HOW EFT THERAPISTS CAN WORK WITH **CLIENTS** FROM

CHINESE CULTURES

BY **IRIS YIP**

The purpose of this article is to provide some understanding of how the collective Chinese culture impacts on emotions, self and relationships; and how to integrate this knowledge into the Emotionally Focused (EF) work with Chinese clients so that EF therapists can increase their cultural awareness in their work with individual Chinese clients

Introduction

As a Chinese Emotionally Focused therapist working in a multicultural Australian setting, I would like to share my clinical experiences with Chinese clients. The purpose of this article is to provide some understanding of how the collective Chinese culture impacts on emotions, self and relationships; and how to integrate this knowledge into the Emotionally Focused (EF) work with Chinese clients so that EF therapists can increase their cultural awareness in their work with individual Chinese clients. This is a significant population group according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, as of 30 June 2016, there are 526,000 Chinese residents in Australia, which is 2.2% of Australian population and ranked 3rd in the birth statistics for people not born to Australian residents. So, it is important for me to be aware of how my cultural background influences my clinical work, to be able to consider my Chinese clients' cultural conditioning, and to comprehend the nature and intensity of their struggles to a larger extent. (Corey, Corey & Callanan, 2007). In accordance with Laird (2000),

> *"Culture is an individual and social construction, a constantly evolving and changing set of meanings that can be understood only in the context of a narrativised past, a cointerpreted present, and a wished future" (p. 348) (Laird, 2000 cited in Karakurt & Keiley, 2009, p. 8).*

Emotionally Focused Therapy (EFT) has flexible theories and intervention models that could integrate cultural contexts into their clinical practice (Karakurt & Keiley, 2012, p. 9). Nevertheless, I could not find much discussion, theory, or intervention about how EFT relates with cultural difference. It appeared to me that there was a cultural gap to inform Emotionally Focused practitioners, who have been trained in an individualistic Western culture, how to work with collective Chinese clients. Mesquita, 2000; Matsumoto, 1995, cited in Greenberg & Goldman, 2008, p. 113) indicated that human beings may experience their feelings differently across various cultures and I have selected three Chinese proverbs that illustrate the impact of Chinese culture on emotion:

- "Control your emotions or they will control you"(控制你的情緒，否則情緒控制你)
- "A family in harmony will prosper in everything" (家和萬事興) and
- "Family shame should not be spread to the outside" (家醜不出外傳).

These few Chinese proverbs remind me to consider that culture may alter the way emotions are experienced and expressed in relationships with the self and others. This article is my reflection on the overview of how the Chinese culture impacts on three aspects including (1) emotions, (2) self and (3) relationships; how I attune my Emotionally Focused therapy to work with the Chinese clients by integrating my understanding of Chinese culture (with particular reference to the three Chinese proverbs)

(1) EMOTIONS

1.1 Emotions

The teachings of Confucius during 500BC has formed a strong foundation to create many Chinese cultural norms (Eliot 2001; Guo 1995). Confucian beliefs emphasize maintaining emotional control and indirectly expressing needs and feelings (Johnson, 2005, Wu & Chao, 2005). As a person brought up in Chinese culture, I was brought up to act humbly, emotionally reserved, introverted, fond of tranquillity, thinking self-restraint as virtuous and respectful because Confucianism believed interpersonal dynamics to be more important than personal feelings. From a Confucian perspective, revealing intense or negative emotions could be considered as disrespectful and disloyal behaviour that becomes a threat to the larger group (Chang, 2014, p. 76; Greenberg & Iwakabe, 2011, p. 85, Liu & Wittenborn, 2011, p. 299-30). The Chinese proverb "control your emotions or they will control you" associates one's ability to control emotions with maturity and wisdom (Sue & Sue, 2008). I personally worked through these cultural restrictive beliefs when I was trained to be an Emotionally Focused therapist and this has made me more aware when my Chinese clients struggle to notice, identify, accept their own emotional experiences due to the limitations and boundaries of the culture on them.

> *Clinical example: A Chinese young woman in her 20s did not want to talk about her feelings with her dad. She suppressed her anger and hurt. She judged herself, as showing these emotions would be disrespectful and a betrayal to her dad:*
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> *Tina (Ho Lei)[1] : I feel nothing. I could not feel anything towards my dad. I do not want to see him or talk to him although he is my dad.*

1.2 Communication and display of emotions

Communication in Chinese culture is characterized by a high level of diplomacy that attempts to save face and preserve social harmony. Undiplomatic behaviours include the expression of negative emotions including anger and sadness, that would impose a threat to social involvement and interdependence, disrupt harmony, embarrass others, or provoke open confrontation are avoided (Goldman, 1992; Hofstede, 1980, cited in Mortenson, 1999, p.44). When interpreting communication, Chinese take into consideration more contextual factors (Singelis & Brown, 1995, cited in Mortenson, 1999, p.46) – that is, the situation in which they are working. As a Chinese EF practitioner, I have had to work through my tendency to communicate indirectly, covertly and implicitly and overcome my fear of losing face and to be real in my clinical work. I have also noticed how Chinese clients are encouraged to show positive emotions to their in-groups and displays of behaviour that maintains group cohesion, harmony, and

1 Pseudonyms are used for all clients mentioned in this article

cooperation. Chinese clients also show more negative emotions to out-groups so that distinction is maintained between in-group and out-groups but also work to preserve social harmony within their in-group (Mortenson, 1999, p.47).

Clinical example: A Chinese female in her mid 40s who suffered from being bullied in her workplace did not want to disrupt harmony and avoided making a formal complaint, or provoke open confrontation while still showing her positive emotions to this "in-group" colleague.

Lai Ha said: "Although she treated me badly, I chose not to complain about her because I do not want to cause trouble among the colleagues so I still care and support her."

To displace these emotions, Chinese clients may present with pain everywhere in their bodies and unconsciously somaticize their psychological distress. This has been discovered as a global phenomenon very common to Chinese (Kleinman & Sung, 1979 cited in Leong & Lau, 2001, p. 207-208). When I was a client, I somaticized my psychological distress but talked about my body pain instead of my emotional pain to my therapist. It was much more socially acceptable to present physical symptoms than openly convey negative emotions to others. I believed that this caused shame to myself and showed my personal weaknesses. Chinese often conceive that psychological distress as being communicated through body organ symptoms because emotions and body organs correspond with different phases in nature. Traditional Chinese medicine emphasizes pathologies as organ-oriented concepts - a microcosm of the universe with which to understand the body. It is crucial to consider these cultural values and beliefs because the expression of symptoms in Chinese clients is influenced by the Chinese cultural background (Kleinman & Sung, 1979 cited in Leong & Lau, 2001, p. 207-208).

Clinical example: A Chinese man in his 20s expressed somatic complaints and was unable to articulate about his anxiety when under stress.

Wai Hung said: "I always have stomach ache and frequent diarrhoeas when I attended exams in university or interviews for job applications. I don't know the reasons and my GP told me that I have nothing wrong in my body. He asked me to see a therapist instead."

1.3 Coping of Emotions

When managing personal emotional distress, Chinese may take a very pragmatic approach by talking about instrumental communication, problem management, and minimizing enactments and discussing negative emotions in an attempt to preserve in-group cohesion and social harmony (Mesquita & Walker, 2002, cited in Mortenson, 1999, p. 168). As a Chinese EF practitioner, I am very aware of my own cultural tendency to follow Chinese clients who jump into problem solving. In particular, I have observed that my Chinese clients tend to view mental illness relating to psychotic, dangerous or disruptive behaviours rather than issuing from personal problems or general emotional distress (Leong & Lau, 2001, p. 207-208). Within Chinese culture, mental illness may be considered as a problem that is alleviated and cured by utilising strong willpower, abstaining from despondent thoughts and desolate or perturbing rumination (Leong & Lau, 2001, p.203). When set emotional goals, Chinese clients often emphasise open-mindedness to both negative and positive results, and value self-appraisal and self-improvement (Mesquita & Walker, 2003). They focus coping efforts by using self-management or facilitating the use of their in-group as a resource for instrumental support (Mortenson, 1999, p. 156-157). In-depth exploration of intense emotional experiences would conflict with Chinese beliefs about how to cope with emotions by changing thoughts or problem solving initially (Leong & Lau, 2001, p.203).

Clinical example: A Chinese female client in her late 30's suffering from grief expected me, as her therapist, to "problem solve" or fix her grief rather than help her experience her grief.

Angela (Mun Shin) said: "Even though I need to acknowledge my grief. I need to know 'What's next?' to fix it for me to decide whether to stay in counselling or not."

1.4 'Face' and 'Shame'

'Face' and 'shame' in Chinese culture impact significantly on the way Chinese relate with the self and others emotionally (Fang & Wark, 1998). The concept of shame in Chinese culture is associated with the Confucian ideal that the highest purpose in life is seeking self-perfection by reflecting on and improving ones social interactions and moral behaviours. As a Chinese, I was brought up to be monitored in my social roles and behaviours by shame. I earn reputation and credibility in my social network by maintaining face. "Face" reflects the approved social attributes, respect, and deference which I can claim for myself from others. I can lose 'face' and experience shame in adverse social situations when I am criticised, ridiculed or do not receive the cooperation from others. To save 'face', means to maintain one's reputation while to giving 'face' – or deferring to and respecting another individual (Wang, Zhang, Gao, & Qian, 2009, cited in Chang, 2014, p. 26). As an EF practitioner, I need to be aware of how to work with Chinese clients who fear of losing 'face', to be able to explore with them their need to give 'face', and to allow them to express their primary emotions to others and maintain their authenticity. In traditional Chinese culture, shame and face are used to guide proper social behaviours by promoting conformity to societal expectations (Wang & Fischer, 2004, cited in Chang, 2014, p. 26).

Clinical example: A Chinese wife in her 30s who expressed how she saved face for her husband.

Mei Fong said: "I cannot disclose our marital problems to my husband's family to save face. I cannot tell my mother in China to make her feel worried. I cannot talk to anyone because I don't want to shame my husband. I keep it all to myself."

For the Chinese, "face" is not only bound to individuals, but to groups with which one is associated (Ho, 1994). Specifically, there is a greater sense of shared "face" rather than individual "face" (Chang & Holt, 1994; Ho 1994). An individual of the group (i.e. a family member) who has lost "face", is experienced as "face loss" for the whole group. Thus, one can lose "face" because of another in-group member's loss of "face" (Chang & Holt, 1994; Ho, 1994, cited in Mortenson, 1999, p.42). When a member of the family loses "face", one feels very shameful. The whole family shares collectively with the unworthy feeling of falling short of the expectations of the family (Toupin, 1980). An individual avoids losing "face" and bringing shame to the family, motivating one to conform to family and societal expectations. Individuals will not disclose any problems to anyone outside the family seen in the Chinese proverb cited above - "Family shame should not be spread to the outside," (家醜不出外傳). This reflects the cultural value of avoiding shame and maintaining "face" for the family reputation. This belief adds shame for individuals when they disclose problems to outsiders – such as therapists (Toupin, 1980 cited in Chang, 2014, p.27). So, individuals find it difficult to express emotional experiences that will discredit a partner or even express their own reproach in therapy (Greenberg & Goldman, 2008, p.113-114).

Clinical example: A Chinese couple in their 30s – the husband did not want to attend couple counselling and they also did not want to disclose their problems to their extended family and friends.

Wai Shing said: "I do not want to talk to a stranger about our marital problems. We should sort it out ourselves but my wife told me to leave if I do not come to counselling. We do not have any divorce in my family history."

Shui Kuen said: "He will not talk to anyone about our problems because he does not want to lose "face". But I can't live like two strangers anymore."

(2) CHINESE CULTURE ON SELF

For the sense of self, the Chinese concepts of "big me" (the group) and the "little me" (the individual) demonstrates that group identity is more important than the identity of an individual. The Chinese collective culture emphasises harmony in community, social ranking, the interdependence of members within the group, obligation to the in-group and consideration of significant others in decision making (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, cited in Lowe, 2005, p.134). As a Chinese, the sense of self is defined in memberships of different groups and observing the obligations to others (Greenberg & Iwakabe, 2011, p. 85). This happened to me. Therefore, the "little me" is downplayed to fulfil the "big me" (Yeh & Huang, 1996, p.651). Chinese are encouraged to control and adjust their thoughts, desires, and feelings to maintain interpersonal harmony and fit in with those of the group. (Tsai, Levenson, & McCoy, 2006, p.486). Self-development is satisfactorily developed when one has the capacity to preserve the interdependence between the "little me" and the "big me". I perceive my Chinese clients who may avoid direct confrontation, escape from the situation, condone the actions of the other party and try to actively resolve the conflicts with others. In facing other's misdeed, their most ubiquitous responses are inaction to minimize their own distress (Mesquita & Walker, 2003, p.11). Rejection can be extremely painful to Chinese people because their sense of self depends on group memberships.

In Chinese culture, the survival of the individual relies on interdependence and relationships; self-identity may be threatened by the abandonment of support by the "big me", the family or the social group (Yeh & Huang, 1996, p. 651). Personal agency may have limited applicability in Chinese clients when they do not view themselves as being responsible for, and having control over, an incident. Fate is emphasised in Chinese culture and this includes the interdependence of a person and the social situations, and the multi-determination of experiences. Collateral control or accommodating to the circumstance are emphasised rather than subjected to personal influence (Mesquita & Walker, 2003, p.9).

(3) CHINESE CULTURE ON RELATIONSHIP

Chinese collective culture emphasises group harmony as seen in the Chinese proverb "A family in harmony will prosper in everything" and values cultural tasks related to interdependence. As a Chinese EF practitioner, I am aware of the collective cultural belief to maintain group harmony that may impact on whether I speak up to express my different opinions or my feelings when I work with clients. I also noticed that Chinese clients expected themselves growing up to be responsible to others and fulfilling their obligations in order to preserve family & social relationships as well as group harmony. They experience guilt, feelings of indebtedness when they fail to fulfil the expectations of others (Greenberg & Goldman, 2008, p. 113-4).

Clinical example: A Chinese wife in her 40s whose husband was having a number of affairs but she still stayed in the relationship:

Rebecca (Siu Sheung): I need to stay because I do not want my children losing their dad & they need a complete family. As a mother, everyone expects me to hold the family together no matter what.

Bridging the gap in between Chinese cultural beliefs and the Emotionally Focused Therapy

Collective Chinese values seem in contrast with those in Western psychotherapy (Leong, Wagner & Tata, 1995, cited in Leong & Lau, 2001, p. 204). EFT orientation commends open conversations, discovering internal struggles, and concentrating on the individual (Sue & Sue, 1977, cited in Leong & Lau, 2001, p. 204). As a Chinese EF practitioner, I need to encourage Chinese clients to prioritize their individual goals before their group goals which is in opposition to their collective cultural values. I notice that my Chinese clients struggle to open up to intimate communication, and experience difficulties in expressing intense emotions. To counter this I utilize psychoeducation when exploring the role of emotions in human functioning, processing, decision-making and meaning-making to bridge the gap for the Chinese who want an experts' advice and yet lack emotional awareness. When I build the therapeutic relationship and trust with clients, they feel safer to express their emotions in the sessions. I have found that Chinese clients need to understand the reasons to connect, bear the intensity of, express and make meaning of the emotions coming up in session (Chang, 2014, p. 126). The experience and expression of different emotions in sessions with the practitioner is important to therapeutic work. Chinese clients may assume that they behave to contain their emotions and demonstrate their respect to authority, i.e. me as the counsellor. They inhibit themselves from displaying negative feelings, e.g. anger, sadness. I notice they are sometimes unable to access immediate emotional experience that may be blocked by underlying shame and/or anxiety. When clients' spontaneous emotional reactions are inhibited, their emotions are unavailable to guide their judgment to act in interpersonal situations. Ironically, when clients suppress their feelings to belong and maintain harmony in a group, these lead them to feel more isolated and alienated. When the primary emotional experiences of Chinese clients are kept hidden, they are rarely revealed, validated, or understood by others. Therefore, I realize that understanding Chinese culture enhances my awareness of what might interrupt and block Chinese clients' emotional experiences and my interventions with them. Chinese clients need to be aware that the expression of emotions can be used to achieve a goal, i.e. to notice, identify and make meaning of what the emotions convey to them (Greenberg & Iwakabe, 2011, p. 86). I utilize the above strategies to help clients experience their emotions, and assist clients to work with their Chinese cultural belief: "control your emotions or they will control you".

Principles of Emotionally Focused Therapy to work with collective Chinese clients

Therapists can work effectively with cultural differences with collective Chinese clients in an EF therapeutic process. From my experience, I need to distinguish the meanings and purpose incorporated in the communication of emotions and attachment behaviour, its impact on individuals and their relationship with the understanding of Chinese culture. I need to maintain an openness and collaborative stance to explore the unique characteristics and differences of Chinese clients who come from different regions, instead of assuming only one generalized Chinese culture. This position enhances the therapeutic work by understanding differences about eliciting and regulating emotions, along with expressing and responding to attachment needs (Liu & Wittenborn, 2011, cited in Maynigo, 2015, p. 44-45). Moreover, I apply curiosity and empathic reflection skills and check regularly to ensure client's unique perceptions and emotional experiences are being understood correctly. I need to be mindful not to invalidate the client's own perceived emotional experiences and their causes. Chinese clients often need assistance to explore the meaning that they apply to their emotional experiences rather than operate from the interpretation or assumptions of the practitioner (Liu & Wittenborn, 2011, p. 302). Furthermore, I use clients' wordings and metaphors so that clients feel more comfortable cross-culturally. The use of appropriate images & metaphors can assist clients to access their vulnerable states without becoming defensive or avoidant (Liu & Wittenborn, 2011, p. 304). I slow down the process to address the potential cultural issues.

Clinical example: A female client in her 30s who was emotionally abused by her mum and suffered from depression. She used the "evil" to describe her part in the abuse of her cat. She was fearful this evil would control her and lead her to hurt others who are vulnerable, including her future child.

Wendy (Mei Yee) said: "I feel sick and disgusted with this dark side of me that I hurt my cat abusively. This evil part is too dangerous and should not exist here. I want to hide and discard it. I feel nervous when it is hovering around me. I feel scared to hurt my own baby in future."

Therapist said: "I almost hear your feeling of being overwhelmed, shame and terrified to notice this dark side in you. Is that right? I appreciate your being brave to disclose this part of you to me. You trust me enough that I will not judge you. Am I correct? Tell me more about what you notice about this evil part."

As her therapist, I identified and named her emotions behind her judgement of this part of her tentatively and checked with her. I acknowledged her courage to disclose herself despite the possible fear of shame or losing "face". I affirmed her authenticity and our therapeutic relationship to be safe because I understood the fear involved culturally for a Chinese to admit her fault to a therapist, viewed in a position of authority. I utilized her metaphors of "dark side" and "evil part". I slowed her down to explore more about this part of her.

I also use the process of slicing the clients' emotional experiences thinner to assure that the client can understand, relate to, and increasing access to vulnerability (Johnson, 2004). The intensity of the vocabulary of emotions is reduced to reflect Chinese client's emotional experience (Maynigo, 2015, p. 44-45). Extra attention to nonverbal expressions such as tone of voice, micro-expressions of the face and the body, and eye contact as a means to track the clients' emotions (Chang, 2014, p.125). Moreover, when Chinese clients present with somatic symptoms, I utilize "focusing" to assist them to notice how their body feels as an access to their emotions (Webster, 2017, p. 309, Chang, 2014, p. 126).

When it comes to working with couples, I help the Chinese clients understand my role as a helper with a collaborative EF approach by supporting them in expressing their authentic primary emotional experiences, and by building an emotional bond between partners. I use my helper stance to discover how they feel and what they need from each other. Therefore, psychoeducation is applied to adjust their expectation of their therapist to provide solutions, skills and advice (Liu & Wittenborn, 2011, p. 297, Maynigo, 2015, p. 85-86). In addition, I bring out how the intercultural couple relationships (i.e. one partner from collective culture married to a partner from an individualistic culture) are being impacted by cultural differences through careful questioning about their cultural background and history. Also, the attachment needs (i.e. holding, closeness, safety & support) are emphasised to access the partner's vulnerability in order to address the cultural differences within intercultural couples (Maynigo, 2015, p. 72-73, 98, 103). I encourage Chinese clients to be authentic in expressing their emotions rather than giving up themselves for group harmony; to work through the Chinese cultural belief: "A family in harmony will prosper in everything".

As a Chinese EF practitioner, I struggle with some pitfalls in my clinical work with Chinese clients. From my experiences, Chinese clients may not initially value the importance of the validation of their emotional experiences compared with getting solutions, skills and advice from their therapist. They do not expect and feel hesitant to commit themselves into medium or long-term therapy initially but instead expect a quick fix. It is important to build rapport and trust by bridging the gap with psychoeducation of the EFT therapeutic process and gradually re-shape their expectation. Since Chinese clients may sometimes tend to be pragmatic and functional with low emotional awareness, creative interventions to externalise emotions or parts could be difficult to grasp or confronting for them because they may feel exposed and shameful. Therefore, I tend to utilize more verbal exploration (Webster, 2017, p. 235) to raise their emotional awareness and acceptance of their emotional experiences before moving on to utilize creative externalising interventions, e.g. sculpture (Webster, 2017, p. 31) or multiple chair work (Webster, 2014, p.11). I observed how Chinese clients may value maintaining the group harmony more than their own self. I need to slow down to work with strengthening their "Adult" (Webster, 2015, p.80) that may trigger their fear of rejection from their family when group harmony could be threatened with changes to the individual. In the adult-child polarity (Webster, 2015, p.81), I noticed Chinese clients tend to reject their Child ego state initially when they view their own child part causing troubles to their life and relationships. Chinese children may tend to be parented to comply with silence in order to follow their parents' expectations. I need to support my Chinese clients' Adult to acknowledge their Child ego state, giving a voice to express their feelings and the choice for their Child to meet their unmet needs. This is very foreign to Chinese clients for their Adult to Parent their Child. I normalize the feelings and needs of their Child with other children's and support the clients' entitlement to satisfy needs that were unmet in their childhood (Webster, 2015, p. 82-83). I empathise with the clients' childhood experiences of abandonment or abuse with only a part of their parent instead of the whole person because Chinese feel that it is very hard to own negative feelings towards their parents or authority figures.

I hope to use the above strategies to support Chinese clients to work through their cultural beliefs on "A family in harmony will prosper in everything", and on "Family shame should not be spread to the outside".

Clinical example: A female client in her 20s who did not like her Child ego state and wanted her to disappear (Webster, 2016, p. 150).

Oi Ling said: "She is too troublesome to have so many needs and I want to get rid of her so I will be fine."

Therapist: "Sounds like a part of you feels overwhelmed with this little Oi Ling's needs, and is quite critical to her and wants her to get rid of her. A young child is very vulnerable and they could only get the needs met from the adults who look after them. I'm wondering, if you meet with a five-year-old girl being abandoned by her parents and she came to you to request a hug, what would you do to her? (Webster, 2016, p. 198)"

Oi Ling said: "Of course, I will hug her and reassure her that she is a lovely girl."

Therapist: "Seems like you could empathise with that little girl and yet it is very hard for you to hug and reassure little Oi Ling. Help me understand that more."

As her therapist, I noticed that Oi Ling had a critical reaction towards her inner child. Her critical parent part dismissed little Oi Ling and liked what her parents did to her. I tried to access her nurturing parent part by inviting her to respond to another child in a similar situation (Webster, 2016, p. 150).

In future, more qualitative studies might need to be done to increase the

understanding of how the Chinese individuals and couples experience Emotionally Focused Therapy in Australia, and the differences in Chinese clients working with Chinese and non-Chinese EF therapists. These studies could provide more concrete and solid guidance for the EF therapists to fine tune their EFT responses when working with Chinese clients. I also realise how my Chinese culture has impacted on the process of writing this paper; I hid myself behind the community of EF authorities who I believe that the reader's respect. Ironically, I struggle to put myself before the group, to express my ideas on how to work with Chinese clients as a Chinese EF practitioner explicitly with my voice based on my own clinical experiences[2]. I hope that this paper can provide some understanding of how Chinese culture impacts on emotions, self and the relationship of Chinese with the three Chinese proverbs; how EF therapists need to be mindful of the cultural differences between their own culture and that of Chinese or other Asian individual and couple clients; how this cultural difference impacts the therapeutic alliance and the process of the EF work. I encourage the EF therapists to integrate cultural awareness and understanding into Emotionally Focused work with Chinese client and to be aware of the potential pitfalls involved in the therapeutic process.

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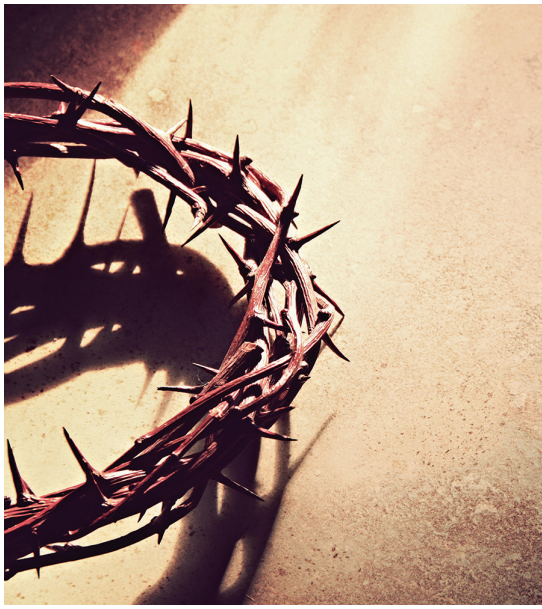
"A family in harmony will prosper in everything", www.wiseoldsayings.com/authors/chinese-proverb-quotes/page-3/

"Family Shame should not be spread to the outside", www.chinasage.info/proverbconsideration.htm

Supervision sessions with EFT clinical supervisor.



2 23/10/17 Discussion with Michelle. Annandale: IEFT. She assisted me to be aware how I have been influenced in my writing process by the Chinese culture.