Asian Journal of Counselling 2000 Vol.7, No.1 © The Hong Kong Professional Counselling Association & The Chinese University of Hong Kong 2000

Counseling Chinese Peoples: Perspectives of Filial Piety

Kwong-Liem Karl Kwan Purdue University

Filial piety has been considered an indigenous psychological construct that governs the familial and intergenerational relationships of Chinese people. Few existing studies, however, have explored the psychological implications of filial piety in the counseling context. In this article, several psychological themes related to filial piety will first be reviewed. The adaptive functions and the potential psychological dilemma associated with filial piety will then be discussed. Finally, several applications of this psychological construct in the counseling of Chinese people will be suggested.

Filial piety has been defined as a "specific, complex syndrome or set of cognition, affects, intentions, and behaviors concerning being good or nice to one's parents" (Yang, 1997, p. 252). *Xiao xun*, the Chinese term for filial piety, commands the younger in the family to be respectful (i.e., *xiao*) and obedient (i.e., *xun*) to one's parents and other elderly members related to the family. Thus, filial piety has been considered a core aspect of familism that governs the interpersonal and intergenerational relations among Chinese people (Ho, 1996; Yang, 1997).

It has been contended that filial piety be studied as an indigenous construct in the understanding of the psychology and social relations of Chinese people. Asian psychologists have discussed how the moral teachings of traditional Confucianism have underlined and shaped the attitudinal and behavioral expressions of filial piety (Ho, 1996; Hwang, 1999; Yang, 1997).

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Kwong-Liem Karl Kwan at the Department of Educational Studies, 1446 LAEB, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47907-1446, USA.

When counseling Chinese Americans, D. Sue (1997) has also considered filial piety a culture-specific value that needs to be contrasted with Western values. Whereas the conceptual teaching and intergenerational implications of *xiao xun* were indoctrinated through tales (e.g., the heroic deeds of Mulan for her father portrayed in a Disney movie; Coats, Bancroft & Cook, 1998) as youngsters grow up in Chinese societies, the concept appears unfamiliar to people in Western cultures, such as the United States. For example, between 1996 and 2000, an informal survey was conducted in a graduate multicultural counseling course the author taught in a major, U.S. research institution. Out of an average of 16 counselors-in-training enrolled each year, fewer than two in each class were familiar with the meaning and concept of filial piety.

Psychologists in various Chinese societies have begun to conceptually and empirically investigate the psychological dimensions and consequences of filial piety among Chinese people (Ho, 1996; Zhang & Bond, 1998). Few existing literature, however, have discussed filial piety in the counseling context. In this article, several themes of filial piety and their relations with psychological conflicts will be delineated. The counseling implications of filial piety will be discussed.

Conceptualization of Filial Piety

Filial piety has often been discussed in relation to one's obligations, respect, obedience, and duty to parents. According to classical Confucianism, one's body is seen as an extension of one's parents, and family members are conceptualized as one body (see Hwang, 1999, pp. 169-170). Based on a review of Chinese classics, Yang (1997) delineated 15 aspects of Chinese filial piety, which includes:

- (1) to revere and love one's parents;
- (2) to obey one's parents;
- (3) to admonish one's parents with reasons and righteousness;
- (4) to be near home and ready to serve one's parents;

- (5) to treat and serve one's parents with politeness and etiquette;
- to fulfill one's parents' aspirations by joining the same occupation or vocation;
- (7) to promote the public prestige of one's kindred, to honor one's parents;
- (8) to cherish the loving memory of parental affection;
- (9) to entertain one's parents appropriately;
- (10) to let parents live without worry and anguish;
- (11) to look after one's parents with a spirit of true caring;
- (12) to preserve one's body from injury;
- (13) to bear sons and thereby continue the family line;
- (14) to bury the deceased parents with ritual propriety; and
- (15) to offer sacrifices to the deceased parents with ritual propriety.

Implicit in the Confucian moral teaching is the expectation for the younger generation to reciprocate what the parent generation has done for them. In other words, filial piety prescribes a communal and interdependent relationship in which the parent and children generations provide for the physical and emotional needs to one another at various points in time. Such relationship dynamics are anchored within a family structure rooted in the teachings of Confucianism.

Hierarchy and Roles

Counseling professionals in both Chinese and U.S. societies have recognized the hierarchical structure that governs the intergenerational and intragenerational relationships within the Chinese family. Between the generations of the family, children are expected to respect and to be obedient to the authority of parents. Within the generation of the family, younger siblings are expected to defer to the leadership of the elder siblings, although the ultimate source of authority rests with the parents. Inherent in this familial dynamics is the emphasis on the value of respect, as well as the assumption, albeit contrived, that the elderly and the elder are regarded as experienced

and pious; thus, those who are junior in the hierarchy are expected to submit to the ascribed status of those who are senior in the hierarchy. The differential statuses within the hierarchy also prescribe roles and duties for various family members. These roles and duties, which are presumed to be complementary, serve to regulate the allocation of power and to maintain balance and harmony among the family members. In fact, in a study that examined the relationships between filial attitudes and personality trait factors among Chinese college students in Beijing and Hong Kong, Zhang and Bond (1998) found that filial attitudes were significantly related to relation orientation (or *Renqing*) and harmony. Cheung, Lee, and Chan (1994) have also found that family cohesion was related to filial piety attitude.

Such structural family dynamics, however, are not unique to the Chinese culture. What distinguishes a Chinese family governed by the Confucian ethics of filial piety is that the dynamics persist across situations and throughout the lifespan. In other words, even when those in the younger generation become adults, such top-to-down hierarchical dynamic continues to apply to the parent-child relationship. Unlike families in the Western culture, such as the U.S., where those in the children generation are encouraged to be independent, individualistic, and detached from parents at an early age, filial piety commands the younger generation to continue to relegate oneself to the expectations, authority, and presumed wisdom of one's parents and others in the older generation. In fact, the solidarity of the practice of filial piety has been suggested to also exist among Asian and Pacific Islander Americans (D. Sue, 1997). Yee, Huang, and Lew (1998), for example, reviewed studies that suggested that beyond the acculturation of certain superficial cultural habits (e.g., food preferences, language used), interdependence, reciprocity, and indebtedness continued to characterize the family patterns of latter-generation Asian Americans.

In light of the top-to-down hierarchical structure in which children often yield to the expectations of parents to maintain a balance of power within the family, the subsequent collective harmony is not always achieved without psychological cost to the individuals, especially the adult younger generation. As Wu (1996) noted, many Chinese from childhood struggle for a balance between autonomy and dependency that are related to Chinese culture's emphasis on filial piety and demands of obedience to adults and superior (p. 23). In clinical practice, it is not unusual to see educated Chinese adults struggling between being autonomous and being the parents' "good" child, especially in such areas as mate selection, career decision making, and child rearing practices. Feelings of guilt for not reciprocating parents' expectations, anger for not asserting oneself, and confusion about the validity of one's decision when parents' supervision and approval are no longer available, are some of the prevailing counseling issues associated with the filial obligations prescribed to the roles of the younger generations within the family hierarchy.

Ho (1996, p. 163) reviewed a number of studies that indicated a positive relationship between filial piety and (a) resistance to cognitive change, (b) past orientation, and (c) belief in the centrality and superiority of one's culture. Using the Filial Piety Scale, the Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory, and the Five Factor Inventory to study the relationship between filial piety and universal and indigenous personality factors, Zhang and Bond (1998) found that Neuroticism and Openness (negative) significantly predicted filial attitudes among Chinese college samples in Hong Kong and Beijing. Moreover, filial piety may perpetuate and sustain certain dysfunctional family patterns. Tang (1998), for example, noted that filial piety includes certain moral principles that are conducive to child abuse. On one hand, Chinese parents establish authority and maintain children's obedience through discipline. On the other hand, Chinese parents also offer physical and emotional closeness to establish bonding with children. As a result of such parenting practice, children may accept and endure parents' physical and emotional discipline. When disciplinary behaviors become abusive, children may not report or may underreport because of the feelings

of guilt for breaching the bonding. Filial piety, therefore, could inhibit Chinese clients from disclosing family issues in counseling as talking against their parents may generate feelings of betrayal and guilt.

Reciprocity

Filial piety is often expressed through behaviors of reciprocity, which are often channels by which love and gratitude are conveyed among family members. These behaviors include providing for the material (e.g., providing monetary support, living with and taking care of one's retired parents) and nonmaterial (e.g., bringing honor and face to parents through academic achievement) needs of parents. Reciprocal behaviors, however, may be expressed out of duties and may not always reflect underlying filial attitudes. It is possible for the younger generation to engage in filial behaviors that are driven by a sense of obligations to reciprocate rather than accompanied by filial emotions. In other words, filial cognitions, emotions, and behaviors are not always congruent with one another.

Yue and Ng (1999) examined the perceptions of filial expectations and obligations of college students (N=90; mean age = 20.67 years) and older people (N=77; mean age = 69.75 years) in Beijing, China. Both samples responded to two sets of questions about filial piety using a five-point Likert scale (1=disagree, 5=agree). Six questions assessed attitudes toward filial obligations toward family elders and the Chinese in general: "Do you agree or disagree that Chinese people's filial responsibility to their aged parents is to (1) look after them, (2) assist them financially, (3) respect them, (4) obey them, (5) please them and make them happy, and (6) retain contact with them?" Another six questions assessed perceptions of old people's filial expectations of young people and Chinese in general: "In your impression, do old people expect their children to (1) look after them, (2) assist them financially, (3) respect them happy, and (6) retain contact with them?" For both samples, results indicated that their felt filial obligations exceeded filial expectations. Specifically, the

felt obligation to "respect them (i.e., elders)" was considered most significant by both samples, followed by "to retain contact with them" and "to look after them." To "obey them," however, was found to be the lowest felt obligations among college students and lowest filial expectations among older people. Overall, results imply that both young and old participants seemed to value respect the most but obedience the least in communicating filial piety. "Respecting elders but not necessarily obeying them" appears to characterize the protocol of filial obligations for this sample.

The filial function of reciprocity is related to the extent of congruence between what parents and children consider as filial behaviors. Although not developed specifically to assess intragenerational conflict, Lee's (1974, cited in Ho, 1996) model of filial cognitions provides a useful framework for understanding the cognitive basis of what constitutes filial piety. Lee delineated five stages of filial cognitions that were prompted by Kohlberg's theory of moral development. In the first stage, filial piety is understood as the giving of material benefits. In the second stage, there is a realization that emotional or spiritual support, rather than sheer material giving, is more important. In the third stage, there is recognition that filial piety is instrumental in establishing and maintaining parent-child relationships based on mutual care and love. In the fourth stage, there is further recognition that filial piety is instrumental to realizing ideal mutual relationships, not only merely maintaining harmony within the family. In the last stage, filial piety is seen as a way to actualize one's ethical ideals.

Conflicts may arise when parents and children's perceptions of what constitutes filial piety do not correspond to one another. For example, some Chinese parents consider obedience (e.g., parents expect their college-bound child to choose an academic major they approve) as filial, while children may perceive respecting without necessarily yielding to parents' demands (e.g., college student seeks parents' advice on academic major but without conforming to their choice) as filial. Some adult children may consider giving money to parents (i.e., material support) as filial, while some parents may consider their adult children's living with them (i.e., emotional support) as filial. Assessment of the parent-child match of filial obligations and expectations, therefore, could shed light on the nature of intragenerational conflicts.

Socialization

In light of these potential interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts, what sustains such enduring intergenerational dynamics? Social scientists have agreed that these filial attitudes and behaviors are socialized in Chinese societies. Yang (1988), for example, noted that filial devotion is both a social attitude and cultural behavior that are learned through socialization from childhood. Wu (1996) believed that Chinese children are being indoctrinated with Confucian moral teachings, including filial piety, at a young age. These filial attitudes and beliefs are reinforced by forces within the family and the society. Over the decades, Wu noted that teachings of filial piety and obedience to superiors continue to characterize the child-rearing practices (i.e., within the family) and early childhood education (i.e., within the society) in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and overseas Chinese communities (p. 23). Beyond the family, such interpersonal dynamics also extend to other superiorsubordinate relationships in the society, such as between children and elderly members of extended families, employers and employees, and the government and her people. In other words, the moral teaching of filial piety applies to and permeates structural relationships vertically across family generations, as well as horizontally across social situations. A cultural pattern of structural relationships, therefore, is perpetuated in which the internal psychological and external socio-cultural processes of filial piety are mutually reinforcing (Ho, 1996, p. 156).

As a result of these moral indoctrinations and socialization experiences, certain filial cognition and emotions are acquired and internalized, which lead to filial behaviors to meet the expectations of members of the parent generation as well as the cultural norm. Hwang (1999) summarized the Confucian teachings of Ren, Yi, and Li as ethical bases of filial piety. Ren, or benevolence, refers to behaviors that favor people with whom one has a close relationship. For example, parents favor and provide for their children out of benevolence. Yi, or righteousness, refers to respect shown to those respect is required by the relationship. For example, children ought to respect their parents, and students ought to respect their teachers. The implementation of Yi, is further reinforced and regulated by the interpersonal ethics of Li, or propriety, which refers to acts required by the established social norms. For example, a child is expected to protect the face of one's parents, which leads to behaviors to honor the parents outside the family and treat other superiors with respect. The practice of Li, therefore, can be construed as attempts to conform to and uphold certain cultural values. The interrelationships among Ren, Yi, and Li provide a template for ethical arrangement in interpersonal relationships, including that between parentchild generations.

These Confucian ethics inculcate certain filial cognition to the different generations of members within a family. As a result of indoctrinations of the ethical concepts of Ren, Yi, and Li, members in the children generation learn that (a) parents' disciplinary or authoritarian behaviors presumably reflect intentions of benevolence, (b) they are obliged to respect their parents and other superiors and are expected to engage in role-appropriate behaviors because this is inherent in the relationship, and (c) the society (e.g., teachers in school, family friends) expects them to engage in behaviors that honor their parents, and social systems and people outside the family may serve to regulate behaviors that are deviant from *Li*. Similarly, parents learn that (a) discipline can be exercised along with benevolence, (b) they ought to assume an authority position when treating their children, at least during their formative years, because this is inherent in the parent-child relationship, and (c) they have a responsibility to teach children to embrace (i.e., attitudinal) and practice (i.e. behavioral) filial piety within and outside the family because this is the cultural norm.

Reverence and Benevolence

Paradoxically, feelings of affection and devotion are also internalized along with parental discipline and control. As Saari (1990) noted, the emotions of affection and reverence are inherent in filial piety. Often, while exercising authority and discipline, parents simultaneously convey and reinforce the message that they do so out of love and for the children's welfare. In other words, the intergenerational relationship is hierarchical, yet intimate. For example, some Chinese parents financially support their college-aged children's education and do not allow them to work during their college years with the intention that their children can concentrate on school and achieve academically. Such simultaneous pairing of exercise of authority and benevolent intentions leads children to respect their parents and to develop a sense of reciprocal responsibilities to submit to filial expectations.

One counseling issue Chinese college students often presents pertains to their struggle between choosing an academic major that meets their parents' expectation and one of their own preference. Since educational achievement is highly valued in Chinese societies, it is not uncommon for parents to financially support their children's college education. In fact, some Chinese parents may not want or even allow their children to work during their college years. Under such financial and emotional support, Chinese college students may feel unstated pressure to reciprocate by choosing an academic major their parents prefer and by achieving in school. When students consider making an alternative academic major, they may experience fear of disapproval and guilt for disappointing their parents, which may lead to confusion, hesitance, and uncertainty with their decisions. The internalized association of parental authority, benevolence, and obedience may explain the difficulty for people in the children generation to detach and break off their obligatory ties from the parent generation.

In a review of the psychological consequences of filial piety among Chinese people, however, Ho (1996) reviewed studies suggesting that Chinese were socialized to obey, yet fear, authority figures, and to fulfill external obligations rather than internal fulfillment. In particular, Ho (pp. 161-162) contends that authoritarian moralism, which is characterized by hierarchical ranking of authority in the family and society, and pervasive moral precepts as the primary standard against which people are judged, underlies the socialization of filial piety among Chinese people. Chinese children who were socialized to absolute parental authority tend to develop emotional distancing from parents (especially the father), adopt passive resistance to deal with authority demands, and turn aggression inward. In other words, despite fulfilling one's duties and obligations, the filial behaviors may not necessarily reflect internalized filial attitudes. Thus, Ho suggests that affect-role dissociation is a psychological mechanism that makes it possible for children to remain filial sons and daughters, while performing their filial duties with emotional detachment. Yang (see 1997, p. 253) administered items that assessed emotions towards parents to high school students, college students, and adults. Factor analyses suggested that both "love and respect" and "indifference and fear" were related to filial emotions.

Implications for Practice and Research

Despite the rapid social and economic changes in Chinese societies, the centrality of family and collectivistic values continue to characterize the relationship patterns of Chinese people. As Zhang and Bond (1998) have demonstrated, there were significant relationships between filial attitudes, *guanxi*, and harmony. Yue and Ng (1999) noted that "given the central importance of family life in Chinese societies, it is unlikely that the social and economic changes...would have brought about a wholesome erosion of filial obligations and expectations" (p. 216). Yet, the lack of congruence or convergence of what constitutes filial piety between the parent and children generations may be a source of psychological stress for some Chinese people.

As empirical and clinical data have also suggested, filial piety was found to be associated with resistance to cognitive change, neuroticism, and maintenance of certain dysfunctional parent-child relationships (Zhang & Bond, 1998; Ho, 1996; Tang, 1998). Although not all Chinese clients' presenting issues are related to intergenerational conflicts, counselors, nonetheless, need to be sensitive to the implications of the persistent influence of filial piety on Chinese people's self-construal and intergeneration relationships.

Identify Filial Conflicts

Throughout the counseling process, the context of intergenerational relationship should be considered, especially when assessing clients' psychological and emotional distress. Since filial piety has often been heralded as a virtue in the Chinese culture, it may be counterintuitive for some Chinese clients to recognize that it may actually contribute to their distress. By bringing this culture-bound value to consciousness, therefore, the counselor can provide a cognitive framework for clients to understand sources of their conflicts. Rather than seeing the client's presenting issue as solely situated within the individual, the contextual framework enables clients to re-evaluate and re-allocate sources for their distress.

In addition, information on clients' intergenerational relationships needs to be gathered. A psycho-educational approach may be used to help clients understand how filial piety serves to preserve interpersonal harmony, and to explore the psychological costs incurred when such harmony is achieved in spite of intergenerational divergence on what constitutes filial practice. Specifically, counselors may assess if psychological conflicts are related to the extent to which (a) clients are able to fulfill their intended filial obligations, (b) clients' filial behaviors reciprocate parents' stated filial expectations, and (c) clients' intended filial behaviors are so perceived by their parents.

Articulate Conflictual Emotions

Clients whose presenting concern is rooted in filial conflicts may come across as confused and may have ambiguous feelings that they find difficult to recognize and articulate. Counselors can help clients make sense of such confusion by exploring both positive and negative emotions associated with the practice of filial piety.

Filial conflicts often involve attempts to individuate from filial expectations, incongruent perceptions of what constitutes filial behaviors, and perceived powerlessness in imposing or fulfilling filial expectations. For clients in the children generation, counselors can help them acknowledge their anger, powerlessness, and resentment when confronted with imposed filial expectations, and help articulate their fear of disapproval, or even alienation, for making an independent, alternative decision. For clients in the parent generation, counselors can help them identify feelings of disappointment, helplessness, or even failure when their filial expectations are not reciprocated.

At the same time, clients may also report certain positive emotions while reciprocating their filial expectations. After all, fulfilling filial responsibilities represents an ethical ideal. In essence, whenever filial expectations are reciprocated and filial responsibilities fulfilled, the esteem and harmony of the family collective will be preserved, if not enhanced. Those in the children generation earn certain self-esteem, whatever the individual psychological cost might be, for showing their gratefulness to and honoring the wishes of their elderly family members. Such esteem may extend from the individual (i.e., private self-esteem), to the family and extended families, to the community (i.e., public self-esteem). Those in the parent generation, likewise, earn self-esteem when their guidance and expectations are treated as benevolent and preferred, however contrived, by those in their children generation.

In light of the concurrent sense of reverence and gratefulness for the benevolent intentions behind parents' filial expectations and deeds, clients in counseling may consider their negative emotions somewhat "unwarranted" or "unjustified." For example, while expressing how unfair the parents' expectations are, the client may also say "I shouldn't have talked about my parents this way since they work so hard to support the choice they want me to make." In other words, while exploring filial conflicts, some clients may waver between wanting to and not wanting to discuss about their family, especially when negative images or emotions about the elderly members are provoked.

Manage Guilt Feelings

Counselors, therefore, need to be conscious of the potential feelings of guilt that could be generated when clients explore filial conflicts, especially in light of the positive social and moral connotation of filial piety. In addition, nonconformity to filial expectations conveys an implicit message that parental authority, which is exercised as guidance and with benevolent intentions, is no longer regarded as pious or credible. Clients in the children generation, therefore, may experience guilt for disappointing and hurting the esteem of parents. In fact, the more benevolent the intentions that underlie filial expectations, the more likely these guilt feelings will be intensified. As Yi (1995) noted,

The Asian person's relationship to an authority figure involves positive benign idealization of the authority figure's power and wisdom, trust in that person's benevolence, and expectations that the figure will guide them, protect them, or otherwise take care of them...This is usually responded to with a reciprocal tendency toward warmth and care by the authority figure, thereby creating a positively affect-toned and mutually idealizing dyadic relationship...However, when either or both in the dyad cannot fulfill the expected role or responsibility, the mutual idealizing cannot be maintained, resulting in loss of face, shame, disappointment, and resentment. (p. 311) Feelings of guilt and shame, though reflecting the client's psychological experience when filial conflicts are explored, may have counterproductive effect on the counseling process. When overwhelmed with guilt, clients may perceive themselves as an unfilial person and the counselors as perpetuators of family discord. Thus, a counseling approach that emphasizes individuation and separation may intensify feelings of being ungrateful, aggravate intergenerational conflict, and disrupt family unity. These experiences may lead clients to shift to irrelevant topics in sessions; worse still, they may lead to premature termination of counseling.

Given that fulfilling filial responsibilities represent the pursuit of a cultural moral ideal, and that relationships among family members are essentially interdependent, it is imperative for counselors to protect the esteem of both the clients and their family collective while exploring clients' filial conflicts. To monitor the effects of guilt on the counseling process when negative emotions are discussed in relation to family members, counselors may help clients focus on the practice of filial piety rather than the people involved. Instead of attributing locus of responsibilities to people, which may lead to placing of blames on family members and aggravating of relationships, counselors may help clients assess if a different set of filial attitudes or behaviors may lead to conflict resolutions or other emotional outcomes.

Facilitate Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Compromises

In light of the power differential between the parent and child generations, differences in personality styles, and persistence of subjective definitions of what constitutes filial behaviors, it may not always be possible for filial expectations to be reciprocated. Counselors, therefore, need to enable clients to come to a compromise so that interpersonal and intrapersonal harmony can be achieved.

To facilitate interpersonal compromise, information and issues regarding parenting style (e.g., authoritative, egalitarian) can be gathered and discussed to assess if open communications would be possible. Family therapy may be considered if members from both the parent and children generations are willing to resolve their conflicts through constructive negotiations. Moreover, given the pervasive influence of filial piety on generations of Chinese families, the potential contribution of filial practice to intergenerational conflicts should be incorporated in parenting training.

In the events that interpersonal compromise is not possible (e.g., an authoritative parenting style intensifies), counselors may help clients develop certain coping strategies so that intrapersonal harmony can be achieved. As Ho's (1996) studies have indicated, filial behaviors do not necessarily reflect filial attitudes, and that affect-role dissociation may serve as a coping mechanism that allows children to fulfill filial obligations with emotional detachment. Whether actual filial behavior reciprocates filial expectations, counselors may need to help clients prepare for or identify certain psychological costs, be they interpersonal or intrapersonal cost, that may incur.

Research

The practice of filial piety has tremendous influence on the family relationships and mental health of the Chinese peoples. Therefore, it is apparent that it should be studied as a major psychological construct in counseling research. Before its psychological correlates can further be explored, research needs to further focus on the operationalizations of filial attitudes and filial behaviors. What are the positive and negative psychological correlates related to congruence and incongruence between filial attitudes and behaviors? Will incongruence between filial attitudes and behaviors, for example, be related to healthy defense mechanisms when one is confronted with imposed filial expectations?

Moreover, counselors would benefit from research on the psychological conflicts and emotional distress associated with the practice of filial piety. In the United States, several counseling research instruments have been developed to assess the psychological and family conflicts for being an Asian American. Kwan (2000), for example, conducted a factor analysis of the Internal-External Ethnic Identity Measure using a sample of Chinese immigrants. A distinctive set of Family-Collectivism items (e.g., "Whatever I do, I try not to bring shame to my family") was identified as one of the ethnic identity factors. Through a series of studies with three samples of Asian American college students, Lee, Choe, Kim, and Ngo (2000) validated an Asian American Family Conflict Scale with 10 items (e.g., "Your parents tell you that a social life is not important at this age, but you think that it is") that were found to be correlated with family cohesion, adaptability, and parent-child communications. Future research may also focus on the development of an instrument to assess the psychological conflicts associated with the practice of filial piety among the Chinese peoples.

Reference

- Cheung, C.-K., Lee, J.-J., & Chan, C.-M. (1994). Explicating filial piety in relation to family cohesion. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 9(3), 565-580.
- Coats, P. (Producer), Bancroft, T., & Cook, B. (Directors). (1998). Mulan [Film]. (Available from Buena Vista Home Entertainment, Dept. CS, Burbank, CA 91521).
- Ho, D. Y. F. (1996). Filial piety and its psychological consequences. In M.
 H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 155-165).
 Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Hwang, K.-K. (1999). Filial piety and loyalty: Two types of social identification in Confucianism. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2 (1), 163-183.
- Kwan, K.-L. K. (2000). The Internal-External Ethnic Identity Measure: Factor analytic structures among Chinese American immigrants. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 60(1), 142-152.

- Lee, R. M., Choe, J., Kim, G., & Ngo, V. (2000). Construction of the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47(2), 211-222.
- Sue, D. (1997). Counseling strategies for Chinese Americans. In Lee, C. C. (Ed.), *Multicultural issues in counseling: New approaches to diversity* (2nd ed., pp. 173-187). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- Tang, C. S.-K. (1998). The rate of physical child abuse in Chinese families: A community survey in Hong Kong. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 22(5), 381-391.
- Wu, D. Y. H. (1996). Parental control: Psychocultural interpretations of Chinese patterns of socialization. In S. Lau (Ed.), Growing up the Chinese way: Chinese child and adolescent development (pp. 1-28). Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
- Yang, K.-S. (1997). Theories and research in Chinese personality: An indigenous approach. In H. S. R. Kao, & D. Sinha (Eds.), Asian perspectives on psychology (pp. 236-262). New Delhi, India: Sage Publications.
- Yee, B. W. K., Huang, L. N., & Lew, A. (1998). Families: Life-span socialization in a cultural context. In L. C. Lee, & N. Zane (Eds.), *Handbook of Asian American psychology* (pp. 83-135). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yi, K. (1995). Psychoanalytic psychotherapy with Asian clients: Transference and therapeutic considerations. *Psychotherapy*, 32(2), 308-316.
- Yue, X., & Ng, S. H. (1999). Filial obligations and expectations in China: Current views from young and old people in Beijing. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2(2), 215-226.
- Zhang, J., & Bond, M. H. (1998). Personality and filial piety among college students in two Chinese societies: The added value of indigenous construct. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(3), 402-417.

從孝道的觀點看對中國人的輔導

孝道一直以來被認為是管理中國人家庭及不同輩份關係的本土心理構念。 然而,從輔導的角度去探究孝道心理涵義的文獻卻為數不多。本文先綜述 了幾個有關孝道的心理主題,進而討論孝道在中國家庭中的適應功能及可 能會引致的心理矛盾,最後會為這心理構念在輔導中國人的應用上提出幾 項建議。