工作、精神醫學、精神護理、職能治療、語言治療、特殊教育、員工協助方案等與心理學及助人專業相關學科之本土化學術專論與實務專論為主，包括：量化、質性或質量整合的實徵研究（empirical research）、綜論性文章（review essay）以及個案研究等（不同文章類型稿件適用不同之審查標準）。本學刊採雙匿名審查制度，發行主要目的在於增進心理諮商與助人相關專業之學術交流、提升學術研究風氣，希望透過本學刊的平臺，能結合更多的華人與華文使用者，善用華人語言與華人文化的特色，做出更多更好的學術探討與研究，為增進與亞洲地區專業人員及國際的交流我們也提供英文的標題與摘要，同時也接受英文的稿件，我們期待能跨越國際推動含攝文化（Culture Inclusive）與本土化的研究風氣。

二、稿件格式（請參閱「本土諮商心理學學刊」投稿論文格式之說明）

本刊歡迎海內外中英文稿件，中文稿件以正體、簡體投稿皆可。來稿請參考「美國心理學會出版手冊」第七版（*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 7th ed.）規定體例，每篇以一萬五千字以內為原則。請勿一稿兩投。稿件內容依序包括下列各項：（有關作者個人之相關資料，僅能於作者基本資料表中呈現）

（一）作者基本資料表（表格請至 <http://jicp.heart.net.tw/04.html> 下載）

填寫作者基本資料表，載明論文題目、全體作者之中英文姓名、任職機構中英文名稱、第一作者與通訊作者之位址、電話、傳真及 E-mail（通訊作者為本學刊為提供學術交流而設置，請作者於投稿時提供相關資料以利進一步學術對話之開展）。

另外，請下載作者自我檢核表乙份，以核對規定的格式是否正確，若否則填寫其理由。填畢再以電子檔的方式與作者基本資料表一併寄回。

（二）中文摘要頁

以 500~800 字為原則，含論文題目、摘要及關鍵詞（以不超過五個為原則）。

（三）正文

正文段落標題可有彈性，但宜有前言、本文、結論、以及參考文獻等之結構。

（四）英文摘要頁

含論文題目、摘要本文及關鍵詞（以不超過 5 個為原則）。為助於與國際學者交流，摘要本文請不少於 500 字，並以 800 字以內為原則（自第九卷第一期適用）。

（五）著作權授權同意書（表格請至 <http://jicp.heart.net.tw/03.html> 下載）

投稿文章之所有作者均需分別填寫一式兩份。

文稿格式、符號、標題、數字、圖表、引用書目及參考文獻等撰稿體例請參閱本學刊投稿論文格式與本學刊之內容，或依照「美國心理學會出版手冊」第七版（*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 7th ed.）規定體例（文稿格式不符者，本學刊將退回給作者，修正後歡迎再投稿）。

來稿請由左至右、直式橫寫電腦打字，註明頁碼（每頁印 38 行，每行 35 字，12 級字，段落距離 0 列，1.5 行行距）為原則。

三、著作權授權條款

投稿論文經本學刊接受刊登，作者同意非專屬授權國立彰化師範大學輔導與諮商學系台灣心理諮商資訊網做下述利用：

- （一）以紙本或是數位方式出版。
- （二）進行數位化典藏、重製、透過網路公開傳輸、授權用戶下載、列印、瀏覽等資料庫銷售或提供服務之行為。
- （三）以非專屬授權方式，授權給學術資料庫業者，將本論文納入資料庫中提供服務。
- （四）為符合各資料庫之系統需求，並得進行格式之變更。

四、審稿

本學刊收到稿件之後，由主編確認內容、格式是否符合本學刊之原則，交由編輯委員推薦二位相關領域之專家進行匿名審查，審查意見與結果將主動回覆稿件作者。凡經審查委員要求修改之文章，於作者修改後再行刊登。凡曾在相關研討會上發表過之文章、改寫的學位論文或研究經費的來源等，請於作者基本資料表之作者註一欄中加以說明。

本學刊採常年徵稿、先到先審制。請將稿件以電子郵件寄至 jicpheart@gmail.com，註明「投稿本土諮商心理學學刊」。著作權授權同意書，可擇一寄發，但以電子檔為佳：

（1）電子檔：列印紙本簽名後掃描成電子檔，或將個人簽名以圖檔插入著作權同意書電子檔，再將成果直接寄至刊物信箱；或（2）紙本：寄至 50007 彰化市進德路 1 號國立彰化師範大學輔導與諮商學系轉「本土諮商心理學學刊」編輯委員會收，或傳真至（04）7276542；電話：（04）723-2105 #2220, 2208；E-mail：jicpheart@gmail.com

「本土諮商心理學學刊」投稿論文格式

本學刊以發表輔導、諮商心理、臨床心理、復健諮商、社會工作、精神醫學、精神護理、心理衛生、職能治療、語言治療、特殊教育、員工協助方案等與心理學及助人專業相關學科之本土化專論為主。接受全球之正體中文、簡體中文與英文稿件之投稿。

版面的左右邊界 3.17 公分、上下邊界 2.54 公分，行文請由左至右。稿長以 3 萬字以內為原則，並以電腦繕打直式橫寫，以 Word 98 以上版本格式存檔，正文中請勿使用任何排版技術。

正文請統一採 12 級字，段落距離 0 列，單行間距，中文部份（含標點符號）請以新細明體與全形輸入，英文部分（include punctuation marks）請以 Times New Roman 與半型輸入為原則。若文章中有出現表與圖，文字請在 8~12 級字間彈性調整。稿件格式請依下列規定：

一、標題層次

（一）中文書寫者請依序使用

層級一：壹、（粗體、上下空一行、內文開一個新段落撰寫）

層級二：一、（粗體、上下空一行、內文開一個新段落撰寫）

層級三：（一）（不加粗、上空一行、句後要加上句點、內文接著層級標題同一行撰寫，成為完整的一段）

層級四：1.（不加粗、不空行、句後要加上句點、內文接著層級標題同一行撰寫，成為完整的一段）

層級五：（1）（不加粗、不空行、句後要加上句點、內文接著層級標題同一行撰寫，成為完整的一段）

如下列範例所示：

壹、（粗體、上下空一行、內文開一個新段落撰寫）

一、（粗體、上下空一行、內文開一個新段落撰寫）

（一）（不加粗、上空一行）。

1.（不加粗、不空行）

(1) (不加粗、不空行)

(二) 英文書寫者請依序使用

Centered, Boldface, Uppercase and Lowercase Heading

(置中，加粗，每個單字字首大寫，上下空一行)

Text begins indented as a new paragraph.

Flush Left, Boldface, Uppercase and Lowercase Heading

(置左，加粗，每個單字字首大寫，上下空一行)

Text begins indented as a new paragraph.

Flush Left, Boldface, Uppercase and Lowercase Heading

(置左，加粗，每個單字字首大寫，上下空一行)

Text begins indented as a new paragraph.

Indented, boldface, lowercase paragraph heading ending with a period.

(空四格半形，標題加粗，第一個字字首大寫，上下空一行)

Text begins on the same line and continues as a regular paragraph.

Indented, boldface, italicized, lowercase paragraph heading ending with a period.

(空四格半形，標題加粗，第一個字字首大寫，不空行)

Text begins on the same line and continues as a regular paragraph.

二、正文

(一) 行文原則

一頁以 38 行、一行 35 字為原則，並註明頁碼。

(二) 標題與註解

1. 文內標題請依標題層次規定方式處理，體例如前述。

2. 表的標號與名稱的格式，包含以下原則：

(1) 表的標號與名稱皆為 12 級字，內容則為 8~12 級字為彈性調整範圍。

(2) 標號和名稱置於表格之上，靠左對齊，分兩行，第一行為標號，第二行為表名。

(3) 標號的寫法：中文為「表一」、「表 1」或「表 1-1」，中文不必加粗體；英文為「Table 1」、「Table1.1」，英文則應以粗體呈現。

(4) 表名在撰寫上需盡量以簡短、清楚且有效的說明表達出表格的重點，不應過長。中文表名需以粗體呈現，英文表名則為斜體。

(5) 資料來源請於表格下方列示，以靠近正文引用處隨後出現為原則。

3. 圖的標號與名稱的格式，包含以下原則：

(1) 標號和名稱置於圖片上方，分兩行說明，第一行為標號，第二行為圖名，皆靠左對齊。

(2) 標號的寫法：中文為「圖一」、「圖 1」或「圖 1-1」，不加粗體；英文為「Figure1」、「Figure 1.1」，英文標號則應以粗體呈現。

(3) 圖名在撰寫上應盡量簡短並能表達出圖形的重點，中文圖名需以粗體呈現，英文圖名則以斜體呈現。

(4) 中文圖名之行距設定則以可清楚看出標號和圖名之區隔為原則；英文的圖名在行距上應設定為「2 倍行高」。

(5) 資料來源請於圖下方列示，以靠近正文引用處隨後出現為原則。

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(2) 英文，如：(Hsieh, 2003)

2. 兩位作者

(1) 中文，如：(謝麗紅、鄭麗芬，1999)

(2) 英文，如：(Chang & Chu, 2001)

3. 三位以上作者

(1) 中文，第一次出現即以第一作者等表示，如：(賀孝銘等，2007)。

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(2) 英文

Corey, G., Corey, M., & Collanan, P. (1993). *Issues and ethics in the helping professions* (4th ed.). Brooks/Cole.

Collie, R. K., Mitchell, D., & Murphy, L. (2000). Skills for on-line counseling: Maximum impact at minimum bandwidth. In J. W. Bloom & G. R. Walz (Eds.), *Cybercounseling and cyberlearning: Strategies and resources for the millennium* (pp. 219-236). American Counseling Association.

(3) 譯本

Jacobs, E. E., Masson, R. L., & Harvil, R. L. (2008)。**團體諮商：策略與技巧**(程小蘋、黃慧涵、劉安真、梁淑娟譯)。五南。(原著出版年：2006)

2. 期刊

(1) 中文

王智弘、林清文、劉淑慧、楊淳斐、蕭宜綾 (2008)。台灣地區網路諮商服務發展之調查研究。**教育心理學報**，**39** (3)，395-412。

劉淑慧、林怡青 (2002)。國三學生選擇入學學校之抉擇歷程與其影響因素。**中華輔導學報**，**11**，71-123。

(2) 英文

Hsieh, Y. H. (2003). Spatiotemporal characteristics of interaction between exogenous and endogenous orienting of visual attention. *Chinese Journal of Psychology*, 45(3), 227-241.

Kao, S. C., Lin, C. E., & Chiu, N. Y. (2006). A proposed e-care center for mental health interventions. *Journal of Psychiatric Practice*, 12(3), 180-186.

3. 會議、研討會

(1) 中文

陳巧翊、趙淑珠 (2020 年 10 月 24 日)。親密關係中性困擾者之求助經驗探究—女性當事人之敘說〔論文發表〕。台灣輔導與諮商學會 2020 年會暨學術研討會，臺北市，臺灣。

王智弘 (2020 年 10 月 24 日)。雖然不太會做研究，但沒關係：我如何走出一條學術研究的路〔專題演講〕。台灣輔導與諮商學會 2020 年會暨學術研討會，臺北市，臺灣。

(2) 英文

Meister, K. L. (2018, April 26-29). *Gender identity as a three dimensional model: Taking identity beyond the continuum* [Roundtable session]. American Counseling Association 2018 Conference & Expo, Atlanta, GA.

Jin, Y. Y. (2018, April 26-29). *Counseling in China* [Poster presentation]. American Counseling Association 2018 Conference & Expo, Atlanta, GA

4. 學位論文

(1) 中文

李鴻昇 (2020)。母親罹患思覺失調症之子女家庭角色轉換歷程之敘事研究〔未出版之碩士論文〕。國立彰化師範大學。

施郁恆 (2019)。大學生網路成癮危險因子、網路成癮與心理健康問題之相關研究 (系統編號：107NCUE5464018)〔碩士論文，國立彰化師範大學〕。臺灣博碩士論文知識加值系統。

(2) 英文

Massa, A. (2006). *Psychophysiological correlates of childhood maltreatment and physical aggression perpetration* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Purdue University.

Kado Hogan, R. M. (2011). *Ethical decision making of psychologists: Emotions, ethical decision frame, and social context* [Doctoral dissertation, University of South Dakota] (Publication No. 3473582). ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A & I.

5. 專門研究報告

(1) 中文

趙淑珠、程小蘋 (2001)。中學行政主管人員性別意識之評估研究。行政院國科會研究計畫 (NSC89-2413-H-018-031)。

(2) 英文

Mazzeo, J., Druesne, B., Raffeld, P. C., Checketts, K. T., & Muhlstein, A. (1991). *Comparability of computer and paper-and-pencil scores for two CLEP general examinations* (College Board Rep. No. 91-5). Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service.

6. 有團體作者的網頁

(1) 中文

台灣輔導與諮商學會 (2001)。台灣輔導與諮商學會諮商專業倫理守則。
<http://www.guidance.org.tw/ethic.shtm>

(2) 英文

American Counseling Association (2005). *ACA Code of Ethics*. May 25, 2013, Retrieved from
<http://www.counseling.org/Resources/odeOfEthics/TP/Home/CT2.aspx>

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